Brazilian Subjectivity Today

Migration, Identity and Xenophobia

Compiled by

Szilvia Simai
and **Derek Hook**

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Szilvia Simai and Derek Hook

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Prologue

This book is a psycho-social portrayal of Brazil's arrival on the international stage in this golden era of a booming economy: the hosting of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. This former Portuguese colony with a recent history of military dictatorship has grown into a country with extreme social and economic inequalities, a country of contradictions that is in need of a new cosmopolitan image, a country that needs to be able to both love and "sell" itself in today's neo-liberal reality while being loved and having its image "bought" by the global community. The book argues that any contemporary post-colonial representation of "Brazilianness" can be understood through an interdisciplinary look at new identities, which is driven by a desire for decolonized emancipation together with a neo-colonial concern for a favorable image abroad. Such constructed images of Brazil and of "Brazilianness" are analyzed in this book, and are contextualized and presented with their contradictions and ambivalences through the introduction of a number of key concepts and characteristics of this process, including mimicry, denial, fetishism, national myth creation, shame, creativity, inversion, exploitation and the glamorization of misery. We suggest that the imagination of the foreign eye determines the contemporary images and representations of Brazil and Brazilianness internationally and that ironically, it is at the same time exactly the historical international migration to Brazil - the foreign eye - that has constructed the discursive justification for repressing and denying contemporary xenophobia in Brazil. Thus, the book's interdisciplinary psycho-social analysis illuminates how a country that is in the international spotlight today struggles so with its history in constructing an appropriate self-image that is both attractive and real.

Introduction

The recent economic growth of Brazil has moved the country into ninth place in the world economy, and both its booming ethanol industry and its recent international success in the bids to become hosts of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games have put the country into an influential position on the international stage. This changing role and increasing influence, however, is accompanied by serious psycho-social challenges. This book discusses the psycho-social and the economic factors that underlie the battle between two very different realities. The book presents seven essays and helps us to understand the way this changing period in Brazil has created ambivalent behaviour in the Brazilians. Brazilians living abroad still try to overcome their post-colonial positioning and complain a lot about being seen through prejudiced eyes and about being despised. At the same time, at home in Brazil, immigrants are subject to a xenophobic ethos, and this xenophobia is constantly denied via the myth of the receptivity of the Brazilians. Therefore this book will help the readers to understand the psycho-social underpinnings of Brazilian cultural businesses in Italy, US and in the UK.

See more of the Brazilian communities living outside Brazil.

Learn how to interact with Brazilians and Brazilians can practice self-criticism.

To gain insight into the details of what is myth and what is real in Brazil and about Brazilians.

The *Three Fantasies of Nation* explores the construction of national identity through both the colonial imagery and the modern neo-liberal world order to reflect the postcolonial fantasies of Brazil and Brazilians, and how these fantasies actually reflect and construct the Brazilian identity. The three fantasies discussed are the Tropical Fantasy, the Fantasies of the Post-Colonial Woman and Her Body, and Samba and the Carnival Fantasy.

The second article, *Foreigner-Gringo-Brazilian: Proximity and distance between Brazilians and non-Brazilians*, analyzes the category *gringo* as a persistent and intermediary term, commonly in use today in Brazil to categorize people and objects which, although part of Brazil, have little hope of ever being seen as "truly Brazilian". I seek to unpack some of the terms meanings within a Brazilian context, while highlighting its potential as emic or analytical category as roughly synonymous with the Georg Simmel's category of "fremde".

The third essay will explore the connections and contradictions of current economic growth as well as Brazil's historical immigration and the absurd way it formed the modern discourse, which, as the research has discovered, is xenophobic even while the xenophobia is denied through the discourse of receptivity. The essay is entitled *The National Myth of Receptivity in Brazil: The Denial of Xenophobia in Contemporary Society*. This part of the book shows that while Brazil's official position and the position of individual Brazilians are tendentious and tend to create an image of Brazil and Brazilians as more receptive than other nations and quasi-xenophile. At the same time it has also shown that people actually hold strongly xenophobic views but tend to deny them and hide behind the normative discourse of receptivity. We analyze collected discourse and present various forms of xenophobic and racist denial in Brazil through a qualitative study conducted at a São Paulo university. We therefore suggest that this evidence is powerful enough to state that, i) Brazil has created a myth of receptivity and feeds this myth daily, and, consequently, ii) the country is in deep denial about this.

The fourth essay called *The Reinvention of Brazil and Other Metamorphoses in the World of Chicago Samba* presents an ethnographic study conducted with Chicago Samba, a Brazilian musical ensemble created in the late 1980s. The article argues that although Brazilian cultural workers repeat old narratives about samba and Brazil, they are paradoxically promoting the construction of new spaces for social interaction and cooperation between social groups that are usually separate. In an effort to give life to narratives that open spaces for their artistic works, these artists actually produce dialogues and ways of interaction that can be interpreted as niches of resistance to

the dominant narratives of both Brazil and the United States. In doing so, they recreate themselves, the narratives and the milieu wherein they integrate.

The fifth essay *To See Oneself Through the Eyes of the Other: Gender, Race and Brazilian Identity* examines how the intersection of national identity, gender and race appear in the discourse of a group of Brazilians who studied in Europe for their PhDs. The analysis shows how the condition of foreignness is highlighted in their Brazilian identity and specifically how avoiding looking Brazilian is present in their discourse.

The sixth article *Subjective assessments of work opportunities by Brazilian women living in Rome* discusses some subjective assessments of work opportunities by Brazilians living in Rome, which constitutes a very little known phenomenon related to the Brazilian immigration in Italy. While we may say that working opportunities foster migration behavior, the way immigrants experience these opportunities vary. In order to understand the meanings attached to them, the study -conducted from December 2003 to July 2004- analyzes interviews with 46 Brazilian women and observations held in their meeting places. As expected, work opportunities are the main motivation for the majority to migrate and remain in the host society. Yet, the research shows that there are many individual differences and structural circumstances that create diverse meanings to these work opportunities. Thus, it is important to address what immigrants think to be their psychological, cultural and material gains derived from working abroad in the migration process. In this respect, while there are positive stories of countless gains, there are also sad stories of debts and of not being able to profit satisfactorily from the immigrant situation.

The last essay *"Brazilianness" in London: national goods and images in transnational mobility* explores the increase in circulation of Brazilian images and cultural goods in London and the relationship between this growth and Brazilian immigration. The immigration stimulated the transnational increase in such images, which, in turn, influenced the experience of Brazilians while putting them in a constant process of reconfiguring their identity at the same time.

We think that there is a strong academic and non-academic interest in the contemporary nature of Brazil and Brazilians -

both in order to understand how Brazilians represent themselves abroad and how foreigners are received in Brazil. It is expected that the book will enrich contemporary debate on these themes and shine an important psychoanalytic light on the discussions. In 1995, the American publisher Di Capo Press published a famous book called *The Brazilians* which discussed Brazil and Brazilians as seen through foreign eyes. This book produced an intense discussion in some newspaper articles and television debates, but it is undeniable that most of these materials lack any real scientific and methodological rigor or profundity. We would like to fill in this gap and offer a scholarly essay collection consisting of studies on contemporary Brazil and Brazilians written in a language that is clear to non-academic readers too. We hope that this book will spark a debate on the contemporary creation of a positive national self-image and on the denial of xenophobia all over the world, not just restricted to Brazil. The point is to remember that while one is in a more vulnerable position as an immigrant in a host country, at the same time the same individual is also a member of a host country in his or her home country, which also hosts immigrants, and thus the behavior should be coherent and not contradictory. We hope to be able to inspire some reflections with this book.

Three Fantasies of Nation

Szilvia Simai

For decades, Brazil, Latin American's largest country, has been known for its exuberant culture, carnival, samba, music, the Amazon, and tropical beaches and fruits. However, in an era of globalization when exchange agreements with other nations are necessary to guarantee reciprocally assured advantages of economic growth, a more favourable national image is needed.

Therefore, one of the most important cultural dilemmas in contemporary Brazil is this process of the reinvention of love, self-love, a lovable identity or 'Brazilianness' in order to increase self-esteem after previous failures. A country with a colonial background, with years of military dictatorship in its recent past, has today grown into a country of extremes of social and economic inequality, a country of contradictions that is in need of a new cosmopolitan self-image and needs to be able to love (and sell) itself in today's neo-liberal era and to be loved and 'bought' by others globally. Thus, in recent years, Brazil has been diligent in producing positive national images for export.

In discussing this psycho-cultural process in this paper, I am going to argue the following: (i) the construction of images of Brazilianness is a very complex and ambiguous process, containing a large amount of fetishism and determined by post-colonial mimicry; (ii) cultural fetishism contributes to the materialization of the Brazilian national imaginary. Through the Brazilian products fetish, I suggest that various national imaginaries can be studied; (iii) finally, the importance of the exploitation of Brazilian exoticism in these existing fantasies will be discussed and I shall consider whether the Brazilian products myth is part of a bigger political-economic process and whether it contributes to the glamorization of misery for global marketing purposes.

Method

The cultural semiotic method has been applied in this study. A semiotic analysis of visual images constituted the theoretical discussion of the role of Brazilian products, in particular of Brazilian jeans, in the process of national image production for export, highlighting the nature of this process and its impact in the wider global context. Visual materials were therefore collected and used as sign-messages to be further decoded and analysed in order to discover their meaning. It is claimed here that the visual materials used in this study reflect contemporary trends in the fashion industry produced in Brazil, which are desired and demanded abroad and therefore provide some ideological insight into Brazilian identity construction and how one is expected to be seen abroad and consequently how a woman adjusts her own cultural identity to fulfil this illusionary role. It is therefore presumed that, as Barthes claimed, the point of semiotics in general is that all social behaviour is political in the sense that it reflects some kind of personal or group interest. Such interests are encoded in what are called 'ideologies', which are essentially world views that express the values and opinions of those who hold them. But in these cases the ideological interests that guide social behaviour and fantasies remain concealed behind images that don't look political at all.

Both shops abroad selling Brazilian products and companies in Brazil producing them for export have brochures or catalogues. These catalogues were studied at an early stage and images were selected from them. The images chosen were those that visually embraced some form of fantasy in relation to Brazilianness. Such fantasy categories included the tropical, the fantasy about Brazilian Creole women, the emphasis on typically Brazilian erogenous zones such as the female bottom, and the carnivalesque. After the selection of visual materials, the keywords used in accompanying texts were read carefully and the most-used expressions were listed. These included 'samba', 'sexy', 'low-cut', 'stretch', 'unique', 'exotic' and 'truly Brazilian'. Micro-elements were then identified in the visual materials and used further for image analysis to produce a basic description of the visual content of the material with a rather precise but factual-visual detail. This simple and factual description of the

visual image is what Barthes calls the basic anthropological knowledge. This descriptive information was then used to compare this knowledge with the keywords identified in the accompanying visual materials. Any overlapping images found were used for further analysis, namely the tropical image, the post-colonial woman - for instance the Creole female subject as the exotic - and the exaggerated emphasis on the female bottom, and on samba and the carnivalesque. Then I went on to identify higher-order levels of signification and asked various element-related questions[1]. Thus I looked for historical-cultural symbolism and fantasies and made sense of the images used in cultural studies. Now I am moving on to an introductory theory regarding the origins and formation of Brazilianness in a psycho-historical perspective, to contextualize the phenomenon being studied here in linking Brazilian products to reinvented culture and selling the materialized fantasy. Then the main fantasies will be described, and finally some notes will be added on its consequences.

History and the Illusion of a Cultural Identity

Brazil has a history of intrinsic mimesis, born out of mimicry and carrying this weight in its own name. The very word 'Brazil' is a corruption of the European name for the Malaysian *sapang* tree, from whose reddish wood was drawn an extract not unlike saffron, but which tints less and has no flavour. When this was discovered and trafficked from the tropical South, this corresponding part of the New World metonymically assumed an alien name, the nominally transferred referential for the whole territory. According to this view, Pau Brasil, 'Brazil-wood', was the first notable item to be exported from this land but was also a designator of the land itself and ultimately of its identity by carrying the name of the first exported object in the name of its own identity. Thus Brazilianness also has a complex symbolic sphere in analysis. This nominal condemnation of the colonial rulers, the eye of the outside world, understandably became the dominant perspective and intrinsic for the invention of Brazil's self-image throughout its history. There were several politico-

[1] Penn, 2000

culturally revolutionary attempts to get rid of this exposed mimicry in Brazil, the most notable of which took place in the era of gaining independence from the colonial mother country.

In Brazil, as in most post-colonial societies in Latin America and in the Caribbean, after achieving independence from the colonial mother country, national identity, cultural heritage and cultural practices were notions to be reconsidered. In Brazil, too, people in their new fantasized Brazilianness tried to find their way towards a sort of real cultural emancipation. This genuine intention was, however, determined by a rather symbolic change in power relations. Power relations, and more importantly the personal and social desires and emotions of Brazilians, were characterized by a profound ambiguity. Although a symbolic change had begun in the form of reorganizing power relations in the new context, including an apparent wave of national rebirth and a reinvention of the non-oppressed and emancipated (or emancipating) Brazilian identity, the new ruling class was caged in by its own ambiguous desire[2].

This contradiction lay in the position of the new, modern Brazilian exotic or Creole identity: the one who felt sympathy for his or her own cultural exoticism and heritage, the one who put an emphasis on the new ideology of multiracial Brazil, but who at the same time desired to attain socio-economic prestige and the imagined cultural sophistication of the former European colonizers. This struggle of ambiguity and auto-contradiction drove Brazilians to initiate the creation of an exoticized image of their own Brazilianness[3]. This psycho-social process has become a political and economic strategy during the last few decades and has formed itself into a national strategy. This strategy involves the construction, production and sale of idealized images of the nation, and of national identity. This national image production for export was in fact the main concern of Brazilian cultural scholars in the last century.

The most revolutionary and powerful cultural movement in twentieth-century Brazil was linked to the poet Oswald de Andrade (1890-1954), who initiated the Poesia Pau Brasil (Brazil-wood Poetry) in 1925 when he published his famous 'Brazil-wood Manifesto'. Brazil-wood was his intended symbol

[2] Aching, 2002; Koningsbruggen, 1997

[3] Sampath, 1997

for Brazilian culture as an international commodity in its own right; his Brazil-wood Poetry was conceived of as an export product, as something to combat the historical imitation of European models.

Fantasies of Nation

Fantasies and images of Brazilianness for export are present in many parts of society, such as in music, dance, fashion, sport, coffee production and cacao culture among others. Here, I am concentrating on three fantasies of Brazilianness in their relation to the construction of the imaginary of Brazilianness that is being sold on the global market. The power of these imaginaries in constructing an image abroad is so strong that, paradoxically, the products themselves are sold not for, and as, what they are, but for, and in, their fantasy state. This is to say that Brazilian products are not as popular as they are abroad because their quality is so extraordinary, but rather because the imaginary through which they are constructed is so attractive, psychologically powerful and irresistibly engaging. The concept of fetishism nicely explains this counter-factual and counter-intuitive behaviour, which allows people to see things in their fantasy state simply as facts. Indeed, the etymological origin of 'fetish', which comes, in Portuguese, from *fetico*, refers to this ambiguity, as it means acting as well as the facticity of things. The concept of fetish, in this view, is directly linked to the reality of things, meant to their thing-ness, their matter-of-fact-ness, through a fantasy. But the power of the fantasy is so strong over the human being who feels the fetishist desire, a longing or displaced desire, for the fetish object, that although he or she knows it is a fantasy, this knowledge does not reduce the power of the fantasy over the individual and he or she considers fantasy as fact. This displaced desire is exactly what drives the Brazilian market abroad.

I shall now discuss three fantasies that construct the myth of Brazilian products:

1. The Tropical Fantasy.

2. Fantasies of the Post-colonial Woman and Her Body.

3. Samba and the Carnivalesque Fantasy.

The Tropical Fantasy

The word 'tropical' refers to things or people related to, situated in or characteristic of the tropics, which are a geographical region on either side of the equator. Fantasized images of the tropical in Brazilian jeans catalogues are overwhelming. These images include bright sunshine, beautiful beaches, tropical fruits, a friendly atmosphere, easy-going behaviour and enjoyable music and dance. The tropical fantasy of Brazil suggests something very important: that it is a relaxing place, far from everyday stresses. The notion of tropical fantasy is characterized by calm, heat or sunshine and beautiful nature with exotic fruits and palm trees.

Powerful tropical fantasy is used by the most prestigious Brazilian jeans company, Sawary Jeans, in its own company imagery. The opening image of the annual Sawary Jeans catalogue shows us various depictions of calming tropical and exotic natural beauties, putting these images on one double page at the front to bring us, the consumers, into the Sawary Jeans world, into the tropical fantasy. These pictures are taking us along this path and clearly pass the message on to us that Sawary Brazilian jeans are associated with the tropical world (see Picture 1).



PICTURE 1 (Photo: Sawary Jeans Company, Catalogue 2009)

As Picture 1 clearly shows, the Sawary catalogue used eight pictures and attached the parts to one another on its opening

page. These pictures are lacking in variety and repeat common images of the tropical. These include green, tropical forests, tropical beaches, palm trees and Mediterranean-style architecture. These pictures are then repeated on the following pages, where young women wearing various Sawary jeans are superimposed on the pictures introduced on the opening page. In fact, the idea comes through clearly: the tropical images appear far more in the catalogue than any of the jeans models, which reinforces the idea that Sawary is selling a tropical fantasy rather than jeans as things in themselves. Similar images can be found in the brochure of the Samba Jeans Company, showing the beach at Rio de Janeiro (Picture 2).



PICTURE 2 (Photo: Samba Jeans Ltd)

This Rio image has, in fact, historically been seen in Brazilian culture as a symbol of optimism. Although Rio de Janeiro is among the most dangerous cities in the world, its charm and its reputation abroad are still powerful. According to Nicholas Brown, the apolitical image of Rio de Janeiro has been culturally constructed since the 1950s, through associated images of 'pretty girls, beaches and the scenic backdrop of a postcard Rio de Janeiro'[4].

Bivik Jeans also uses somewhat lighter but still tropically inspired photos for product publicity; Brasil Mania uses beach images and the Brazilian Fashion Company does the same with sunshine, a beach and a young woman enjoying the sun as the appealing image by which to sell jeans. The Los Angeles-based Voce Jeans uses a strong tropical, exotic image to advertise and contextualize its jeans collection.

[4] Brown, 2003: 124

The idea behind the tropical image is a complex one. Today, in the age of anxieties and stressfulness, relaxation and calm become special treasures, new luxury categories. According to the sociologist Domenico de Masi[5], the concept of luxury has changed radically in the last few years. While historically luxury referred to materials that cost a lot, such as expensive jewellery, cars or homes, today the concept of luxury refers to phenomena that are rare. In fact, one of these rare categories is time for reading, relaxation and calm - today this is seen as a luxury.

On this understanding, Brazil's fashion industry wants to convey the message that Brazilianness and Brazilian products are items of luxury by making people associate them with currently highly valued abstracts such as relaxation and tropical calm.

In fact, this association is used in numerous handbooks and guides on reducing stress in our contemporary high-pressure society, where they recommend[6] 'creat[ing] a positive feeling by imagining a positive event or calming place e.g. a tropical island'[7]. The same abstraction is used in real-estate or tourist advertisements, bringing this fantasy into descriptions, for instance: 'This home is an example of European-style architecture combined with tropical fantasy. The first floor opens to a beautiful veranda complete with all the tropical plants of the region'[8].

An understanding of the role of tropical fantasy in the construction of the Brazilian products myth is therefore crucially important. It allows us to comprehend two main characteristics of this fantasy in relation to samba. One is the heat itself, which immediately gives rise to a fantasy of under dressing and wearing light dresses. This typically generates further fantasies of the human body, for instance of how the human female body may show more clearly in summery dresses. Secondly, and probably more importantly, the tropical fantasy, which in fact is used as an image of relaxation, gives people a sense of enjoyment. Thus tropical fantasy is associated with enjoyment, which in one way or another also links people to the state of

[5] 2004
[6] Siegel, 1990; Jensen 2008
[7] Jensen, 2008: 2
[8] See Real Estate: Brasil Todo, on http://realestate.brasiltodo.com/

non-working, to free time and relaxation, often associated with laziness. Therefore, the tropical fantasy has enormous psychological power over human beings, and this thought, the fantasy itself, brings the individual what he or she lacks or dreams about. This power is overwhelming and generates a fetishistic energy around the individual. The tropical fantasy alleviates what people dislike about their life and makes them forget about everyday difficulties such as their living conditions in urbanized spaces, far from nature. Furthermore, typically northern and north-western characteristics of daydreams are leaving behind the cold or winter. That is to say that the tropical fantasy satisfies all these needs and opens up the human psyche to the flow of the Freudian pleasure principle. Sigmund Freud, in his work *Civilization and Its Discontents* (1930/1961), stated that the social reality, civilization, is made possible by individual renunciation. According to Freud, beyond our actions people see the principle of pleasure through which we ceaselessly seek happiness. We seek happiness by pushing away disturbing thoughts. Forgetting about or repressing everyday problems and stress related to work or other activities allows people to stay in a condition that reinforces their illusionary state of satisfaction and happiness and they can enjoy, in the common sense of the word, life. The tropical fantasy provides this path to an illusionary state of satisfaction and through this attraction and appeal this power can be used in favourable image creation for marketing (in this case, specifically export) purposes. Thus, as Freud[9] argued, a fetishist is able simultaneously to believe in his or her displaced desire or fantasy and to recognize that it is not real but fantasy. However, this does not reduce the power of the fantasy of the displaced desire over the individual. The tropical fantasy works exactly for this reason: through its psycho-power people have constructed the image of Brazilian products and worked it into a fetish.

The Post-colonial Female Body Fantasy

The long-lasting historical oppression of women in this region had an enormous impact on the contemporary female image

[9] 1927

and female identity, in particular during the colonial feudalist and early capitalist epoch. This involved female passivity, objectification, endless forms of subordination, distorted imaginaries of the post-colonial female body and related social fantasies. It is important to point out two fantasies here. The first, the sadomasochist fantasy, comes directly from the historical imaginary on female passivity, which developed into a common obsession among Brazilian males, namely that females like being beaten on their bottom. This sadomasochistic positioning of female nature in Brazilian society was a compelling and very widespread fantasy, which still comes through in numerous popular cultural practices and songs. There are endless Brazilian songs exploiting this imaginary by singing about bottom-beating and enjoyment, such as, for instance, *Se essa mulher fosse minha* ('If only this woman were mine') by H. Torres and G. Gomes. This sadomasochistic view of Brazilian women mixes itself with a degrading but likeable Brazilian female fantasy abroad and culminates, as stated, in the fetish of the Brazilian female bottom in and outside the country.

The other female-body-related fantasy comes from the practice of bottom-oriented samba dancing. This fantasy also reinforces the idea (though in a different way from the sadomasochistic imaginary) that the female bottom is a deeply important body part in post-colonial Brazil. The movements of samba largely concentrate on the posterior part of the female body: the bottom. Although samba (originally *samba no pe*) is a dance that is most often danced impromptu when samba music is played, there are basic movements and several informal rules that involve a straight body and a bending of one knee at a time. The feet move very slightly, only a few inches at a time. The rhythm is 2/4, with three steps per measure. The basic movement is the same to either side, where one foot moves to the outside, rising just before the first beat, lifting on and being replaced on the floor on the one beat. The other foot moves slightly towards the front and closer to the first foot. As the weight is briefly shifted to this inside foot for the next move, then shifted back to the outside foot, so the bottom gets all the main movement of this shifting, and becomes the protagonist body part of the samba dance. In fashion theories body-focused dressing had been conceptualized in the theory of shifting erogenous zones.

This states that women have a tendency to accentuate one body part more than others, because once a focus of interest has lost its appeal, another one has to be found[10].

The next fantasy in the post-colonial female body section reflects on current developments in our globalized world and turns our attention to recent stereotypes formed on the basis of perceptions of Brazilian immigrants abroad. These most commonly include images of economic disadvantage -more often than not lack of education and degrading forms of work such as prostitution[11] and cleaning[12]- and have built up an ambiguous but beloved imaginary of Brazilian women outside Brazil. This imaginary defines the Brazilian woman in terms of her body and not of her intellect. This type of degrading imaginary construction links the Brazilian female identity to an idealized voluptuous female body, often associated with the colonial image of Creole women as the objects of sexual desire. This imaginary exposes women to indirect objectification and determines the Brazilian female identity abroad.

Samba and Carnivalesque Fantasy

Strongly linked to the two previously discussed female fantasies, the samba and carnivalesque fantasies are also powerfully represented. But where does this link to samba culture come from? Image results show that there are three basic characteristics that induce this fantasy and make the image so appealing. The first one is the carnivalesque fame of body fetish such as nakedness, fantasies of Creole women as colonial sexual objects, and bottom-oriented dance. These points have been discussed previously. Then there is the desired state of illusionary freedom present in the carnivalesque and samba imaginary, which satisfies the ever-present human demand for rebellion, in particular youthful rebellion. Finally, there is the historical association of samba culture with slave resistance, which makes it appealing abroad and makes possible

[10] Davis, 1992; Flugel, 1930; Laver, 1969
[11] Sousa, 2005
[12] Bogus, 1995; Sousa, 2001; Sousa, 2005

an identification of the ever-repressed forces of resistance in everyday life.

Carnivalesque Rebellion

In Brazil, samba is closely linked to free time, carnival and the carnivalesque in general. This fact has encouraged Brazilians to represent themselves through, and foreigners to identify Brazilianness with, happiness and festivity, and has constructed an imaginary of the Nation of Festivity. Traditionally, the celebration of carnivals and the popular celebration of festive rituals and practices such as folk culture, in the purest Bakhtinian sense, were an expression of inversion, sanctioned deviance and the reversal of norms which stood opposed to official festivities. Carnival theory holds that carnivals originally provided an outlet for impulses that were normally suppressed. Bakhtin called carnivals 'people's second life'[13]. It was the realm of the dream as a wish fulfilment of human beings before the censor, the super-ego, could declare repression, mark boundaries and punish transgressions. Representations of the erotic, the profane and the grotesque -the good, the bad and the ugly, rooted in the most archaic depths of the unconscious- find momentary expression, indeed valorization, in carnival, where boundaries of wish, dream and reality are blurred. Thus the understanding of carnival well explains why 'samba' is an adequate word to set in motion a series of fantasies linked to happiness, festivity and rebellion, and why it is used as a representative word to reinforce imaginaries of Brazilianness.

Slave Resistance

Samba as a type of music and dance was a manifestation of a variant of slave resistance which developed in direct resistance to, and as a strategy for survival of, colonial oppression. In Brazil, samba has historically developed as a critique of colonial slavery, and it has been not only an initiative form but also a spontaneous expression in an organized form by the subordinated[14]. The

[13] Bakhtin, 1968: 8
[14] Cabral, 1996

term 'samba' was first used in a written document on November 12th, 1842 by Edison Carneiro in the *Journal Carapuceiro*. At that time samba did not refer to a specific kind of music and dance but rather to a variety of music and dances of the black slaves. Carneiro talked about the *area nacional do samba*, a kind of 'national air of samba', which was interpreted by the Brazilian musicologist Sergio Cabral[15] as a collective name including the drum of Minas, the Creole of Maranhao, the samba circle and the *bate-bau* of Bahia, and the jongo rhythm of Espirito Santo, of Rio de Janeiro and of Minas Gerais. For four main reasons, however, one type of black slave music and dance became the most popular and the official version of samba, that of Rio de Janeiro. Internal migration to Rio de Janeiro was very heavy at that time because there was a decline in coffee cultivation in the states of Rio and Minas Gerais, and, in addition, the end of the Canudos War, the failure of the socialist revolution in Bahia and, more importantly, the official end of slavery in Brazil in 1888 led many afro-descendants to travel to the city. In Rio they built their barracks in the northern part of the city, in the mountains and woods, and therefore the home of samba is called *morro*, referring to these woods. They formed *favelas* (shanty towns) and continued their fight for recognition after the formal liberation of slaves, where they practised this popular expression of resistance: samba.

Conclusion

The abstractions presented and described in this paper all reinforce the idea that an analysis of the Brazilian-fantasy-export paradigm draws out and represents a true fantasy industry, which integrates imagination, politics and the market by working them into a fetish object. It has been argued that the idea of fetishism helps us to explain how people can desire a thing through fantasy and actually consider this fantasy a fact. The fetishistic desire for a thing is driven by a fantasy quality that the thing itself does not in reality possess. But a recognition or knowledge of the state of fantasy on the part of the fetishist does not at all reduce the power of the desire for the material

[15] 1996

over the individual in its fantasized state. This is certainly where the key psychoanalytical process of fantasized Brazilianness was explained and understood; we do not know exactly what it is but we imagine and desire it, and this psychological circle is able to reproduce a positive imaginary of Brazilianness and of the fantasized identity of Brazil.

But it would be naïve to think that these fantasies are constructed just for the sake of enjoyment and that there will be no political and economic consequences. This complex and ambiguous fantasy market in and outside Brazil is a serious and complex identity industry linking politics, fantasy and economics. Thus the phenomenon of Brazilian image creation is a political, psychoanalytical and economic notion. It is political because the political changes since the end of colonialism have produced the post-colonial subject who is trying hard to gain international prestige by means of a strategic emphasis on Brazil's exotic otherness in order to attain the privileges of the former colonial elite, and in its otherness it is condemned to an ambiguous mimicry. It is a psychoanalytical notion because during the last few decades jeans have clearly become, and now function as, a fetish object associated with and representing the new Brazilianness. In that, they try to exploit the unconscious fantasies and desires of people abroad. Thirdly, it is economic as it is part of a complex and widespread industry aimed at becoming more appealing to the global eye. According to Aching[16], this is a process of the internalization and globalization of local culture, which seeks economic gain. These initiatives to construct and export idealized and fantasized images of Brazilianness by means of concrete products are used to attract foreign investment. On this understanding the post-colonial socially peripheral is the protagonist of this fantasy export, who is concerned for a proper image abroad. Therefore, I claim that the function and meaning of Brazilian products sold abroad lie not in their thing-ness, but in their representation of Brazilianness. These factors, I suggest, need to be taken into consideration in the interdisciplinary study of the export of Brazilian identity and its consequences for the reproduction of inequalities in Brazil and worldwide. Concluding this idea, it is important to embrace

[16] 2002

that while accepting that image construction through fantasies is a necessary practice of human interaction. According to Louis Althusser[17], a series of fantasies, the imaginary, is embodied in our social relations. We imagine how to relate to one another and to material properties. The social imaginary conditions our social existence by naturalizing existing social relations[18]. However, there is one element in this representation that is problematic, and that is the use of the socially peripheral or semi-peripheral condition of the people who are fantasized through such constructed images. The fantasies presented in this study, namely the tropical, post-colonial women and carnivalesque samba, are all related to socially peripheral groups of people. The protagonists of these fantasies are from the global South (tropical), Creole or immigrant women (post-colonial women), and slave descendants (carnivalesque samba). The exploitation of their disadvantage as an aesthetical representation becomes problematic for two main reasons. If aesthetic representation does not have ideological limits it will mean that any peripheral or semi-peripheral condition can be represented aesthetically and therefore enjoyed. If the Creole woman or the misery of the Amazon is to be aesthetically represented, then it is at some level enjoyed. At this point Brazilianness becomes problematic and subject to critique because the protagonists of fantasies constructing their sex appeal, who make them into a myth, would not necessarily agree on such a representation. Furthermore, these images are used for marketing purposes, which means that somebody can make a profit from them. On the basis of these points, I suggest that the issue remains problematic.

[17] 1984
[18] Althusser, 1984

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Foreigner-Gringo-Brazilian: Proximity and distance between Brazilians and non-Brazilians

Thaddeus Gregory Blanchette

In popular Brazilian thought, the concept of the "ethnic" refers to that which is not completely Brazilian, yet finds a place within Brazilian territory. When the term is applied to human agglomerations, it denotes forms of social life that are markedly different from those which are understood as Brazilian, yet still participate in the country's daily life. When applied to objects, a similar referent lies at the root of the notion: ethnic food, for example, is that which we cannot consider completely Brazilian, but can be partaken of in Brazil. We could thus say that in order to be considered "ethnic", a person, object or phenomenon should demonstrate a double connection: both to Brazil and to another entity that may be considered non-Brazilian. The "ethnic" quality lies in its relationship to being simultaneously *in* Brazil and foreign to it.

Nowadays, the term "ethnic" is popularly used to refer to people and phenomena that are not necessarily recognized as having "foreign" origin. This is the case of "ethnic" Afro-Brazilian or indigenous art, for example. Nevertheless, in popular thought, ethnicity is usually connected to foreignness; it is seen as the result of an unfinished process of moving closer to Brazil and things Brazilian. In this worldview, the ethnic is transformed by its incorporation within a new country. Seen in this light, inquiry into what a foreigner is and how s/he is included in Brazil takes on new import as the investigation of an unfinished process of approximation and -presumably- assimilation.

Foreigners and Gringos

"Foreigner" is a term that is usually used in Brazil to bring together to a series of social possibilities that are dispersed or scattered throughout social life. We think of "foreigner" as a social classification when, in fact, it is a juridical category. Whomever was not born in Brazil and (possibly or) whose parents are not Brazilian is, by definition, a foreigner, and will have to enter *terras brasilis* under the aegis of another nation-state, rather than as a Brazilian citizen

At the social level, however, not all foreigners are necessarily so unusual: we do not see all those who are different from us in the same light. I would go even further: not all foreigners are perceived as equal. Some can become familiar and this is one of the many, perhaps even the most basic, of contradictions that Nation-States confront when they become mired in attempts to organize the movement and presence of others within their borders. The social ordering of natives and foreigners, created and maintained through ties of interest and affect, do not follow the same logic of citizenship that is used by the Nation-State. Rather, they are the fruit of processes that bring what is strange or foreign into one's own social circle and, through this movement, make it more familiar. This is how the foreigner first becomes a stranger, then less of a stranger and more conditionally accepted as one of our own.

At the social level, however, a foreigner will never be classified as completely native, no matter what his or her relative degree of assimilation or acceptance. The popular notion of national identity in Brazil may be described as an indelible and natural link between an individual and his native land. Even after many decades of residence in Brazil and after naturalization as a Brazilian citizen, the assumption that one who was not born on Brazilian soil is still a product of his early (foreign) years persists. This social condition of the foreigner is also sustained in open contradiction to the logic of the Nation-State, which clearly stipulates the juridical steps that first transform the foreigner into a *resident* and then *a naturalized citizen*. In this last stage, the foreigner would theoretically undergo full and complete transformation into citizen, since, constitutionally speaking, there is almost nothing that distinguishes her/him

from his/her native fellow citizens. At the level of daily life, however, she who was not born on Brazilian soil will never be completely Brazilian. In Abdelmalek Sayad´s words "...a naturalized presence [is] never a natural presence"[1].

In my opinion, the differences in Brazil between the social and juridical levels of foreignness are reflected in popular and bureaucratic language. The Brazilian State bureaucracy deals with foreigners, but Brazilians, on a day-to-day basis, tend to deal with "gringos". The word "gringo" makes my friends and colleagues laugh. That is not surprising, because the word itself seems to evoke the ridiculous. Just its mention brings to mind images of fat, white Americans, sun burnt, dressed in t-shorts and flower-patterned shorts, snapping photos from atop the Corcovado, while their black polyester socks slip down inside patent leather sandals. The visceral impact of such an image is enough to make anyone laugh.

The word "gringo" may be politically incorrect in these times of heightened ethnic sensitivity, but I think it is adequate as a reference to the groups I observe in my field work: Anglo-Americans living in Rio de Janeiro. Most of my informants are aware of the fact that in Brazil, the term is not usually used as an insult and they recognize it as roughly equivalent to "foreigner". Thus, they appropriate the term in reference to themselves with the greatest of ease and also apply it to other foreigners with no prejudice implied. Neither do they feel offended when Brazilians call them "gringos" -the term is employed by Brazilians and foreigners within their interactions in a way that is surprisingly natural. But if "gringo" isn't an insult, then what is it?

The Etymology of "Gringo"

First and foremost, the meaning of the word "gringo" depends upon the context in which it is used. In essence, it denotes a "foreigner" -any foreigner- yet as we will soon see, not all foreigners are "gringos" in the same way or to the same extent. Furthermore, "gringo" is a marker of identity that is

[1] Sayad, 2000: 21

intimately linked to language and a given foreigner's competency in Portuguese.

Theories on the etymology of "gringo" are quite divergent. In *Sobrados e Mocambos* [The Mansions and the Shanties][2], Gilberto Freyre claims the term was first used in Colonial Brazil as a label for itinerant gypsy slave merchants. After the opening of the Brazilian ports to global commerce in 1808, foreign traders made their way into the country - the English, in particular - and the term "gringo" began to be applied to foreigners in general. Yet with all respect to Freyre, it seems the word was already in use on the Iberian peninsula and in Latin America since the end of the 18th century at least - and merely used in reference to gypsies and wandering salesmen....

According to the Spanish historian Terrenos y Pando's *Diccionario*, compiled around the year 1780, the word "'gringo' was used in Málaga for foreigners who had a certain type of accent that inhibited the speaking of the Spanish language with ease and spontaneity"[3]. The roots of the term may perhaps be found in the word "griego" or "grego". Ironically, the English language also employs a similar phrase: "*It's Greek to me*", enunciated in situations where understanding is extremely difficult. Therefore, the only thing that can really be asserted regarding the etymology of the word "gringo" is that it probably originated in reference to foreigners with very strange ways of speaking. Or, as Freyre says, "foreigners... exotic people, usually not very familiar with the native tongue"[4].

We can thus assert that in its most basic sense, "gringo" is used in Brazil today in a way that is surprisingly similar to the usage it had in the Iberian peninsula two centuries ago. Its preferential association with foreigners from northern Europe and North America may be partially due to the fact that these groups speak languages whose major roots are not Latin - "foreigners with a particular type of accent", as Terrenos y Pando would say. Furthermore, this usage is not employed to refer to foreigners alone: Brazilians may also be gringos. As Dr. Giralda Seyferth points out, the "Luso-Brasileiros" from the coast of Santa Catarina still refer to the German-Brazilians from

[2] Freyre, 1936: 460
[3] Ronan, 1964
[4] Freyre, 1936: 60

the interior of the state as "gringos"[5]. At the Brazilian National Museum, where I was a doctoral candidate, I once saw a night watchman from Rio de Janeiro refer to a waitress from the state of Pernambuco as "gringa". When I asked him why, his response was: "Here in Brazil that´s what we use for anyone who doesn´t speak the way we do".

Gringo is Anyone Who Looks Like One

There are some aspects of being a gringo that go beyond the linguistic ones, however. The term is primarily applied to certain foreigners, those with a particular type of physical appearance and nationality. Anglo-Americans and people from Northwestern Europe seem to merit the term more, especially if they are white and have light skin, hair and eyes. Asians and Africans are almost never seen as gringos and citizens of other Latin American countries are also rarely seen to fall within the category (although I have collected exceptions to this rule).

My USAmerican interviewee, Carla, for example, is rarely called a "gringa", given that she has brown skin, straight black hair and Native American features. Amber, another interviewee, is a pale-skinned English woman who is small and has dark hair and eyes. Consequently, she rarely hears anyone apply the term to her until she begins to speak. Amy, however, a tall blond woman with blue eyes from the United States, is frequently called "gringa", even by strangers in the street. Amy attracts so much of attention of this sort that Amber, her friend, is reluctant to be seen in public with her.

We thus see that foreigners whose physical appearance is closer to the ideological definition of a Brazilian physical type tend to escape classification as "gringa" to the extent that they are not identified by their accent. Dark hair, skin and eyes, not being too tall (especially in the case of women), clothing and hair style that do not stand out as different from the local styles: all of these things are taken as markers of Brazilianess. In this regard, we might be tempted to argue that "gringo" as a category suggests "white" or "whiteness" -however, the actual interaction of physical elements seen as markers of *"gringuice"* (translatable

[5] Personal communication with Giralda Seyferth, 8.8.2002.

as "gringo-ness" or "being gringo") with the socio-cultural elements which mark foreignness is considerably complex.

For example, when I cut my hair in a mohawk, put on an old, stained t-shirt and sneakers that are dirty or torn, I seem so gringo that even passer-by in the street will begin speaking to me in English. When, on the other hand, I wear tinted contact lenses which make my eyes look brown, dye my hair black and painstakingly dress in clean, well-pressed clothing, I am rarely taken as a gringo unless someone hears my accent. I have also noticed that African Americans and Afro-British persons, when dressed in extremely different styles, are just as apt to be called "gringo" as someone with blond hair and blue eyes. Furthermore, my wife and colleague Ana Paula da Silva, who has worked with immigrants from Mozambique, has told me that her informants, all of whom are black, are also referred to as "gringos" by the Rio de Janeiro natives with whom they come into contact.

"Gringo" as Imperialist

Although usually not meant as offensive, the word "gringo" can also be used as a category of accusation. In Brazil today, it is most commonly connected to the concept of "imperialism". Again, any foreigner may be considered a gringo, but "real gringos" -those historically associated with the term, in popular leftist journals- come from the countries that are commonly seen as exploiters. When Brazilian popular recording artist Raul Seixas sang "*Make way for the gringos / This piece of property is for rent!* [he wasn´t making reference to Brazil's impending nullification at the hands of Mozambicans or Argentines.

This "imperialist" aspect of "gringo" is clearly reflected in the popular -and mistaken- thesis on the word's origin. The first and most commonly evoked conception claims that the word "gringo" is a corruption of the expression "*green go*". As the theory has it, courageous native civilians (Vietnamese or Mexican, depending on the particular version of the story) stood up to invading U.S. troops with cries of "*Green go [home]*!" This is clearly a case of mistakenly attributed authorship for two reasons: first, as Ronan shows (1964), the term "gringo" was in

use long before the U.S. invaded Mexico (and therefore, *long* before the Vietnam War); secondly, the uniforms used by U.S. soldiers in that earlier invasion were not green, but in fact, blue, grey or khaki (dust-colored).

A second theory, this one proposed by the British historian W.H. Koebel, received some support Gilberto Freyre in his *Sobrados e Mocambos* [The Mansions and the Shanties]. In this version, English sailors (or American soldiers) were heard singing "*Green Grow the Rashes, Oh!*", a song written by Scottish poet Robert Burns. The chorus of the song was then turned into a nickname given to foreigners, sort of in the same way that the English habit of sending persons and things to hell ("goddamn") turned into the term "godeme" coined in Brasil[6].

Although I harbor no doubt that American soldiers or English sailors sang "*Green Grow the Rashes...*" on their trips to South America (probably not in Burns' original version, but rather in the popular and pornographic take incorporated into later versions), the term was, as I have already pointed out, in use long before the Americans or the English got involved in South America's conflicts and commerce.

The third theory, one which was my favorite for several years, came from my old professor of History of American Foreign Policy. According to this version, an old American slang term for the dollar -"greenback"- was applied to Americans and English speakers in general. Yet as we already know, the term "gringo" dates further back than the green tint of the American dollar.

An element that appears in all the popular theories presented above is that "gringo" was invented in reaction to Anglo-American commercial or military expansion in Latin America. Currently and popularly, "gringo" -particularly when it appears together with other derogatory adjectives- can thus also be a category of accusation, a way of repelling, rather than moving closer to a stranger who is thus situated as an imperialist or "High Other"[7]. At such moments, it is its reference to imperialist exploitation that the accusing party has chosen to emphasize in their use of the term.

[6] Freyre, 1936: 60-61

[7] See Johnson, 1995, for the concept of the "High Other".

The Gringo as Stranger

As becomes evident, then, "gringo" is a word that signifies that which is not Brazilian and has little hope of one day becoming completely so. It is a contextual term that corresponds to a series of idealized physical, cultural and political traits that are at the root of a stereotype. Furthermore, these characteristics have their counterparts that, in turn, provide an ideological map of what it allegedly means to be Brazilian. A partial list of the traits that qualify one as "gringo" would include the following:

- Not born in Brazil.
- Non-Brazilian parents.
- Speaker of a foreign language.
- Light-colored skin, eyes and hair.
- Citizen of an "imperialist" country.

Brazilian characteristics, in turn, would be:

- Born in Brazil.
- Brazilian parents.
- Portuguese speaker.
- Light-colored skin, hair and eyes.
- Brazilian citizen.

To the extent that the actions and appearance of an individual correspond to the characteristics of one of these two lists, the greater or lesser the probability that the label "Brazilian" or "gringo" will be applied to him/her. Thus, as I have already suggested, it is evident that the term "gringo" is not a word that is exclusively applied to foreigners. To possess just one of the above-listed "gringo" characteristics is sometimes enough to merit that nickname, even if one is a native born Brazilian.

Furthermore, there is one more aspect of "gringo" that is worth mentioning here. This refers to a quality which is not immediately obvious, but lies implicitly at the root of what the term evokes. Although "gringo" refers to that which is not ours, it is most certainly someone (or something) that is among us.

The current, popular use of the word makes no distinction between tourists, businessmen and those who could or would become immigrants. Historically, however, "gringo" is associated

with those foreigners whose presence is most lasting. We need only remember Terrenos y Pando's observation that the term referred to strangers whose accent made their Spanish awkward -yet such a definition presumes that gringos speak at least *a little* Spanish. In this case, a gringo can thus also be defined as a foreigner who is involved in a process of approximation to Brazil. A cautious approximation, perhaps, but a movement that, most definitely, brings him/her closer.

In this regard, "gringo" is almost convergent with "the stranger" that George Simmel described in an eponymous article in 1908. Nonetheless, the very title of Simmel's article harbors certain etymological confusions. Originally published in German as "Der Fremde", it was translated into English as "The Stranger" and later into Portuguese as "O estrangeiro" [The Foreigner]. This last translation is perhaps the most unfortunate, since "fremde" and "stranger" are concepts that are closer to "gringo" than is "estrangeiro": they signify "what is strange to us" and not, necessarily, that which comes from a foreign country.

In the first place, not just any stranger is a "fremde". Simmel characterizes a "fremde" as someone who brings together both, movement and fixity, distance and proximity. The "fremde", just as the gringo, comes close to us: he comes from afar to find a place here among us. Unlike the foreigner, s/he does not exist in the abstract, but precisely to the extent that s/he infiltrates our space, becoming a member of our group and simultaneously confronting us with his/her difference. In Simmel's words, to be a "fremde" "is a specific form of interaction... the inhabitants of Sirius are not really strangers to us.... [since] they do not exist for us at all; they are beyond far and near"[8].

"Fremde" thus occupies a contradictory space of existence, marked by simultaneous proximity and distance. In his/her interaction with us, she comes closer to the extent that we share specific characteristics with her and moves further away to the extent that we only share more general traits. At the two extremes of this spectrum, she ceases to be "fremde". If she is too distant, sharing with us only the most general characteristics (such as our biological human-ness), then by

[8] Simmel, 1908: 143-144

definition she ceases to have a positive relationship with us and will be seen merely as alien. On the other hand, if this "fremde" comes too close, increasingly forging relationships that engage her with our most intimate interests, then she will be capable of becoming a member of our "tribe" and perhaps even of our family and will thus cease to be a stranger at all.

It is this characteristic of "fremde" that helps me to explain -both in the abstract and the particular- why the term "gringo" is applied to certain groups of foreigners and Brazilians and not to others. In the abstract, it tends not to be employed in reference to those groups which are considered either too strange or too familiar in terms of the ideological definition of the Brazilian nation, such as Asians, Africans and other Latin American peoples, but is preferentially used to mark groups that are simultaneously familiar and strange: North Americans, French and German Brazilians fall into this category[9]. Following this logic, it would be much more common for a Brazilian to refer to a Canadian in this way than to an Angolan.

At the level of the particular or specific, as a "gringo" forges primary relationships with people and things seen as essentially Brazilian, he tends to loose his status as "fremde". Through ostensive alliances with that which symbolizes the Brazilian national project, or through acculturation (understood here as the learning of new cultural categories, yet not necessarily implying the exclusion of old ones) he is able to be, at least in a conditional and temporary sense, Brazilian. It may thus now return here to our original considerations on the interaction between popular and juridical notions of the stranger and how she can or cannot be integrated within the nation.

[9] My translator, sociologist Dr. Miriam Adelman, remarks here that "gringo" is a term that is always applied to Argentineans in Brazil. This is, however, something of an exception which proves the rule, being that Argentina is country with which Brazil has maintained an intense (though mostly symbolic) historical rivalry. What is thus Argentinean cannot be Brazilian and vice-versa and yet, simultaneously, Brazilian identity is at least partially symbolically formed in contrast with Argentina. Argentineans are thus somewhat our "faithful enemies", to borrow a term coined by Carlos Fausto to describe social segmentation among Amazonian peoples (Fausto, 2001): a people more simultaneously close to and yet kept at a remove from Brazil would be hard to find and thus Argentineans are logical candidates for *gringuice*.

Gringos as Brazilians

Ernest Renan understood the essence of nation when he stated that "[a] nation is a soul, a spiritual principle.

"Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle... One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form. Man, Gentlemen, does not improvise…. A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity, constituted by the feeling of the sacrifices that one has made in the past and of those that one is prepared to make in the future. It presupposes a past; it is summarized, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely, consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life. A nation's existence is, if you will pardon the metaphor, a daily plebiscite, just as an individual's existence is a perpetual affirmation of life"[10].

Or, as Ernest Gellner has pointed out, a nation is made up of political will and culture[11]. According to him, two persons can be described as being of the same nation if they share the same culture and recognize themselves as members of the same nation.

Moreover, the popular notion of national identity can be described as the indelible and natural link between an individual and his/her native land. As Richard Handler has observed in his study on nationalism in Quebec, "we tend to think of our native land as perpetually enticing". Within this view of nationality, the decision to live far from one´s country of origin is suspect, since it signifies the modification of personal attributes which are seen as "natural". Thus, such a choice is taken as undermining an identity which is understood to be essential, even though it is quite obviously socially constructed: "Any attempt to impose new habits on oneself is seen as destined to fail"[12]. The essentialist view of national identity has several flaws, the most serious of which is the fact that two people of the same nationality may, in fact, be further apart in

[10] Renan, 1990: 86.
[11] Gellner, 1983: 53
[12] Handler, 1988: 34-35

cultural, political and economic terms than two citizens of rival nations.[13] Furthermore, an individual's cultural identity may be modified through her choices. In Michael Banton's words, "no one is obliged to remain a member of the same [ethnic] group as one's parents, since if a person is determined enough, he may remove himself from this identity and become a part of any other group"[14].

Leaving all considerations regarding its conscious change aside, culture is also subject to unconscious transmission. Life styles and codes of behavior must be learned by the individuals who are immersed in them. This absorption is no less real just because it is, to a large extent, not a conscious process. Alongside the Durkheimian notion of contagion the sacred, we can stipulate the "contagion of the profane", as recognized by immigration studies scholar Abdelmalek Sayad:

> One does not inhabit another country with impunity, in sum, one does not live within another society, another economy, another world, without some type of more or less intense, deep suffering, in accordance with individual modes of contact, realms, experiences and sensitivities, even when one is not aware of their specifics...".[15]

If both "shared culture" and "will" are thus necessary pre-requisites of nationality, then questions referring to "will" (or politics) are of primary importance in processes in which national identity is transformed for, while culture may be consciously learned by an individual, to be accepted or not as a fellow citizen is something ultimately defined by the other members of the national *corpus*. Will, as stipulated by Gellner, may be seen as two people's mutual recognition that they belong to the same nation. What happens, then, when a gringo gets "Brazilian papers", that is, is "naturalized" as a member of the Brazilian nation? Will he really have the same nationality as his Brazilian-born fellow citizens? The answer to this question is apparently negative: regardless of what has officially been determined by the Nation State's bureaucratic apparatus, he

[13] Weber, 1971: 324
[14] Banton, 1977: 169
[15] Sayad, 2000: 14

would also have to be recognized as a Brazilian by his fellow citizens.

Even when a gringo is a legal resident of Brazil -or a naturalized citizen- it is still hard for her to be considered as "really Brazilian". As Anthony Smith has put it, "...the newly arrived, formal citizens, [can] never be part of the *pays réel*, of the solidary community of residents by birth", regardless of the efforts they make to break down the barriers[16].

Nonetheless, a gringo's marked association with phenomena or persons seen as essentially Brazilian may, at times, allow a temporary and conditional move from the category of "gringo" to that of Brazilian. An excellent example of this is Charles Miller, the man who reputedly founded Brazilian soccer, son of a Scottish father and an Anglo- Brazilian mother and frequently referred to by Brazilian sports commentators as "a Brazilian with an Anglo-Saxon name"[17].

The easiest way for a gringo to acquire "Brazilian" status is by building social ties to Brazilians, connections which can be seen as permanent and primary (marriage is a particularly privileged case in point). Obviously, the gringo who does this comes close to the notion of "the good immigrant" as defined by the Brazilian ideologies of assimilation and miscegenation extensively and intensively delineated by anthropologist Giralda Seyferth[18]. In such cases, the term "gringo" ceases to be a social classification denoting distance and becomes something of a term of endearment that may indicate inclusion. A gringo who reduces his/her own otherness by associating almost exclusively with Brazilians, speaking fluent Portuguese and demonstrating a certain degree of skill in using categories seen as Brazilian may frequently be described by Brazilian colleagues and friends as "a gringo who is more Brazilian than many Brazilians". She may continue to be gringa, but she is "our gringa".

It is important to recognize, however, that even in these cases, such an individual will not be universally recognized as "Brazilian", reverting back to her status as simply "gringo" whenever she deals with people who are unaware of whom they are speaking to, or when -most particularly- when she

[16] Smith, 1986: 136

[17] Miranda Pereira, 2000

[18] Seyferth, 2000, among many other works

enters into conflict with people who understand themselves to be unambiguously Brazilian. According to Giralda Seyferth, a foreigner who attempts to be politically and socially integrated into national society in Brazil must constantly "demonstrate his unequivocal status as Brazilian -that is, as assimilated"[19]. If at any point the "badges" used to denote his assimilated status are no illegible -or if his interlocutors refuse to recognize them-, he immediately becomes a gringo once again.

Furthermore, the problem with assimilation lies in the fact that the state of assimilation is never clearly defined and can never be totally so. There is no complete agreement on which characteristics and cultural categories are definitely "Brazilian". Fredrik Barth calls our attention to the fact that in complex societies, culture is distributive -that is, it is shared by some and not by others within the same society[20]. However, when a Brazilian demonstrates ignorance of a particular cultural category that some of his compatriots see as essentially Brazilian, this ignorance is explained by "moving down" the segmentary structure that makes up Brazilian identity. In other words, this person isn't 'in the know' because he is not from the same region, state, city, neighborhood, peer group, religious affiliation, football fan club, etc. as his interlocutors. A gringo's ignorance, in a similar situation, is almost always referred back to the segmentary division between Brazilian/non-Brazilian. Therefore, any gap in a gringo's mastery of cultural elements understood as Brazilian tends to become a marker of ethnic boundaries, in the sense given by Barth[21].

I myself am often wryly amused at the workings of this system for, as an academic, I frequently debate the myriad aspects of Brazilian culture, society, economics and politics with my peers. Even after 22 years of life in Brazil, however - and more that 15 of these years in the Brazilian academy - the immediate explanation for any difference between my opinion and that of a Brazilian interlocutor is my *gringuice*: foreign born, I simply do not and perhaps cannot "understand Brazil".

[19] Seyferth, 2000: 49
[20] Barth, 2000: 128
[21] 1969

Conclusions

As I have shown, "gringo" is an identity classification that tends to persist, yet is subject to successive modifications and dislocations. At particular times, it becomes an accusation; at others, it is almost a term of endearment. At times, the term is used to refer to the entire non-Brazilian world; at others, it is used to point exclusively to white, imperialist foreigners. "Gringo" may refer to inclusion but also to distancing. It is a term, then, whose meaning is highly contextual. Different from "foreigner", therefore -a term whose meaning is partially frozen by the discourse of the Nation-State- "gringo" may be and is used popularly to describe a wide range of social positions occupied by those who are (supposedly) not Brazilians and yet are in Brazil.

It is also a term that indicates transition. A gringo engages with Brazil and is not a mere observer; in turn, this engagement creates the possibility of, if not actually becoming a Brazilian, at least becoming more familiar to some Brazilians. There is something of Lévi-Strauss's[22] "floating signifier" in gringo: they are not ours, nor are the things they bring with them ours. Yet we can use them, perhaps even transform them; we can move them over to our side of the equation. Over the course of time, we may even forget that they were, one day, gringos. It is in this final transformation that the gringo meets the ethnic Brazilian.

[22] 1950

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The National Myth of Receptivity in Brazil: The Denial of Xenophobia in Contemporary Society[1]

Szilvia Simai and Rosana Baeninger

The production of positive national images is currently high on the political agenda in Brazil. While Brazil's economic growth and increasing importance in the international arena, both politically and economically, are undeniable, it seems that there is quite a lot of work to do in the social-psychological sphere to keep up with the economic advances. Our research has shown that while Brazil's official discourse and Brazilians' individual discourses are tendentious and tend to create an image of Brazil and of Brazilians as more receptive than other nations and indeed as almost xenophile, at the same time people hold strongly xenophobic views but tend to deny it and escape behind the normative discourse of receptivity. We analyse collected discourses and present various forms of denial of xenophobia in Brazil via a qualitative study conducted in a university setting in São Paulo.

Cultural Myth

The existence of the myth is part of the surface of the collective. Where there is society there is myth; no society exists without myths. Myth, according to Doutte, is personalized collective desire[2]. Mythical constructions are inherent in the human condition and the human condition is not without

[1] Study conducted under the auspices of the FAPESP Thematic Project Observatório das Migrações em São Paulo: fases e faces do fenômeno migratório no Estado de São Paulo (Observatory of Migration in São Paulo: phases and facets of the migratory phenomenon in the state of São Paulo), NEPO/UNICAMP.

[2] Doutte, 1909

reference to collectivity. Several scholars have studied the phenomenon of social and political myth.

For Sigmund Freud the key of myth creation was traced to the emotional parts of individuals[3]. According to Freud, myths are like dreams: they express unconscious fantasies in disguised form and fulfill unconscious wishes. Thus they relieve pressure from the unconscious and fulfill psychological needs. The emotions attached to the unconscious fantasies give myths their great appeal and allow other ideas -such as moral and political ideals- that are woven into myths to receive an emotional charge as well. Freud also claimed that myths, like dreams, are censored. They therefore have both manifest and latent content. Manifest content is the surface narrative, while latent content is the unconscious wishes and fears. The latent content is disguised in the manifest content. Disguise takes several forms, and the role of the analyst is to unpack this meaning.

As we know, the phenomenon of myth was a determinant factor of pre-modern societies too. According to Eliade, the purpose of myth was to return to the time before time, before the gods or tribal ancestors (supernatural beings) created the world. This pre-cosmic state is sacred time, and according to Eliade it is the aim of the religious person to go beyond the natural/profane world of space and time, through ritual or storytelling, and enter into the sacred space of eternal time, thereby experiencing the primal power in the form of a hierophany that gives order to the laws of culture. This storytelling is the actual discursive construction and expression of cultural myth.

According to Barthes, 'myth is a type of speech'[4]. For him, myths serve the ideological function of *naturalization*[5]. Their function is to naturalize the cultural -in other words, to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes and beliefs seem entirely 'natural', 'normal', self-evident, timeless, obvious 'common-sense'- and thus objective and 'true' reflections of 'the way things are'. Contemporary social scientists argue that social groups tend to regard as 'natural' whatever confers privilege and power upon themselves. Barthes saw myth as serving

[3] Freud, 1900/1913
[4] Barthes, 1977: 1
[5] Barthes, 1957

the ideological interests. With this he basically developed his theory of mythification and claimed that all social phenomena are political in the sense that they reflect some kind of personal or group interest but that these interests are concealed. Thus they do not look political at all even though they are inherently political. Consequently, for Barthes, human interests that guide social behaviour remain concealed behind images and discourses that don't look political. Thus, for him, a 'myth' is not a fictitious tale. Rather, myth is a perpetration of mass culture upon the world. Barthes' definition of myth is actually more aligned to a definition of ideology such as Terry Eagleton's in *Ideology: An Introduction*[6]. He writes: 'A dominant power may legitimize itself by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable; denigrating ideas which might challenge it; excluding rival forms of thought, perhaps by some unspoken but systematic logic; and obscuring social reality in ways convenient to itself. Such "mystification", as it is commonly known, frequently takes the form of masking or suppressing social conflicts, from which arises the conception of ideology as an imaginary resolution of real contradictions'[7]. Consequently, the essence of the process of myth creation is that of naturalization and masking. All the thinkers mentioned share the notion of a socially constructed reality which is passed off as natural and self-evident.

Thus, myth is an important concept in relation to (i) historical immigration to Brazil and (ii) the related contemporary myth construction of Brazil as an extremely receptive country, which is almost xenophile. We attempt here to unpack this contemporary cultural myth, which in turn leads Brazilians to construct an identity as unquestionably receptive to foreigners and foreign cultures.

Land of Promise

It is a matter of record that Brazil has been characterized by centuries of immigration from all parts of the world: the

[6] Eagleton, 1991
[7] 1991: 5

systematic settlement of European invaders, in particular the Portuguese, but also the Spaniards, the Dutch, the English and the French, began more than three hundred years ago[8]. This historical fact has been elaborated into a discourse of justification and has led to the construction of the myth of receptivity which works to deny the presence of xenophobia in society. Two points need to be noted at this stage in looking at this historical process.

First, historical immigration and the co-existence of various ethnic, national and religious groups as well as the integration of the immigrants was not that friendly a process[9] and not as smooth as has been assumed by the myth of receptivity. Second, even if Brazil has had a past of receptive acceptance of immigrants, as is fantasized, this would in no way guarantee that contemporary acceptance of newly arrived immigrants in Brazilian society is non-conflictual[10]. Thus the receptivity of Brazilians as a nationally fantasized characteristic became a mere normative discourse and is used to justify social processes that have nothing to do with each other, such as being a country of immigration historically and the contemporary existence of or lack of xenophobia in society. Therefore, before looking at the problem of the myth of receptivity, we briefly review the history of immigration to Brazil.

Initially, numerous indigenous Indians were enslaved, predominantly to work on the sugar-cane plantations[11]. Enslavement, displacement and extermination led to the annihilation of many Indian peoples: of an estimated 5 to 6 million indigenous people at the time of the arrival of the first Europeans, only about 600,000 remained by the end of the colonial period[12]. In the 16th century, Portuguese colonialists began to bring slaves from Africa to Brazil. They originated from territories known today as Guinea, Angola, Mozambique,

[8] Milliet, 1941; Prado Jr, 1970; Holanda, 1989; Hall, 1989; Levy, 1974, Bassanezi, 1996; Fausto, 1975; Cano, 1977

[9] Alvim, 1986

[10] Simai & Baeninger, 2011a; 2011b

[11] Monbeig, 1941; Petrone, 1968

[12] Ribeiro, 2002

Nigeria and more. As early as the 17th century the number of displaced Africans exceeded that of settled Europeans[13].

According to Bassanezi[14], up to 1850 immigration to Brazil was linked to the colonization process of the Portuguese settlers. A diversified and non-forced immigration wave began only after this date, as only in 1850 was the import of slaves banned, with the Law of the Extinction of Slave Traffic. Thus the time of the so-called 'big migration' to Brazil began in the second half of the 19th century; around 5 million European immigrants entered Brazil between 1885 and 1930[15].

The first of three phases of mass immigration[16] lasted until the early years of the 20th century. The immigrants in this phase originated primarily from Europe. The strongest increase was firstly among the Italians, with 1,188,883 immigrants (Table 1). However, immigrants also came from Portugal (519,629), Spain (307,591), Germany (49,833), the Middle East (31,061) and, in smaller numbers, from various other countries such as Ukraine, Poland, Russia and Korea[17]. The total number of immigrants in the period after the abolition of slavery was between 50,000 and over 200,000 per year.

In this first phase of mass immigration, European migrants were needed above all as workers in the agricultural sector, for coffee cultivation in south-eastern Brazil and later for the spread of industrialization[18]. The Brazilian upper classes were, moreover, anxious to bring themselves into line culturally, socially and ethnically with Europe by means of European immigration[19].

In a second wave of immigration between 1910 and 1929, more than 1.5 million immigrants entered the country to be employed, once again, in agriculture[20]. They again originated primarily from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Russia and Germany, many of them looking for a fresh start after the First World

[13] IGBE, 2008
[14] 1996
[15] Levy, 1974
[16] 1880 to 1909
[17] Levy, 1974; Lesser, 1999
[18] Singer, 1968; Graham & Holanda, 1973; Cano, 1977; Vainer, 1991
[19] Hall, 1989; Lesser, 1999
[20] Levy, 1974; Camargo, 1981

Table 1: Immigrants in Brazil by country of origin from 1880 to 1969

Period	Portugal	Italy	Spain	Germany	Japan	Middle East	Others
1880-1909	519,629	1,188,883	307,591	49, 833	861	31,061	171,498
1910-1929	620,396	245,003	263,582	101,703	85,716	79,102	266,598
1930-1969	464,055	142,334	140,538	56,606	160,735	30,301	232,939
Total	*1,604,080*	*1,576,220*	*711,711*	*208,142*	*247,312*	*140,464*	*671,035*
Shared	*31%*	*30%*	*14%*	*4%*	*5%*	*3%*	*13%*

Source: Lesser, Jeffrey (1999): *Negotiating National Identity. Immigrants, Minorities and the Struggle for Ethnicity in Brazil*.

War. However, migration to Brazil also increased from Syria and Lebanon after the beginning of the 20th century[21].

After Canada, the USA, Mexico and Argentina had tightened up their immigration conditions in the mid 1920s, Brazil became the main migration destination for the Japanese. By 1929, 86,577 Japanese had arrived in the country, assisted in their emigration by the government in Tokyo, which gave them financial support as well as helping to organize their emigration. The Japanese immigrants were predominantly employed in agriculture.

From 1930 President Getúlio Vargas operated an immigration policy that aimed primarily at assimilating Brazil's minorities and which made immigration more difficult[22]. To 'protect Brazilian identity', the use of foreign languages was forbidden in public life[23]. Owing to the fall in coffee sales in the incipient world economic crisis, it had become difficult anyway for immigrants to find work[24]. The restrictive immigration policy was determined by a quota system introduced in 1934 whereby (with the exception of the Portuguese) only a very small number of new immigrants were allowed to join their respective group of migrants who had already entered the country. Not until 1946 were the discriminatory laws repealed, after the fall of the Vargas regime[25].

The third wave of immigration between 1930 and 1969 turned out to be smaller than those in the preceding decades. The largest group of new immigrants, comprising 160,735 persons, originated from Japan. For the newly emerged industrial sector, migrants were recruited from Syria and Lebanon in particular[26]. After the Second World War new immigrants entered Brazil and there were special policies for Spanish immigrants needed for the industrialization of São Paulo between 1950 and 1960[27]. The recruitment of foreign workers ended with the military coup in 1964 and internal migration gained importance for the

[21] Truzzi, 2001
[22] Vainer, 1996
[23] Seyfert, 2001
[24] Alvim, 1986
[25] Bassanezi, 1996
[26] Truzzi, 2001
[27] Jordão, 1963

Table 2: Immigrants in Brazil by country of origin from 1960 to 1972

Period	Portugal	Italy	Spain	Germany	Japan	Other	Total
1960-1969	74,129	12,414	28,397	5,659	25,092	51,896	197,587
1970-1972	3,073	804	949	1,050	695	9,017	15,558

Source, Bassanezi, Maria Silvia (1996): *International Immigration to Brazil: A Historical View. Based on the works of Levy, M. S. (1974).*

country's economic development. As can be observed in Table 2, while between 1960 and 1969 a total of 197,587 immigrants entered Brazil, between 1970 and 1972 only 15,558 did so[28].

The importance of international migration appears again in Brazil in the 1980s, in connection with both the number of Brazilians emigrating[29] and the entrance of foreigners, in particular to the city of São Paulo.

From Land of Promise to the Myth of Receptivity

The obscure side of the great surface pride of the Brazilians in their multinational country is that the conscious migratory policy encouraging immigrants to come to Brazil was born out of the existing racism against blacks. In the late 1800s Brazil embarked upon a 'whitenization' programme[30], right after the emancipation of the slaves in 1888. They encouraged immigration from Europe, more than likely frightened of the huge mass of Africans who formed the overwhelming majority of the population. Table 1 shows the statistics of the various ethnic groups that immigrated to Brazil after the abolition of slavery (1888). The paradox of an apparently xenophile immigration policy born of racism is the basis of the myth that Brazil created as a strategic political move and which it still maintains today.

Brazil slowly developed a number of strategic, ideological instruments that were able very powerfully to reinforce the cultural myth of the receptivity of Brazilians as a political agenda. Such instruments include the media, governmental and non-governmental organizations linked to migration work, and even academic institutions.

The two main, and most powerful, TV channels were eager to produce soap operas to reinforce the idea of Brazilians as all being the descendants of immigrants and therefore that the nation was constructed by immigrants. They were eager to convey a message of a multicultural Brazil as an extremely receptive nation. The idea of being a multicultural and culturally

[28] Bassanezi, 1996
[29] Patarra, 1995
[30] Vainer, 1996

sensitive nation is a fantasy that is dear to everyone. Who would not want to claim to have such characteristics in a world where intolerance is one of the main socio-cultural problems? Thus the fantasy was attractive to all Brazilians, and therefore the political agenda was easily implemented.

In 1981 the Bandeirantes Channel began to show the soap opera *The Immigrants*. This programme portrayed the saga of immigrants who helped to construct and develop Brazil. It traced the migratory route of these newly arrived people, leaving their country of origin in search for a better life in Brazil. In 1999 another successful soap opera was produced by the Globo Channel, entitled *Terra Nostra* (Our Land). This historical soap opera tells the story of Italian immigrants. It focuses on the relationship of Giuliana Esplendore and Matteo Batistella, who meet each other during the journey to Brazil. Giuliana and Matteo immediately fall in love and plan a life together at their new home in Brazil. Unfortunately, fate and certain people do not see it that way. A series of mishaps befall the couple and keep them apart. When they finally reunite, their conduct affects not only their own lives, but also other people they have met along the way. This all shows that the form of a historical reconstruction of a national fantasy very much relies on people's emotions. These soap operas tell emotional stories, life stories that touch the viewer emotionally, and thus the internalization of the conveyed message is truly successful.

In addition to the role of the media, the government has also contributed to the construction of the myth of receptivity in Brazil. Since the 1980s, the visibility of Brazilian emigration and the increased entrance of foreigners into Brazil have brought about a national political agenda of *land of immigrants* in Brazil. The government has planned and funded a number of publications that were apparently historical in order to reconstruct historical migrations to Brazil but which ended up with an extra connotative message too: to reinforce the idea of a country where people of various origins live together happily without conflict. In 2009 The *Migratory Profile of Brazil* was launched. This publication was elaborated and written by the Ministry of Labour with the collaboration of the National Commission of Population and Development (CNPD) and the International Organization for Migrations (IOM) as well

as with that of the National Council of Immigration (CNig). At the launch event for this book, the former Minister of Labour gave a speech in which he claimed that the book reconstructing the history of immigration to Brazil was a true portrayal of Brazil. He also added that 'our country is very receptive to migrants: in Brasilia we have a majority of north-eastern people (Nordestinos); in Rio de Janeiro live more than a million of people from Minas Gerais (Mineiros), and São Paulo is a cosmopolitan city. As well as receiving fellow citizens from various parts of the country very well, Brazil has many foreigners and it is a pacific country that accepts foreigners very well. We are an example of immigration, a model for other countries. We are an open-hearted country that receives people from anywhere'.[31] The message was conveyed well and it seems that there is a real gap between the historical reconstruction of immigration to Brazil and the construction of an idea of Brazil and of Brazilians as very receptive to contemporary migrants. The publication did not deal with the receptivity of Brazil and Brazilians, but simply put together historical and statistical facts to reconstruct a historical period in Brazil.

Various academics have now begun to revise the normative discourse of receptivity -in other words, to question the myth of receptivity in Brazil- but such work and the general academic debate is still in its infancy. Unfortunately, such intellectual cultural criticism is practiced by only a minority of academics in Brazil. Outside Brazil, Jeffrey Lesser has published a critical work on the minority and migratory context and the co-existence of various ethnicities in Brazil from a historical perspective. However, critical works on the contemporary relationship of foreigners, minorities and the majority of society are still lacking in Brazil. Critical works have been started at the Judaic Study Center of the Federal University of Minas Gerais by some individual academics. Some recent publications on the denial of racism have also illuminated certain aspects of this question[32], and still others point to the unrealistic portrayal of Brazil as a country receptive to immigrants[33]. For instance, a recent study

[31] The speech was transcribed at the event and freely translated from Portuguese.

[32] Simai & Baeninger, 2011; Tonini, 2011

[33] Sales, 2009; Gomez Carreira, 2009

by Tonini[34] shows that racism, xenophobia and discrimination are criticized when they occur elsewhere, outside Brazil, but when they happen inside the country there is a tendency to deny it. Simai and Baeninger[35] provide empirical evidence for the contemporary discourse of Brazilians as holding xenophobic views and for their being eager to deny it via the rhetoric of the receptivity of Brazilians. Sales[36] points to the role of immigration policies in Brazil that are not at all helpful in integrating newly arriving immigrants, and Gomez Carreira[37] analysed the various xenophobic stigmas and stereotypes that Portuguese immigrants historically faced in Brazil.

However, this field of study is very much contested, and the myth does not provide much room for criticism or for self-reflection on this particular characteristic, receptivity, of Brazilians. Therefore, with all this in mind, we conducted fieldwork with university students in São Paulo to see what they thought about modern-day immigrants in the country.

Discursive Study Presentation

We conducted focus groups with Brazilians to allow more engagement in the study of contemporary social rhetoric about immigrants in São Paulo. We taped the focus-group discussions and then had the tapes transcribed and used as texts for discourse analysis. Overall, this section of the article offers a discursive reading of the data from the focus groups on contemporary forms of discursive elaborations on immigrants in São Paulo.

The focus groups[38] were conducted between February 26th and 28th, 2011 with 24 graduate students from a university setting. Groups from the departments of psychology, communication and economics were selected at the São Paulo campus of the University of São Paulo. These participants all claimed to be from São Paulo and their age ranged from 18 to

[34] 2011
[35] 2011
[36] 2009
[37] 2008
[38] Focus groups conducted in Portuguese were translated into English and transcribed.

50 years. Their ethnic background was as follows: 5 Asians, 8 Afro-Brazilians and 12 whites.

We were particularly interested in how 'the other' is constructed by Brazilians and what discursive resources are employed in the constructions and for what purposes. For us, grappling discursively with the function of a particular construction means engaging with the socio-historical resources that underpin it and the conditions that make it possible, as well as with its material and ideological contexts. In this sense, discursive constructions inform and regulate what can and cannot be done and thought[39]. How people position themselves and others, however, occurs both actively and passively; subjects can exercise agency in choosing their constructs while also being defined by the availability and accessibility of discourses. What people say, then, is discourse in action, ideology that has become lived experience.

During data analysis, a number of linguistic, semantic and discursive categories were identified and a typology of the rhetoric of the denial of racism was reconstructed. The hypothesis was then reapplied various times to the text, resulting in the findings presented in this paper. References were made to the researcher as moderator and to the respondents as informants.

At a more general level, Brazilian students showed strong in-group favouritism. Their choices of vocabulary and their associations concerning the immigrants continuously reinforced this positioning in their discourse. They rigidly minded the gaps between the positive *we* (Brazilians) and the negative or exotic *others*. A positive self-presentation of Brazil and Brazilians was very common. Brazilians were described as very receptive to and respectful of various ethnic and racial groups from anywhere in the world. Counter-attacks were also commonly used to emphasize that Brazilians also suffer a lot abroad. Various disclaimers such as discursive choices of denial were used frequently, and a number of types of this will be discussed in the sub-section below, including empathetic, apparently ignorance-based, transference-based and explicitly denial-based disclaimers. We termed such discourses 'but-discourses', and this is how we are going to categorize the

[39] Burman & Parker, 1993

various rhetorical forms of denial of xenophobia found in the focus-group discourses below.

A close analysis of the discussion helps us to map the main topics that surfaced. The choice of topics tells us a lot. Earlier studies on conversations about immigrants conducted in the US and various European countries show a number of particularities to do with topic choices. According to Teun Van Dijk[40], when respondents were casually asked about their neighbourhoods, many of them often spontaneously began to speak negatively about foreigners[41]. Interestingly, in everyday conversations about other people or about each other, many diverse topics can be approached, but when it comes to immigrants, the discussion topics have been shown to be limited, and these are dominantly negative.

'They Are Different from Us'

The main discursive work of Brazilians when they talk about foreigners involves the concept of themselves as being Brazilians and the others as being different from the hosts as non-Brazilians, foreigners. Most of the associations linked to this difference were negative. Positive topics did also occur in cases of emphasizing differences between others, such as considering foreigners as exotic or as providing cultural enrichment.

Below are a number of narratives taken from the focus groups:

> 1. INFORMANT: '[…] I know that they have lots of difficulties here in São Paulo, that they are semi-slaves at work'.
>
> 2. INFORMANT: 'I heard that in the slum (*favela*) near here there is a strong contingent of Bolivians. So… so they are different from us. For instance, it's normal for them to hit a woman […] They have difficulties in a lot of the work they do… they come here to find work …'.
>
> 3. INFORMANT: '[…] their culture is very old and you have the impression that people are carrying this antique

[40] 1984, 1987

[41] Van Dijk, 2004; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Wodak et al., 1990

thing around, indigenousness in their lives and their culture […] so they are very culturally rich'.

4. INFORMANT: '[…] I visited the country. The impression I had was that you do not understand anything when you are there, you know what I mean. MODERATOR: No, not really. INFORMANT: Well, because everything is so different, you look around at stuff curiously but you don't really understand anything'.

We see from these excerpts that the discussion in the focus groups focused principally on three areas. One was the difficulties that foreigners, in particular Bolivians, may face in São Paulo. The second was their exotic nature, the idea of foreigners being so different that one might *not understand anything*, as seen in excerpt 4. The third idea was the concept of morally unacceptable, aggressive foreigners, as described in excerpt 2. All topics discussed were negative and associated with difficulties, strangeness and immorality; the only positive view put forward was when Brazilians approached the exotic others who are culturally rich, as was summarized in excerpt 3.

'Brazilians are much more receptive to foreigners than other countries'

The participants in the focus groups believed that their group or country is essentially tolerant and receptive towards immigrants. Positive self-representation is an important ingredient in daily discourse and should be understood as the argumentative denial of accusations of anti-racism[42].

5. INFORMANT: 'I think that Brazil is a country that has always accepted different cultures and there should not be any reasons for Brazilians to exclude others. Immigrants can maintain their cultures and still integrate into our society. For instance, you see the Japanese district in São Paulo where it is clear that they maintain their Japanese traditions while at the same time being part of the larger Brazilian society'.

6. INFORMANT: 'The experience I have in travelling through neighbouring South and North American countries

[42] Van Dijk, 2004; Billig, 1997

is that Brazilians are much more receptive to foreigners than other countries. I do not claim that the situation here is perfect, but we Brazilians are more permissive and receptive'.

7. INFORMANT: 'I think that as our country was developing there were so many different people who participated from abroad that I think that, for our people here in São Paulo, it is easier to live together with other races and ethnic groups. As we are diverse, we accept diversity easily'.

We can see from these excerpts the positive self-presentation of the history of immigration to São Paulo, the diversity of the population in the city and, generally, the constructed image of Brazilians as more permissive and receptive people, and these all lead to in-group favouritism among Paulistas (people from São Paulo) and Brazilians in general. One participant goes so far as to express that this is self-evident:

8. INFORMANT: 'Everyone here in São Paulo is, in one way or another, an immigrant, not indigenous or native. All of us are descendants of the Portuguese, or Italians, or French, etc., you know. The whole city is composed of immigrants… so…'

So positive self-presentation is fundamental to the denial of *our* bad side and *their* good side, and it shows a tendency to derogate the other and praise and glorify one's own history, background and past. As Teun Van Dijk put it, 'all these different structures at different levels[…] contribute to the overall strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. We have seen that precisely such structures may derive from and be geared towards the construction of similar mental structures, that is, negative attitudes and ideologies on minorities and immigration'[43].

Counter-attack in discourse about immigrants refers to a strategic rhetorical move whereby the subject is reversed. Thus this type of rhetoric works through reversal and it goes like this: *It's not that we are excluding or being racist, but we are victims, too. We suffer from racism and exclusion elsewhere*. Discursively

[43] Van Dijk, 2004

the speaker changes the subject of the discourse and projects him- or herself into the place of the immigrant. In the focus groups, this appeared in complaints about how Brazilians are seen abroad when they are immigrating. Although the focus group was really about the immigrants living in São Paulo, one speaker made this strategic discursive comment (narrative 9):

> 9. INFORMANT: 'I think this is about another issue, too, which is legalization. If, for instance, a Brazilian goes abroad and has the opportunity to work as a manicurist or waitress or babysitter, she is seen by others as being from a country of service workers. If she was able to take normal jobs as well it would be different. If everyone who goes abroad becomes a manicurist, then we Brazilians are seen as a country of manicurists'.

What is interesting about this type of denial is that, for it to occur, one basically needs to identify a symbolic enemy and to say that whether we are intolerant or not is not really the main question. The real issue (to her) is that others are intolerant towards *us*.

'This is a more important issue elsewhere, like Europe for instance'

Earlier conceptual analyses of contemporary rhetoric have shown that the use of euphemisms or generally minimizing the act or the responsibility of the accused is very common among groups with a tendency to exclusion.

> 10. INFORMANT: 'I have the impression that this is a more important issue elsewhere, like Europe for instance. We can see on TV how difficult it is in France for Islamic immigrants to integrate into society. So I don't think this is so much an issue here in Brazil. Maybe we should take this more seriously, but I do not think that it is an issue in Brazil at all.'

As narrative 10 clearly shows, the rhetoric of redistribution of responsibility and the distancing of the problem both psychologically and geographically is a common discursive strategy. The psychological logic of discourse like this is that *it is not we who are principally responsible for tensions but rather the problem lies elsewhere*. The responsibility is someone else's.

'But-Discourse'

'But-discourse' is a disclaimer in discourse analytical studies. A disclaimer is a semantic device that contains an apparently neutral part regarding 'us' and a clearly negative part regarding 'them', or the 'other'. This semantic structure is so typical that a number of sub-forms can be distinguished here. Participants in the focus groups have often used this discursive recourse and ended up expressing but-discourses while referring to immigrants.

> 11. INFORMANT: *'I do not know much about this topic, but* I have heard from others that even though they claim they have […]'.
>
> 12. INFORMANT: *'I have not participated, but* I heard quite a lot of comments on the bus, like […]'
>
> 13. INFORMANT: *'I am sure that they have many difficulties, but* Brazil is also full of problems, so we cannot help them any more than we already are […]'

All this reinforces the idea that but-discourses use the grammatical structure of the Neutral part plus the BUT plus the Negative aspect of the OTHER. According to Dimitrina Petrova, 'A personal disclaimer is so typical of most contemporary racist discourses that it can be seen as an ideological marker'[44].

Conclusion

In this article we have stated that Brazil has constructed a fantasy of the receptivity of Brazilians and worked this fantasy into a normative discourse at the societal level. This discourse is based on and justified by historical facts of international immigration to Brazil and the romanticized co-existence for centuries between immigrants and Brazil-born citizens. Although researchers have shown that the strategic initiation of European immigration to Brazil after 1888 was born out of a racist ethos[45] to whiten the race and colour shade

[44] 2000: 32

[45] Bassanezi, M., *Imigrações Internacionais no Brasil: um Histórico pano-*

of the country's population, the fantasy has not diminished of the benevolent and receptive characteristics of Brazilians. In addition to this, Lesser[46] and Sales[47] have shown that migratory policies were racist and discriminatory during the main mass-migratory period. Despite all efforts to the contrary, the myth of receptivity has nourished itself and grown into a national discourse.

We have pointed out several strategic paths by means of which this national normative discourse was reinforced. We have also cited an empirical study as powerful evidence of the existence of the belief in Brazilians as receptive and its rhetorical elaboration into everyday discourse. Therefore, we would like to state two important things to conclude this essay.

First, if myth is a 'type of speech'[48] with a function of naturalization which has a disguised or latent content (Freud), then the discourse of the receptivity of Brazilians can be considered a myth, a myth of receptivity.

If this myth really exists at a societal level (and it does, as we have shown above), then it is used to justify certain obscure characteristics of contemporary relations between immigrants and Brazilians. We suggest that the myth of receptivity is currently applied discursively to deny the existence of the contrary (non-receptivity) in the country. That is, as we have shown in our empirical study, it denies the existence of the ethos of non-receptivity and xenophobia.

rama, en, Patarra, N., *Emigração imigração e internacionais no Contemporâneo Brasil*, São Paulo, FUNUAP, 1995.

[46] 1999

[47] 2001

[48] Barthes, 1977: 1

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The reinvention of Brazil and other metamorphoses in the world of Chicago Samba[1]

Bernadete Beserra

Unlike Carmen Miranda and Antonio Carlos Jobim who came to the United States under the auspices of entrepreneurs strategically placed to integrate them into the cultural market, the immigrants in this article followed another trajectory. Many of them scarcely believed that they had the talents that immigrant life had awoken in them.[2] The discovery of Brazil as a narrative and a market for samba drove many to occupations they never dreamed of. Despite the problems this narrative would bring them, these immigrants benefited enough from its existence and used it strategically to escape the destiny the market imposes on most immigrants, transforming them, as Sayad[3] observed, into cheap labor rather than treating them as émigrés with different histories and dispositions.

One can argue that, in the case of the Brazilian immigrants who exploit samba in Chicago, their integration and that of

[1] I thank Rémi Lavergne for the insights, suggestions and for wanting to see this article written. I also thank Rosemary Galli who kindly accepted to revise the English version and two anonymous Vibrant reviewers for their valuable comments made in an earlier version.

[2] The research in which this article is based, entitled "By way of *Samba* and *Capoeira*: Brazilian Cultural and Political Coalitions in Chicago", was developed between August, 2006 and August, 2007. It was part of a post-doctoral fellowship program coordinated by Frances Aparicio and sponsored by the Latin and Latin American Studies Program, University of Illinois, at Chicago in collaboration with Rockefeller Foundation. The aim of the program *Latino Chicago: A Model for Emerging Latinidades?* was to facilitate more systematic research on historical and contemporary cultural transformations among the diverse Latino communities in Chicago and their implications for understanding identity, migration, resistance, racism, cultural conflict and survival.

[3] 1998

those who negotiate their own culture constantly emphasizes that they are above all émigrés. But more than this: their immigration seems to have more to do with the values and richness of their culture (in this case, nation) than with what is commonly supposed to be their problem. In principle, this inverts the most common notion of immigration: that of searching in another place for what is lacking in your own. The problem, however, is that the country or culture that is represented by the immigrant who works with cultural goods is not in fact *his* country or *his* culture but the country or culture that is presented in the narratives that circulate about them in the country of destination.

Like other narratives and discourses forged in the space of colonial domination, the narrative about Brazil is fed by stereotypes, which according to Bhabha[4], "must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed". In this way, the immigrants who work with Brazilian culture face the challenge of realizing the representations of Brazil created from this narrative and constructing their integration within these limits. Hence it is with these stereotypes that they must dialogue and many times reinforce through their social practices. Subjected to a narrative that precedes them and that tends to replace their own personal experiences makes them, like other immigrants, creatures rather than creators. In spite of this, the possibility to manipulate their own culture, even though shown through superficial images, puts these immigrants in a rather distinct position from others, above all, because at least in the case of Chicago, there is nothing predetermined about working with samba. On the contrary, it is a choice based on the observation of the existence of a narrative about Brazil and a market for samba.

Miscegenation, racial democracy, fun, sensuality, 'samba in the blood' are ideas and characteristics that need to be constantly reaffirmed. In this repetitive process, cultural workers transform themselves not only into heralds or representatives of existing samba and Brazil narratives but also into producers and consumers, similar to Carmen Miranda and the others that came before and after her. In fulfilling the expectations created

[4] 2007: 95

by the stereotype, they strive to invent the mythical Brazil and Brazilians that fits the existing fantasy and the imagination of those who are occasional or regular customers. In the struggle to maintain a place for samba in Chicago's culture market, they establish and deepen relationships with individuals of other social and ethnic groups who become their customers and, through these encounters and the expression of differences and expectations, they create what Bhabha[5] calls innovative sites of collaboration (and contestation). In other words, the immigrants who live from cultural exploitation not only need to transform themselves or transform the commodity that they 'sell' but also to produce metamorphoses in the milieu where they integrate -above all when it is impossible to survive exclusively from the demand created by their own social and ethnic group.

This article demonstrates, through an ethnographic study of Chicago Samba, a Brazilian musical ensemble, that samba and the Brazilians who reconstruct it, circulate within Chicago repeating old narratives tangled in new webs of meanings, paradoxically, creating new spaces of sociability and cooperation between normally separate and distant social groups. They build 'corners of the world' that temporarily break down borders of all types. In the effort to give life to the narratives that open the market to their products, they recreate them and, in the process, create dialogues and sociabilities that subvert them: kinds of niches of resistance to the dominant narratives regarding their own and their host culture. Even though the entry and departure from these niches signals temporary abandonment as well as return to the dominant codes, these encounters, no matter how brief, leave in those who venture into them vestiges of and desires for metamorphosis.

Chicago Samba: How It All Began

The story of samba in Chicago began in the late 1980s when Moacyr Marchini and Claudio Peppe got together to create the Chicago Samba School. Until then, *Made in Brazil* was the only Brazilian group playing music in the city.[6] Moacyr says

[5] 2007: 2

[6] *Made in Brazil* was the name given to the Breno Sauer Quartet since

that *Made in Brazil* was a wonderful group that drew him many times to the *Bulls Jazz Club*. He would pay a six-dollar cover charge, drink a beer and although charmed by the music of the group, he couldn't help but regret the non-existence of "a more Brazilian musical beat, something stronger, with which the Brazilian immigrants here would identify because, although what they played was very pretty, it was jazz, Brazilian jazz."

When Moacyr explained that *Made in Brazil*'s music did not satisfy the cultural hunger of Brazilian immigrants in Chicago, he didn't mean, like José Ramos Tinhorão, to question its value or Brazilianness[7]. Like Nara Leão[8], he probably wanted to insist that the Brazilian audience for bossa nova is quite restricted and that the "pure samba" is the "true tradition" of Brazilian people. Nara, however, not only recognized the limited scope of bossa nova but claimed -in capital letters- that it was a boring style which did not excite her at all.

Many Brazilians and non-Brazilians who move in and around Chicago samba agree with Nara. Fernanda, 32 years old, born in northwest Paraná and a singer in a forró band, *Terra Brasil*, does not hide her boredom or even discomfort when Americans immediately connect Brazilian music and bossa nova. She confides that she does not like the style at all and even though she has given it a try, she can't sing it because, she says, "it is a music with no life and it doesn't have the emotions and ups and downs of the *sertanejo*". "It's not suitable for dancing", she adds, comparing bossa nova with samba and forró.

Someone who really insists on the need for a connection between music and dance is Evaldo Jr., 36, born in Manaus in the Amazon, guitar player and vocalist for Chicago Samba: "to me, music has to do with dance! I know that there is an instrumental part to it, and people want to show their talent and

1979, when he started to play more consistently in the Bulls Jazz Club. Founded and directed by Breno Sauer, who immigrated to Chicago in 1973, the group again changed its name and became Som Brazil in the early 1980s. Apart from its founder and Neusa Sauer, his wife, many Brazilian musicians and non-Brazilians went through the group. The group was also responsible for the immigration of many Brazilian musicians in the city between 1975 and 1995.

[7] Perrone 1986

[8] Castro 2000:268

so forth, I myself respect that but, for me, the most important thing is to make everyone dance!"

It was probably in that sense that Moacyr affirmed that the Brazilian music available in Chicago until then was not sufficiently Brazilian. He was speaking for himself, in the sense of his own preferences but they also reflected the preference and taste that had became popular in Brazil since the 1930s. During this period, the radio stations with the biggest audiences, Mayrink da Veiga and Nacional, promoted samba so insistently that, in 1937, folklorist Luís da Câmara Cascudo confided that these radio stations diffused only "samba and samba and samba and samba", completely eclipsing other genres[9].

Despite local protests, such as Cascudo's, samba quickly became synonymous with Brazil with the help of radio and government promotion. Born out of the encounter and collaboration between classes and races[10], the samba that became synonymous with Brazil has then interpreted and proclaimed by leftist political groups and by the City of Rio de Janeiro as a genre whose purest and most authentic expression is found in the slums and is revealed in the annual carnival parades[11]. Thus essentialized, samba begins to express itself in the acrobatics of the mulatto with a *cavaquinho* and a tambourine, and in the Baiana dance that, in the words of Geraldo Pereira's song "shakes, shakes, tying knots in the hips, leaving the youth with their mouth watering".

Samba, the musical genre, and samba, the dance, become inextricably linked. Thus, if Brazil is samba and samba is dance, consequently Brazil is also dance and, according to that belief, Brazilians prefer the musical genres that lead to dance, *but not necessarily to samba*. When Evaldo Jr. says that "all music must lead to dance" it is not samba that he is referring to, but to reggae and rock and roll, genres that led him to play music. He is one of many who have discovered Brazilian music, particularly samba, in the United States: "For me, American music was better than Brazilian, but by playing with Chicago Samba I've realized that Brazilian music is much richer...".

[9] Cabral 1990:133
[10] Vianna 1995
[11] Sandroni 2001

Thus, if Brazilians identify with samba when they encounter it away from Brazil, it is not because it was their preferred style of music, but because it is a central element of the dominant narrative about Brazil to which anyone can easily resort in their condition of immigrants away from home and in need of identity support to compensate for the symbolic and emotional losses of immigration. It is to that extent and as a result of the need for compensation that samba turns into "something stronger with which Brazilians can identify", says Moacyr when comparing it to the Brazilian jazz played by *Made in Brazil*.

To the need for compensation must also be added the demands of "a segmented system particularly sensitive to race and ethnicity", as already noted by Gustavo Ribeiro[12] in a study on Brazilians in San Francisco. The pressures to identify with samba must be understood in this context which also includes the demands of contemporary cultural processes. Yet despite these pressures, Brazilian immigrants who work with samba know full well that Brazilians appreciate many other dances. But, as they move away from the Brazil of their experiences and immerse themselves more deeply in the demands of the market for exotic cultural goods, they almost come to forget that not all Brazilians like samba.

Samba is so much lauded as a component of Brazilian nationality that Brazilian immigrants often forget that this excessiveness is more of a part of narrative, and how elements are arranged in it, than it is part of their very own experience. Although being aware that not everyone likes Brazilian samba, Moacyr has had a hard time dealing with its rejection by certain groups, individuals or environments. For this reason, he many times felt something between disappointment and surprise, when witnessing that the samba, which involves so many Brazilians, bores Americans, Mexicans and other groups not familiar with it.

Reencountering Brazil through A Cuban Immigrant

While boring some, samba fortunately attracts others because it was through a Cuban immigrant that Moacyr got involved

[12] 1997

with samba in Chicago. Married to a Brazilian-American whom he had met in São Paulo, where he lived, Moacyr came to America in January 1985 when he was 26 years old. He found a Chicago completely hidden in snow. Tanned and excited when he arrived, little by little he found that the energy that he had brought from Brazil was fading. His English was horrible and this prevented him from seeking employment in his professional area, advertising. The not-so-obvious differences between him and his wife when they lived in Brazil were becoming more visible and unbearable by the day. They lived in Cicero, a mixed area bordering both black and white areas. He explains that there was a permanent tension and he heard of cases when black families bought a house in the area, the next day they found their garage fire-bombed or car windows broken by the neighbors. Because his wife seemed to ignore the segregation, which was hurting him so deeply, this was one of their many areas of contention.

In his first year in Chicago, Moacyr studied drawing, English and even cooking! He worked in a restaurant, cooking and washing dishes and eventually learned that there were many more opportunities for survival than only those afforded by his profession in Brazil. By caring for his daughter, working in the restaurant and taking classes, he endured his first Chicago winter.

In the summer of 1985, Moacyr met Dom Heriberto Dominguez for the first time at a *Flyers Soccer Club gig.* Heriberto was there, with several percussion instruments, playing samba.[13] Moacyr approached him and offered to play. Enchanted with Moacyr's performance, Heriberto invited him to be part of the group. Weeks later the group performed at the Navy Pier. Moacyr remembers that the music played was not such a big deal, but the carnival costumes that the girls dressed were beautiful and his participation in that show was the greatest pleasure he had since setting foot in Chicago. In those moments, while he divided his attention between the girls dancing and his memories of that first winter in Chicago, it occurred to him that working with samba might be an alternative among others presented.

[13] The Flyers Soccer Club was founded by a group of Brazilians in the 1970s. See: http://encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1542.html

But it was only until a year later when he was already divorced that he met Claudio Peppe, who became his partner in the creation of the Chicago Samba School. Although mainly occupied in construction, Claudio was already part of the Brazilian musical scene in the city and occasionally played for *Made in Brazil*. In the meeting, which took place in the house of fellow Brazilians, Moacyr and Claudio found that, besides sharing an interest in samba in Chicago, their families lived in the same neighborhood in São Paulo and that Moacyr used to frequent *Camisa Verde e Branco*, the samba school owned by Claudio's family.

In the beginning, the group was composed of Moacyr and Claudio; Jairo Escudero, a Brazilian who worked with translation; Rick Ricardo, a Panamanian; Gerardo Galhardo, a Mexican who worked with Claudio in construction; and Carlos Melendez, a Costa-Rican. They rehearsed for six months, twice a week, roughly five hours each time. This dynamic facilitated support and solidarity to develop among them.

So many miles away from its origin, samba seemed to arouse in Chicago the same desire it did in Brazil: that of bringing people together from all walks of life, who would not otherwise meet, with music, dance, and joy. Moacyr remembers that the shows and rehearsals were always like a party: "Gerardo, the guy who played the rattle, was totally nuts! The Panamanian, who played the agogo, used to destroy an agogo per night! I don't even know how to describe it! The group had so much energy. We did not even know where it came from, so much enthusiasm!"

Towards Professionalization

Claudio had to return to Brasil and, soon after, Gerardo, the Mexican, rented a place for the group in the Flat Iron Building, Wicker Park, an old Polish neighborhood that, after World War II, had been full of Puerto Ricans. At first they paid a rent 50 dollars rent a month. At the time, during the last months of 1988, Wicker Park had not yet gone through the process of gentrification that has since transformed it into a trendy hipster neighborhood with a great artistic and multicultural appeal.

Now composed of twenty or so members, the Chicago Samba School met weekly for samba jams and some Brazilian women always showed up to dance and enjoy themselves. It was almost a samba school in the Brazilian sense! And this was exactly Moacyr's idea: to realize the project of founding a samba school in Chicago in partnership with Claudio. Not everyone who played really knew what they were doing, but the group rehearsed every week. The word spread and every week more Brazilians joined the party.

Soon the school was invited to play on Thursday nights at the *Hot House*, a club specialized in World Music. It had just started and the Brazilian night was always packed. Approximately five hundred people filled the place and danced all night. Brazilians, Americans and Hispanics gathered and the weekly meeting was full of energy and emotion. According to Moacyr "it was something new and very forceful, something coming from the roots, the heart, you know? It was a very beautiful thing!"

People from the neighborhood and others who usually hung around, all knew about the weekly "party" and many would join it. The Chicago Samba School played until the club shut its doors at half past two in the morning but nobody would leave because they wanted the group to continue playing. So, the musicians would move to the sidewalk while they played. In a few minutes the street was theirs: disrupted motorists and residents would call the police and, every now and again, someone would end up in jail.

From Chicago Samba School to Chicago Samba

After his second marriage, Moacyr moved to St. Louis. From then on the administration of the Chicago Samba School relied on his partner Steve Carow. He initiated a complete restructuring of the group in order to choose professional musicians over others. During this period of selection, Moacyr met Luciano Antonio, a Brazilian guitarist and a classical music student at the University of Missouri, Kansas City. Moacyr invited him to play in the group. Gradually, Moacyr and Steve replaced amateur musicians by professional ones and the group increasingly moved away from its previous experience of a

sort of jam where everyone comes in and goes out and plays informally. They took the helm of a regular band, in which the relationship between components was more professional and working conditions more clearly established from the beginning.

At this time the group moved to the *Mad Bar*. As before at the *Hot House*, the group received a fixed fee regardless of the take at the door. They began receiving $800, which eventually became $1,200. Luciano says that Thursday nights were crowded. However, after a few years, the clientele began to drop and the bar owner cancelled the contract. It was then that the group moved to *The Note* (all these clubs and bars were located a few hundred meters of each other). At *the Note*, the band needed to grow musically because payment now depended on good performance, professionalism. They worked hard, introduced new songs and arrangements. Moacyr and Steve hired new musicians, mainly linked to American jazz, and removed the word "school" from the band name: they became just *Chicago Samba*. During the first months, the group received no payment since it was still trying to recoup the lost clientele.

Observation of the various stages Chicago Samba has gone through over the past fifteen years makes it possible to identify many factors that explain its ups and downs. When it was the only band playing samba and popular Brazilian rhythms, some fans would get tired of always seeing the same people playing and dancing and would try other alternatives among the thousands that nightlife in Chicago offers. Besides this and the fact that today there is less room for big bands, other Brazilian bands are offering shows different days of the week and in more accessible places. Chicago Samba's next move from The Note to the Hot House responded to these two facts: the emergence of *Bossa Três*, composed of members from the Chicago Samba itself, and the new location of the Hot House on Balbo Street in the West Loop, one block from the Hilton, on Michigan Ave.

With the change, Chicago Samba began to reach a wider though more unpredictable audience, no longer just the Brazilians and their friends or the people of Wicker Park attracted by the liveliness of the presentations at Mad Bar or The Note. In addition to club members, the Hot House sent its monthly schedule to a list of fifteen thousand people and advertised in several newspapers.

I, for instance, became aware of the program through a Cuban neighbor. Knowing of my research with Brazilian artists, he told me of the Brazilian night at Hot House. Although a club member, he explained that he had never gone to see Chicago Samba because his own "community" was very rich culturally and offered many events, leaving no room for approaching "other communities". He suggested that the idea of "international" conveyed by Hot House was not so convincing because the shows were mostly supported by ethnic communities. This was confirmed at least in the case of Chicago Samba. The move from Wicker Park to downtown was not particularly profitable because it did not favor Brazilian participation for most lived closer to Wicker Parker and also because the new location demanded a greater willingness to spend from customers.

Chicago Samba: Other Metamorphoses

It was during the Mad Bar season that Shirley Vieira discovered Chicago Samba. She arrived there through a brother who was visiting the city and persuaded her to go see a Brazilian band that played in Wicker Park. Married to a white American and living for almost ten years in Mount Prospect, she had become accustomed to her comfortable and quiet suburban life. Until then, Chicago seemed far, not even a desirable place to visit except during the Christmas season to see the lights and decorations. Happy to encounter a bit of Brazil in Chicago Samba, she began to dance. But she felt weird dancing samba. Although born in Rio, she had never really liked samba, always preferring rock and roll, and forró and frevo when visiting her relatives in the Brazilian northeast. For some strange reason at the Mad Bar, samba was making her heart beat faster and feel more Brazilian. Dancing just for the pleasure that this encounter with Brazil was giving her, she felt quite surprised when the wife of one of the band members approached her. Praising her performance, the woman made the following invitation:

–Don't you want to do a show with us?

–Me? Naked? No! And not in a bikini either!

But the woman explained that it was a carnival show, with costumes. Shirley accepted the invitation and got $150 to dance

for less than two hours. Private gigs, like that, were sporadic, but Chicago Samba played weekly. Shirley offered to dance and soon became one of the band's attractions. However, by the time she was completely involved with her job, a period that coincided with the end of her marriage, the band fired her on the grounds that dance was attracting more attention than the music itself and this was not the purpose of the band.

When Shirley left the band, she realized, as did Moacyr some years earlier that working with samba offered much more than just $75 per hour every now and then. The work with samba allowed her to get close in different ways to Americans and immigrants alike, whether they were Brazilians or not. Through working with samba, she became a sort of Brazilian ambassador. Nevertheless, she never felt that she was representing an underdeveloped Brazil, plagued by crime and misery from which many people fled, and from which she herself also often hid. The country she rediscovered through samba seemed to redeem her from all the misery of the other one, offering instead gifts and possibilities, joy, exuberance, beauty and new job opportunities. From then on she specialized in the production of shows for special events and private parties.

The seed she had planted in the hearts of the Chicago Samba patrons germinated so much that when Edilson Lima went to see the group weekly performance at The Note in early 2001, Moacyr immediately invited him to give samba lessons during intermissions. Edilson's history with samba in Chicago, like Shirley's, also began by chance, but unlike hers, his relationship with dance and musicals was not casual. He had worked on several TV shows in São Paulo, where he lived, and also did shows at night clubs and proms. He had been in the city for only a few months when other Brazilians with whom he studied at Truman College took him to see Chicago Samba in The Note.

Desperately missing Brazil and a bit frustrated with his immigrant life, which had led him to gain more than ten pounds, Edilson surrendered to dance as a ritual of purification. Enchanted and intrigued by his style and energy, several people congratulated him on his performance and asked if he was Brazilian. He did not think twice about giving lessons when he received Moacyr's invitation. He began by teaching on the

dance floor, but everything changed when he had the idea of bringing apprentice dancers to the stage: from a simple samba instructor he quickly became a showman. He also noted that everyone liked to participate and a little participation was very important to many. But he did not simply want people to feel important, wanted, and so forth; above all, he wanted them to approach Brazilian culture playfully and with humor. He explains: "it is very difficult for someone who has never danced samba to dance it well first time. The tendency in these cases is that they feel shy. So, it helps when you have someone to help break down barriers by saying silly things and guiding the steps: put the hand on the head, shake, and go down there..."

Ouvir

Ler foneticamente

Dicionário - Ver dicionário detalhado

Chicago Samba: the Hot House show

Although created by two Brazilians starved for the company of their countrymen, the professionalization of Chicago Samba imposed the challenge of dealing with a diverse audience. Luciano explains that the main characteristic of its audience is love of dancing. In this sense, those who go to hear the band are more interested in moving their body than enjoying Brazilian music. On my first visit to the Hot House, I found the space enormous for the four or five dozen people who were there. It was nearly midnight when I arrived accompanied by Ana Rita, a friend, and Al, the chef of the restaurant where she worked as a waitress. I found the place beautiful and pleasant but, in spite of the small audience, I was unable to concentrate on details because we arrived during Edilson's show, which was so exuberant that it prevented me from paying attention to anything else. Edilson was wearing white trousers and shoes and a light transparent tunic, also white, embroidered with blue sequins. In a loud full voice, he talked, danced, laughed and joked incessantly with the audience. He ordered people to shake, let go, surrender to the adventure of experiencing the body with the ease of "Brazilians".

Despite perfect English, there is no hint in his speech of an interest in assimilation. Aware that his function is to sell a cultural commodity, he does so by following the rules of an economy which, as explained by Bourdieu[14], "can function only through a constant and collective repression of the economic interest". Thus, Edilson wants to achieve far more than just attracting public to his show. Instead, he wants to draw people into a deeper and more permanent encounter with Brazilian culture. He does not want the adventure to begin and end there; he wants to engage people enough to bring them many times to the Hot House, perhaps, also to Edilson's private classes and, who knows, even to Brazil? However, in order to achieve his purpose, he has to add to the merchandise, "samba" or "Brazilian Dance", an illusion that one is before something truly extraordinary, which transcends the moment turning it into an encounter, passion, conversion.

Edilson's show both attracted and repelled me; it made me feel uncomfortable and diminished. I found his representation of "Brazilian culture" too stereotyped. He presented himself as the embodiment of the stereotype, a figure belonging more to the realm of postcards than to reality.[15] Besides the basic steps of samba, he also taught the movements of other dances, particularly axé. Unlike me, everyone seemed to be having a great time with his enthusiasm, games and *cultural excess*.

My discomfort reminded me of the reaction of those involved in the old controversy between the historian Pedro Calmon and the novelist José Lins do Rego regarding the image of Brazil projected by Carmen Miranda in the United States. In an article published in the newspaper *A Noite*, in June 1939, Calmon opened the discussion by arguing that the sudden success of Carmen Miranda on Broadway was bad because it could create the impression that the Brazilian music was reduced to just samba and this was a false and dangerous generalization. Lins do Rego responded that samba was an essential part of the

[14] 2006: 19

[15] I am here following Bhabha (1994:95) for whom the stereotype "must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed" e Ramos-Zayas (2008:272), defines cultural excess "as the representational and ideological strategies through which certain bodies are viewed as overflowed with meaning and never naturalized".

national soul[16]. I have always seen Lins do Rego's reaction as populist and excessively patriotic but quite understandable at a time when, against the predictions of European colonialism, Brazil was trying to forge an image of itself from elements that had previously been criticized and denigrated, racial mixture being the main one. From this perspective, samba, a symbol of mestizaje, had to be defended at all costs, and valued as symbol of a nation that was finally accepting what it really was.

There, in the Hot House, almost seventy years after the famous controversy, I was affected by it. There were, however, some differences between the feelings that mobilized Calmon and Lins do Rego and mine. One is that at the time when Calmon complained about the limitation of Carmen Miranda's representation of the nation Brazilian music was unknown. Between then and now, bossa nova had bloomed. I not only knew that Brazil no longer presented itself internationally only through samba but was in Chicago to study the diffusion of bossa nova. But even so, I found the performance excessive. Doubtless, it was fun, lively, engaging, but excessive. I crossed my fingers that no non-Brazilians would approach me looking for the fulfillment of the promises of Edilson, who vaunted his spectacle as a glimpse of Brazil: "come with us on an incredible journey to Brazil ... and shake your booty baby!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!"

Indeed, Al, our non-Brazilian guest, did not accept that I was not as lively as Edilson. Despite the bossa nova and other existing representations of Brazil into the U.S. market, he demanded that I live up to that specific fantasy: bodily ease expressed in rhythmic leg and hip movements always crowned with a broad smile. Although half drunk and stumbling, he clumsily answered Edilson's call and surrendered to the joy of samba. Unsatisfied that I was not dancing samba with him and others, he shouted, "what kind of Brazilian are you?"

There was, in his question, no real desire to deepen his knowledge about my particular Brazilianness but rather a sense of disapproval. I was frustrating his expectations about the fantasy to which he wanted to surrender that night and it bothered him. Even the Brazilians who frequented the place had difficulty understanding a Brazilian who did not samba. I

[16] McCann 2004: 63-65

began to realize that, by being the only native who distrusted the sorcerer's magic, I was hindering not only him but all the others who were charmed by it.

I mistrusted the magic because, as Calmon and Lins do Rego, I was still interpreting those images of Brazil as positive or negative. After I frequented Chicago Samba shows more assiduously and came closer to musicians, dancers and other patrons, I shifted my attention from critical evaluation of images and stereotypes to observation of the encounters and relationships that were made possible through them. Thus, instead only seeing dominant strategies of exoticism and inferiorization of the *other*, I also began understanding stereotypes as mediators between different cultures. From then on, I entered the game and began enjoying its excesses like everyone else.

In addition to the fantasies that he promised that night, Edilson indirectly apologized to the public for such a small audience by mentioning the prior week's show which, according to him, had been full of tourists from all over, particularly from European countries. He mentioned French, Italians and Russians and how they had fallen in love with Brazilian night in Chicago. He also announced a competition for king and queen of samba on January 6, 2007 that would reward the winner with free entry to all Chicago Samba gigs.

On January 6, 2007, I arrived at the club minutes before the music started. Luciano had let me know that the first part of the show would be calmer: bossa nova and choro. Nicole Tader gave me a ride and introduced me to several people sitting at a table to the right side of the stage. Among them was Marlin Exton who some hours later was elected King of Samba 2007. I got so involved with the conversation that I did not notice that the section devoted to bossa nova and choro had come and gone. I returned to watching what was happening on stage when Edilson announced the opening of the contest. That night only those who had classified in the two previous Thursdays competed. His friendliness and enthusiasm in the few minutes of our conversation made me carefully watch Marlin's performance. He competed with another black boy about two decades younger than him. As Edilson's student, Marlin did not follow the tradition of male Brazilian samba dancers with steps

focused on heels. Mixing traditional masculine and feminine steps and not sparing grace and enthusiasm, Marlin Exton won and was crowned King of Samba 2007.

Samba Junkies

Marlin and Vanyette, his wife, call themselves *samba junkies*. Every Thursday night they go to the *Hot House*. They regularly arrive before music begins and only leave at the end. For Marlin, the encounter with Chicago Samba is the beginning of fulfilling a dream nurtured for decades: to know the world envisioned in the film Black Orpheus.

Marlin was born in 1962 in Harvey, Illinois, a southern Chicago suburb. Up until now, most of the city's population was composed of African-Americans, 79.57 percent, according to the 2000 census. Son of a gospel singer, he grew up in a musical environment and also played piano. He saw the movie *Black Orpheus* in 1974, when he was only 12 years, and fell in love with the country where different people came together and danced happily. He watched the movie with his mother, who loved to dance and was also attracted by the rhythm and steps of samba.

After the movie, he wondered: is there really a place like this, where black people can be so happy? And he dreamed of knowing that land seemingly so distant and unreal. Black Orpheus became one of his favorite movies. In adolescence and adulthood, whenever he thought of the film, he also thought of how nice would be to meet someone from Brazil so that he could distinguish reality from fiction. He loved the way people danced in the film, their joy, the air of happiness. He also loved the rhythm, but he did not even know it was called samba. The fantasies inspired by the movie became even stronger and more intangible because, he recalls, despite the consequences of the civil rights struggle, there was still a lot of racial conflict during the 1970s and 1980s. Racism was still very prominent. Blacks and whites did not venture beyond the borders of their territories. Black Orpheus charmed him because it brought a glimpse of a distant paradise where people of color danced and smiled happily.

He waited three decades until that afternoon in which he was face to face with the culture that inhabited his dreams for so long. He saw an advertisement for a presentation of Gingarte Capoeira at *Governors State University* where he worked as a janitor. Delighted with the spectacle, he approached the capoeira instructor, Marisa Cordeiro, to find out about capoeira classes and at that time he met Maristela Zell, a professor at the same university where he works and responsible for the contract for the show. The two women proved friendly and receptive, as he expected, which encouraged him to maintain his desire to get closer to Brazilians. He quickly found a place on his calendar to attend Brazilian events with Vanyette.

Only a few weeks later, at the celebration of Brazilian Independence Day (September 7, 2006), the couple first heard Chicago Samba play, in the Logan Square auditorium, along with other Brazilian music groups. They watched the Chicago Samba show including Edilson Lima's performance. That night, watching samba dancers in their carnival costumes, Marlin felt transported to the Rio carnival and this initial contact with samba increased his confidence to get closer to Brazil.

The first visit to the Hot House, which happened soon afterwards, only deepened the feeling he had of familiarity and comfort on that remote day when he saw Black Orpheus. He was delighted with the opportunity to learn to dance samba with a teacher as passionate and full of energy as Edilson. It was the beginning of a devotion that lasts until today. Among Brazilians he has always felt comfortable because, he says, he was never judged by his color. He adds:

> We love going to see Chicago Samba playing. They make us feel comfortable. They make us feel as if we're actually part of what they are doing… They're very appreciative of people who come to see them, and we like that because we've seen musicians who completely ignore the people who come to see them… They make you feel like, thank you for coming to see us… we'll play as hard as we can for you… They make you come back… Everybody we've met who goes to the Hot House, we love! We've made so many friends! All nationalities… Whites, Indians, Russians, Italians, Argentinians… I know that the music creates many bridges between people, but it's mostly the Brazilian music that

> makes me want to dance and smile. With Chicago Samba, we hug people because it's a good energy going on… We're totally addicted to it!

While Marlin does not try to realize his dream of "moving to Brazil before his death", he is content with trying out Brazil through the fragments presented by Chicago Samba, probably the only place where he can really live the Brazil of his fantasies:

> When we're out there, dancing, everybody dances with us and it makes me dream that I'm in Brazil… and one of the guys of the Chicago Samba said that he loves the way I dance because it reminds him of home, and I feel so proud, so honored, so well accepted and all I want is to have fun!

His contact only with Brazilians, who are linked to the production of Brazilian culture, causes Marlin to extend their characteristics to all others. For instance, he is enchanted by the idea that "Brazilians" are attached to traditions, love samba and its composers and that everyone sings old carnival songs with passion and nostalgia. He is also quite impressed by what he has learned about how the races mix in Brazil and how samba came out of that mixture, that communion. Being a musician as well, he loves Brazilian rhythms because he feels that they come straight from the soul, such is the power with which they reach his ears. But what particularly impresses him and he considers quite tricky is the fact that Brazilian music does not always reveal the feelings carried by the lyrics: "It's tricky because they play a song that sounds cheerful and happy, but when you understand the lyrics, you think, hey, it's sad! *Meu sapato já furou*, for example, is very sad but it sounds happy!"

In the U.S., he explains, when the music sounds sad so do the lyrics. Thus, if it is a happy song, it sounds that way from the first note, which is completely different from what he observed in Brazilian music. He remembers that when he knew nothing about the meaning of the lyrics, he thought that Brazilians only sang joy and happiness. Puzzled, he asks: why is samba like that?

He concludes that samba simply expresses who Brazilians are and what Brazil is like. He admires, what he sees as Brazilians enjoying life, how even though they are busy, thay make time for

a coffee, a beer, or a conversation. He also learned that he can rely on the word of the Brazilians who work with samba: he can count on them whereas he cannot always count on Americans. He proudly says that he is now an American-Brazilian. He feels very well treated by Brazilians and he loves it: "I was crazy about jazz and now my life is just samba and forró!".

Moacyr and Luciano explained that there are several others like Marlin who "catch the fever" and religiously go to watch Chicago Samba every Thursday. Some go for three, six months and others who go for two years without missing a single Thursday! During more than a decade of Chicago Samba, Luciano says that he has seen "many clusters of fanatics ... If I think of a certain time at Mad Bar, I still remember the faces that went nonstop for a while and then disappeared, left."

Steve Fisher, also born in 1968, in the affluent suburb of Western Springs, is another of those who became addicted to the samba played in the city. Professor at Northwestern University, he used to go to bed regularly at 10:30 pm. Thus, he thought himself totally nuts when he began to leave home for a program that started at 11pm!

It all began in the summer of 2000 when some of his friends who were travelling to Brazil invited him to see Chico Cesar at the Old Town School of Folk Music. Until then he did not even know where Brazil was. He found the show entertaining, but he did not give it more thought until the Northwestern International Center for Comparative Studies promoted Brazil Week. There he met Moacyr, who invited him to attend a percussion workshop he was teaching. Steve persuaded a friend to accompany him: "let's go, let's do something different, 'cultural'!" There, in the workshop, they took the instruments without really knowing what to do with them and got into the middle of the cacophony. Steve found it all very noisy, but held steady. Moacyr invited him to show up at The Note, where he was playing on Thursday starting at 11pm. Steve could not believe that he was leaving home at 10:15 pm to pick up his friend and arrive at 10:40 pm at The Note! During the first time watching Chicago Samba, he paid particular attention to Edilson's performance, which he found even much funnier and more engaging than Chico Cesar's. What he experienced was quite extraordinary for him, a white man born and raised in the

suburbs, having tons of fun with Chicago Samba and Edilson Lima!

The following week, he enrolled in Edilson's samba class at *Latin Street Dancing*. Only he and another man were in the midst of very many women! Among them, he even had met mothers and daughters learning together. After attending the first three classes he realized he needed to practice the steps he learned in the only possible place: The Note with Chicago Samba. Not even the cold of winter discouraged him from leaving Evanston where he lived to drive to Wicker Park where samba made everything warm and cozy. He used to stay in the back of the room, practicing what he had learned in his samba classes: one, two, one, and two. Then one day his only male classmate, also non-Brazilian, told him: "Look, if you really want to dance like a Brazilian, you have to pretend you're a woman and roll! Don't worry about moving your butt!" While not questioning the advice and having only Edilson and the usual image of the colonized as effeminate[17] as reference points, Steve says it took him between three and four months to feel comfortable enough to accept the suggestion to release his hips and roll. He finally let his prejudice go and, following the classmate's advice, he realized that it was something quite liberating and fun. He amused himself unaware that his extravagant performance was also the reason for the entertainment of those who knew that Brazilian males do not need to roll when dancing samba.

Like Marlin and Vanyette, Steve learned that Brazilians enjoy life better than Americans, "they often have to wake up early, but they still go out dancing, they think it is worth enjoying life to the fullest". By being a bit closer to Brazilians, Steve has overcome the common prejudice among his friends, which equates sexiness to pornography: "My friends who think like me and go see Chicago Samba and people dancing samba only see the sexual and pornographic side of it". Yet, he recognizes that Brazilians cannot kid themselves because there is indeed much sex involved in Brazilian dance. He insists that this is an essential component of the culture, especially the way sexuality is expressed in dance. Despite acknowledging these characteristics, he emphasizes his experience of the dance as a

[17] Memmi (1991), Fanon (1963; 1967), and Sinha (1995) have discussed the feminization of colonized men in the depictions of colonizing powers.

space for encounters and amusement more than anything else. Thus, what most attracts him to Chicago Samba is the energy that surrounds it. Moreover, he thinks bossa nova is boring and hated the time when he visited Rio de Janeiro and his friends did not take him to the samba schools in the slums with the excuse that it was dangerous. They only took him to bars that played bossa nova.

Steve was one of the fanatics who would listen to Chicago Samba every week in The Note. He explains why: "I do not need company to go to Chicago Samba, I go alone! What is good about Chicago Samba is just that: you can show up there, alone, and it's okay. We all know each other and everyone is friendly and receptive! The group is almost always the same!"

According to what he observed at The Note, half of the audience -which he estimated at about one hundred and one hundred and fifty people- was made up of Americans and the other half was Hispanic and Brazilian. He says that it was like a family and he made friends of different ethnicities and walks of life. He no longer goes as assiduously as he did at first, but he still thinks that it "is an excellent gathering place and everybody has fun!"

Unlike Marlin, Vanyette and Steve, who became involved with Brazilian culture in Chicago, Nilda Soto encountered Brazil as a tourist to Rio de Janeiro in the summer of 2002. Born in Puerto Rico in 1966, Nilda moved to Chicago in 1974, when she was eight years old. The daughter of a University professor and a High School history teacher, she graduated in Business and Nursing and got a master's degree in Education. She was making vacation travel plans when a Mexican colleague, who had just returned from Brazil, told her wonderful things about the beaches, people, and carnival. Taking advantage of the sales promoted right after the Sept. 11 crisis, she got tickets and hotel rooms at unbelievably cheap prices!

She was so delighted with the trip that when she returned to Chicago she wanted to meet and know everything about Brazil. She bought all kinds of CDs and started going to all events related to Brazil. During a Chicago Samba performance at The Note she met Pompeu, a Brazilian, fell in love and soon got married.

She explains that Brazil charmed both her and her sister, who traveled with her, because they had the privilege of meeting a native, recommended by her Mexican friend. Besides showing them a less well-known Rio de Janeiro, he introduced them to a philosophy of life that led them to inquire deeply into their own:

This tour guy was so wonderful that he even got us to meet his family! And got us to participate in carnival, and I loved it! I loved everything: people always happy! I feel like it doesn't matter how bad things are, life is still good. That's what I saw… I don't see it here… Here people always complain about everything: oh my god, I have to do this and that. But in Brazil people were always nice, happy, smiling… I have never met anybody who has gone to Brazil and not loved it… Like, my sister was attacked in Brazil, at knife point on the beach… and even with that experience I still love Brazil… What I have to say is that of all the places that I've traveled, Brazil is the one that I love most. First, it was Spain, later it was Greece, but now is totally Brazil! I never had any intention of going there, because, you know, it was South America. It wasn't on my list…

As well as Marlin, Vanyette, Steve and Nilda there are many other non-Brazilian involved with samba in Chicago. Marcos Oliveira[18] and Luciano Antonio, for example, married Mexican-Americans who used to attend Chicago Samba shows. The success of and the need for Edilson Lima's samba lessons in the group's show also indicate a regular non-Brazilian clientele. However, Shirley Vieira and Paulinho Garcia[19] insist that Chicago Samba's public has always been composed mainly of Brazilians and, in the final analysis; it is this ethnic audience that supports it. Shirley explained that, after changing the weekly show from The Note to the Hot House, the crisis faced

[18] Marcos Oliveira was born in Rio de Janeiro in 1963. He has become Chicago Samba percussionist since 1994, when he arrived in Chicago. As a teenager he took part in the samba circles that formed spontaneously in his neighborhood, but had never played professionally. When he migrated to Chicago, he had already got his degree in Accounting from the Junior Morales College and in Brazil worked as a tax consultant.

[19] Paulinho Garcia, 62 years old, born in Belo Horizonte, immigrated in 1979 to work to Breno Sauer's *Made in Brazil*. One of the most well established Brazilian musicians in the city, in 2010 he was chosen by *Chicago Tribune* as the *Chicagoan of the Year in Jazz*.

by Chicago Samba was a direct consequence of the absence of Brazilians, accustomed to the proximity and the cost of The Note. For his part, Paulinho believes that, unlike the bossa nova crowd, Chicago Samba patrons are youngsters who have just come from Brazil and still live the fantasy of jumping up and down... There are not many Americans, or other non-Brazilians, and those who go are brought by Brazilians themselves. I mean, the audience for samba here is not really American ... I think that if it weren't for the Brazilian patrons Chicago Samba would not survive because Americans don't go… Americans like beautiful and sophisticated carnival costumes. They go to these carnivals in grand style to see a fantasy of Brazil that we recompose. This audience will not go to the Hot House sit down and see people jumping up and down and a band playing loud. But it attracts some Americans desirous of experiencing a Brazilian carnival and satisfied with what Chicago Samba offers...

The statements of Marlin, Steve and Nilda, however, testify to the presence at Chicago Samba shows of many Americans with a desire to approach or remain near Brazilian culture. Brought by their Brazilian friends or boyfriends or as Steve simply risking new "ethnicities" in a city full of such nightly offers, the fact is that Chicago Samba attracts more than just Brazilians. In the several Thursdays I went to see the group, I also found black, white and Hispanic Americans besides the Brazilians.

It is possible that some patrons that I counted as Whites, Blacks or Latinos, were also Brazilians since, as Marcos Oliveira noted, it is not always possible to identify Brazilians by physical appearance. And he teaches me how to get the final proof of identity: you learn who is a Brazilian by how they react to certain songs: according to this thesis no Brazilian hears Gonzaguinha's *O que é, o que é* untroubled.

The Chicago Samba Brazilian public is believed to range from the Brazilian Consul all the way to the Brazilian maid and include students in local universities. In general, they have in common the fact of being single or, when married, have adult children. Among the non-Brazilians, the majority are students or young professionals who are attracted by the idea of Brazil through friends. Many have visited or lived in Brazil, and others have dated or wanted to woo Brazilians. Some are divorced;

many are single and there are also some rare couples. Besides these general characteristics, many also take samba lessons with Edilson Lima, Dill Costa, or Rachel Montiel. Despite differences of nationality, gender, marital status and specific motivation to acquaint themselves with the "Brazilian Night" or a samba band in Chicago, there are also common reasons for the "fever" or "fanaticism" of some.

The testimonies of Marlin, Steve and Nilda suggest that those who regularly attend Chicago Samba gigs do so because they think it is an enjoyable and comfortable experience. Marcos Oliveira agrees:

> we have always had the desire to make the visitors feel like they are at home. And when we become more intimate, we play, bullshit, and we all feel at ease ... We are musicians, but they see that we are people just like them...

He adds:

I think Americans prefer to go to Chicago Samba than to other Latin dances because in Chicago there is less cultural pressure regarding samba. If you go to a salsa club and dance awkwardly, you're more likely to be reprimanded by other dancers or the audience than if you're in the Hot House... We always leave people at ease, I tell them:

> we do not know if you can dance or not, we want you to come and put what you're feeling out ... the way you think it should be done. If this is the right way to dance, it doesn't matter, after all, I myself do not know how to dance! So when someone comes saying she cannot dance, I say, who cares?

Depending on the level of "cultural pressure", It may be that the privilege of dancing samba clumsily is not extended to cities like Framingham (MA), Newark (NJ) or Pompano Beach (FL), where there large concentrations of Brazilians. As a consequence of this freedom, the gatherings around Chicago Samba, as described by Marcos Oliveira, are more like a therapy than one more test in an existence already full of them. Luciano, for his part, insists on the specificity of Chicago Samba shows:

> Chicago Samba brings all sorts of people together. It's like the United Nations. I think it is the energy, the joy of the

> music, the sensuality. Men, for instance, no matter where they come from, Indians, White Americans, Mediterraneans or Latinos, they all feel fascinated by the sensuality of the dance. Samba is a bit tricky and paradoxical: the percussion is heavy, but the samba dancer is light and almost floats on the floor…

Whether attracted by the magic, strangeness, or wildness contained in the narratives of samba and Brazil or simply by the aesthetics and sensuality of the dance, many continue attending classes, concerts and other events sponsored by the group; this has nothing to do with these abstract powers of seduction, but with the feeling of welcome that they find in the "communities" formed around these cultural productions. Thus, the commonality among those "addicted" to samba is the need to establish links, relationships, and to feel their differences acknowledged. Not by chance, they are also immigrants to Chicago even when American. Or else they are individuals like Marlin and Steve who, because of some sense of exclusion or need and desire for adventure, feel encouraged to distance themselves from their own social groups to open up new worlds.

Far from Ethnic Comfort: The Private Parties

However, Chicago Samba does not experience only good energy. Several musicians have referred to the frustrations encountered at private parties as one of the biggest challenges to the diffusion of Brazilian music in the region. Some communities are more close-minded than others according to Marcos who offers the example of Mexican and Puerto-Rican communities:[20]

[20] Marcos's proximity of the Mexican world, also because he is married to a Mexican-American, should be enough to avoid such generalizations. I have no doubt that he is aware of the variety of possibilities existing under broad categories such as "Mexican community" or "Puerto Rican community". Here he probably referred to very specific segments of these communities, but I did not question his propositions about it and he proceeded without making the appropriate relativization.

It is very difficult to get into a community such as Mexican, which has a culture like "here is water, there is wine", completely different from ours! They are traditionalists, nationalists! For them, they are in first, second, third and fourth place and there is no space for anyone else. We had experiences where in the same night, we played with salsa or Mexican bands and we clearly heard them say: how much longer will these guys play for? Several times we played and they remained still, bored, but as soon as we'd finish our show, a Mexican band would start playing and everybody would get up and start dancing ... That would give us such a feeling of failure!

The apparent rejection Chicago Samba has experienced and will probably continue to experience is not restricted to a particular culture, but it is, above all, a common reaction to the first contact with otherness. Or it may simply be the preference of one musical genre over another, as Becker[21] explains in his study of jazz in Chicago. In regards to samba, however, the difference is that, besides the cleavages of class, generation, region and others that are at the basis of musical preferences, there is also the question of dealing with the *Other*, whether immigrant, colonized, underdeveloped, or primitive. Moacyr notes that people pay attention to the music, applaud, but are not involved, or at least not involved to the point of getting up and dancing. But, he argues, "this happens with any group, not only with us... But we, because of our culture, want to get people involved". Indeed, several group members, who refer to the indifference or rejection of "Americans", "Mexicans" or "Puerto Ricans" to Brazilian music, reveal their disappointment at not being able to involve these groups right away with the music.

Nevertheless, as noted by Moacyr, rejection happens to any unfamiliar song or cultural symbol. In relation to Chicago Samba, Moacyr has learned that, in general, Americans like "plumes and sequins, which are one of our brands, like our carnivals and our good energy". But, he adds,

> there is a big distance between enjoying a carnival parade and getting involved with Brazilian culture! Getting involved has to do with how open people are to new things,

[21] 2008

> or how tired they are of all that exists here and want to be part of something else.

Appreciation for aspects of Brazilian culture, nostalgia of those who have lived in Brazil, or even the fantasy of recreating the carnival in the United States are some of the reasons Chicago Samba is hired for private parties. Moacyr recalls the story of a couple that met at one of their gigs, began dating and later hired Chicago Samba for their wedding party. When the band arrived at the party they noticed that there were only white Americans there who had nothing to do with Brazil. They asked themselves: what to do now? Thus, the band played Beatles and other rock and roll as well as samba and bossa nova and everyone liked it.

Like Sergio Buarque de Holanda[22], Moacyr insists that flexibility is not only a characteristic of the band, but also of Brazilian culture. He says that everything they produce is very adaptable and there is always room for more mixes, "fusions". He states that "the authentic" is not a rigid thing, and he adds: "if we had to think of authenticity there would be no bossa nova..." On the other hand, he recognizes that the band cannot escape from its roots because what it sells is above all a cultural product. In their shows they always offer a little of everything: choro, bossa nova, samba so that "people always know something..."

An enthusiastic reaction to Chicago Samba, however, only happens when there is a sufficient number of Brazilians or *Brasilophiles*, according to Luciano:

> Even when Chicago Samba gives the same show it presents at the Hot House to a private party, the show just does not come off because people do not understand and folks do not feel the music. Sometimes we feel somewhat restrict, trying to force people to dance, trying to make the party happen the way we have in mind and plan but people do not understand what is going on and prefer to stay seated, as if waiting for what will happen next... But when there is a sufficient number of Brazilians whom the music touches, it brings out that emotional thing of missing Brazil, of feeling at home and speaking Portuguese... So, when there are

[22] 2002

> enough Brazilians, the atmosphere contaminates all who are around, whether Indian, Hispanic, French... So, that's how it is: we start to play a set of dance music and when Brazilians are around, they immediately begin to dance and whoever's around begins to imitate, and there you go: a dance party all night long!

By Way of Conclusion

The material analyzed in this paper shows Chicago Samba to be a kind of "corner of the world" where Brazilians and non-Brazilians get together mediated by samba. Life-stories of Moacyr Marchini, Luciano Antonio, Shirley Vieira, Marcos Oliveira, Edilson Lima, Fernanda and Evaldo Jr. reveal that their engagement with samba, even when casual, is a choice based on an observation of the advantages of this specific labor market in comparison with the general market for immigrant labor. These advantages are not all necessarily economic. As suggested by Shirley (p. 9-10), there is also the symbolic capital that few professions open to them offer. The artist or cultural worker is never just cheap immigrant labor; above all, s/he is a representative of the culture whose goods s/he negotiates. As such, instead of becoming nobodies which is the usual fate of immigrants, those working with cultural goods have a value recognized by their countrymen and also the natives and other ethnic groups in the host country.

Brazilian immigrants who engage professionally with samba in the United States do not always do so because they had a special relationship with it before they came. Instead, many of them, like Moacyr, Marcos, Shirley and Fernanda, had no working relationship at all with music or dance but took advantage of invitations to enter into that world. When they did, they never again wanted to leave it because they were rewarded in many ways. Luciano Antônio, for instance, reflects with irony and humor about his career: "life is funny, I came to Kansas City to study classical guitar and ended up playing *pagode* in Chicago!" Although already involved with music, Evaldo Jr. had no particular interest in samba. Before his casual meeting with Luciano in a Chicago bar, Evaldo Jr. played in rock and roll and

reggae bands. Fernanda never thought of singing professionally. They all got involved with samba after immigrating and after verifying that such involvement could turn into a more valued form of integration.

Obviously, without an already existing narrative about Brazil, there would not have been this job market or the possibility of this kind of integration. Thus the stereotypes that compose the narrative are the architects of the desires and fantasies that drive people to constructing the "corner of the world", inhabited by Chicago Samba. In this corner, individuals, lulled by samba and the fantasies it raises, get together with others belonging to ethnic and social groups that otherwise do not usually meet.

Because it is an ethnic product in a city with a small Brazilian population, samba requires a special kind of initiation that goes beyond simply mastering the dance technique: it requires living and dreaming a mythical Brazil along with others. Even though manufactured to sell samba, the ambience ends up welcoming everyone, including Brazilian immigrants. Samba in Chicago is not only a mirror that reflects remote and intimate desires but is also proof that paradise exists not just south of the equator but there in a kind of cultural free zone constructed by Chicago Samba's weekly presentations.

Far from the city's (and Brazil's) hegemonic social relations, Chicago Samba becomes a kind of safe haven where those, who venture there, create the opportunity to see themselves and others through different lenses. Mediated by the appeal to hybridity and miscegenation contained in samba, Brazilians and non-Brazilians rediscover themselves as well as Brazil, Latin America, the United States, and the geopolitics of Chicago. They also discover the flexibility and limits of all kinds of stereotypes. Marlin, for instance, found that the distant Brazil of Black Orpheus was within his reach right there in Chicago, only a few dozen miles from home. It was there too that Nilda discovered that Brazil is also just around the corner; the encounter completely changed her life and led her to reconstruct Latino identity in Chicago. Steve also challenged the limits of a suburban white American and realized, through dancing samba, that Brazilians enjoyed life more than he did. Bridging miles of social distance, the 'Consul' and 'maid' smile at each other complicit in the narrative. Chicago Samba reinvents Brazil,

geopolitics and the samba itself and creates the conditions for an effective cultural hybridity "that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy"[23]. Thus it challenges simplistic explanations that involve classic polarities, which though helpful for understanding the divisions and conflicts between individuals, "do not include the movement of affect in solidarity activities where both hegemonic and subaltern need each other"[24].

[23] Bhabha 2007:5
[24] Canclini 1998: 347

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Seeing oneself through the eyes of the other: Gender, race and Brazilian identity abroad

Claudia Barcellos Rezende

The subjective experience of national identity may be highlighted when one is in the position of a foreigner. In their classic essays, Simmel[1] and Schutz[2] emphasize the ambiguity of the stranger's social position -being simultaneously inside and outside the new social group. As a result, he or she relates to people in this new environment resorting to different standards of knowledge and evaluation, giving them some freedom to question local meanings and values. Initially, the stranger tends to see local people in a typified manner, and vice versa, and such stereotypes cloud their perception of each other's individualities. In this sense, the experience of being a foreigner in another country underlines the contrastive dimension of national identity. Through this contrast, certain elements of national identity become particularly visible. Since identity is at once collective and subjective -that is, it is experienced by an individual, the figure of the national subject has specific physical characteristics- an image as well as a certain relation to the body -that often distinguish him or her from people of other countries. Every society, according to Mauss[3], presents its own set of bodily techniques that shape the body in its various ages and in the performance of its daily activities. Furthermore, the construction of national identity involves a symbolic appropriation of the body through electing marks such as "belonging" to the same race (or to a racial mixture, as the Brazilian national narrative states it) or the choice of a given

[1] 1971
[2] 1971
[3] 1974

gender to represent the national subject. In this sense, national identity is simultaneously marked by gender and race.

In Latin America, European-inspired eugenic movements revealed the importance of gender and race in the construction of various nations. Stepan[4] examined the significant role of eugenics in the constitution of some Latin American nation-states, such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico at the turn of the 20th century, in selecting and "improving" the genetic constitution of their peoples. The preference for certain racial types and the focus on women's reproductive health were fundamental factors in the search for the "homogeneity" needed for a modern nation.

Besides affecting the selection and definition of who is a national subject, gender and race also become symbolic elements in the creation of national identity. Hall[5] mentions, for example, how the meanings of "Englishness" are linked to masculinity. Kondo[6], in turn, argues that the notion of Asia, in Western eyes, alludes to more than geographical boundaries, presenting aspects of racialization and feminization common in submission relations.

Brazil has been represented differently, in distinct historical moments. During the empire period, the national image was that of an indigenous man - a masculine ethnic figure[7]. More recently, national identity has become more often symbolized by the figure of the *mulata*, a woman of mixed race. Again, the image combines gender and race, but in a different manner, with a positive emphasis on racial mixture. The *mulata*'s position challenges traditional power relations -she is inferior due to her social origin, but powerful due to her sexuality[8]. Her representation as seductive, yet submissive, is exactly what makes the "woman of color" attractive in the eyes of white foreigners who visit the country looking for sex tourism[9].

With these examples, I show not only the close link between national identity, gender and race, but also how this national

[4] 1991
[5] 1998
[6] 1997
[7] Carvalho 1999
[8] Corrêa 1996
[9] Piscitelli 1996

construction always interacts with external voices and gazes. If self-images are defined in contrast to others, a significant part of this process is negotiation with images constructed by these others, especially in post-colonial contexts[10]. That is, ex-colonies carry in their national identities the mark of ambivalence, as they desire to be recognized as equals -which is as a rule denied to them -while at the same time affirming their singularity.

In this article, I examine how the link between national identity, gender and race appears in the narratives of a group of Brazilians who studied for their doctor's degrees in Europe and in the United States. Based on their condition of being foreigners in another country, I analyze how these people perceived Brazilian identity through the marks of gender and race, which was experienced in an ambiguous and conflicted way. In particular, I discuss the meanings of the idea of a "Brazilian appearance", in order to understand why most of the interviewees said they did not "look" Brazilian, when explaining that locals did not treat them with prejudice. What are the implications of this denial for a subjective construction of Brazilian identity?

In my analysis, I share Verdery's concern of how "the feeling of 'I' as national" develops[11]. Taking subjectivities to be culturally constructed, Verdery argues that the way individuals create feelings of belonging and identification with their nation is as important as the process of creating national images. Therefore, I examine the perception that the people studied have of Brazilian identity -what being Brazilian means to them and what feelings this identity generates for them.

I analyse the narratives of six men and six women, all white middle class, aged between 40 and 50 when interviewed and presently university teachers of the humanities in Rio de Janeiro. They studied for their doctor's degree in the late 80s - early 90s in the United States, England, France and Belgium. At the time, some were already university teachers and/or researchers and half of them went abroad married. They all received financial aid from the Brazilian government agencies.

These narratives were obtained through interviews I conducted in 2002 and are, therefore, retrospective reports,

[10] see Bhabha 1990, Chatterjee 1993, Gandhi 1998

[11] 2000: 242

based on memory. It is important to highlight the selective action of memory, which recreates the past using elements which are significant to the present[12]. In this sense, the experiences of studying abroad were revisited in the context of an interview with an academic colleague who also did her doctorate abroad. Thus, not only was I questioned about my experience of living and studying in England, but at various times they assumed that I had had similar experiences. Besides, since I knew some of the interviewees well, the stories about the problems they had faced varied according to my relationship with them; the ones closest to me elaborated their feelings of suffering considerably, while others said little about difficult experiences.

The Experience of Being A Brazilian Foreigner

The creation of a Brazilian identity in a foreign context has been analyzed by various authors, such as Sales[13], Ribeiro[14] and Margolis[15], who are concerned with the recent phenomenon of Brazilian immigration in the past few decades. All of them point to the contrastive dimension of this process, to the dialogue with images present in local society. For example, Margolis[16] shows how New York Brazilians refuse the "Hispanic" label, which in many American contexts is used as a synonym for "Latino", another uncomfortable category for the group studied. Sales[17] talks about how Boston Brazilians construct an image of hardworking people, as a way to counteract local views of Brazilians as lazy. In these cases, the construction of a Brazilian identity was constantly reaffirmed through sociability and community ties with other Brazilians. It differs, in turn, from the ambivalence towards this identity demonstrated by the Brazilians I talked to.

For many of these, their stay abroad to pursue their doctor's degree was their first experience of being a foreigner. The choice to study outside Brazil was motivated not only by professional

[12] Halbwachs 1990
[13] 1999
[14] 1999
[15] 1998
[16] 1998
[17] 1999

reasons -doctorates in their field either did not exist or were not well developed, but also by the desire to live in another society, particularly in Europe. Some countries, like France, held a special fascination for some, long before they had thought about doing their doctor's degrees. Valuing other cultures and learning about the other, especially "First World" countries, was thus a characteristic of these people, one that was also reflected in their choice of professional fields and shared with other people from the middle classes[18].

The condition of being a foreigner gave them a critical and comparative gaze on both local and Brazilian societies, something which they all stressed. It also explained broader communication difficulties, particularly in the beginning, resulting from a lack of mastery not only of the native language but also of more general codes of behavior. In some cases, such as for those who studied in France, being a foreigner complicated many things -from renting an apartment to their relationship with neighbors, who displayed xenophobic attitudes. For the majority, these adaptation and/or relationship problems with local people were due to the fact that they were foreigners, and not specifically Brazilian foreigners.

However, everyone felt that their Brazilian identity had become more salient for them during their time outside the country. Recognizing themselves as Brazilians implied valuing some national symbols such as coffee, soccer or Carnaval, or a particular emotionality. This (re)construction of Brazilian identity carried a strong contrastive character. For example, the experience of being a student at a foreign university was discussed by all in the same way, comparing it to their references in Brazil. The relationship between student and teacher and between colleagues, the structure of the course and the institution itself were contrastively analyzed, stressing either local qualities or problems.

Brazilian identity was also (re)created as a result of the contrasts between these people's self-image and local views of Brazilians in general. Marcos, who studied in London, thought that Brazilians were seen as "neither civilized, nor barbarous", being thus "neutral" to Europeans. There was "prejudice" but

[18] Rezende 2006)

also "warmth" in the case of white Brazilians, Marcos said. The ambivalent ideas about Brazilians that Marcos recalled were brought up, in diverse ways, by all the interviewees, causing much discomfort and irritation.

All of them had to deal with negative images of Brazilians in general and of students in particular, which they thought did not match their personal traits. For example, among those who studied in Europe, many spoke of the university professors and staff expecting Brazilians to lack punctuality and discipline and being surprised to see them behave in the opposite way. Some of those who went to the United States and England met professors who thought Brazilian students did not have a solid theoretical background. Since most interviewees had already been researchers or teachers in Brazil before their doctor's degree, these local images were seen as reducing them to the status of "mere" students with no professional experience, a motive of strong complaints.

They also met, both in the United States and in Europe, harsh criticism for the cut down of the Amazon forest, as well as for Brazil's poverty and "backwardness", holding them greatly responsible for the country's situation. In these situations, they were bothered by what they saw as a "unilateral" view of Brazilian problems, which did not take into account international interests -imperialist, to some- in the political and economic power struggles that affect Brazil.

On the other hand, there were also positive images of Brazilians, especially among Europeans. According to those who studied in England, English academics tended to see in Brazilian students a leftist political orientation, which they valued. Among the French, in turn, there were images of Brazil as a "tropical paradise" -beaches, music, women and warmth- which instilled in them a desire to visit the country.

These local ideas about Brazilians often created practical problems for the people studied. Renato could not at first enroll in one of his PhD courses, in the United States, because the teacher assumed that he did not have the theoretical basis required. He had to explain that his master's degree had been in the same thematic area as the course's in order to be able to take it. Dora was not accepted as a roommate for her Tunisian colleague, who thought the Brazilian "festive" spirit would clash

with her Muslim beliefs and habits. Dora, who had always considered herself shy and only found out she could dance the samba when she was abroad, found her colleague's refusal both amusing and surprising.

In all cases, these images stressed the fact that Brazilians -including these PhD students- were thought to be different from local people. This in turn brought into question their perception, held before living abroad, that they were cosmopolitan, sharing a series of behaviors, ideas and values broadly understood as Western, rather than specific to one culture or another. During their foreign stays, they were confronted with a series of views of Brazil as a country that was not exactly Western, which was "neither civilized, nor barbarous", as Marcos said. On the other hand, if before they had thought of Europeans and Americans as relatively similar to them, during their years abroad they rethought this similarity, emphasizing their difference from locals. It is not surprising therefore that many said they had "become" Brazilian when they were abroad, a condition also reaffirmed by local society. With respect to gender and race images, this contrast between local views and self-image became even sharper.

Brazilian Body and Appearance

Silvia - In the beginning [in France], I'd go to parties and people would say: "Let's dance the 'lambadá'" and then I'd say I didn't know how to dance "lambadá", because I knew that the guys wanted to grab me and touch me… Then after a while people started asking where I was from. So I began to say I was from Paraguay, Uruguay…"

Marcelo – I didn't even have that problem [in Belgium], because I have this physical type which makes me pass for a Spanish or Portuguese anywhere I go. My whole family is from Portugal, so I didn't have that kind of problem (being persecuted for belonging to a certain ethnicity or race). My wife always felt that way… she's a beautiful brown-skinned woman…she was seen as someone who was not European, because she looks a bit like an Indian… My wife is a typical Latin American. And she used to say to me that men approached her with this a priori

idea, an assumption about Brazilian women, as if she were very fiery… (laughs).

When I asked these Brazilians if they had ever been treated differently because they came from Brazil, most of them understood that I was asking if they had had problems or even suffered discrimination from local people. Their answers usually made reference to gender and/or race. That is, it became clear that one was not Brazilian generically, but rather with a particular body -with a specific gender and race.

For women, the national image became an especially strong mark. The representations found in the United States and Europe were similar, and they had as its main trait the strong sensuality of the female gender. But the women who studied in England and France discussed it extensively, due to the stereotyped way in which it was constructed. Whether it was the idea that every Brazilian woman dances lambada or dances in any situation, or the view that she is open to being "grabbed" and touched or that she is "fiery", the images caused discomfort, even though not all of them acted like Silvia in pretending not to be Brazilian. In the words of Andréa, who studied in London, it was as if people expected Brazilian women to "start dancing lambada out of the blue" or to start dancing in any situation, such as in the formal university parties.

Among men, the gender dimension in national identity seemed to be less pronounced, as shown by the example of Marcelo, who talks about his wife but not about himself. As with the women, Brazilian men were considered "more passionate", a fundamental trait of the "Latin lover" type. The other side of this image was the notion that Brazilian men were sexist; this aspect was indeed rejected by the interviewees. Still, only two men -one who studied in the United States and the other in England, places where feminist ideas were very widespread in the university environment- talked more about their reactions to these images.

As a rule, the reaction to the gender images encountered abroad varied between irritation and laughter. The annoyance came from the fact that these women and men did not identify with these stereotyped traits, at least not in such simplistic view. The laughter in turn, put a distance between the contact with these representations and their subjective effects. By

recounting these situations as funny episodes they had to deal with, these people seemed to be saying it did not seriously affect them. Although they tended to minimize the importance of these images, most of them adjusted their behavior to local standards in order to avoid being associated with a view of Brazilians they considered stereotyped and ambivalent.

While gender marks were evident in the treatment they had received as Brazilians, they did not see themselves as having a Brazilian color or "appearance". Most of them , at some point in our talks, that since they did not have a Brazilian "appearance", they were not treated "differently", that is, they did not suffer prejudice because of their physical traits. Marcelo, for example, argued that his "appearance" was Portuguese, and therefore European, with his wife being the "Latin" type -brown skin, indigenous features. Like him, the majority assumed they had the "appearance" of other foreigners of European origin, but not of Brazilians. Only two people spoke of non European looks but they did not describe it as a Brazilian appearance; rather, they referred to a "Latin type"- a vague expression which could mean both to "Latin American" and "Latin European". The exception was Andréa, who thought she did not look European, but she was not as different as Asians, in other words, she did not think she was seen as "not Western".

"Brazilian appearance", par excellence, was taken to be as a mixture of Blacks and Whites -an emblematic image of Brazilian identity rooted in racial miscegenation, found in the countries in question and presented by the people interviewed. On the other hand, those who did not see themselves as having a "Brazilian type" explained their appearance by resorting to distinctive traits such as "white" skin, light eyes and straight hair, reinforcing the contrast of the typical image of Brazilians as mixed-race. In one way or another, as in the gender question, all of them distanced themselves from this image.

It is important to emphasize that the category "appearance" as used in these narratives basically indicated phenotypical aspects associated with the Brazilian notion of race, which only recently has begun to include as well the idea of origins. The recognition of these traits, as well as their association with one

race or another, varies culturally, as Oracy Nogueira[19] showed in his classic comparative study of Brazil and the United States, so that a Brazilian who thinks of himself as white may not be seen as such elsewhere[20]. In this sense, it is interesting that none of the people I interviewed spoke of the possibility of being seen racially differently from their self-image nor that there may be different perceptions of what a "white" person is, or even the idea that there are several forms of whiteness, which are not equally valued. That is, nobody spoke of the possibility of being seen as a white person who was different from local white people. If in relation to gender they discussed the views they had encountered, when it came to racial images, they did not mention situations which created conflicts for their racial self-images. They simply assumed they did not have a Brazilian "appearance" and that therefore they were not identified as such in the local society.

It is also significant that references to the category "appearance" were in fact restricted to racial characteristics, leaving aside other aspects of the body. No one spoke of the possibility of being identified as Brazilian by a particular way of walking, talking and gesturing or even by the way they dressed. Although Silvia tried to deny being Brazilian, saying she was from Uruguay, at another point in her narrative she said that her expansive manner, touching people's arms when she spoke to them, bothered French people and she therefore contained herself. Marcos mentioned that he learned to recognize other Brazilians by the way they walked, in a "kind of loose" manner, and by their body posture, but he did not say whether he was also recognized in that way.

Therefore, if these people spoke, often spontaneously, about how gendered images of Brazilians affected them abroad, most of them denied having physical traits that would inescapably place them in the condition of being a third world foreigner. If by Brazilian codes these people were part of the *white* middle classes, this was not the case in European and American eyes,

[19] 1985

[20] Nogueira (1985) gives other examples of Brazilians who are treated as blacks in the USA but who do not identify as such, revealing different perceptions of race.

which had varied perceptions of whiteness[21]. But denying this image meant denying the possibility of being immediately recognized as Brazilian -due to visible physical characteristics. That is, for them, if the condition of being a foreigner was inescapable, it was at least possible to look like a European foreigner, less marked by their third world origin and therefore less different than one might think.

The Uncomfortable Difference

As I showed earlier, everyone I talked to said they had felt more Brazilian during and after their stay abroad, mostly showing satisfaction and adding great valued to this identity. On the other hand, I presented how the treatment given to foreigners and to Brazilians in particular, especially in face of gender and race images, produced in them a constant status discrepancy between the qualities they attributed to themselves and those given by others. In Marcos's words, "you are very different in principle. And they see you as being more different than you are". This situation of contrasts -fundamental for the affirmation of any identity- highlighted the difference that, however, seemed to be seen by the other as greater than one imagined. In other words, it was in this context that people confronted the images created by others, forcing them to somehow converse with local views and rethink their perceptions of themselves. I will stress a few points in order to understand this experience of difference.

Firstly, the condition of being a foreign student in a foreign land did not only involve mastering the language and the local codes, a particularly difficult learning process in the early stages. At stake were also the suspension and even the inversion of one's original social characteristics. Many of these people had already worked, before their PhD courses, as teachers and researchers in Rio de Janeiro, some even holding stable positions at public institutions. Thus, their previous intellectual career seemed to be diminished and sometimes even disdained in their relationship with some doctorate teachers or by certain demands made on foreigners in general, revealing a typical case of social status discrepancy. For some, the financial restrictions

[21] Domínguez 1986

resulting from having to live on a scholarship gave them a taste of "poverty", as Dora said, unusual for people from the middle classes used to a more comfortable standard of consumption. If in other phases of life, such as adolescence, the suspension of original social traits could be liberating[22], for the people interviewed the experience was disturbing.

A second question revolved on the effects of the gender images associated with Brazilians on their self-images. It was not simply uncomfortable for those people to see themselves referred to by stereotypes which leveled everyone in terms of a small set of characteristics, for in other moments they described themselves positively in stereotypical terms[23]. We again find the inversion of aspects which defined them before traveling abroad. Thus, to be seen as sexist was difficult for the male interviewees, socialized in urban middle classes at a time when more egalitarian values between genders prevailed[24]. For women, the image of an exacerbated bodily sensuality clashed with the self-image they had created as doctoral students investing in their intellectual education.

If various social aspects had been altered or rethought by the condition of being a Brazilian foreign student, their racial characteristics had apparently not been questioned. Furthermore, all of them said they had not felt discriminated against because they did not have a Brazilian "appearance", unlike other more "typical" Brazilians and foreigners. They seemed thus to be refusing a Brazilian identity marked by often negative or ambiguous local images, such as gender and race ones. They also refused the place of the discriminated -the one whose distinct characteristics are seen as negative or inferior to the dominant standard. For people who, in Brazil, had enjoyed considerable status for belonging to the middle classes and being "white" intellectuals, it was difficult to suspend this self-image and recognize themselves as a possible target of discrimination abroad.

What we see, then, is that the experience of being a Brazilian foreigner took away from them, at various times, characteristics and signs that in Brazil distinguished them as

[22] Rezende 2006
[23] Rezende 2009
[24] see Velho, 1986, Salem 2007

part of the intellectual middle classes. These Brazilians saw as a problem the local emphasis placed on their differences during their condition as foreigners. In this case, it marked a greater social distance than had been imagined by people who saw themselves, in principle, as more similar than different. During their stays abroad, there emerged for them a series of views of Brazil as a country that was not strictly Western, which was "neither civilized, nor barbarous". The perception, held before their doctor's degree, that they were cosmopolitan, sharing a series of behaviors, ideas and values broadly seen as Western, consequently became problematic.

As a result, they developed an ambiguous relationship with the Brazilian identity created abroad. At times, when they were confronted with local images about Brazilian people, they felt very uncomfortable and many even refused to identify with such representations. In other situations, they valued and identified with Brazilianess, especially with the image of Brazilians as warm people who make friends easily[25]. The quality of a more explicit, even physical, affectionateness was embraced as a valued cultural trait.

However, em*body*ing this identity -perceiving its bodily outlines- became painful because it seemed inescapable, fixed in the body, forcing them to deal with the prejudices of those whose approval they desired. Although, as Giddens[26] has said, in late modernity the body is always being manipulated as part of collective and individual identity projects, assuming henceforth varied and mutable forms, in some contexts, though, it seems to crystallize certain characteristics and identities. In these situations, the body can become an essence that anchors and explains behaviors, whether as a positive and aggregating element of some identity movements, or as part of problematic naturalizing views that turn social and cultural distinctions into biological traits.

Thus, to recognize themselves as "looking Brazilian" bothered these people because they saw themselves fixed in a national identity which they felt was undergoing a renewal process. Even more, it implied showing belonging to a nation towards which they held ambiguous feelings, greatly fostered

[25] Rezende 2009
[26] 1991

by the negative views of Brazilians encountered abroad. It meant, finally, leaving each one's singularity behind in favor of generalizing and homogenizing stereotypes, creating a national type which was not always favorably seen.

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Subjective assessments of work opportunities by Brazilian women living in Rome[1]

Isabela Cabral Félix de Sousa

This research intends to contribute to the field of demographic studies. Despite the existence of Brazilian studies on gender and immigration issues, it still seems to lack a grounded theoretical development in Brazil in this field. It can be said that the thematic is new even in Europe and the United States, if we agree with Antonella Pinnelli, an Italian specialist in this field, who emphasizes:

> The importance of gender issues was only recently recognized in population studies. The status of women was analyzed in demographic terms in the 1970s, but is only in the 1990s that a serious discussion of gender issues was brought up in the dominant demographic thought. Nevertheless, this research is relevant not only due to the novelty of the field, but also due to its social importance[2].

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[2] my translation, 2004, p. 11

Brazil witnessed a phenomenon that was unprecedented in its history, which is the increase of the emigration of nationals, particularly to the Northern hemisphere, in a pace that is transforming the country into a new emigration country. This situation in a country which population was formed through the contribution of immigration poses new questions. One of them is that noticeable population of women among the Brazilians abroad.

This places Brazil in an international population trend, where it has been noticed increasingly more women than men migrating. Yet, as pointed out by Birindelli and Farina[3], a considerable part of the literature still portrays international immigration as a male role. Thus, it has to be understood how social changes have been producing this trend in both countries of origin and departure and how in turn they are affected by them. Furthermore, it is important to know the social conditions experienced by Brazilians in the wide range of phases of the immigration process (since their initial immigration project, their stay and sometimes until their return project) concerning their hopes, difficulties and achievements.

The research undertaken privileged the voices of Brazilian immigrants in Rome, Italy, and seeks to contribute to establish what are the conditions of immigration from the perspective of these women who unfortunately are usually less heard. The idea is that the perspectives of the actors who usually have less voice in stating their concerns should inform public policies.

It is undeniable that public policies of First World Nations related to immigrants are becoming restricted. These do affect Brazilians and other citizens living abroad, since they are influenced by new policies formulated and implemented by both receiving and host countries, in an attempt to deal with new emerging issues. Each nation has a series of own public policies related to housing, job, education and health not directed targeted to immigrants but that do affect their lives. By studying them, it could become clearer how policy makers can develop both national and international public policies to attenuate problems and perhaps foster immigrants' empowerment.

[3] 2003

Brazilian Immigration to Italy is a relevant phenomenon that has been researched. According to Bógus[4], a decade ago Italy was the second destination selected by Brazilian immigrants in Europe, after Portugal. By December 2002, it was estimated that Brazilians in Italy were 20.804, which placed them at the 22 position of the 30 communities with major presence of immigrants in Italy[5]. D'Angelo[6] affirmed that in this same period in Italy, the communities with more Brazilians were Rome (4,381) followed by Milano (3,032) and by Torino (1,153).

The proportion of Brazilian men to women in the year 2001 indicates a prevalence of women since their presence related to 65, 4% of the total[7]. Thus, studying Brazilian immigration in Italy, like others communities with more females than males, is essential to understand this modern trend on migration and gender relations, where more women than men move from an underdeveloped country towards a developed one.

Bógus and Bassanezi[8] emphasize that both documented and undocumented Brazilian immigrants are subjected to prejudice and discrimination in Italy. As usual, both prejudice and discrimination have marked encounters with cultural differences. As most Brazilians do not have the same cultural apparatus and connections of the Italians, they may face barriers in the school system, in the health care system and in the acquisition of respectful employment. While their presence is acknowledged, it was lacking information on their experiences to determine if there were in fact structural barriers and, if so, of what nature. Data that is relevant needed to encompass the immigrants' framework of reference such as their views on the conditions of their present life.

The field of migration studies has undergone an important conceptual change. The process of migration is no longer seen only as a linear process but one related to transnational orientations[9] because some migrating populations keep strong ties and do return, sporadically or for good, to their countries of

[4] 1995
[5] CARITAS ROMA, 2003
[6] 2004
[7] CARITAS ROMA, 2002
[8] 2001
[9] Monkman, 1999; Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992

origin. Immigrants' educational, health and working conditions are sometimes compared to non-immigrants[10]. Even so, these comparisons tend to disregard the definitions of those who migrate.

In the present capitalist social order, conditions to immigration have recently worsened or restricted. In countries of destination, not only job contracts are becoming increasingly frail but also health and educational benefits are more likely to be difficult to obtain, particularly to the undocumented immigrants. Moreover, changes in women's roles and globalization in countries, of origin and of destination, increasingly lead more women to migrate. The female modern trend on migration needs to be more understood. Last but not least, Sutton[11] argues that there is a need to produce a more gendered perspective of transnational migration.

Despite the difficulties migrants suffer, there are associations attempting to empower both women and migrating populations in general. It was thus hypothesized that there were barriers faced by immigrants that could be attenuated and even removed when they try to associate with other people informally or even by taking part in institutional activities created by them and interested in their welfare. Therefore, this study also focused on the social integration of Brazilian women living in Rome, considering that their associationism was somewhat related to their attainment of jobs.

It is also hypothesized that migration may to some extent improve the social condition of women. According to Batliwala[12], "Through empowerment, women gain access to new worlds of knowledge and can begin to make new, informed choices in both their personal and their public lives". In the discourse of women's empowerment, stands the right of women to control their own bodies. As a feminist principle, this notion relates to women's sexual and reproductive autonomy as well as their integrity as physical persons[13]. Thus, this study also considered women's reproductive health.

[10] Ali, 2002; Bassanezi & Bógus, 1998; Ogbu. 1987; Pérez, 2002
[11] 1992
[12] 1994, p.132
[13] Dixon-Mueller, 1993

Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that women's empowerment is not an easy task to accomplish. Sousa[14] demonstrates how health professionals' concepts about poor women may undermine the empowerment of their client population. Therefore, it is important to continue to research women's empowerment especially on tough conditions, such as the one experienced by migrating populations. Considering the point of view of immigrant women, more appropriate social measures can be taken in their favour by institutions of the country of origin and destination.

Methodology

The research design selected is qualitative, using ethnographic techniques such as informal conversations and planned interviews. In field settings, it is crucial to understand a contextual situation surrounding what would be evaluated - circumstances for which qualitative designs are quite suitable. The context includes type of participants, localities, and different occasions and can interact in unique ways.

The interviews used have closed and open-ended questions. The closed questions were selected from a comprehensive questionnaire designed at the Department of Demography of La Sapienza and used in other previous survey researches with other communities of immigrants living in Rome[15]. The open-ended questions were generated in this research to address women's personal and reproductive health issues and the profile of men present at the gathering places.

The strategy for selecting the Brazilian immigrant followed the criteria of taking part in social activities of the gathering sites where Brazilians meet, arrange interview with them and ask for other contacts. Thus, the data was gathered not only from the interviews, but also from the fieldwork notes of all informal conversation with both women and men present at meeting localities.

The issues addressed during the interviews with the immigrant women were related to their: present and past

[14] 2001

[15] Bonifazi, C.; Caruso, M.G.; Conti, C. & Strozza, S., 2003

educational and work activities in the country of origin and settlement; their perceptions about their reproductive health status; opinions of the institutions they have related to in Rome; and their participation in social networks that led them and others to immigrate. These questions were anonymous and followed ethical procedures, given the fact that both questions regarding immigration status and reproductive health may cause embarrassment.

Research Results

Social and Demographic Data

The data has been collected from oral interviews and through fieldwork notes regarding observations at selected social sites where Brazilians meet in Rome. The places selected were the Brazilian consulate and embassy, an art gallery, a pizzeria, two churches, two restaurants, one bar and a Brazilian association for women. From December 2003 to August 2004, in depth interviews were conducted with 46 women and non-standardized interviews were settled with 3 key persons that were referred by many Brazilians as developing active roles in their social integration in Rome. One is a woman who is the president of the Association for Brazilian women. She is originally from the Northeast Brazil and lived in other European countries before going to Rome where she founded the organization. She also explained to be the first person in her original family to earn a university degree and to have a personal past of political activities in Brazil. The other key person is a priest who despite not being Brazilian has lived in the country and loves it. This priest not only conducts masses in Portuguese but also helps Brazilian in their spiritual and material needs. Finally, the third key person is another woman born at the Brazilian Southeast and who always worked with volunteer activities, both in Brazil and Italy. In Rome, she has had, for 15 years, an active volunteer role of gathering Brazilians and trying to help them meet basic needs, such as job and housing. She was the first person to immigrate from her own family and helped to bring other 35 family members.

The studied women were born in 13 different Brazilian States and in the United States of America. The majority of interviewed women (35 of them) had migrated at least one time prior to their present migration experience to Rome. While more than half of them had migrated inside Brazil, a few had migrated to other countries as well.

The time range that Brazilians have been living in Rome varies from 6 months to 22 years. The three years (2001 to 2004) concentrate the vast majority of those interviewed, 51 of them. This may not only reflect the growth of new arrivals but also the fact that the more recent immigrants actively participate in social activities in order to share experiences and to find friendship, jobs and housing arrangements.

The age range of the studied Brazilians varies from 19 to 59 years old. Most studied women are single (25 of them) and that slightly over one third had a male partner (17 of them). Among those who had Italian partners, 12 were officially married.

Concerning the legal status of women in Rome, most are legal since only 10 do not hold a valid permission to stay and 3 are waiting for documentation. Not all of the permissions accurately indicate women's activities. For example, one 31 years old woman had a permission to work as a domestic servant to the mother of her ex Italian partner, and instead of that, worked as a hairdresser. Still, in other circumstance the study permission of another Brazilian 37 years old and also from the South of Brazil, no longer reflected this activity, since she began to work on tourism. Finally, a work change may lead immigrants to illegality. A 48 years old domestic servant, originally from the Brazilian Northeast migrated to Rome to serve Brazilian diplomats, but decided instead to change her job and as a result lost her legal permission to stay abroad.

Although marriage with an Italian national is generally expected by the immigrant women to ease the bureaucratic endeavours they have to pursue in Italy, two married women to Italians were instead uneasy for having to wait documentation. On the other hand, some single women reported having never been illegal due to their regular labour activities. Maternity also seems to simplify bureaucratic procedures. A 33 years old woman not married to her Italian partner but with a child by him, reported that her married friends used to have more

difficulty to obtain a legal stay in Italy (permesso di soggiorno) than she had. She even showed me her documents from the Italian government granting her unlimited stay in Italy in order to take care of her child.

The majority of the interviewed women did not have children (35 of them). But this is not surprising given the fact that most of the studied women were single and those who have children may find more difficulty to migrate with their offspring or to provide for their care in the home country. Nonetheless, it remains to be seen to what extent personal and social conditions will lead to change this picture since the majority (37 of them) are in their reproductive years and may still bear children.

In regard to their educational background, 7 women have not finished high school, 20 women completed high school and 19 women hold university diplomas. Almost all university diplomas were earned in Brazil with the exception of one achieved in Italy and another in the Dominican Republic.

More than half of the Brazilian interviewed women, 30 of them, took Italian language courses in Rome. Many of the respondents complained that their workload did not allow them to either initiate or continue studying Italian. Other 11 women had study in Italy or were still enrolled in professional and academic education while they worked. Only 2 females, now with Italian citizenship, studied the Italian language in Brazil. Although it could be promising the number of women who study or had studied Italian in Rome, their attendance tend to be only a few months. Further, it is extremely low the number of women who took Italian language courses in Brazil. This may be associated with the lack of money to study languages since courses are often private, Italian's language similarity to Portuguese, and to some extent, the absence of anticipatory socialization in regard to the need of language skills for the migration process.

Taking into account the presence of Italian ancestry, 6 women reported to have it. Besides, 5 women to hold the Italian citizenship. The citizenship of 3 of these women was granted due to their marriage with Italians, and of 2 because they proved their Italian ancestry. Bearing in mind those who have Italian ancestry, it was never mentioned any of the Italian government actions for fostering the Italian language and culture in Brazil.

Brazilian's Work Activities in Rome

Considering Brazilian women work activities in Rome, all women reported to be working. Most of their activities were primarily in the third sector and most women (38 of them) worked every weekday, while the other 8 reported that their work was sporadic. Still, 2 of them, working for the Brazilian association for women and with university degrees, complained the lack of possibilities in their profession in Rome. Other women explained that only in terms of money they might be better off in Rome, but they were fulfilling work under their abilities. Yet, a few managed to have related and sporadic work activities. Some women worked in more than one job. The first work activity most reported (by 22 women) was related to domestic service such as cleaning and cooking. The other activities in second place, performed each one by 11 women, were either related to the care of children or services at bar and restaurants. However, it is important to emphasize, that while 4 owners developed these activities, other 7 women worked as employees, either as cookers or waiters. And surprisingly the care of old people only appeared as a sporadic work and was done by 5 women. Furthermore, there were also 7 women who mentioned to be working as volunteers in social activities that involved other Brazilian and immigrant women. Among them, 3 were nuns and the other 4 reported combining volunteer activities with paid ones. Other women stated that they were working at a variety of professions such as: commerce, beauty care, marketing, journalism, translation, tourism, chancellery service and teaching.

Working Conditions and Social Integration

When women were asked to compare their working conditions in Italy to the one they had in Brazil, only a little more than half of them declared that, on the whole, they were having a better work life in Rome. An issue to the social integration of women is their greater insertion in the labour market as performing household assistance. While this kind of job has been argued as offering stability to women in the initial steps of their migration process, it has been also argued to hamper in

the long run their professional mobility and social integration[16]. In fact, in this study a few women who hold university degrees and perform these activities were discontent for being unable to develop work activities related to their level of education and having only domestic activities as gainful work perspective.

The forms household assistance may assume are perceived differently by women and these affect their level of job satisfaction. Thus, to have a live out position was clearly seen as more autonomous than having a live-in position. For example, a 38 years old woman holding a university degree reported: "Unfortunately I will have to move into a live-in position. I prefer to work as a live-out, have my apartment, but I was dismissed and there are more offers for live-in positions". It is important to note that as live-out position, this woman's living conditions were not easy. Her living arrangements included other 11 people from other nationalities and one of her companions was recently stolen by one of her roommates.

Additionally, the respondents' level of satisfaction seems to largely depend on their previous perspective back home as well as the time they had been in Italy. Clearly, the improved financial gain was a matter of happiness for those who performed domestic activities in Brazil and were doing the same in Rome. Further, for those who were new arrivals and confronted with unemployment previous to immigrating, being in Italy with a domestic job was also defined as a matter of fortune. A few women noticed not only a decrease in the demand for domestic service jobs but also a decline in the salary offers in Rome. Despite that, the key woman, who tries to help Brazilians in their job demand, told me she can find in a matter of 1 to 2 weeks a domestic service job for a woman but not for a man.

Friendship and Social Integration

The friendship issue was also investigated considering the free time of the migrant women. As expected, they had preference to associate with friends from Brazil. It is important to remember that many women do not have family members around and cannot make this option. An issue that may be

[16] Natale and Strozza, 1997

of concern is the women who favour to be alone but do not find joy in this way, particularly those who complained of their loneliness. Still, it seems that the respondents as much choose associating with Italians and other nationals. Some women expressed desire as well as difficulty in making friends with Italians and, on the other hand, feeling more at ease to make friends with nationals from other countries.

Half of the women indicated their willingness to return home after some years in Rome. During this study, four of them did return home and two discussed in length the pros and cons that they might undergo eventually moving back. However, there are still few women undecided about their stay in Italy, or even envisioning living in another country. This planning is related to their migration project and do not exactly match their perceived social integration, since many women perceive themselves as having a good social integration and even so, plan to return. Still, this perceived social integration is the extent to which women feel adapted, even though they may not present features defined as being socially integrated such as having friendship with Italians or other nationals. For instance, a woman said she was very well socially integrated, because she felt well having a job. Yet, this woman had no free time to cultivate friends, overwhelmed by work and the responsibility of taking care alone of her children.

Perhaps one of the issues of more concern to the social integration of the studied women is their loneliness. While many do not necessarily feel lonely and are quite happy with the lives they are leading, it should not be neglected their feeling of uneasiness in the host society and what they perceive as loosing, like a better marriage prospect. For instance, a 37 years old woman told me that it has been very difficult for her to find a boyfriend in Italy and she wants to marry. In fact, even though most might still have children for being in their reproductive years, it is unclear whether the migration process will or not diminish their marriage and childbearing prospects.

It is important to stress that one of the strengths to overcome loneliness seems to originate from the concrete benefits perceived as being offered by the host society, such as social welfare. For example, as a 44 year old woman said: "I want to age in Italy because I am sure that if I manage to become

legal I will have more social benefits here in long run than in Brazil". This same woman cried talking about how she missed her family members.

Nevertheless, even when the legal conditions of migration can be considered good, women may still experience loneliness. In other words, not only being single and undocumented may be synonymous of feeling lonely. A 35 years old woman, married to an Italian and already with the Italian citizenship, explained how she felt depressed in Rome and identifies this as common trend among other girl friends in similar situation. This woman said that her life was quite difficult and lacked autonomy, since she had to inhabit not only with her husband but also with her parents in law.

Associationism of Brazilian Women

The associationism of these women was analyzed taking into account forms of participation they choose to belong or to avoid. The majority of studied women take part in some institutional activity and the religious institutions tend to be selected by more than half of these women. It can be appointed the great role religious institutions do play in leading some women to their social integration. Probably these institutions' role is fostered by the fact of being approachable when women have the day off. Zarembka's[17] asserts that religious organizations tend to be the first institution searched by foreigner domestic women in the United States, due to the fact that it opens on Sundays. In this study, two women emphasized that they were taking part of religious institutions in a manner they never did in Brazil, because they felt lonely and needed to socialize.

At any case, some do not only take part in religious celebrations but also take advantage of free Italian language courses and cheap festivities. In some cases, it was even reported by the respondents that they have had psychological support and assistance in finding jobs, documentation procedures, and health information. Furthermore, the priest, who has an active role at the Brazilian community, mentioned the assistance in paying return trips for those not socially adapted. Finally, it was

[17] 2004

often stressed among those who participate in associations, that religious ones do a lot, but sometimes cannot help in what immigrants need the most which was their legal documentation.

The Brazilian association for women (Associazione delle Donne Brasiliani in Italia-ADBI) was founded in 1993. Since its foundation, it had been involved in a variety of activities such as: guidance in reproductive health issues like AIDS, DSTs and birth delivery; counselling women suffering from cultural shock; legal orientation; and educational activities to both women and children in order to promote Brazilian language and culture. The rationale grounding the activities is that immigrants do not lose their cultural identity while integrating into the Italian culture.

It is important to note that the president of the association for Brazilian women contended that the majority of women who search this association are those who hold university diploma. Indeed, among those interviewed the three respondents who have participated at ADBI hold this diploma.

Despite the benefits, women may gain taking part of associations, there are important reasons given by a few women who do not participate, which included lack of time, interest, knowledge, belief and opportunity. Still, four women explained that what helped were not associations but friendship. Finally, one woman expressed fear for participating and then being caught because she was undocumented.

Problems Experienced by Women during Their Stay in Rome

According to the president of ADBI, most problems that Brazilian immigrant women faced in Rome were related to: moral and physical abuse by partners; conflicts of young women being married to old Italian partners; the interference of mothers in law; women who managed to separate but were unable to move back due to the fear of losing the care of their children since their ex husbands did not sign permission for their children to move to Brazil; a few Italians threatening their ex-wives that they would tell the authorities that they worked as prostitutes; the fact that the only legal work stay granted

by authorities in Italy was for domestic service; and the misfit of job aspiration when women hold a university diploma and instead, worked with household assistance.

The third key person to the Brazilian community explained that she tries to help Brazilians finding jobs and housing because these are the general problems faced by the majority. She believes that if they are willing to work hard and honestly they will, in the long run, settle and adjust.

During the interviews conducted, working problems appeared twice. A 25-year-old woman had problems working as a domestic servant for an Italian family because she was humiliated without reason and complained to the authorities to receive her last payment. Another 28 years old, born at the Brazilian Northeast and working for a Brazilian diplomatic family, complained to be receiving less than the average paid in Rome. She actually received less than all other interviewed women doing the same job. The key woman who finds jobs illustrated cases in which some Brazilians employers, especially diplomats, try to avoid their servants' socialization in the host country and pay less than the Italians ones with the rationale that their earnings are, nonetheless, higher than the paid in Brazil and that it should be suffice for the domestic servants. Zarembka[18] cites circumstances in the United States where diplomats abuse their domestic servants but not only in regard to payment

Evaluating Women's Empowerment

It is undeniable that holding better paying jobs in the host country has an important role in women's empowerment. But this empowerment in the migration process can be measured in many ways including who initiate the migration process, women's social integration in the host society, the ways their earnings have been spent and if they perceive any gains.

The Brazilian studied women took the primarily role for the migration process, due to the fact that the job demand has been more feminine and because even in family reunion cases, in this study, the marriage started after the migration

[18] 2004

process. It is obvious that single and childless Brazilian women were more prone to undertake this process than their married counterparts. Grasso[19] contends that there are some women who belong to ethnic groups who migrate alone or with their children and that these women cannot be seen as migrating following their husbands, which is the classical case of family reunion. Thus, this study may indicate that Brazilian women tend to immigrate in this fashion. They were indeed protagonist in the decision to migrate, like in the study conducted by Farina and Terzera[20]. Therefore, it is difficult to make the distinction described by Birindelli and Farina[21] of women being either a first or secondary actor in the migration process. A few women, in Rome for family reunion, could not be defined as secondary actors, because they have been in Italy previously as legal workers or as students. For whatever purpose, the decision to migrate did not seem to have been taken due to family pressure.

Among the studied women, the decision took several forms or a combination of them. The decisions were taken either alone or influenced by others such as family members, employers, friends or partners. The influence of others may prove to result in bad or good situation. In four cases, family members (three female cousins and a sister) exploited these women to such an extent that they felt as slaves and moved out. In other instances, three groups of sisters and one godmother with her goddaughter helped each other and were often socially together sharing their migration experience and providing support to one another.

Even though the decision to migrate appeared lacking family pressure, they might be compelled to send money and to provide material goods for their children or ill family members abroad. It is clear that women have been providing the welfare of others. They had provided not only to members of their nuclear family but also to the extensive family. Still, there were many women who have been spending for their own benefit (21). It was also found those who provided both for their family members and for themselves (7). The fact that women provided for the welfare of others, feeling responsible for them, can be argued as a sign of autonomy if they freely decide how money

[19] 1994
[20] 2003
[21] 2003

should be spent and have pride to have this power. For instance, a 46 years old woman working as a domestic servant and living in Rome for 18 years contended: "I am happy to have to spend money on myself and on my family in Brazil. I bought a house in Rome and always helped my sister who is ill and my nephews".

However, when women have difficulty of spending on them, it can be also a sign of lack of autonomy. In this study in two instances, there were complains of such difficulty. One is a 37 years old woman explained:

> I did not pursue university degree in my country because I became unemployed and I could not pay the tuition fees and at the same time help my family. Yet, I should have been more selfish since my dream was to study. I cannot help being differently. Now, my father is ill and I end up sending much of my money to help him because he does not have help from the Brazilian government.

Another way to evaluate women's empowerment was through what they told they were gaining from their lives in Italy. A few women explicated that, despite working as domestic servants, they were nevertheless able to travel around, study the Italian culture and make friends. One was able to pursue her university diploma in Rome and another was under way. Another few also explained that they valued immensely the volunteer activities they were involved in. It is important to highlight the fact that their empowerment can be seen in their lives, previous to living in Rome. Therefore, for some women their experiences in Rome appeared as an extension of the empowerment process, which started earlier. In other cases, women found empowerment in their new lives in Rome.

It was also investigated women's perceptions if migration changed their lives. Many women (33) had explained how they matured and changed psychologically from the migration experience. For example, a 30 years old woman affirmed:

> I learned to see here the world with other eyes. I changed my way of thinking and being. It has helped me to grow as a person and see people and reality with different eyes. I think I became more human and started to question if my votes to the church are the right option.

Additionally, a 44-year-old woman reported crying:

> I have changed so much. I was raised with too much ignorance. And I came in Italy to regret so much what I did to my daughters punishing them, obligating them to follow a religion and to get married virgins. It was a great openness to come here and see other things. I have opened my mind and I see a completely different world.

A few women explicated because they did not experience changes. Other women stressed with pride that they preserved their cultural values as Brazilians. For example, a 59 years old woman said: "I experienced no change. We have to be our culture". Other women contended that they had not changed at all as persons. Still, a 30 years old woman explicated: "Migration did not change and will never change my life and the way I am". This emphasis in the aforementioned statements seemed, somehow, a fear of changing and preserving the culture grounding provided by the country of origin.

Not always were the life changes perceived as positive. A 25 years old woman who came to work for a cousin as a domestic servant and baby sit her child, ended up feeling exploited by her and having an affair with the now ex-husband of this cousin, who not only took her side but felt in love for her. She said:

> I would never think of myself a year ago just graduating, taking my university degree and coming to Italy to work as a domestic servant and then be living such a confusing love experience. I started feeling afraid of life.

Another 32 years old woman who moved after meeting her Italian husband in Brazil affirmed: "A new person was born in Italy. I think the change is for worse because I was more affectionate. Here, I am more closed".

Almost half of them, 22 women evaluated they have had gains generated at their lives in Italy. It cannot be enough emphasized that the universe of those who experienced life changes was not always coincident with the one accounting for gains from their lives in Italy. For instance, a 55 years old woman working as a domestic servant said:

> Before, I came I already did volunteer work and worked as both a domestic servant and a nurse. Here, I lived one

> of the best days of my life when I went to represent the country at the international volunteer day, due to my work for Betinho's food campaign, but I think my life would be good anywhere.

This woman explained that she came to Italy because she had lost her main paid job in Brazil and a friend referred her to come to work with Brazilian diplomats. She sees as gains from her life in Italy: both her paid and volunteer work, the opportunity to travel to many countries, the rebuilding of her family's house in Brazil and the friends she has made from all social classes. Besides, a 49 years old woman explained: "I grew as a person because I learned so many cultures and then, I compared good and bad things of Brazil with other countries. It is an opportunity to know people, to know how they think differently. I grew immensely and so did my children". Moreover, another 41 years old woman very enthusiastic of the possibilities of life in Rome and Italy in general, believed all immigrants should ask themselves what they could do for Italy.

Grasso's[22] distinguished between two forms that the female migration experience may unfold. In the first one, the migration experience is instrumental and limited in time. In the second one it is promotional. This is the one in which women try to adjust to the new society that they chose, due to its more equalitarian gender values and when they can become emancipated. Bearing in mind this distinction, it seems that to many studied women their experiences have been instrumental, and little or no empowerment was actually gained from the process. However, there are 22 women who reported that they have been promoted to a new world. A few of them are indeed inspiring models. To name a few: the president of ADBI, the key woman who finds job and housing for the Brazilian community, the aforementioned woman whose volunteer work in Italy gained such recognition that she went to represent Brazil. For instance, according to the third key person to the Brazilian community, the materials gains immigrants may have led them to buy important things such as land, houses and apartments back in Brazil. Moreover, she argued that there were other cultural gains immigrants may have such as learning a new

[22] 1994

language and culture. She perceived this asset as empowering all, particularly children who went to schools in Italy.

Conclusion

The migration process of the Brazilian studied women proved to be not easy and for many women the strength to carry on appeared to lie exactly on their symbolic need to be continuously in relation with the country of origin. Thus, friendship with more Brazilians than other nationals, sending money and building houses can be interpreted as signs of their need to belong to and invest in Brazil, maintaining an umbilical cord with the country of origin. For other women, almost half of them, despite the difficulties and due to the benefits of integrating at the host society, the migration experience empowered them. Their empowerment was revealed in holding jobs, having more earning power and autonomy to spend these earnings, what they told were their psychological, cultural and material gains, and in how they wanted to and did transform themselves or the social world they lived in.

The studied women were all protagonist in choosing migration. Thus, the objective opportunities women had of marriage, friendship, employment and volunteer work in Rome did not necessarily lead all to have a more autonomous life, but did provide them at least an instrumental choice. Their marriage may have yielded the status of a First World nationality, the employment may led to more earning power, the volunteer work may have provided them personal satisfaction and knowledge, and finally the odds derived from friendship could be countless.

While all had a protagonist role in departing from Brazil, how they used the benefits of their improved earning power was varied. While some women felt responsible to use their money for the welfare of their family members, many other were also concerned how to use it for their own welfare and how to benefit from their stay in Italy. Even though half of them wanted to return to Brazil, this did not always mean they were not socially integrated and empowered in Italy. In reality, most claimed to be socially integrated and less than half were, in different ways, empowered through the migration experience.

Finally, while work opportunities were the main motivation for the majority to migrate and remain in the host society, the expected better life conditions were not always a reality in the migration process.

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"Brazilianness" in London: national goods and images in transnational mobility

Simone Frangella

"We don't speak Spanish,
and our capital is not Buenos Aires.
In Brazil we speak Portuguese
and the capital is Brasilia (...)
It is not just about football, about samba
It is a piece of heaven in earth"

Qbrasil Radio, London, 2006

This station jingle, quoted from an old Internet radio channel, is part of a collection of discourses and images about Brazil that have been flowing through the city of London in the present decade. As it remarks on the geographical, social and cultural specificity of the overseas country, it also invites us to turn a new gaze towards it. This kind of message composes many of the numerous advertisements for Brazilian events in Brazilian newspapers and magazines spread around the English capital. Affirmations such as the ones in this jingle are the recurrent motif behind the cultural trends and styles that shape the entertainment field and the circulation of goods regarding Brazil for Londoners and also within the Brazilian community. And, mostly important for the present discussion, it addresses the negotiations around national images in the migratory transnational route, and their particularities in the context of the receiving society.

This article analyses the production and diffusion of goods and images about Brazil in London, seeking to understand how they articulate meanings of national identity; which kind of cultural visibility they bring to these transnational dynamics; and how the Brazilian migrants in London participate in this experience. Based on ethnographic researches regarding,

respectively, cultural production and migrant community relations among Brazilians in the UK[1], this analysis aims at showing an intricate process in experiencing "Brazilianness". On one hand, I consider that cultural goods and images constitute an essential and visible construct of a national marker of Brazilians in the English capital. As such, it is not necessarily produced by the migrants, but it involves them as actors in this "identity" making. On the other hand, this material culture includes a diversity of images that are constantly negotiated in the London scene, mostly feeding traditional stereotypes of Brazil, but also introducing new aesthetic forms and images that allow the emergence of a dynamic cultural and social market.

The Making of Ethnic and National Markers

The emigration to London (and to the UK) is a relatively recent movement for Brazilians[2]. Although one can trace relocations to the British capital in the 1980s and 1990s, it meant at that time rather occasional and intermittent arrivals; people seldom defined themselves as immigrants, or as temporary or permanent in the country[3]. After 2001, a proper migratory flow emerged, in a silent and steady way. Although there are not reliable statistics to indicate numbers of the

[1] The present work is a result of two researches I accomplished in London during the 2010s. The first study was part of the AHRC-funded three-year project: Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic, centred in the Centre of the Study of Brazilian Society, King's College London. It concerned Brazilian cultural production in London, focusing on Afro-Brazilian manifestations.
The second investigation was carried out as Visiting Researcher at Goldsmiths College, London, about migration, gender issues, "community relations". Data referred to here was collected mainly between 2006 and 2009, with some observation notes taken since 2004. They were accomplished through intense periods of participant observation, interviews and collection of media material.
The first draft of this article was presented at the Seminar Migrations,Traditions and Modernities - Comparing Ethnographies, in ICS/University of Lisbon, 26-27 October 2009.

[2] Frangella, 2010

[3] Torresan, 1995

newcomers, they are estimated at around 160,000 in the city.[4] During that decade, the intensification of the social networks enabling the relocation has been remarkable. Gradually, puzzled but enthusiastic Brazilians settled in London, establishing dynamical economical and social connections among themselves, with some British groups and with other migrant communities. In 2006, Brazilians would be included as "new Londoners".[5]

However, the acknowledgement of their existence in British eyes has been subtle. In face of the diversity of ethnic and national groups living and circulating in London, Brazilians were not easily detectable. Not being politically or religiously discernible, and not being perceived even ethnically, particularly as far as physical appearance is concerned, the arrival of Brazilians remained unnoticed. The Brazilian presence was also not necessarily associated with references to Brazil that were already being promoted in the cultural agenda and becoming more fashionable and very remarkable in the English capital. Thus, while one could enjoy a show by a Brazilian artist at the Barbican Centre, in the heart of London, one could not spot Brazilians as a group.

This picture gradually changed throughout the last decade. Attempts of Brazilian residents to organize ways of providing information and help for newcomers led to formations of forums and organizations, some structuring forms of an emergent community.[6] At the same period, the assassination of Jean

[4] There have been many difficulties in stating a demographic account for the Brazilian population, for many reasons, among them the fact that the number of illegal people and European citizens -thus, not registered as Brazilian newcomers in the immigration service (Home Office)- is considerably large. A 2008 report released by the *Ministério das Relações Exteriores* (Ministry of the Foreign Relations) estimated around 150.000 Brazilians in the UK. Another report, produced in London in 2007 through a research conducted by Queen Mary University indicated 200,000 in the UK, and around 130,000 to 160,000 Brazilians in London. (Evans et al: 2007). And in 2009, the MRE (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), calculated 300,000 Brazilians in the UK. As for comparison, in the 1990s, the presence of Brazilians in the city was estimated at 15,000 to 50,000. (Cwerner,2001)

[5] "The New Londoners - Foreign-born population increases 7% in 9 years", London Lite, 13 November 2006."

[6] In 2001, the Consulate promoted meetings with Brazilians actively en-

Charles de Menezes in July 2005 brought up the issue (among others) of the invisibility of Brazilians in the city to others of their own nationality and to British eyes, and triggered the debate about belonging in the receiving society and the controversies of the multicultural politics involved in it. Concomitant to these processes, a whole network of services, goods and learning courses started to be provided (among migrants but also by non-Brazilians) to fulfil the needs of immigrants.

It is important to remark that Brazil emerged in the public sphere of London, through two coexistent but separate movements that intersect in the making of this national community in the city: the increase of cultural production and the presence of immigrants. Although still far from guaranteeing the prominence that other so-called minorities have in the city, Brazilians have created spots of visibility and interaction in urban spaces in a relatively short period. They strengthen points of intersection with both other migrants and Londoners, generating positive new social interactions, but also engaging in disputes in work places, facing discrimination and issues around illegality.

One of the significant expedients for migrants to manage settlement successfully in the country has been the ability to deal with the current impression about Brazil. Ideas about the nation had been circulating before their arrival, through global networks, fed by Brazilian cultural policies and by previous experiences brought up by Londoners interested in diffusing the cultural trends of Brazil.[7] Interacting with, contesting, or

gaged in organising and supporting the community. The initiative of the Consulate - called Conselho de Cidadãos - was a starting point to discuss issues concerning Brazilian immigrants. In 2003, with a mixed initiative of the Embassy and Brazilian citizens, a Forum of debate was created - *Diálogo Brasil* - with the similar purpose of the *Conselho de Cidadãos*, but in a more informal position and open to a more informal public. And, in 2006, an assistance service to Brazilians in London named ABRAS was structured, thus reinforcing the necessity of looking at the Brazilian migration as a social and political issue in the UK.

[7] From the1980's until very recently, two institutions invested intensely in the promotion of Brazilian arts and culture. BCA (Brazilian Contemporary Arts), was founded in 1985 by a German man married to a Brazilian woman. It was an important reference for the cultural events - and it still is -, directed at that time to an English public interested in Brazil-

even adding new elements to such imaginary meant for the migrants, on one hand, articulating a spectrum of possibilities concerning work networks and social relations (friendship, affective, etc). On the other hand, it also meant dealing with confrontations between these representations and their daily experiences, traversed by migration status, regional and religious class information.

It happens that all these negotiations are constitutive of the historical process of the making of "Brazilianness". During mid-nineteenth century, and particularly the first half of the twentieth in Brazil, a definition of national identity has been built, nurtured essentially by intellectuals and politicians, concerned with constructing the modern Brazilian nation, in face of the emergent issues of modernity at the time[8]. This continuous effort involved the articulation of a discourse of national building, stressing the formation of Brazilian people and territorial occupation[9]. It embraced different identity representations, different ethnicities and regional aspects, but always attempting to make Brazilian nationality uniform. Thus, the insistence on the unity made the concept durable, and the malleability of that structure allowed new groups to be incorporated and add new meanings to it[10].

ian culture; at that time this public was more restricted. Nevertheless, it was this institution that brought into the spotlight renowned names such as Caetano Veloso, Gilberto Gil, Gal Costa, Jorge Amado, Alceu Valenca, Grupo Corpo, among many others. For a significant period of its existence, it was partially sponsored by the British Council and after the withdrawal of this support in 2008, it closed.

The other institution is the Embassy, which still maintain this type of promotion, including singers, painters, stage and cinema actors in the British arena. The Embassy took part in the organization or promotion of many of the events produced in the city about Brazil, which implied partnership with many important artistic institutions of London.

It is important to notice that both BCA and the Cultural Section of the Embassy still have strict criteria for the selections of the events they present. To disseminate Brazilian culture, renowned musicians and artists, who have a broad acceptance in the Brazilian media and cultural institutions in Brazil, and are of recognised quality, are elected for performance.

[8] Silva, 2003; Reinheimer, 2007; Lessa, 2008

[9] Reinheimer, 2007

[10] Lesser,2003; Lessa, 2008

The sociocultural basis that defines Brazilianness relies on the notion of "hybridism"; not just in the sense of the so-called racial miscegenation but also in terms of codes that constitute this society[11]. The Brazilian nation is characterised by a mixed culture, with adaptable skills, tolerance to the new, creative, playful; very religious and syncretist, marked by deep social inequality and personal relations[12]. Race mixture, migration and assimilation were also very critical in the composing of this notion. Finally, in the making of Brazilianness, some privileged symbols[13] became essential, such as musicality (samba, carnival), football and Brazilian women.[14]

This apparent unified national identity was constantly under cultural, economical and political negotiation. The terms behind Brazilian and Brazilianness were arbitrary, articulated and triggered by social actors in determined situations[15]. Notions such as assimilation, acculturation, whitening and Brazilian culture were defined according to historical developments and political objectives. Thus, race and nationalism, and gender served as an ambiguous category either as the product of the "traditional" Brazilian society, or basis of the hybrid Brazilian man; and ethnicity -brought up with immigration in the first half of the twentieth century- was another construct that underwent transformations and conflicts until being absorbed into the "modern Brazilian nation"[16]. In this sense, ethnicity and

[11] Silva, 2003

[12] Lessa, 2008; Reinheimer, 2007; Silva: 2003

[13] Reinheimer, 2007

[14] Many authors show in different perspectives how these symbols were integrated gradually, historically in this national project from the beginning of the last century. (Reinhemeir, 2007; Lessa, 2008).

[15] Reinheimer, 2007; Lesser, 1999

[16] The variation in the ways of including such elements depended on the perceptions and reactions of the social thought about the strategies to create this nationality. This created many contradictions in the way of perceiving mixing of races, the importance of regional origins, and the position migrants would have in the national territory. On one way or another, they were encompassed. Lesser suggests that Brazilianness is more joining than mixing - a multiplicity of hyphenated Brazilians (Lesser, 1999). Migrants were at first seen as the salvation for the whitening project (at the beginning part of the criteria for modernization). Later, until the first half of the last century, they were seen, in the condition of foreigners, as a threat to the National project, which generated many laws and politics of restriction.

race merged in the idea of Brazilianness, which encompassed all the different historical times and cultures into the notion of the modern Brazil.

Now, when looking at this recent Brazilian emigration flow (it dates initially from the end of the 1980s), one can see another dynamics. Used to welcoming and absorbing different national and ethnic groups and subsuming them under the common idea of a nation, Brazilians migrants began to perceive their own nationality considered a synonym of a single ethnic entity[17]. On one hand, relocation abroad foments, at first sight, the reaffirmation of the ideal of *brasilidade* (Brazilianness) in their everyday migrant life - a notion that is translated in inclusion, harmony, warmth, informality. Thus, images that come along with this national projection are reinforced, to satisfy both the *saudade* (nostalgia) of the country - even if it means using national references that are not present in you original region, for example - and to communicate with the receiving society. But, on the other hand, the transnational territorial relocation also involves an experience in which different regional, religious and racial backgrounds are compressed. Differentiations diluted in this apparent homogeneous description of Brazilians become very evident inside migrant communities. Confrontations and disputes around the representations of Brazilianness are put at stake in a different symbolic and geographical dimension. Also, a sensation emerges of "deterritorialization" in relation to the place of origin and the new one[18].

These dynamics certainly seem to change according to the receiving society and the characteristics of the migratory flow. The migration to Japan, for example, mostly of descendants of Japanese immigrants to Brazil, is often based on appeal to the ethnic ties with the receiving country. However, the Nikkeijin -Brazilian Japanese that migrate- have this ethnic link rejected by the Japanese who, despite knowing they have blood ties, don't recognize the Japanese culture in them. Socially marginalized

The ability of the different ethnicities to blend into the national discourse, changing it, allowed the absorption of these groups into the national representations. (Lesser, 1999, 2003; Reinheimer, 2007), Lesser: 2003, Silva: 2003

[17] Sales, 1999; Assis, 1999

[18] Tsuda, 2003

in them, with very few possibilities of social ascension, the Nikkeijin suffer a process of alienation, isolating themselves through the remaking of a Brazilian environment[19]. Japan often becomes seen as a place where one is not entirely there, not as real life. Nikkeijin re-create Brazilian "ways of life" on weekends and holidays to promote relations among dekasseguis[20]. Social time is spent in Brazilian ethnic spaces, feeding status images and differences in these enclosed places[21].

In the same way, Brazilians move to Portugal with an expectation of finding cultural similarities. The bet on the acknowledged historical ties -even if not known with much precision- is what initially motivates their arrival in Portugal, either with permanent or temporary intentions. However, when arriving, Brazilians have to confront their national image already too consolidated (most of the time in a negative way), at the same time as feeling estranged from the nation supposedly close to them. Differently from Japan, it would be very difficult and counter-productive to alienate themselves; in this case, the same basic language and some acquaintance with Portuguese cultural behaviour helps in the adaptation, and Brazilians try to find better ways of connecting with the receiving society, sometimes reinforcing part of the identity associations, sometimes articulating other possible representations[22].

The United States, like Japan, was another important choice of Brazilian emigrants from the 1980s, but with different characteristics. Without ethnic or historical connections, it was the promise of economical and social progress that attracted Brazilians, instigated by long-term publicity in Brazil about American production since the process of economic modernization after the 1950s, and led them to risk the move. Upon arrival in the US, immigrants had to deal with the issues of invisibility in a similar way to the UK, such as difficulties with the language, and questions of illegality. And above all, neither nationality nor a specific ethnicity was acknowledged. They are generally considered Hispanic, an ethnic identity they don't

[19] Tsuda, 2003; Ishi, 2003

[20] *Dekasseg*ui (or *Decasségui*) is a term used for people that migrate to Japan to work.

[21] Ishi: 82

[22] Machado, 2006

relate to. In the case of New York, as much as in the London of this decade, the invisibility of this migrant group lived together with highlights in Brazilian culture at the time. That is, different artistic, entertainment events and food were very fashionable in the city[23]. The context led them to a continuous search for spaces and forms of reproducing community environments, where Brazilianness could be lived[24].

These three migratory situations, described here in a very general way, served as parameters or counterpoints to the ethnographic context of my research. On one hand, they all reinforce this suggestion that qualities of Brazilianness are the main representations the migrants have to deal with, either recurring to or refusing them, depending on the negotiations on surviving and achieving their objectives in the receiving country. On the other hand, a deeper look into the contexts indicates that the experiences of Brazilians abroad confront this single identity representation through class, gender and length of stay, among other criteria. In short, travel, mobility, flows, migration and relocations are relevant in identity construction[25]. Or reconstructions.

Cultural images and goods are a fundamental aspect of such flows. Production, distribution and consumption have been considered by various disciplines as having roles that are interwoven[26], and this brings us, therefore, to the set of relationships built in the cultural production universe. Culture and identity connect to different spaces, and in multicultural contexts and cultural goods and images become a strategy of negotiation[27]. It is through the commercialization and promotion of Brazilian cultural signs in London that we can see an intersection between the recent investments of the Brazilian State in the international arena, the election of Brazilian culture by a set of British entrepreneurs that take advantage of this national identity and the Brazilian incipient community that interacts constantly in this arena either strategically for

[23] Margolis, 1994
[24] Margolis, 1994; Ribeiro, 1999
[25] Clifford, 1997; Vertovec, 1999
[26] Miller et al, 1998
[27] Crang et al, 1999

economical survival or as an emotional experience of being abroad.

Brazilian Highlights in Centre of London

In the present decade, prominent cultural events concerning Brazil were presented in many central and referential places of London. Such events have the strong support of the Brazilian Embassy, either as a sponsor or as a co-organiser, and projected remarkable national representations. But they also included sponsors such as the Arts Council and British Council, Brazilian companies such as Varig, Petrobras and Banco do Brasil, and money transfer businesses. There was cinema, architecture, art exhibitions and shows located in very prestigious venues in the capital. These were landmarks that put Brazil in perspective and helped boost the imaginary about the tropical country. Although this article concentrates on the production of entertainment or arts events, it must be said that they came together with two other significant types of cultural goods: food and fashion. In many ways, they are very connected in the presentation of this imaginary. Among numerous events that took place in London, four of them will be described here, as being strategic regarding the making of national identity.

In May 2004, Selfridges, a very fashionable department store located in Oxford Street, the most famous commercial thoroughfare avenue of London, promoted a one-month exhibition entitled *Brazil 40 Degrees*. For many people I interviewed, this event was considered the turning point of visibility of Brazil in the city.[28] After consulting Brazilian artists, architects, musicians and promoters, the store organized the space with figures and commodities of Brazil. Windows presented "Brazilian themes", common objects of daily lives, landscapes of Rio de Janeiro, *ex-votos*, and other icons of popular religious culture. Members of a samba school based in

[28] Other happenings that preceded the event had also strong impact. In 2000, for the celebration of 500 years of the arrival of the Portuguese in Brazil (Descobrimento), the Embassy promoted many events that took place in the Barbican cultural centre and in the Royal Albert Hall. And in 2003, there was the inauguration of a Gallery Pavillion designed by Oscar Niemeyer and temporarily established in Hyde Park (initiative of the Serpentine Gallery).

London performed dance and music alongside the escalators. Accessories, food, CDs, clothes, flip-flops (*Havaianas*) were displayed for sale. A Brazilian Festival Cinema was broadcasted. Visited by a significant number of people, including many Brazilians, the month was a proper blend of commerce and culture.

In August 2005, Paraiso Samba School, one of the three samba schools based in London became the champion of the highest category of the Notting Hill Carnival. This event, praised by the media as the biggest Carnival of Europe, and attended by thousands of people, is performed in its majority by Black Caribbean and some Black African communities of the city. The school, founded in 2001 by Brazilians and English Londoners, is a non-profit organization sponsored by the British Arts Council. It had a remarkable presence with the participation of a large number of revellers with feathered costumes, strong samba percussion, and a variety of thematic costumes, contrasting with the small groups that characterize the revellers of the Caribbean Carnival. Thus, it had a distinct presence, considering that the majority of the school is not made up of Brazilians. Although samba schools had already been appreciated in the previous years, the award of that year was a mark of Brazilian Carnival presence in the United Kingdom. Together with the London School of Samba -in existence for 25 years- and Quilombo School, Paraiso School extends their presentations in different venues of the city, including parades out of the Carnival period.

In 2006, in preparation for the competition for the World Cup, the Nike store, a big building located in Oxford Circus, one of the most important commercial crossroads of the city, invested heavily in a campaign on the Brazilian game style. The windows exhibited the slogan *Joga Bonito*, and mannequins dressed in Brazilian official uniforms, having as a background the national players. At the entrance, on one of the walls, was a "*manifesto futebolista*", about the art of playing, signed by Brazilian players. The investment came after the Brazilian championship in 2002, celebrated in intense green and yellow colour at Trafalgar Square, a very central -geographically and symbolically- London square. During the World Cup in 2006, Brazilian games were celebrated in pubs and with the numerous

presences of Brazilians and non-Brazilians in thematic T-shirts. Despite the failure in the competition, more games involving the Brazilian national team were organized in London stadiums in the following years, and intensely promoted as remarkable performances.

Finally, as a last reference, in 2003 the film *City of God* was released in London. A large publicity campaign preceded the launch, with big and colourful pictures posted in the underground and on the buses. Released in the main commercial cinemas in the city, it was considered a "thriller of the year". Later on, the film could be rented in any Blockbuster store, together with other films of the same themes, such as *Lower City* and *Carandiru*. Although many Brazilian films had already been released in the UK, this film brought a new style that was well received by a general public. It also inaugurated in a more public scale of reference generally referred to as the "aesthetics of poverty and violence", a genre with recent prominence in the arts environment in Brazil, and which brings an idea of a different and transgressive reality composing scenarios of big urban cities[29]: shanty town landscapes and architecture, street vendors on *carioca* beaches, *botecos* (simple taverns), *capoeiristas, feijoada* and guns, among other signs. The same style was spotted in many different types of goods, such as beer advertisements and bar decorations.

These four cultural settings summarise the basic tones that shape "Brazilianness" over cultural scenes in London. They represent the constant flow of short-term events and exhibitions regarding Brazil that grew substantially in recent years. Londoners' presence in these events is substantial, either as producers or consumers, as well as the presence of Brazilian migrants, although in smaller number than expected (particularly for financial reasons). On one hand, one seeks the images "traditionally" associated with Brazil: joyfulness, sensuality, exoticism, the energy present in the musicality, body movements, *ginga*, food taste, physical appearance, etc. All this is condensed in the appreciation of what characterizes the "privileged" symbols of the mythical nation: samba, carnival, football and women. Generally, this standard of images tends to

[29] "Dos muros para as galerias" in Jungle Drums, 33 March/2006, page 27.

dominate the portrayals, advertisement discourses and selection of criteria of events that come from Brazil.

On the other hand, a new element has been incorporated into the scene, a type of aesthetics that at the same time locates poverty or urban conflicts and shows its transgressive genre. It is a source of representation that has emerged in the Brazilian scene and national media, addressing to a particular kind of social problem and also a specific response to it. The making of an artistic scenery, which works as a form of social expression but also as a strategy of intervention becomes part of the national symbol: music, graffiti and cinema portraying poverty and oppression become both a place for the expressiveness of marginalised segments, as well as an economic opportunity.

Brazilian Community and the Cultural Scene.

One can also witness during the last decade the emergency of activities, products and venues generated by and for the incipient Brazilian community. If, years before that, it was necessary to visit Latin American or Caribbean restaurants to have some taste of rice and beans, nowadays one can easily eat a *feijoada* and dance *forro* around London. In other words, concomitant with the production of Brazilian cultural genre for a more general London public, there was a considerable growth of musical, food and fashion styles directed to relieve the "saudade" (nostalgia) of migrants. This enlargement can be traced in Brazilian restaurants, groceries and butchers; shops selling food and cosmetic products; entertainment services for children (such as party organizations); pubs and clubs used to perform Brazilian music, with many different genres: Popular Brazilian music, drum and bass, *forró*, *sertaneja*, *pagode*, *samba*. Internet Radio and Brazilian TV channels also became an option of entertainment.

Magazines distributed without charge and websites are the main instrument of communication within the community, informing about news in Brazil and in London.[30] In this whole

[30] During the decade more magazines have been created. Some of them are edited by neo-Pentecostal churches. There are also magazines edited and distributed for Brazilians in other countries of Europe, such as Belgium,

environment, the images described above are a current presence. Two magazines highlight issues regarding cultural production more effectively. Jungle Drums and Leros, differently from the other magazines, which have an interest in discussing general subjects and bringing news from the community, including religious news, they convene cultural manifestations in London on a monthly basis, and has become the main vehicle for Brazilians in the country of origin and for the ones resident in the UK to publicize their works. The main difference between the two magazines is that while Leros, written only in Portuguese, tends to convey news and adverts inside the community, Jungle Drums, with a bilingual edition, tends to broadcast Brazil in the city. They instigate the double movement of feeding imaginary of Brazil in this collective and in the frontiers with other groups.

Brazilian immigrants take part in this double process, in many ways. As important components of these cultural environments, they help nourish this imaginary spread around. Many Brazilians work in venues that host events about Brazil, either in places directed at the immigrant population -such as clubs or pubs where a more popular and restricted genre of dance and music take place- or in places in which Brazilian entertainment is aimed at the Londoners: clubs and stores, cultural centres, show venues, etc. *Guanabara*, for example, a famous club in the heart of London, is a good reference. It is owned by an Englishman who in 2004 decided to start a Brazilian environment for Londoners to enjoy the evenings. His staff, from the waiters and barmen to promoters and public relations, is in vast majority Brazilian. Thus, following his basic coordinates -good quality music, Brazilian typical food and drinks, in a climate of joy and sensuality- the staff defines the profile of the busy club (also regularly visited by Brazilians).

There are also many Brazilian residents who are artists themselves: photographers, painters, actors; or performers/ teachers of some kind of Brazilian art, such as *capoeira*, samba, *maracatu* popular culture. Still, in the same category, there are the Brazilians that become promoters of Brazilian culture when moving to London, being responsible for bringing many national artists to London. Usually, these people make of this universe

Ireland, Germany, Spain, Italy. The magazines represent the first media efforts to broaden the idea of community among Brazilians in Europe.

of consumable or entertaining culture their way of living. But, more than that, they are responsible for embodying different repertoires and trends that come from their own diverse cultural experiences.

In this transnational context, they can challenge, in some sense, "traditional discourses" imprinted in the circulation of these styles. They can either transmit or reinvent cultural repertoires. Having British people as the main public of their performances, classes or promotions, as well as other foreigners, they proportion a closer approach for spectators/students to Brazilian culture. Through their activities, nuance in stereotyped images is allowed. However, long-lasting narratives of Brazil national formation are always present, for its characteristics -especially the alluded capacity of inclusion and creativity- are central to reinforcing the authenticity of some Brazilianness.

As consumers of Brazilian culture, Brazilian immigrants participate more restrictively. The first two reasons for this are lack of time and money. Most events described here -even the more "local" ones- cost too much for the budget of an immigrant, in an expensive city like London. Also, either to survive in the city or to save money in order to fulfil migration expectations requires many hours of work a day, including weekends, which means little time for entertainment. One regular expedient to maintain some sociability and save some money is organizing barbecues (another of the habits Brazilians classify as typical) at home, inviting neighbours and friends, either co-nationals or other immigrants.

Other important explanations reside in the limited circulation of many immigrants, due to pragmatic circumstances. There are many migrant families; children have to be taken care of, and many parents have to stay at home. Also, poor language skills tend to discourage participation in activities that require communication with non-Portuguese speakers. And finally, due to the combination of greater visibility of this migratory group and the toughening of immigration rules, many illegal immigrants -who constitute a large part of this community- have avoided public spaces, and even Brazilian shops, in a justified fear that they could be caught by the Home Office immigration department and deported.

However, there seem to be more causes of the limitations of experiences in this cultural arena. Due to different senses of belonging and backgrounds, many migrants, although they enjoy and share the presence of a Brazilian culture -as part of imagining a nation[31]- they don't identify with the all images that circulate in the public sphere. Sometimes it is due to religious issues, as is the case of a significant number of immigrants who belongs to neo-Pentecostal (evangelical) churches. Thus, Catholic or African religious icons that constitute elements composing national representations are, in a certain way, refused. In other moments, national images do not necessarily make people feel represented, as they bring some metonymy that does not relate to their regional universe. The majority of the immigrants come from the states of Minas Gerais, Goiás, and north of Paraná, three areas that have very little impact in the making of national representations in London. The aesthetics of poverty, or the samba of Rio de Janeiro is not appealing to them, although they recognise it as being part of Brazil.

In short, the participation of Brazilian migrants, as producers and consumers of this culture style in the city, is conditioned by the diversity of personal and social trajectories and by the capacity for developing and articulating some social and cultural abilities. Thus, for a large part of this migrant group, lack of money and time, conditions of illegality and diverse religious and regional backgrounds define the level of enjoyment of cultural activities. In this context, sharing the feeling of community seems to be more of sharing "ethnic spaces", the re-creation of Brazilian way of life[32] and of the "economy of saudade". They are relatively immersed in their own community, with all the latent confrontations that tend to emerge when region, religion, gender and class tend to be accentuated. However, even in this situation, they constantly interact with other migrants with whom they share work and social experiences.

As for a smaller part of this community -smaller, but very substantial- the circulation in the circuit of cultural production in and beyond the Brazilian "territoriality" is the main condition of their economic survival and social positioning in the receiving society. People who take part in this universe -magazine editors,

[31] Anderson, 1983
[32] Ishi, 2003

music and arts promoters, *capoeira* and samba teachers, artists- operate in a double movement, feeding the Brazilian community with cultural products and reinforcing visibility of Brazilian images -"traditional" and "innovative" in the cultural sphere of the city.

It must be said that, in very analytical terms, one can devise two basic profiles of Brazilians coming to the UK.[33] One, which precedes the arrival of the migratory flow, is composed of students and professionals that go to London either as a career or a study investment or to spend some time in Europe. Their stay in London is generally shorter or alternates with long stays in Brazil. They usually receive some monetary support from parents or universities. One of the aims is to enjoy the "frenzy" of the city, and have, therefore, specific interests that involve interaction with Londoners. The second profile is that of migrant workers, whose economic necessities, and aspirations of consumption and better lifestyle are the main purpose for the relocation. Generally not fluent in English and offered non-skilled jobs, they benefit from a strong network of acquaintances and relatives, through which jobs and other logistics are provided (such as housing, information on the city and so on). In order to make the money they want, their stay in the country tends to be longer, from three to five years at least.

However, although class is an important element for internal differentiation of experiences in this migratory circuit, I would say that it has a relative weight in this bordering construction of the Brazilian cultural environment. Those analytical profiles can be devised, but they intersect in common experiences. Firstly, in the first steps of adaptation in the country, either students or migrant workers share the same work space, usually non-skilled jobs, either due to lack of language skill or lack of network relations. Second, the migration status, that is, the conditions of legality or illegality, is not conditioned by the class issue. Many students or people with a work visa stay illegally after it expires. On the other hand, many of the migrant workers

[33] What seems to be noticeable in most of the Brazilian emigration flows is what can be -roughly- called the lower-middle class and high-middle class that make this relocation. That is, the vast majority has basic educational levels, and life conditions that escape the lower economic and social levels of the country.

who arrive have double citizenship - due to European ancestry - and are legal in the country.

However, the cultural arena is one social dimension where social differences appear. In other words, discrimination between "good music", good art" and "bad music, mass culture" is reinforced in discourses of people coming from either a higher socio-economical status, or from a Brazilian state more "central" in the cultural national reference (such as Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo). However, these differentiations are more likely to appear in the "consumption" of cultural events by these groups and in internal classifications. As for the dynamics of cultural production, that is, the manipulation and articulation of the Brazilianness, the diversity of personal trajectories and mobilities seems to be more relevant.

In this sense, some conditions and abilities are required: the free transit in British society, improvement of English language skills, the investment in the circuit of public relations that involve cultural production and capital, and malleability in the choice of genres to be imported. In this case, it means also putting aside projects that are generally associated with the migratory project, such as saving money and building a reliable lifestyle. The intense work in some fast-rewarding activities and a sacrifice of the geographical, social circularity that are required for these plans don't meet the requirement of the constant negotiations to open channels of information about the Brazilian country, make the stereotypes more nuanced, create spaces that could feed Brazilian memories, and earn money from it! On the other hand, it is through these activities that many people establish themselves -at least temporarily in London, reinforcing their relation with the receiving society and at the same time gaining some social place inside the community.

Some final considerations

Through this cultural scene, understood here in its entertainment and arts dimension, through its consumption channels, and the social interactions and classification it involves, Brazilianness is reinforced, questioned, experienced.

As we saw, it affects Brazilians in different ways, depending on the social and economical conditions of arrival, on the levels of alienation in relation to the receiving society[34], on the capacity of agency and relocation in the new urban space, and also, very importantly, on the assumptions about the feelings of being Brazilian. Such national identity has always been, in Brazilian history, a mutable construction, constantly disputed and re-ordered[35]. In the London context, it became a currency, a point of affirmation of unity in the presence of locals, and in the intensification of conflicts within its imaginary borders.

Brazil has successfully exported its cultural production. Although not the only nation with this ability, it gained a remarkable place in the English arena, possibly a fashionable period that will eventually be lost with time. But, what matters is that such emergence took place concomitant towith, and because of the emergence of a group that benefited from the potential of articulations this identity could provide in that specific moment. In this sense, it is different from the Japanese case, whose high degree of alienation in the country led the Nikkeijin to close their Brazilian Japanese community, coming to terms with the feelings of not being Japanese and maybe not Brazilian as well[36]. It is also diverse from a context where the historical ties with the receiving country, as is the case of Portugal, provided assertive representations of Brazilians, which can limit their range of identity negotiations (although not preventing them to happen)[37].

Finally, space and place play a significant role in the construction of identity narratives connected to these productions. Identities are constituted in plural and dynamic way, as a discursively constituted social relation, and in reference to certain particular places and particular material goods[38]. In this sense transnational contexts provide some malleability in the productions of images that involve identity

[34] Tsuda, 2003
[35] Reinheimer, 2007; Lesser,1999
[36] Tsuda, 2003; Ishi, 2003
[37] Machado, 2007
[38] Miller et al: 20

experiences. As Appadurai remarks, flows of meanings and objects in transnational contexts promote articulations[39].

In the case of this particular context, I could not say if it is being subversive, transgressive or empowering, as is seen in recent perspectives about transnationalism[40]. But this experience of uprootedness, if it didn't subvert social conditions and self-identification, it triggered, through numerous negotiations of images and objects, different meanings and associations about national feelings. It allowed also some social mobility previously thought of as unlikely in the Brazilian scene. The disputes and estrangements that co-exist in the experience abroad, about the different experiences of being Brazilian, seem to show another geographical, cultural order of the country, that maybe only in a transnational perspective can be re-articulated and, who knows, transformed.

[39] Appadurai, 1986
[40] Tsuda, 2003

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The emerging field of psychosocial studies signifies a confluence of disciplines for whom the fantasies, repressions and cultural practices underlying national identity represents a crucial research focus. This book presents a psychosocial portrayal of Brazil's arrival on the international stage in the economic boom of the run-up to its hosting of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games. This former Portuguese colony is a country of contradictions in need of a new image; a nation that needs to be able to both love and sell itself in today's neo-liberal reality. It argues that a contemporary representation of Brazilian subjectivity is best enabled through an interdisciplinary perspective. Five key themes – to be explored in all their contradictions and ambivalence – structure the book: fantasies of the nation; xenophobia and denial; Brazilian cultural practice; transnational mobility; and gender, race and Brazilian identity.



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