

THE ROLE OF TV GLOBO INTERNACIONAL FOR BRAZILIAN
IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH FLORIDA AND TORONTO

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

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And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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To Rogério Jacques de Moraes

Everything I do is to honor your memory, my sweet, humble, righteous, caring, patient,
supportive, compassionate, bright, jovial, curious, humanist, selfless and present, always present,
my dad... meu
adorado pai.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this research is to try to comprehend and interpret the significance of TV Globo Internacional, the first Brazilian transnational channel, for Brazilians away from Brazil. In effort to understand the roles that this channel plays for Brazilian immigrants within the globalization context, this research incorporates the framework of cultural studies. In this chapter, I will cover the theoretical framework, research questions and literature review.

As a student from Brazil, I am personally interested in the attempt of a Brazilian channel to become transnational. I started to subscribe to Globo International three years ago because, among other reasons, I wanted my son to be exposed to my language and culture. During these years, I became “addicted” to one novela (soap opera); I had different perspectives on world issues; and I stayed updated with what went on in my country. Intrigued by the role of Globo in my life, I decided to delve into this subject.

However, this topic does not only concern Brazilian immigrants or me. Globo Internacional is just one of a myriad of transnational ethnic channels, which are booming as they are becoming cheaper and more accessible in North America. Therefore, this example should not be taken as an isolated case, but as a small piece of a large picture: the immigrant’s life in the global age. This study intends to shed light on the role of an ethnic medium in transnationalism, identity perceptions, and acculturation attitudes, as it compares the dynamics in two cities, Miami and Toronto.

Until the last century, immigrants to North America were arguably forced into a process of rapid assimilation into the mainstream culture. However, technology has

allowed immigrants to maintain a close link to their home country. In the new age of communication, information from different parts of the world can be transmitted quickly and in huge quantities as it breaks barriers of time and space. The idea of a “global village” that exists under the same economic, political and legal system may soon become real. Transnational companies are in the forefront of media globalization. They lobby for the deregulation in trade transactions at the same time they support the enforcement of world copyright and patent laws (Shiva, 1997).

The 1980s was a period of unprecedented expansion for global media, particularly with the launching of CNN in 1980 and MTV in 1981. These networks began competing time-share with local or national TV stations all over the world. In Brazil, the broadcasting organization, Rede Globo (Globe Network), aware of the world trends, decided to counterattack by going global.

Rede Globo is the largest broadcasting organization in Brazil and, measured by audience, it boasts to be the fourth largest private network in the world, after NBC, CBS and ABC (Sousa, 1998). As Globo accepted that it would lose its near monopoly in Brazilian media when multinationals moved in, it courted deals with AT&T for cellular phones, Ted Turner for cable, and Rupert Murdoch's NewsCorp for satellite television.

In 1999, Globo Internacional was launched as the first Brazilian network in foreign countries, in other words, becoming the first global medium made in Brazil. According to its Web site (2005), Globo Internacional targets about 5.5 million Brazilians and Lusophones across the world but mostly in the United States, Angola and Japan. Globo Internacional is currently available for about \$25 through DISH Network or cable in certain parts of the United States.

There have been some studies (Sousa, 1998; Machado, 2002) on the impact of Globo Network in Portugal but virtually none about its new presence in North America. This research examines the role of Globo Internacional among Brazilians who live in the United States and Canada. Short e-mail interviews were conducted with executives of Globo Internacional and in-depth interviews with members of the Brazilian community in Columbia, Mo., Miami, and Toronto. Besides Columbia, which was chosen to test the questions and practice my interview skills, Miami and Toronto were picked because they have the largest numbers of Brazilians or Portuguese speakers in North America and consequently plenty of Globo subscribers

This research also compares the findings between Miami and Toronto. In 1971 the Canadian government announced a policy of multiculturalism (About Canada- Web site, 2002). The policy not only recognized the reality of pluralism in Canada, but also seemed to reverse earlier attempts to assimilate immigrants. It challenged all Canadians to accept cultural pluralism, while encouraging immigrants to participate fully and equally in Canadian society. In the following years, Toronto has been acclaimed for celebrating its immigrants' cultures, creating an atmosphere of multiculturalism and diversity. According to the City of Toronto, multiculturalism is what sets Toronto apart from other North American cities (official Web site of the City of Toronto, 1998-2006).

Miami, on the other hand, has become the hub of globalization for Latin American media or the "cultural capital of Latin America," according to George Yúdice (2003). Many media outlets have relocated to Miami and from there make products that aim to reach the rest of the world, such as soap operas or Latin music. Yúdice writes, "The value added by transnational, transcultural immigrant cultures to the entertainment

industries in Miami is an excellent example of a new international division of cultural labor” (Yúdice, 2003 p. 211). In fact, in 2005 Globo produced a novela, “América,” that was set in Miami, and whose main plot revolved around a girl’s attempt to immigrate to the United States.

From the receiver’s side of communication, this research intends not only to understand what Globo’s programming means to Brazilian expatriates but also how they interpret its main message in their current context. From the sender’s side, it aims to shed light on the encoding process and the organization’s goals and purposes, as a result, examining in depth the emergence of a global medium.

1.1. Theoretical Framework

This research uses the lens of cultural studies to examine Globo Internacional. Cultural studies was originated in late 1950s and 1960s in England and then spread to the United States. These became two different lines: One concentrated in the British Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, whose most famous scholars are Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams and Richard Hoggart; and the American (populist) cultural studies, whose most prominent names are James Carey and John Fiske.

Cultural studies deals with the meanings of social practices. “The center of research, thus, is located outside texts and media, which are said to be embedded, along with audiences, in broad social and cultural practices” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991 p.28). Because of its concern with meanings of social practices, the historical context is crucial in cultural studies. Cultural studies works thus as an interdisciplinary field.

Paraphrasing Jensen and Jankowski, the theoretical framework lies in between two conflicting assumptions: culturalism and structuralism (ibid), which debate over the degree of culture autonomy. Do we all respond to universal themes as structuralism argues or do we respond in view of our own culture as culturalism defends?

In "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," Stuart Hall (1980a) writes about the differences between a "culturalist" paradigm, based on formulations of Raymond Williams and E.P. Thompson, and a "structuralist" paradigm, drawn from Claude Levi-Strauss and Louis Althusser. According to Hall, the strength of culturalism lies on its definition of culture as the meanings and values among distinctive social groups, due to their historical conditions and relationships, "through which they 'handle' and respond to the conditions of existence; and also as the lived traditions and practices through which those 'understandings' are expressed and in which they are embodied" (p. 59). Paraphrasing Hall, the strength of the structuralist paradigm, on the other hand, is that it critiques the humanism and experientialism of the culturalist paradigm, decentering the "experience" and incorporating the category of "ideology." "The great strength of the structuralisms is their stress on 'determinate conditions'" (p. 67).

The debate over culturalism and structuralism is not easily answered. According to Anthony Giddens's structuration theory (1979), societal structures are constantly recreated and evolving. Giddens proposes that agency and structure be viewed as a mutually interacting duality:

The concept of structuration involves that of the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamentally recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency (...) structure is both enabling and constraining (...) Structure forms "personality" and "society" simultaneously – but in neither case exhaustively: because of the significance of unintended consequences of action, and because of

unacknowledged conditions of actions. (p. 69-70)

Hall himself does not offer an answer to the debate of culturalism and structuralism but acknowledges that there is no such thing as an “easy synthesis.” This question shows how there is a lot of gray area in the field. That is, of course, acceptable because, unlike positivism, cultural studies does not aim to look for the singular unified truth.

One of the primary roles of a cultural studies perspective is to offer an interpretation of meaning. In practice, “cultural studies have thrived on the combination of a text-centered methodology with social-systematic theories of discourse” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991 p. 28). This approach values the historical, social framework as essential for its analysis. That is because the context or even individual opinion negotiates the meaning, as Lotz explains Stuart Hall’s encoding/decoding model: “Although meaning may be encoded at the site of production, it is decoded in an equally active manner by the audience member upon reception” (Lotz, 2000 p. 449).

According to Hall (1980b), there are three positions from which the construction of decoding discourse occurs: dominant (or preferred), negotiated and oppositional. In the dominant-hegemonic position or preferred reading, the viewer receives the message of the cultural text without questioning it and decodes the content as the producer of the text intended or encoded. In the negotiated position, the viewer recognizes the dominant ideology implied in the text but does not accept all of its content. Interpretations are mediated by the viewer’s own experiences. In the oppositional position, the viewer is aware of the literal and the connotative inflection given by a discourse but decodes the message in a contrary way, based on some alternative frame of reference (Hall, 1980 p.

137-138). In each position, the viewer's socio-cultural background is crucial for the construction of the meanings of a text.

Moreover, John Fiske (1993) explains that the audience has the power of the weak, which means the viewer is not able to change or overturn imposed structures, but instead negotiates the affects of those powerful structures. Cultural studies is then interested in “understanding media consumption as a site of cultural studies, in which a variety of power are exercised, with different sorts of effects” (Ang, 1996 p. 43).

One of the contributions of cultural studies is to include “both popular culture and everyday social practices among the objects of textual analysis” (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991 p. 27). This perspective comes from an anthropological standpoint that sees culture not exclusively for the elite. Raymond Williams wrote a famous essay in 1958 stating that culture is ordinary. This means that culture is an expression of each society’s own shape, purposes, and meanings (Williams, 1958). Therefore, culture is not restricted to fine arts; instead, it entails a whole way of life. Culture is about deep, individual meanings and is “ordinary” because it exists in every society and mind. In practice, cultural studies have focused on subjects earlier devalued like soap operas, Madonna’s music, or cheap novels.

It is also important to highlight that this study does not intend to define culture as a stable or unchanging entity, but takes into account that “social actors produce their history in a conflictual manner, by defining themselves both in relation to their perception of the past and in relation to their conception of the future” (Bayart, 2005 p.71). Throughout this study, I use the term “maintain culture” for the sake of simplification, meaning language, habits and ways that are not perpetual or uniform.

With that in mind, it is important to lay out a sociohistorical framework that will set the foundation to study the relationship of culture with the larger society and the globalization process. That also means asking whether and how Globo Internacional produces Brazilian culture among the Brazilian people in North America and discussing the network impact in the long run, especially among a generation of Brazilians born in America.

According to the theoretical framework, findings or the study's evidence cannot be generalized "but rather presents the deep understanding, or 'thick description' of the isolated or limited case study," writes Lotz paraphrasing Geertz (Lotz, 2000 p. 449). In other words, the intention of this study is not to provide a scientific proof but to offer an understanding of the issue.

Also, because this research deals with Brazilians, the analysis will not be applicable to issues of cultural imperialism, which could be raised if Portuguese speakers in Angola and Portugal, for example, were to be interviewed. The presence of Globo Internacional in North America not only is very small but the number of Portuguese speakers on the continent, unlike Spanish-speakers, and the language's relevance are minimal to North American society.

1.2. Research Questions

Although there are innumerable studies that deal with global media, few examine the presence of a Third-World medium in the First World. However, this is likely to change because of the growth of transnational media linked to developing countries, such as Star TV and Zee TV from South Asia, MBC and Al-Jazeera in the Middle East

(Chalaby, 2003).

Because this study focuses on the case of Brazil's transnational medium, it attempts to understand the following questions:

Why do expatriates subscribe to Globo Internacional?

What is the role of Brazil's Globo Internacional for Brazilians living in North America?

How does this role play out in the context of a different culture?

How do Brazilian immigrants live in the local culture?

Is the medium beneficial or detrimental to their adaptation process in the new country?

To set a foundation to these questions, a literature review explores key issues related to the topic. Overall research on this issue suggests that, at this time, consequences of transnational media are as unpredictable as cultural globalization, which is often discordant and highly creative, though not necessarily desired or undesirable (Ang, 1996). It is clear, though, that each case has to be studied locally taking into account its specific characteristics and context. Also, it is important to keep in mind that one cannot understand media audiences without studying the contradictory nature of the media's role in shaping people's identity as Ang suggests.

This study is significant because it focuses on the emergence of a global medium and its role for a growing immigrant population in North America. How are immigrants connected to their culture in globalization times? What will it mean for the receiving culture and what will it come out of this interaction? In the specific case of Brazilian immigrants in Toronto and Miami, this study seeks to offer a more understandable picture of a messy reality.

1.3. Literature Review

Because this study uses the lens of cultural studies, which seeks to understand cultural practices, it takes into account the historical and social context. Therefore, it addresses some of the literature that deals with globalization and the global media, characteristics of Brazilian media, and Globo TV and its influence in Brazilian culture. Questions about the process of globalization have come up everywhere. From a communication point of view, the impact of global media is hard to predict. However, most scholars agree that globalization does not occur evenly.

Kodrich (2002) writes that globalization does not follow a linear course. Variations happen due to the particular characteristics of each system and its people because every region will process globalization in its own way. So far, the global society may be better characterized by the fragmentation of personal identity, and the many different ways of experiencing space and time (Hourigan, 2001). As Ang (1996 p. 151) writes: “Global media do effect, but cannot control local meanings.”

In the first issue, globalization theories and global media, studies reveal that globalization should be better studied locally or nationally because it is the specific characteristics of the region that will be the best predictor of the outcome of the global phenomena (Cullity, 2002; Hourigan, 2001; Schild, 1998; Waisbord 1998). Next, it is important to examine some of the characteristics of the media in Brazil, assuming that Globo Internacional creates and is created by its system. Some studies view Brazil's media as monopolist and elitist (Alisky, 1981; Hallin et al, 2002; Reyes-Matta, 1992; Amaral 2002). Then, the focus is on the undeniable pervasiveness of Globo TV in Brazil

(Straubhaar, 2001; Reis, 1999; Amaral 2002). Also covered is Brazilian immigration to North America, which is growing rapidly in comparison to other Latin American countries. And finally, the last topic is the process of adaptation in a new culture and a biculturalism model.

1.3.1. Globalization and the Global Media

Before the concept of global media, researchers on the international media flow would often concentrate on the idea of “cultural imperialism,” which relates to the “intended spread of a social system from one center of power across the globe” (Tomlinson, 1991 p. 175). In this sense, it was the Western social system, more specifically the American way, that would dominate the rest of the world.

However, Tomlinson (1991) suggests that this idea should be replaced by globalization, defined as when “the core activities of production, consumption, and circulation, as well as their components (capital labor, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organized on a global scale” (Stutz, 2002). That is a fundamental change in the structure of capitalism, previously controlled and restricted by the policies of nation-states.

It is important to make a distinction between economic globalization and cultural globalization. According to Ray Kiely (2005), globalization came about after the failure of development policies, which exacerbated inflation in a context of slower growth, less profit and high state spending. Instead, neoliberalism was re-established, which means “the adoption of fiscal austerity (except the United States after 1982), rolling back the state, privatization, deregulation and trade liberalization” (p. 63). In practice, countries are encouraged to “produce the goods that they produce most cheaply and efficiently”

(p.76). In short, the idea is that every nation must find a niche in the world assembly line (McMichael, 2004).

Cultural globalization refers to the ways economic policies impact local culture in a technologically driven context. In the global age, culture becomes a product for the global market. Media companies thrive once they find their niche and participate in the assembly lineⁱ. For Globo Internacional, adjusting to the times means offering a specific product, Brazilian culture, to a specific market, Brazilian expatriates and Lusophones.

Because the structure of capitalist order has changed, cultural theory has to change too (Ang, 1996). Compared to cultural imperialism, cultural globalization is a much less determinist move, full of uncertainty “brought about by the disturbing incoherence of a globalized capitalist postmodernity, and the mixture of resistance and complicity occurring with it” (p. 171).

For Ang, to deal with the effects of going global, and what happens when the global and local meet, it is absolutely necessary to agree with the notion of “indeterminacy of meaning.” The globalization of transnational media has started an irreversible and unpredictable process of creating new meanings.

Also, Tomlinson (1991 p.175) points out that “the effects of globalization are to weaken the cultural coherence of all individual nation-states, including the powerful ‘imperialist powers’ of a previous era.” This means that people in developed countries can be on the receiving end of the communications flow and may also be affected by foreign media. For example, Bollywood has become increasingly popular in the United States. In fact, one American soap opera, NBC’s *Passion*, featured in January 2006 a Bollywood-inspired episode, including its typical garments and choreography. Of course,

the impact of a global medium based in the United States, such as CNN or MTV, is bigger than the impact of a global medium based in a less powerful country. But some of the issues raised can be similar.

Regarding a foreign medium impacting a developed country, one cannot overlook the presence of Spanish-language television in the United States, especially Telemundo and Univisión. Although Univisión is mostly owned by a U.S. citizen, it has significant participation from two of the largest Latin American media corporations, Televisa of Mexico, and Venevisión of Venezuela. Univisión is also the leading Hispanic network and a distant fifth in the nation as a whole, behind NBC, ABC, FOX and CBS (Sinclair, 2003).

Of course, the relevance of Spanish-language media in the United States is understandable because Hispanics are the largest minority in the country with a population of 35.3 million according to the 2000 U.S. Census. Especially since the census, the U.S. Spanish-language television industry has become the most volatile, fastest growing sector in U.S. broadcasting (Stern, 2001).

Spanish-language television channels are a pertinent example of “simultaneous penetration of local worlds by distant forces,” such that cultural belonging and identity is much less tied to place in the global era, the phenomenon now usually termed “deterritorialization” (Tomlinson, 1999 p. 29). In other words, we would have to re-examine the concepts of culture, which historically have been conceived of as “distinctive structures of meaning and meaningful form usually closely linked to territories,” and individuals as “self-evidently linked to particular cultures” (Hannerz, 1990 p. 238).

One specific case of deterritorialization is Univisión's cable network, Galavisión, which has been experimenting both with programs in English and the hybrid vernacular "Spanglish," (Sinclair, 2003). Galavisión is a product of the interaction of the global and the local culture, producing a mixed cultural identity.

According to Kraidy (1999), the interaction of the global and the local culture indeed produces a hybrid cultural identity. He argues that the local and the global culture cannot be distinct categories that work as two poles (ibid). To better understand the global/local encounter, it is necessary to study the process of what Kraidy calls a "messy" reality where signs and symbols are buried in a combination of meanings that come from different cultures. Of course, hybridity is not a new phenomenon. In language, one can note several examples of hybridity. For instance, Papiamentu, a language spoken in the Dutch Caribbean Islands, emerged from pidgin Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish. The point in the global age is that recent technology has increased the speed and the extent in which these new realities are being constructed and recreated.

One study that illustrates the unpredictability of the "messy" reality is Hourigan's (2001) research on the campaigns done by Welsh, Scots, Gaelics, Faroese and Irish language movements. With the state regulating less and less of the activities of civil society, one indirect consequence of globalization was to give room for these communities to develop their own media. He argues that Europe's indigenous linguistic minorities have better adapted to the new cultural environment than the other national languages because they knew how to take advantage of new technological developments. The creation of an indigenous broadcast media united the communities that are often spread in rural areas, and worked in a homogenizing manner, erasing subtle differences

from one area to the other.

In the previous studies, the impact of globalization and the weakening of nation-states were positive for these minority groups: Hispanics in the United States and Welsh, Irish, etc, in Europe. These findings go along with one current of globalization that argues that transnational media will intensify the differences of cultural communities, instead of making them more homogenous. It seems that communities that manage to employ technology have a chance not only for survival but empowerment. That may be the case of Globo Internacional among Brazilians in North America. But what are the expectations in the long run?

Waisbord (1998) argues that transnational media and globalization may not change local cultures because transnational identities lack resonance at the regional level. Based on his study of Latin American cultures, more access to foreign media does not necessarily mean new forms of identity. Hispanics in the United States share the same language, common colonial past and religion; however, they have not lost their national identities completely. Waisbord explains that, even though media technologies bring a new consciousness, the population must be integrated into cultural communities where identity shaping is created and maintained.

For example, Waisbord notes that Puerto Rican identity has resisted U.S. mass media dominance and has maintained its own nationhood. That is because identity emerges from relational interactions in the community. He quotes Michael Schudson who argues that information retrievability does not mean incorporation because if ideas do not resonate in the community, they will not become part of it. In this sense, media flow may actually contribute to the awareness that communities are different.

One of the questions in this study is whether the Brazilian population in North America has enough local interaction to reinforce the Brazilian culture. If not, perhaps Globo Internacional will be limited to first generation Brazilian-born people who reside in North America because it will not resonate with the generations of Brazilian-Americans to come in the future. It is interesting to investigate Globo's future expectations Globo Internacional.

1.3.2. Background on Brazil's Media

Before examining the role of Globo Network, it is essential to study the characteristics of the Brazilian system in which the network originated. Alisky (1981) writes that Brazil's media are concentrated near the coastal cities, and that they are meant to serve the elite. The author argues that media were used as public relations of the government, and, in rare instances, favored the opposition. Until the 1960s, radio was the most prominent medium. At that time, the government used to put television sets at bandstands and other outdoor sites for broadcasts of soccer or other important events. In the early days of TV, the Brazilian media experienced chaos, strict regulation and censorship.

Alisky describes the tightening effect the military coup of 1964 had on the media because of years of strict censorship. Once censorship was removed in the early 1980s, the author notes there was timid newspaper coverage of the government, depending on how much information was released.

However, the broadcasting coverage of politics did not seem to take advantage of the new freedom because of its deep ties to the government. That may be due to clientelism, a traditional system common in Mediterranean cultures that Brazil inherited

from its colonizer, Portugal (Hallin et al, 2002).

Hallin et al (2002) argue about the importance of considering the old system when studying Brazil's media. Their study examined seven countries, including Brazil, that have in common low newspaper circulation (40 per thousand in Brazil), a tradition of advocacy reporting as opposed to neutrality, control by private oligarchic interests, politicization of public broadcasting and regulation, limited autonomy in the profession, and a late transition to democracy. The authors argue that these characteristics must be understood in relation to political clientelism, which they define as a "pattern of social organization in which access to social resources is controlled by patrons and delivered to clients in exchange for deference of various kinds of support rooted in autocratic, patrimonial institutions" (Hallin et al, 2002 p.185-186). For example, they note that party politics and family privilege weakens regulation enforcement. Hallin et al's article focuses in one crucial aspect of my research, which is that the traditional system in Brazil is not necessarily good. Mass communication is at its best shape in a democracy, however, in a country with colossal social inequality, the concentration of the media, wealth and power is in the hands of one small group of citizens. The internal structure of countries, such as Brazil, is rooted in inequality and, consequently, in authoritarianism and partial democratization as well. For instance, Brazil's Gini index is 59.3 – this means that the richest 20 percent receives almost 30 times more than the poorest 20 percent (U.N. Human Development Report, 2005).

However, despite the problems, the media seemed to be moving toward a freer system. Reyes-Matta (1992) writes that the resurgence of press freedom was not smooth and came too late for hundreds of journalists who struggled to recover the ability of

investigative reporting. In the 1980s, journalists strongly focused on politics and the fight for democracy. For the following decade, many people had high hopes for Brazilian media. The number of journalism faculty in Latin America increased considerably. With the push for free market and modernization, independent communication companies were booming. The increasing number of media companies produced more coverage of local events (ibid).

Amaral (2002) offers a gloomier vision of the Brazilian media. For the average Brazilian, Amaral claims that the media have not changed for the better because they are still monopolist and elitist. As he points out, less than 3 percent of Brazilian households have access to extra channels. Only 2 percent of the Brazilian people have Internet access. That means that only a fraction of the population shares the dream of a global village. Moreover, in the recent times of globalization and market freedom, monopoly and concentration means that local news is less important than national news, which is the opposite of what Reyes-Matta had predicted 10 years before.

Reyes-Matta (1992) did not foresee the economic crisis in the late 1990s and early 2000s, when many Brazilian companies had to shut down. Reyes-Matta's pre-new millennium view of the state of media in Latin America, when the new age of globalization was just beginning, and media companies were booming, turned out far from accurate as Amaral (2002) argues in his study.

1.3.3. Globo TV and its Influence in Brazilian culture

The largest broadcasting organization in Brazil, Globo, is also the largest and most powerful media conglomerate in Brazil. Globo Network was created in 1965, a year

after the military coup. During the military rule from 1964-1985, the role of the state was to stimulate the Brazilian television system as a promoter of national identity (Straubhaar, 2001). The Brazilian broadcast system realized that for television to be successful, its programming had to reflect the Brazilian culture. The state saw in television the potential for fostering a national character, and it allowed for a good environment for the developing of the new system (ibid).

Roberto Marinho, founder of Globo, was compared to the Orson Wells magnate in the documentary “Beyond Citizen Kane” by BBC and also by Simon Hartog (1993). Hartog agrees that the growth of the network was due to the narrow connections with the government. Marinho signed a cooperation contract with Time-Life Broadcasting Systems in 1962, creating a joint venture, even though, according to the Constitution, communication companies could not have foreign partners. The contract also included training in the United States, and Time-Life providing assistance back in Brazil. Since the government did not enforce antitrust laws in Brazil, Globo has bought radio stations, newspapers, magazines, a publishing company and a record label (Amaral, 2002).

Unlike state-owned television stations in Europe, the Brazilian television system is commercial-oriented. It is adapted from the American model, especially in finance and network operations but developed its own national genres, such as soap operas, variety shows, comedy and music. In 1964 about 30 percent of its programming was U.S.-produced, in 1992 the number had decreased to 9 percent (Straubhaar, 2001). Straubhaar says that the audience prefers nationally produced programming due to cultural capital and cultural proximity. He quotes Roland Robertson who writes that people in the world are increasingly creating the national or local products in manners or patterns adapted and

hybridized from the global environment. Straubhaar's article is also interesting because it argues that the Brazilian broadcasting organization had to realize that to be successful, its programming had to reflect the Brazilian culture, which became a trademark of Globo Network.

One study (Reis, 1999) sees Globo TV as a resistance to globalization, in particular preventing and delaying cable television from spreading in Brazil. Although the country has a middle class of about 50 million people, the number of cable TV subscribers (2,5 million) is small even compared to other Latin American countries, such as Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina. The author argues that it is because of the pervasiveness of Globo network, which broadcasts mostly programming made in Brazil. He states that Globo benefited from government incentives, "achieving hegemony that allowed them to ignore technological developments, while neutralizing potential competitors" (Reis, 1999 p. 412). This assertion highlights the peculiar monopoly of the Brazilian channel.

Conrad Kottak (1991) observes, "For the overwhelming majority of the Brazilian population, and especially for non-elites, television has become the primary, often exclusive, media conduit to regional, national, and international information--the only gate to the global village" (p.85). Globo TV shows Hollywood movies and adapts some show formats to Brazilian culture, for instance, reality shows and late-night talk shows.

Although Globo Network may have hindered cable TV and global media in Brazil, it did not miss the opportunity to join the global trend. In 1999, Globo began broadcasting all over the world via satellite interested in reaching Portuguese speakers through Globo Internacional. This new venture happened thanks to a business partnership

with media mogul Rupert Murdoch. In January 2004, Globo made a deal with RCN Corporation to add Globo Internacional to its cable service.

However, Globo Internacional is not the first time that Globo Network has reached foreign markets. In fact, Globo has exported soap operas since 1975 with “Gabriela.” “Gabriela” later became a movie, which starred the Italian actor, Marcello Mastroianni (Marques de Melo, 1988). Its primary markets were Portugal, Cuba, South America and later Poland, Russia, China and Africa.

In Portugal, the influence of Brazilian soap operas seemed to be significant to the extent that it raised national concern. “Portuguese intellectuals feared that the ten-million inhabitants of their nation would, suddenly, begin to modify the pronunciation of their forefathers and also employ strange Brazilian expressions” (Machado, 2000). That just shows how Brazilian soap operas have the potential to carry Brazilian culture abroad.

This research assumes that one of the main reasons people subscribe to Globo Internacional is for the soap operas. Just the way that they are broadcast in Brazil, Globo’s soap operas run in the prime-time slot, six days a week and last 50 minutes for about 9 months on the international channel. Therefore, they play a central role in the TV programming and have certain characteristics that make them unique to Brazil.

In particular, Porto (2003) writes that the "realism" and the explicit treatment of political issues are specific features of Brazilian soap operas. Soap operas work as an important forum for the discussion of political and social issues in Brazil. His research highlights the relationships between soap operas and the development of the national identity. He argues that Globo incorporated emergent demands of civil society in the soap operas, in an effort to build a new social consensus at the time that the economic, social

and political crisis of the authoritarian regime achieved a critical level (1973-1985).

For example, the soap opera “Laços de Família” (Family Binds) in 2001 dealt with issues of reproductive health, gender relations and social issues. But most impressive was that the bone marrow donations in the country increased from 20 to 900 a month, after a character who suffered with leukemia triggered a campaign of blood and organ donation (Mori and Vidigal, 2004). This is not only remarkable but also shows that Brazilian soap operas are much more than mere entertainment. They play a central role in Brazilian sociopolitical life.

However, critics such as Oliveira (1993) argue that Globo’s soap operas are a mere showcase for “bourgeois society” with the pernicious effect of mitigating – through the illusion of abundance – the unfulfilled material aspirations of its audience, all the while legitimating a way of life that takes consumerism to the extreme. Even if that might be radical, his point is relevant as it notes that not everything coming from Globo will be good just because it is Brazilian.

1.3.4. Brazilian Immigration to North America

Up until the 1990s, Brazilian immigrants were considered an invisible minority, according to anthropologist Maxine Margolis (1998), vis-à-vis the Hispanic populations of the United States. Margolis points out that in 1996 there was an estimated number of more than 600,000 Brazilians living in the entire United States. However, the U.S. 1990 Census counted 94,087 Brazilians in the United States. This figure represents a severe underestimation. One important reason for this undercount, according to Margolis, is a confusion concerning the Census forms, since Brazilians are not Spanish-speaking Latin

Americans and hence cannot and do not call themselves “Hispanic.” So they end up checking other options. Because Brazilians are not counted, it appears that they do not exist. For this reason, Margolis coined the expression “invisible minority.”

Margolis also found that, unlike the Brazilian population as a whole, most Brazilian immigrants to New York were white and came from the Brazilian middle class, a reflection, she argues, of the high cost of migration.

Franklin Goza (1994) studied the Brazilian immigration to Canada and the United States. He writes that the low level of Brazilian immigration to North America before 1980 reflected the strength of the Brazilian economy, which grew an average of 7 percent a year between 1940 and 1980. In the mid-eighties, however, the economy began to decline, at the same time that emigration, especially of the middle class, increased.

However, the picture of an “invisible minority” and middle-class immigration is changing as it already has in some parts of the country. With the immigration boom in the 1990s, social networks of immigration started to emerge, and more Brazilians have considered coming to the United States. Their goal is usually “to make money” as an escape from severe economic conditions that have been crushing the middle and lower classes. They also claim they will return to Brazil whenever they can save up enough money, but some end up staying and settling in large cities like New York and Miami. In Canada, Toronto is also a hub of Brazilian immigration with more than 30,000 Brazilians living in the city (Goza, 1994).

The result of this boom has caught the attention of the U.S. immigration department. “In 1990, Brazil was 46th on the list of 100 countries that sent the most immigrants to the United States... By 2000, Brazil had increased to 29 on the list,

according to census figures” (The Boston Globe, 2005).

On the other hand, since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 it has been more difficult to get a visa to the United States. With harsher immigration laws, an increasing number of Brazilians are illegally crossing the border the United States shares with Mexico. For instance, in 1999 the U.S. Border Patrol arrested less than 500 Brazilians; in 2004, the number skyrocketed to 8,600 Brazilians detained (Folha de São Paulo, 2005). The U.S. Border patrol estimates around 20,000 Brazilians arrested by the end of 2005 (Ibid).

The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has estimated that about 100,000 Brazilians leave Brazil every year, and about one-third of 2 million Brazilian expatriates are illegal residents (Boletim da Pastoral dos Brasileiros no Exterior, 2003). Currently, it believes that 784,000 Brazilians live in the United States. The Brazilian Immigration Center, on the other hand, estimates that 1 million Brazilians live in the United States -- most of them in the metropolitan areas of Miami, New York and Boston (Jouët-Pastré, 2003). These figures are greatly higher than the ones released by the American government. The 2000 U.S. Census counted only 212,428 Brazilians living in the United States (Migration Resource Center Web site). Yet it captured the growing trend of Brazilian immigration, since the number of Brazilians more than doubled compared to the figures in the 1990 Census.

Previous studies show that there is an unknown Brazilian population in North America, which will be the focus of this research. Both Margolis (1998) and Goza (1994) expect the number of Brazilians will increase as, unlike in the 1980s, many Brazilians have decided to stay permanently. With that in mind, it seems that Globo Internacional has realized the potential for exploring this market in North America when the network

was launched in 1999.

1.3.5. Adaptation in a New Culture

Not too long ago, to immigrate meant to lose most if not all the contact with the original community. That was frequently the case of the European populations that immigrated to North America in the beginning of the 20th century. Over time, these immigrants and their children fully assimilated in the United States. However, it is believed that different groups assimilated in different rates: “East European Jews achieved a great deal of social mobility by the second generation, but Italian Americans took several generations to reach parity with native whites of native parentage (Smith and Edmonston, 1997 p. 369).

Conversely, Diane Anda (1984) writes that scholars realized in the 1960s that a large part of immigrants of ethnic minorities had remained differentiated from the mainstream culture -- in many cases over a number of generations -- signaling the death knell for the melting pot theory. This finding meant that other models of cultural socialization would have to be constructed. For example, Anda argues for the bicultural model or biculturalism. She points out the fact that even two different cultures have some values, norms and beliefs in common, which explains why some immigrants adapt faster and in varying degrees into the receiving culture.

When earlier immigrants to North America lost their ethnic roots and mother tongue, the payback was the acquisition of middle-class white American culture, according to Smith and Edmonston (1997). However, “the exchange of culture for social mobility may be quite different for the new immigrants, in this view, because they share a

racial (or ethnic) identity with minorities that may preclude easy access into the majority white world” (p. 373). As for Latinos, the poorer and darker they are, the harder it is for them to assimilate structurally into the American society. In the case of minorities, assimilation often means joining the culture of urban ghetto.

To counteract negative messages, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argue that a selective acculturation provides the immigrant with tools to overcome external obstacles, which results in an upward assimilation combined with biculturalism -- the most positive process for a successful integration. Especially in the case of poor immigrants, the need for biculturalism, in the form of bilingualism in the second generation, is even more compelling because “it preserves bonds across immigrant generations and gives children a clear reference point to guide their future lives” (p. 309).

It is important to make a distinction between the different dimensions of assimilation, most specifically, structural assimilation and cultural assimilation, or acculturation. Structural assimilation refers to the upward mobility in terms of education and socioeconomic toward equality with white Protestants (Smith and Edmonston, 1997). Acculturation is defined as the behavioral modifications or “acquisition of the new cultural apparatus to behave efficiently within the adopted system” (Broom and Kitsuse, 1955 p. 44). For instance, an individual might be fully acculturated – have no trace of his or her ethnic background -- but not structurally assimilated in the society. The opposite is also true: One can be structurally assimilated – have a high level of education and a middle-class job – but not entirely acculturated. In fact, a study by Waters and Eschban (1995) on second-generation West Indian teenagers showed that those who were most likely to maintain their parents’ enforcement of West Indian identity belonged to middle-

class areas.

Several researchers argue that the preservation of the original culture can be a positive factor for the adaptation into the new one (Anda, 1984; Smith and Edmonston, 1997; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rios, 2003;). But that does not mean that people avoid assimilation into the American society. Ideally, immigrants must learn to function in their own culture and that of the mainstream society. For immigrants' children, acculturation is inevitable; the challenge is to maintain links with their ethnic background.

Assuming that ethnic media outlets might play a relevant role in biculturalism (Rios, 2003) -- reinforcing not only the group's language but also its culture-- they can be beneficial to the lives of immigrants and their children in the new society.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will present a discussion on the qualitative interview method, issues covered in the research, background on the interviews and interviewees. The ultimate purpose of the study is to try to comprehend the roles of Globo Internacional ascribed by the Brazilian population in North America; therefore it was most appropriate for me to talk with subscribers of Globo Internacional, who belong to the Brazilian immigrant population in Columbia, Miami and Toronto.

The interviews with the subscribers consist of the bulk of the study, which also includes communications with Globo executives, secondary materials and observations. As a Brazilian and subscriber of Globo Internacional, I was already familiar with all Globo's programs and did not need to prepare for the interviews regarding its shows. Once I was in Toronto and Miami, I focused on living within the Brazilian communities. That meant going to a Brazilian church, eating only in Brazilian restaurants, shopping in Brazilian stores and even experiencing a Brazilian beauty treatment. I believe that helped me understand a little bit the life of Brazilian immigrants as well as find potential interviewees.

The face-to-face interviews were recorded in Portuguese and ranged from 20 minutes to 90 minutes in length. A total of 43 immigrants were interviewed in July and August 2004, plus three associates of Globo Internacional were consulted via e-mail between May and July 2005: Amauri Soares, director of Globo Internacional; Alessandra Oberling, Globo and University Project coordinator; and Marcos Milanez, affiliate relations. In March 2006, I conducted a short phone interview with Milanez to probe a

few questions.

Because all interviews were conducted in Portuguese, I had to transcribe and translate all of them to English, a process that took several months. Afterwards, some of the subscribers' responses were shared with an online bulletin board for viewers of Globo Internacional in July 2005 to gain additional feedback from a broader group of people.

2.1. Qualitative Interview

Interviews are often associated with qualitative research. According to Fontana and Frey (1994), the individual face-to-face interview is the most common, but it can also be done within a group, through the telephone or self-administered questionnaires. Interviewing can be structured, semi-structured, or unstructured and can range from a short five-minute session to multiple, lengthy sessions.

Because this study was interested in examining the different meanings of the Brazilian television channel to the participants in the research, I chose semi-structured interviews, which lies between structured and unstructured interviews. In semi-structured interviews, the researcher has the advantage of having specific topics in mind, at the same time that he or she has the flexibility to probe an answer, to vary the wording and order of the questions, and to give more room to the participant's own voice. In practice, questions are posed as broadly as possible, and responses are tracked and clarified by the interviewer through reflective comments and follow-up questions (Snyder, 1992).

As for disadvantages, interpreting semi-structured interviews are more time-consuming than analyzing surveys or even structured interviews because of the variety of the data collected. In fact, some studies are criticized for weak or unreliable

interpretations (Fontana and Frey, 1994). Qualitative researchers often become “buried under a growing mountain of field notes, transcripts, newspaper clippings and tape recordings” (Fontana and Frey, 1994 p. 372).

Also, the researcher has a much smaller size of participants as opposed to surveys, which means that his or her findings cannot be generalized. Qualitative interviews are more subjective than quantitative interviews as each person may bring personal values into the study (Creswell, 2003).

In practice, qualitative researchers develop a description of an individual or setting, to analyze data for themes or categories, and make an interpretation or draw conclusions about its meaning, stating the lessons learned and offering further questions to be asked (Wolcott, 1994).

Researchers have a better sense of the human experience if they let the subject do the talking as they examine what is said. According to Berger, the qualitative or in-depth interview “is conducted to get at particular issues, such as hidden feelings or attitudes and beliefs of which a respondent may not be aware or that are only dimly in his or her consciousness” (Berger, 1998 p. 55). To uncover the participant’s meanings, the researcher has to let him/her talk. That is why such interviews can sometimes last an hour or more.

Qualitative interviews also offer the opportunity to ask follow-up questions and probe into areas that can be relevant to my research, which might never come up in a quantitative survey. As Morrissey (1998 p.108) explains in quantitative surveys, “There is a danger of too much reliance on tools and not relying sufficiently on old-fashioned intuition as to which tool to use in which situation.”

In terms of techniques, Anderson and Jack (1998) suggest examining the emotionally laden language, metastatements (when the person makes a comment about what he or she said), and the logic of the narrative. That means to stay alert to inconsistencies in the person's answers, to pay attention to his or her verbal language, to give plenty of time to the answers without worrying too much on following a certain order of questions.

And finally, the fact that this researcher is Brazilian and subscribes to Globo Internacional TV had both positive and negative aspects during the interviews. The positive was the instant rapport with the interviewee, which happened every time. The negative side was that sometimes I had to be careful and attempt to stay detached when interpreting the results, so they would not merely reflect my opinion. This means I had to be honest about my interests, values and assumptions concerning the research, which is an acceptable role for a qualitative researcher (Cresswell, 2003).

2.2. Interview Topics

Nine main areas are covered in the interviews: reasons to subscribe to Globo Internacional, American TV, gender and class differences in watching TV, roles of Globo for subscribers, Brazil through Globo's lens, Brazilian identity and local identity, as well as acculturation dynamics. Due to the nature of qualitative interviews, these topics worked as a guide to the interview but varied according to each interviewee.

For starters, the focus is the reason that Brazilian expatriates subscribe to the Globo Internacional. In certain cases, there might be more than one reason, including a mix of rational and emotional justifications. Why not to watch only North America

channels? Comparisons between regular North American TV and Globo Internacional may indicate the perceptions on North American culture and the interviewee's level of adaptation in the new country. If they feel comfortable and enjoy American TV, the assumption is that they somewhat have a positive perception of American life and tend to look for the integration in American society.

One other interesting expectation, noticed through informal observation, is that women are usually the ones who convince their husbands to subscribe to Globo Internacional. Would that be true? That is the starting point of the next topic: gender differences in watching Globo. What are the programs that women watch as opposed to the ones men watch? How do they watch Globo? How are male and female modes of watching television constituted? Ang (1996) argues that women often have a distracted mode of watching TV because they do other things such as housework at the same time. In contrast, men prefer watching TV in a more concentrated manner because they often control the conditions to do so.

Likewise, it is important to look at the gender and class differences because some of Globo Internacional's programming is divided along gender and class lines. Traditionally in Brazil, women are more inclined to watch soap operas and cooking shows, while men are interested in soccer games and news. Therefore, the reasons to subscribe and to watch the channel might be quite different for women and men.

The next theme covered in the interviews is the roles of Globo for subscribers. Here, different responses are expected because they may vary from person to person. According to the online bulletin board of Globo Internacional subscribers on Yahoo!, Globo's most common role is to help viewers deal with homesickness through watching

soccer games, for men, and soap operas, for women. That is not a surprise because one cannot talk about Globo TV without mentioning the power of its soap operas in shaping popular culture. Brazilian soap operas deal with social and political issues, include current news developments, and start new fashion and language trends.

According to Globo's Web site, the network has 74 to 80 percent of audience share on prime time, 69 percent at night, 56 percent in the morning, and 59 percent in the afternoon. In competition with several other TV networks, Globo gets 75 percent of all the advertising money spent on TV in Brazil. The network comprises 113 stations whose image reaches 99.93 percent of the Brazilian territory.

In Brazil through Globo's lens, the focus is the perspectives on the news and culture received from Brazil. It is assumed that Globo TV does not represent all that is Brazilian, which would be quite difficult for any network to accomplish. For example, some subscribers complain in the Yahoo! bulletin board that Globo Internacional often broadcasts soccer matches between teams from the most important regions in detriment to the ones from other regions. Yet the overall sentiment is " Better with it (Globo Internacional) than without it."

For this research, it is important to understand the historical context not to provide an image that is too naïve but to probe the picture of Brazil that Globo transmits to the audience. Amaral (2002) argues that, because of Globo's dominance, the media in Brazil are monopolist and elitist, which is a reflection of Brazilian society. In short, what does the interviewee believe Globo says about Brazilian society? Does it provide a fair representation of Brazil?

Brazilian identity and local identity are also addressed. This study explores: What makes the viewers Brazilian? What is it to be Brazilian as opposed to American or Hispanic? Ang argues, “Every identity must define and position itself in relation to the cultural frames affirmed by the world-system.” (Ang, 1996 p.145). This idea seems even more important when we deal with Brazilians.

Anthropologist Roberto da Matta (1981) contrasts Brazilian culture against North American culture, where the notion of an impersonal individual is the base of citizenship’s rights and merits. In Brazilian culture, what matters is the idea that every person has a place, rights and duties in a relational and personable world. The Brazilian nation sees itself as a big house, where everybody is together but unequal because of an intrinsic hierarchy, as opposed to the idea of “separate but equal” status in the United States. In other words, Brazilians are relational by nature.

In this study, instead of Brazilian culture resting in the passive position, it assumes an active role via Globo Internacional. That means examining the role of Globo in maintaining Brazilian identity not only in foreign countries but also in the context of globalization. For the interviews, it is essential to ask Brazilian immigrants whether and how Globo Internacional reinforces the Brazilian culture in North America. Could it be detrimental to their adaptation into a different culture?

Waisbord (1998) explains that, even though media technologies bring a new consciousness, the population must be integrated into cultural communities where identity shaping is created and maintained. In other words, identity emerges from relational interactions in the community. But can we really say there is a Brazilian community in North America? If there is a community, media flow coming from Brazil

may actually contribute to preserve the Brazilian community. But what is the impact of Globo Internacional if local interactions are weak?

It is also imperative to ask what the interviewee makes out of these two cultures, the North American and the Brazilian. Are these two cultures working as two different worlds? Or is there a new mixed culture bound to happen? Maybe a mixed culture will form out of the encounter between Brazilian culture and Anglo-Saxon American culture.

Also included in the interview is the network impact in the long run, especially among the generation of Brazilians born in America. Will Globo Internacional sustain itself only with native Portuguese speakers? Will it play a central role in the lives of children born to Brazilian parents? Here it is important to identify language as an important factor in the success of Globo TV. Are children being raised speaking Portuguese? If not, will Globo's audience be limited to new immigrants or temporary residents?

The final topic, acculturation dynamics, assesses to what extent, if at all, the subjects are replacing their Brazilian culture with the general culture of the North America. How are they trying to maintain their native culture? How is their acculturation attitude in the adaptation into a new society?

Despite the likelihood of messy realities of heterogeneous cultures, the mainstream culture seems to prevail at the end. Even when they are still able to maintain their ancestors' language and culture, members of minority groups are eventually assimilated into the American life. For instance, a recent study conducted with 1,104 Hispanic women shows that 80 percent of bicultural Latinas (who speak both English and Spanish and are fully acculturated) preferred English or had no preference for Spanish

when watching TV (Brown, 2004).

From a cultural studies perspective and through qualitative interviews, the goal of this study is to go beneath the surface and toward a deeper understanding of what Globo Internacional means to Brazilians in North America and what insights that may give into the life of an immigrant.

2.3. Background on Interview and Interviewees

In this section, I will cover the in-depth interviews with Globo subscribers. The communication with Globo executives will be the focus in chapter six.

Prior to the interviews, I conducted a pretest, in which I interviewed two residents of Columbia, Mo. That experience gave me an idea of what to expect in Florida and Toronto, especially in terms of duration, as well as helped me improve redundant questions. I finally decided for about 30 open-ended questions, covering three main areas: reasons to subscribe to Globo Internacional, the role of Globo Internacional and Brazilian and local identity. These three themes were designed to deal with the topics discussed in the previous chapter.

Also, one month before the trip, I contacted about 20 people found in a list of Brazilian services on the Web site of the Brazilian Consulate in Miami, and I joined “GrupoBrasil,” a Yahoo! listserv for Brazilians in Ontario, Canada. Many people wrote me back with addresses of Brazilian businesses and a few suggestions of Globo subscribers. By the time, I arrived in Toronto, word got around about this research and it was relatively easy to find subscribers willing to participate.

The strategy that turned out to be the least efficient was advertising. I posted ads on sites and in newspapers in Toronto and Miami. I also hung fliers in prominent spots.

All of my advertising efforts, including a \$50 newspaper ad, resulted in only one interview in Miami and none in Toronto.

However, it was in the field, going to the places where Brazilians usually gather, that I found most of the 43 interviewees. In both countries, Canada and United States, the majority of the respondents were women: 11 out of 19 in the United States and 16 out of 22 in Canada. Ages ranged from 18 to 60 years old in Florida and from 18 to 68 years old in Toronto. Race was mostly white or mixed. Social class varied more in South Florida, reaching higher levels of inequality not observed in Canada.

In general, the interviews lasted from 17 minutes (with a humble “yes-no” man) to about an hour and half with a brilliant, talkative, storyteller and almost two hours with a group of three people. There were four group interviews: one with three people and the rest with two. The average length of the interviews was about 40 minutes, not considering the usual chitchat before and after interviews. I tried to follow the questionnaire at first, but before long I felt more comfortable straying from the order of questions and following up intriguing answers. At the end, most of my questions were answered. Only in two occasions I missed one or two questions. One interview was done through e-mail and two via phone; all of the rest were done in person.

Starting in South Florida, I went to three shopping malls in Broward County that almost exclusively provided Brazilian services and products, from CDs and videos to clothes and bikinis, and from photo shops to grocery stores and restaurants. To my amazement, almost all these places had a television set with Globo Internacional on. In the bakery, men were watching a soccer game as they waited for the women in the hair salon. Portuguese is spoken everywhere, and a sales assistant automatically greets you

with “Oi, tudo bom?” instead of “Hi, how are you?”

For four days, my routine was restricted to going to these malls and talking to retailers and shoppers. Some chatted with me while they were working on the register, checking out products, or in their offices in the back of their stores. Others were reluctant to be interviewed because they did not have proper U.S. papers, but could not keep quiet and eventually intervened in their friend’s answers. I use first names only in this study to protect their identities.

A total of 12 respondents were interviewed in Broward County. Some had just arrived and already had Globo because it was included in the housing arrangement. Others were small business owners who have lived in the United States for about 5 years. Three of them immigrated with their parents. For example, Júlia, 18 years old, left Brazil when she was 10 years of age. Her parents had Globo Internacional and when she moved into her own apartment, she also subscribed to Globo. Overall, they were friendly and excited to talk about Globo Internacional.

The interviews in the malls were somewhat stressful due to the fact that some interviewees were at work. Nevertheless, I did not find the constant interruption from telephone or costumers detrimental to the interviews; these people talked passionately and candidly. The interviews were indeed more time-consuming, but that was not counterproductive. My only fear was that the respondents would not conclude the conversation, which they always did.

In contrast, the region of Miami-Dade was more challenging. Brazilians are not as visible and concentrated there as they are in Broward County. Therefore, the great majority of these interviews was through previous contacts and had to be arranged by

phone. Also, because of bad traffic and confusing streets, I had to limit the interviews to two a day or else I would not arrive in the places on time.

Unlike in Broward, the Miami residents are more upscale and represent the local Brazilian high society: wives of executives and leaders in the Brazilian community. That makes sense because Miami also serves as the international headquarters for some companies with ties to Latin America. Therefore, there is a considerable presence of Brazilian executives and their families. I interviewed four individuals in that region: Maria Inês, vice president of the Centro Cultural Brasil USA, Marco Antônio, business owner, Nieta, housewife, and Lea, secretary and Portuguese tutor.

It is interesting to note that there is a rivalry between Brazilians in Broward and Miami-Dade counties. The ones in Miami-Dade look down on Brazilians in Broward. According to Valéria Magalhães (2003), who conducted an oral history dissertation on Brazilian immigrants to South Florida, Brazilians in Miami see Broward residents as belonging to a lower social class and less developed culturally. Magalhães points to a hierarchy of status involving class origins from Brazil, college education, U.S. documents and fluency in English. In Broward, Brazilians can live as if they were in Brazil, speaking Portuguese and consuming Brazilian products and services; in Miami-Dade, they are more likely to use English in their daily life. Magalhães also writes that Brazilians in Broward are more racially diverse than the predominant white citizens in Miami-Dade.

Even within the Miami-Dade and Broward counties, the issue of status/class is prominent. Sonia, a 45-year-old resident of Broward who works as a cleaner but has a college degree, explains:

People come to this region (Broward) in particular, without a college degree. They are very ignorant. They came here because they had nothing

there (in Brazil). Unfortunately, people who are ignorant don't act well. It's hard to coexist with people like that. These people have no... I can't say "culture" because we all have culture... they have no intellectual background.

This division in the Brazilian community is also seen in Toronto. Although Brazilians in Toronto are fewer numbers, they also are concentrated in one region: Dundas St. There one finds Brazilian restaurants, stores and other businesses. The Dundas area is a former Portuguese neighborhood that has been taken over by Brazilians. In Toronto, to live near Dundas or to rely too much on Brazilians or the Portuguese is looked down on because these immigrants are more often associated with taking menial jobs and not adapting to life in North America.

Like in Broward, in Toronto's Portuguese Village most restaurants and bars have Globo Internacional on television. Even in a place whose owner was Portuguese (not Brazilian), Globo was on. Again, my routine was to go to Dundas and start asking around for subscribers. The problem in Canada was that Globo Internacional was not officially available there. (Only in August 2005, had the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission released a list of eligible satellite services, in which Globo Internacional was included. In November, Globo Internacional received a broadcasting license and courted a deal with Rogers Digital Cable. Globo began official transmissions in Canada in March, 2006.)

In short, at the time of the interviews, the reception of Globo Internacional was illegal. However, that did not stop many Brazilians from receiving Globo via a signal from United States. Globo Internacional is quite visible in the community. But the fact that it was illegal proved to be a small hindrance in finding interviewees. While in South

Florida, some Brazilians were concerned about being interviewed due to their illegal status, in Toronto, they were worried about any ramifications from revealing they were watching Globo illegally. At the same time, the TV reception business was so well established that some subscribers seemed truly surprised to find out Globo was not “official” in Canada.

Toronto was easier also because I had an excellent contact: my sister. She introduced me to Júnia, a Globo viewer, and we went to Dundas, where they showed me some Brazilian stores, Portuguese churches and bakeries. There I spent two fun weeks, instead of one stressful week (in Miami).

The Dundas area is like a small town. In Florida, Brazilians are more numerous and dispersed. The malls are not very inviting; they are places where one has to drive to and ideally spend money. Yet in Dundas more people chat and hang out as they slowly drink their coffees or wait outside Brazil Remittance to send money to Brazil.

Perhaps Dundas has a small-town feeling because most of its immigrants are predominantly from a region of small towns in the state of Minas Gerais, in particular, Governador Valadares, Coronel Fabriciano and Ipatinga. This region is notorious for its immigration to the United States. But because of difficulties to obtain a visa to the United States, which began about 20 years ago, immigrants started to come to Toronto. Romilda, a 57-year old laundry worker from Governador Valadares, explains:

We arrived as a large group in 1987... There wasn't the need of a visa (to Canada). Suddenly we all found that out because it appeared in the newspaper in Ipatinga and Governador Valadares that Canada, which borders the USA... for me, to tell you the truth, I thought that Canada was all icy...but anyway my town is famous for sending people to the USA. But the problem was getting a visa, as it is today. So when they said that Canada didn't require a visa and it bordered the USA, a lot of people came with the intention to go to the USA. They also said Canada had work for

men in civil construction. So that revolutionized the town. You would see one after another lining up at travel agencies to go to Canada. I arrived here June 17 and from June 29 on they established the requirement for a visa because too many people came. The day I left, on June 16 to go to Rio de Janeiro, six buses packed with people left with me.

Like Romilda, five other respondents (Wanderlei, Marcia, Laurinda, Fabio and Deusa) came from this first generation –having lived in Canada for more than 18 years. With time, all of them were granted residency and then citizenship. Marcia and Wanderlei opened Brazilian businesses in Toronto, while Laurinda works as a homemaker for the elderly, Deusa is a housekeeper, and Fabio is a cleaner.

Another group of immigrants in Toronto are those who have a college degree and benefited from Canada's open immigration policy to high-skilled workers. Among them: S. Luz, T. Ramos and Dionísio. However, if they thought that immigration was relatively easy; insertion in the job market has proved to be a different story. They all must have Canadian experience to be hired. Therefore, they have to work as volunteers or trainees for a while until they eventually find a job or settle for something less. In a similar situation, Fabiana, a TV producer, and Luciana H., a speech therapist, are both volunteers in their fields and both are married to Canadians. They do not live near Dundas, and meet once a month with other Brazilians. Luciana H. talks about the different groups:

There are two types of Brazilian communities here: The ones who come to work, whom we call "brazucas"... they come sometimes alone or as a couple; they don't have leisure; they just work. They live among themselves in the Brazilian community also because they are not fluent in English. And then they leave. On the other hand, there is another Brazilian community of people who come... they are married to Canadians... they want to keep in contact with Brazilians, but in a different way. They are people that I hang out with more. These people have a profession and have professional goals. They don't come for any kind of job. They are Brazilians who want to integrate themselves in the Canadian life.

It is important to highlight the existence of these opposing groups because the same dynamic happens in both Toronto and South Florida. For this research, my initial expectation was that the groups with less status and education would place more importance on Globo Internacional. They apparently seem to reproduce life in Brazil in most aspects: food, social relations, work and language, in particular. Would it be the same for media habits?

On the other hand, perhaps the upper class is also reproducing life in Brazil. This status stratification reflects Brazil's prevalent hierarchy, in which the Brazilian elite looks down on the poor and looks up to the elites in the richest countries. Up until the 20th century, the Brazilian elite studied abroad, rejected samba, Carnaval and Capoeira. Brazil's main dish, feijoada, was for the poor. Brazilian culture was for the poor. The rich wanted to follow trends in Europe. Therefore, when the Brazilian elite immigrates, it continues to look down on the things that are essentially Brazilian. I argue the Brazilian upper class is not straying from its mores.

At the same time, Globo Internacional manages to appeal to the masses and to the elite. Some programs are considered low class and some are "intelligent, creative," meaning they are for the elite. This division, which is not so prominent in the more equal society in North America, confirms that Brazilian immigrants still uphold the social stratification of their society. If we examine closer, the immigrant elite might maintain Brazilian culture as much as the less educated patricians. Brazilian culture, though, conveys a different meaning for each group.

Moreover, human beings are complex: sentiments, behaviors and attitudes are at play. In the next chapters, I will examine the interviews' responses to try to understand these sentiments and finally shed light on the role of Globo Internacional for these individuals.

CHAPTER 3. REASONS TO SUBSCRIBE TO GLOBO INTERNACIONAL

In this chapter, my focus is to examine the motivations that led Brazilian immigrants to begin subscribing to Globo Internacional. All the interviewees were born in Brazil and had watched Globo before. They were after a familiar product. I am interested not only in the reasons for subscribing but also the subscription process. I will start by scratching the surface. This chapter covers the early years of Globo, three reasons why individuals want to watch Globo Internacional, and the conclusion.

Globo Network is the number one broadcasting channel in Brazil because of its novelas, newscasts and sports – not necessarily in that order. In a country where most people cannot afford cable or satellite TV, Globo has been the main source of information and entertainment for decades. Generations of Brazilians grew up watching its programs; and, as discussed in the literature review, the channel embodies Brazil's national identity.

One simple way to answer why Brazilian immigrants want to watch Globo Internacional is that Brazilian women almost always like to watch novelas; Brazilian men almost always like to watch soccer; and they both like to watch the news. But there are novelas, newscasts and soccer games televised in North America. Why is there a need to pay \$25 a month for a Brazilian version of these products?

That is because, more than mere distraction, these are cultural products: manifestations of who these people are, how they live and how they perceive the world and themselves. Considering the adaptation challenges and sense of loss that come with immigrating, it is no surprise to find that emotions come to play in watching Globo

Internacional, whose programs incarnate Brazilianess.

Another reason to subscribe to Globo Internacional is the language. Portuguese is soothing and effortless to Brazilian ears, regardless of the person's ability in English. For non-native speakers, a foreign language is never truly mastered as well as the native tongue. That is the same way with culture. Brazilian culture-- its symbols, conventions and history-- is easily discernible; unlike a foreign one.

3.1. The Beginning

Even before Globo Internacional was launched, Brazilian immigrants had access to Globo's programs via two ways: Brazilian stores, which have rented and sold bootleg tapes with Globo's programming for years; and Brazilian businesses that had satellite dishes, which broadcast the programs directly from Brazil.

For business owners, Globo TV is a way to attract costumers, especially for events such as Rio de Janeiro's Carnaval Parade and the Fédération Internationale de Football Association World Cup -- the most important soccer competition in the world. During the FIFA World Cup, Brazilians stop whatever they are doing (at school or work) to watch the games. Soccer fever does not end when they are overseas. In many Brazilian restaurants across North America, Brazilians get together to watch the Cup. In Toronto, restaurant owner Wanderlei, a 41-year-old former civil construction worker, remembers when he first offered Globo TV:

In the penultimate World Cup (1998), I don't remember how, we were able to access directly Globo's broadcasting.... At that time, we had a large commercial establishment, restaurant and bar; and everybody went there to watch the World Cup with narration by Globo's Galvão Bueno (famous sportscaster) directly from Brazil. The place was packed... even the street. But it was just for a month. The Cup was over so was the transmission...

France won the 1998 Cup, beating Brazil in the final. Although it was a sad loss for Brazilians, Brazilian businesses were content. Events like the World Cup confirmed the power of attraction that Globo's transmission had. Brazilians wanted to hear the game in Portuguese, narrated with passion by their favorite sportscaster. Although to install a big antenna and to get Globo Network was expensive, the investment was worthwhile for Brazilian businesses. Wanderlei continues:

We would all get together to watch the transmission of Globo from Brazil. You could watch some of the games on cable, but nobody wanted to watch them at home... they would go there because we had Globo... We charged \$10 for admission per person. The place had room for 300 people and was always packed.

With the advent of Globo Internacional in August 1999, restaurants and stores started having Globo on all the time, not only in special occasions. Because these places are visible in the community, it did not take too long for Brazilians to find out there were ways they could watch Globo at home. Maria Teresa, a 43-year-old beautician, explains:

Since the day I got here three years ago (I have watched Globo). I went to work at "Casa do Churrasco" (Brazilian steakhouse) and the first thing I asked was: Do you have Globo? Clients would go there to have a beer at the end of the afternoon especially to watch Globo...and you have to understand something: Brazilians are crazy for novelas, but crazier than them are the Portuguese. Six out of 10 Portuguese homes have Globo. And those who don't have it either go to a bar or rent the tapes to watch novelas.

Maria Teresa talks about the prevalence of Globo among the Portuguese community. Although Toronto does not have as many Brazilian immigrants as Miami, Portuguese businesses also propelled the broadcast of Globo Internacional in their community. In several instances, I entered a bar that had the TV on Globo to realize that the owner and costumers were Portuguese. I spoke informally with Portuguese viewers,

but for this study I limited the interviews to Brazilians.

For instance, like Maria Teresa, Júnia, a 25-year-old cleaner in Toronto, also had her first contact with Globo Internacional in a restaurant:

In the beginning, I used to go to some restaurants and I watched part of a novela. I would find it interesting. There were actors I liked. So I started to rent novelas, Globo's programs that would interest me. Before, in my first year, it was the adaptation, I didn't know anything about places where you can rent Globo's tapes. As soon as I found out about them, I started to rent them.

In general, one can rent a week's worth of novelas for the weekend and return the tapes on Monday. General programs, such as the Sunday magazine, documentaries and sitcoms are also available. Júnia is this study's only interviewee who does not subscribe to Globo Internacional, but watches almost all its programming by renting tapes every week. Like Júnia, many expatriates rent tapes, instead of buying a satellite dish and receiving the transmission via the United States. In Florida as well, one can still find current Globo programs available to rent in stores.

However, this study focuses on Globo Internacional subscribers, not Brazilians who watch Globo in restaurants or rent tapes. These two modes of viewing are important because in many cases they were a way to introduce Brazilian immigrants to the idea of watching their country's main channel overseas. For example, Deusa, a 50 year-old housekeeper in Toronto, used to rent tapes before she subscribed to Globo Internacional:

We rented TV programs, novelas, comedy shows and Globo Reporter (in-depth reporting) sometimes. We had to watch these tapes on the weekends because we had no time during the week. And on the weekend, we would watch novelas until dawn because the tape included five chapters. So to have Globo is better because we can watch it everyday.

Thirteen of 43 respondents subscribed to the channel within the first year of its launching. Many said they were the first ones to have Globo in their region. In Florida, the channel was advertised and promoted in Brazilian newspapers and events. In Toronto, there was no sales promotion, of course, because in theory Globo Internacional did not broadcast in Canada. However, six interviewees in Toronto started receiving Globo in the first year as well.

Word of mouth is a powerful propaganda tool. The first subscribers played an important role in spreading Globo Internacional. Enáile, a 29-year-old part-time cleaner and part-time student in Toronto, explains: “I lived with my sister-in-law and we were among the first ones to have Globo. People would come over to watch soccer games, then when I moved out --- I lived there for a year -- we installed Globo (in the new place) after a week.”

That illustrates the emergence of a third way to watch Globo Internacional: At friends' homes. Maria Inês, the vice-president for cultural affairs at the Brazilian center in Miami and wife of a retired Ralston Purina Co executive, says she often has friends over to watch Globo. When it is for a special event, TV watching becomes a party: “People come to my house to watch the Carnaval parade the whole night. I have one of those giant TVs, so it is like a movie theatre. They love it. Many things changed in my life. People come to see many programs, soccer games, everything.”

Another example is from a friend in Columbia, Mo., Elisa, a 38-year-old housewife who is married to a college professor. In 2001, after two years of Globo's release, she subscribed to the channel. But her TV viewing had started before that, thanks to a neighbor.

For a year, I talked with my husband about Globo. He didn't want it at all. I had a neighbor here who was the first person who had Globo. I would go over to her house in the late afternoon because she had a grandson and my son played with him as we watched Globo. They would tell me: "How come your husband hasn't got the antenna for you? You have to have it. You are so lonely..." But he didn't want to give me the antenna because he thought if I had it, the TV would be on all day. So since I had the neighbor, I watched the 8 o'clock novela.

Elisa mentions that her husband did not want to subscribe to Globo Internacional.

Excluding a minority who does not watch TV at all, some immigrants were reluctant to receive Globo because of concerns with language (too much Brazilian TV would be detrimental to learning English) and money (dish and installment can be expensive, not counting a \$25 monthly fee). That may explain why some respondents who immigrated in the last five years usually waited about a year or two to subscribe to Globo.

However, the majority of the most recent immigrants in this study, who have lived in North America for less than two years, have had Globo since their arrival. Some moved in with other Brazilians who already subscribed to Globo. Ricardo, a 25-year-old musician had been in Miami for 15 days at the time of the interview and found a job as a carpet cleaner. The apartment where he lives already had Globo. All the residents share the subscription costs. This arrangement is common for immigrants who have menial jobs in Toronto as well.

There is also the case of expatriates who, after a vacation in Brazil, cannot imagine their lives without Globo. That was my experience and also Júlia's, an 18-year-old student. Her case is particularly interesting because she moved to the United States when she was 10 years old. At that age, she could easily have disregarded Brazilian culture and rejected Globo TV. But that did not happen. On the contrary, she and her

brother convinced their mother to get the dish:

I came back from vacation in Brazil and asked my mom... My brother and I said we had to have it. We missed it and wanted to feel closer to Brazil...I always liked Globo. We all do. My mom didn't want to have it because she was afraid that she would be glued to it. Her fear and her husband's fear were they would watch it 24 hours a day. Then we told her: "That's your problem. Try to turn it off. We want to watch it." In the beginning, it was like that, a fever, but now it is something normal.

In this passage, Júlia talks with defiance. She seems strong-willed, but behind her tough exterior, there is an important need that will be addressed in the next chapter about the channel's role/roles in the lives of subscribers. For now, I will look at the most common answers to "What is your reason to subscribe to Globo Internacional?"

3.2. Reasons:

3.2.1. For News

Among the top of the list is to have access to news from Brazil. Expatriates trust that Globo will inform them what is going on in their country. All of them have relatives in Brazil; some plan to go back. Therefore, they look to the newscasts to keep them up to date with the news and changes in the country. Lea, a 44-year-old secretary in Miami, says she questions herself everyday whether she will eventually move back to Brazil. But, meanwhile, she says she needs to know what is going there:

We have that urge to know what is happening in Brazil. I am not sure that I want to die here, so who knows someday I will go back? I don't want to lose contact. It's like a mother who doesn't see her child for 15 years, when she sees him everything is different. At least if I keep on seeing it, I am updated and it is not such a shock when I come back.

Fabiana, a TV producer in Toronto, experienced the shock Lea describes when she went back to Brazil after living in London:

I felt completely lost – I didn't know what had happened while I was abroad. Last time I spent four years in London, and at the time there wasn't Globo or anything. Then you lose contact with your country, your culture. You don't know what goes on. When I came back to Brazil, I didn't know anything... who had died (laughs)! People would speak about a novela and I didn't know anything. Here it is different. I am homesick but at least I know what goes on in São Paulo. I know my father is stuck in traffic in São Paulo. When it rains... I remember when it is a holiday because of the newscast. You aren't completely alienated.

One may ask how people who have access to hundreds of channels might feel alienated. One of the reasons, according to respondents, is because Brazil virtually does not exist on the radar screen of American or Canadian media. There is almost no coverage of Brazilian news in the United States or Canada. Hence, they say they have to turn on Globo to find out what is going on in their country. Maria Inês, the vice-president of the Brazilian association in Miami, gives an example of news that she would not find otherwise: “Yesterday I heard on “Jornal Nacional” (main newscast) that Brazilian exports grew 42 percent, which is good news. Here you don't have access to this kind of news, not even the Miami Herald had a note, nothing...”

Maria Inês also talks about the channels in Spanish, which are common in Florida and give more coverage to Latin America. But these do not appeal to her either.

You can't count on Latino channels, which don't interest me; they are horrible! I think Globo's standard is another one, much better. It has nothing to do with Latino channels, which are scary...the programs are badly done, horrible. The technical quality is bad.

Maria Inês' response sounds harsh, but, as a consolation to Hispanics, even a channel in Portuguese does not appeal to respondents in Toronto. For example, Luciana H., a 29 -year-old hospital volunteer, says: “What is lacking on Canadian TV is Brazilian culture. It has a bit of Portuguese culture. It has a Portuguese channel, which has nothing

to do with Brazilian culture. The accent is different.”

These rejections actually shed light to the basic reason why Brazilians expatriates decide to watch Globo Internacional: They feel emotionally connected to the news from Brazil because they are a product of the culture from where they are raised. Many respondents say they cannot seem to relate to American media. Marco Antonio, a 50-year-old storeowner with a masters’ degree, explains it well:

It is not about the quality of the programs. It is not that. It is that for Brazilian TV, you are emotionally involved, like it or not. When you watch the newscast, it is talking about your country; it is talking about your city, Rio de Janeiro, the violence. When you see a game, you either love that team or you hate it. So I can’t make a difference between these two. It is not a judgment about TV, comparing both. It is my values toward these channels...Of course, when you have to choose between the newscast on Globo and on some channel, you prefer the one on Globo because of its form, which is familiar to you, it is easier, the language... the subjects have a history for you. But here the language is different; you may not be completely aware of the history.

Many respondents say they prefer Brazilian media because they were Brazilian; if they were American they would prefer American media. However, not all is explained on the basis of how people relate to the news. Brazilian media, in this case Globo’s newscast, do have something valuable to add: a different perspective.

Unlike the media in the United States and Canada, which focus on local news, Brazilian media value foreign news. That, of course, goes back to its origin as a country of colonization, (not settlement like USA and Canada), which produced a state of dependency to what happened worldwide. To this day, Brazil is a country that looks outward, as opposed to the United States and Canada, which look inward. In practice, that means Brazilian media cover a wide range of subjects and countries. For someone who is raised on world news, like Léa in Miami, it is frustrating to turn on an American

newscast. She says: “Here they care more about local news: the accident that killed so and so. That’s not what I want to know. I want to know more about what happens in the whole world.” For that, she has to watch CNN or BBC.

Another reason, besides an emphasis on world news, is to watch the coverage of American news by a different country -- especially during a time when the American administration’s message is “If you are not with us, you are against us.” Many respondents complain that U.S. patriotism gets in the way of good news coverage.

In Columbia, Christiane, office coordinator at Cambio Center at the University of Missouri, says it was interesting to watch the news from Brazil after 9/11 “to see how the news here was censored -- both images and reporting.” She says that more than doing a better job, Globo offered a different journalistic perspective:

When there is a demonstration in Europe about something the United States has done, they (Globo newscasts) show it. Here they show it superficially. Here you know about this information not through TV but NPR. For example, what happened today: They caught this terrorist who was planning to bomb a mall in Cincinnati. Here people didn’t say this man has been in prison for two years. They are saying this now for what? But TV doesn’t tell you that. They help the government justify the war.

In South Florida, fashion designer Rose’s experience is similar to Christiane’s: “Remember Sept. 11? We got to know much more things through Globo than Americans themselves. People in Brazil knew more than people who live here because American TV doesn’t show reality.”

It is curious that some respondents state that in Brazil there is more freedom of press than in the United States. Consider the commentary from an interview in a video store in Miami:

K.M: The big difference is that Globo shows everything unlike the other countries. What exists in Brazil exists in any part of the world. But

American channels don't show the negative side, for example, slums and poverty. Globo is open. It shows everything. You are informed about everything. That's my opinion. Here in the USA, they don't show everything; they hide it... the government... Bush. But Brazil is more open.

Renata: Do you think there is more freedom of expression in Brazil?

K.M.: More freedom of expression. I think so.

Silvia: I agree with her. They say this country has freedom of expression but it is just the appearance of it.

This study will not compare freedom of the press or expression in the United States and Brazil. Media advocacy groups like Freedom House have labeled Brazil partly free in regards to freedom of the press for years. What is interesting is to consider people's reasons to subscribe to Globo and how these reasons reflect their cultural perspective. However, it is widely accepted that after 9/11 the media environment in the United States was more constrained. For Brazilian immigrants, that instigated the search for American news in Globo Internacional.

3.2.2. For Novela and Soccer

Besides the newscasts, novelas and soccer matches are the bread and butter of Globo Network. When asked about the reasons to have Globo Internacional, several respondents answer "for news" or "for novelas" or "to watch soccer." That was expected. However, as a novela fan, I was surprised to find that some women interviewed subscribed to Globo despite its novelas; and several men say, with a straight face, they wanted Globo for its novelas. At the same time, a couple of women were after soccer matches on Globo and a few men say they hate soccer. Perhaps my surprise is due to a lack of contact with Brazilians, since I immigrated to the United States in 1997. However, that might reveal that gender differences in watching TV are not as blatant as I

previously anticipated.

Chapter one briefly described the importance of novelas in Brazil. Several Brazilian scholars have tried to explain the fascination Brazilians have for novelas. Novelas are a habit, but also something that takes them to another world and, at the same time, relates to their reality. Unlike American soaps, they last about 8 months -- which means that every 8 months Brazilians learn different slang, expressions and fashion trends. And they are proud of Globo's novelas. For example, Maria Teresa, the beautician in Toronto, says: "You can ask anybody. Ask a Portuguese; they love Globo because of its novelas. They are the best. One novela beats the other."

It is true that most women are crazy for novelas. Globo Internacional shows chapters of five novelas twice a day. Some respondents, in particular those who are housewives, claim to watch all five novelas. Júlia, the teenager in Miami, says that when they first subscribed to Globo, it was an obsession; she would stay at home not to miss her novela. In Toronto, Enáile also loves novelas:

Novelas are the main thing. I said I was not going to watch the next novela, but I started to watch "Senhora do Destino." There is no way not to watch it. If you start watching for two days, three days, you are hooked.

Soccer works the same way. It is a form of entertainment that goes beyond sports watching. It is one of the pillars of Brazilian identity. In Brazil, every weekend is like the Super Bowl in the United States. And when it is the World Cup, Brazil literally stops to watch the matches. Everywhere you turn there is a TV set. People watch the games, even in schools and at work.

One interviewee, Rogelis in Florida, postponed our interview Wednesday evening because of a soccer game, an ordinary one; his team was not playing. Globo shows soccer on Wednesdays and weekends. Sunday is soccer day. Most men interviewed for this study subscribe to Globo for these matches (3 or 4 a week), which usually consist of games from Campeonato Brasileiro, a competition for the best regional team in Brazil. But it may also have Campeonato Paulista (for teams in Sao Paulo state) or Campeonato Carioca (the best teams in Rio de Janeiro state). A few say that is the only reason they have Globo; most cite soccer along with newscasts.

Could they watch a soccer channel on cable? Some actually do, but as Marco Antonio explains, the key is that sports in Brazil broadcast by Globo enthrall him like nothing else: “When I watch a Flamengo (team in Rio) soccer game, I am at the game. When I watch Miami Dolphins vs. something, I watch it and cheer but I am not there. That’s the biggest difference: how that moves me.”

In summarizing her reasons to watch Globo, Maria Teresa, the beautician in Toronto, talks about her soccer team as if it truly belonged to her:

Even though we are away from our country, we want to know what is going on in our city, state... we watch the newscast, soccer – I am vascaína (soccer fan from a team in Rio)... I can see my Vasco (soccer team)... and novelas!

Moreover, the appeal comes from how sports are narrated: with passion and enthusiasm, with a little gossip here and there. Expatriates like to hear their favorite sportscaster, the same ones they used to listen to when they were in Brazil. These sportscasters know well each player and the history of the matches -- besides pronouncing their names correctly.

However, soccer fans are the most dissatisfied with Globo Internacional (which I will address in chapter four). That is because the channel does not broadcast games with the national team, among others, due to copyrights agreements. That means events, such as the World Cup, are not shown by Globo Internacional (only Globo Network). Maria Inês in Miami voiced her discontent

... to watch soccer, the World Cup, narrated by two guys on the Hispanic channel who don't understand anything and say a bunch of stupid comments... it is tragic. I prefer to watch it with Galvão Bueno (famous sportscaster).

That leads to the next reason many cited for watching Globo: language.

3.2.3. For Language

Respondents who answered they wanted Globo for the language can be divided in two groups: those who are worried about their children's fluency in Portuguese, and those who are not fluent in English or want to hear something in Portuguese.

Starting with the parents, one example is Lilian in Florida. She decided to have Globo to expose her youngest daughter to Portuguese. The early teen, who has lived in the United States for almost 4 years, was speaking Portuguese poorly --forgetting words and using wrong verb tenses. Lilian says:

She would speak English all day at school and she would go home and watch TV in English. She would speak a little bit of Portuguese with us at home. So she was losing it. I said, "You can't lose it! It makes no sense." I came here, and then you would learn two languages, Spanish and English, and forget Portuguese!

That is a common concern for many Brazilian parents who immigrated with their children or whose children were born in North America. Besides English, children are encouraged to learn a second language in school, but that rarely is Portuguese. Clausi, a

39-year-old stay-at-home mom in Toronto, sends her children to a French-language school. But at home only Portuguese is allowed.

Many immigrants, especially those who work in menial jobs, have Globo Internacional because they do not understand English well enough. Deusa, a 50-year-old housekeeper who moved to Canada in 1987, says, “As much as we learn English, there are some words that we don’t understand. TV in Portuguese is easier to understand and you are more integrated.”

Expatriates who immigrate at an older age have little expectation to learn English. Sixty-year-old Fabio, a cleaner in the heart of Brazilian community, has also lived in Canada for almost two decades, but never learned English because he thought he was too old to learn: “If I did have an interest, I would have gone to school. If I were young, I would do it.”

It is interesting that both Deusa and Fabio are from the first group of Brazilians who immigrated en masse in 1987. When they arrived in North America, they found jobs within the Portuguese community and could get around without speaking English. In Toronto, many government services are available in Portuguese.

Spanish predominates in Florida. But despite the similarities of Portuguese and Spanish, Brazilians have difficulties understanding it. K.M., a forty something sales assistant, says: “Sometimes I turn on a Hispanic channel to see if I can understand anything. But I can’t.” The same problem led Sonia, a 45-year-old cleaner, to feel isolated from the world during a convoluted time:

I would listen to the American programs and wouldn’t understand anything. When 9/11 happened, I didn’t understand anything at all. I can get a bit of Spanish, but sometimes it is harder than English. I would rather speak in English than Spanish. So I felt... I want to understand what is

going on.

Some respondents, who are fluent in English, want Globo Internacional to listen to Portuguese language. Marcele, a 21-year-old retailer, works in a Brazilian store and is fluent in English as she immigrated to the United States in her mid-teens. She finds comfort in listening to programs in Portuguese, even the newscast. In Toronto, Carlos, who moved to Canada to study when he was 18 years old and is now 33, has a similar opinion: “I work with English all day; to come home and turn the TV on and there is English again bothered me. To be able to watch something in your own language, to see your own culture live!”

It is evident that language itself is not the main reason to watch Globo. As mentioned before, one of the local channels in Toronto, channel 4, is in Portuguese for the Portuguese community. Brazilian expatriates can understand the language of the shows, but these do not captivate their interest.

I argue that the main reason to watch Globo Internacional is to connect to Brazil, or as many respondents put it: “To shorten the distance to Brazil.” They believe that by watching the same programs people do in Brazil, they will feel closer to their home country. Many referred to watching Globo as turning off to life in North America and turning on to life in Brazil. I will examine in depth statements like these in the next chapter, where I will focus on Globo and the role it plays for Brazilian immigrants.

3.3. Conclusion

The underlying reason to subscribe to Globo is that it connects expatriates to Brazil. They are homesick. All the people I interviewed miss Brazil in one degree or

another. (Sonia, the cleaner with a college degree, is the only person who responded she did not miss Brazil, except that she was “desperate to see the carnival parade.”)

Brazilian newscasts, novelas and soccer are cultural products of fundamental value to the Brazilian identity. And immigrants crave their identity. In Toronto, Enáile describes her recent awareness of Brazil with a sense of pride:

Here your interest on Brazil is bigger. You want to know more and more about what is going on. I think after we leave our country, we value it more. I don't know if it happens to you. Nowadays when I see a Brazilian flag, my heart beats faster. Sometimes when Canadians come over, they ask: “Are you watching a Brazilian channel? How cool!” Then they begin watching it. A friend of mine from Africa was impressed to see images of Carnaval on TV.

Often immigrants go through a crisis, in which they start reevaluating themselves through the ideas of the new society. In the United States, Brazilians, as Latin Americans, are thrown in with Hispanics where national identities are all mingled and they feel downgraded. Suddenly they see themselves as faceless cucarachas -- except that “cockroach” in Portuguese is “barata.” In Canada, because of the large Portuguese community, Brazilians are associated with the Portuguese. But that is also seen as an affront to their uniqueness.

Many times when I say I speak Portuguese or that I am Brazilian, people say: “I have a cousin who is Portuguese.” They classify Brazilians as Portuguese. But our culture, even our language, is totally different. The accent is so different that sometimes we can't even understand Portuguese people talking. I think our language should be called “Brazilian.”

Several respondents talk about feelings of depression, loneliness or homesickness. These feelings together propel them to search for “something” Brazilian. In some cases, it is clearly an emotional need. For example, Elisa in Columbia, Mo., had to implore her husband to install Globo at home:

I said if he didn't get an antenna I wouldn't live here anymore, I would move back to Brazil... every time I was threatening him... if I couldn't go back to Brazil, I had to have Globo... Not only to watch novela but to see my people, Rio de Janeiro. I never wanted Globo to see novelas but to feel closer to Brazil, its places. Of course, I like to watch novelas, but I never watch all of them (five a day). One thing I like to watch is the Ana Maria Braga program (cooking, arts and crafts, interviews). But I wanted Globo to see my people, the places, to see what they wear. I have not gone back for a long time.

Elisa might sound like an extreme case, but many interviewees use similar expressions when asked about Globo: "to feel closer to Brazil," "to deal/quench/ with my homesickness," or "because life here is so hard."

In some cases, the habit factor is also important. Some respondents say they were used to watching Globo in Brazil and wanted to do the same in North America. Michelina, a 68-year-old retired cook, immigrated to Toronto to live with her daughter and grandchildren; her daughter found Globo in Canada for her:

I was worried because I was going to leave my TV... I am not the kind that goes out a lot. TV is something that I like a lot. I've always liked to watch the newscast. I want to know what is going on in politics. Then my daughter said that some people had satellite antennas. But I thought she meant those huge satellite antennas that cost \$10,000. When I came here 13 years ago, some restaurants had that antenna... But my daughter said now there are cheaper antennas. Now I don't want anything else. If I have my Globo, I am happy because it is the channel we most watch.

Later on, Michelina adds: "I think if they do a research, every immigrant has a little bit of depression. We all do. Even if life is wonderful, we are always longing for our country." This longing, this desire to connect to Brazil, is the common motivation that leads expatriates to subscribe to Globo Internacional. They long for their culture; they miss hearing their language, seeing their people, knowing the news. On Globo Internacional, they trust they will find all that.

CHAPTER 4. THE ROLES OF GLOBO INTERNACIONAL

In the previous chapter, I argued that respondents want to subscribe to Globo Internacional to connect to Brazil. They expect that Globo will make them feel closer to their country and that its programs will interest them the same way they did when they lived there. But what actually happens when the channel becomes part of their lives in a different country? Does it really help to cope with homesickness? How satisfied are they with Globo? To answer these questions, this chapter will examine the actual roles of Globo Internacional in immigrants' lives in North America.

During the interviews, my idea was to go beneath the surface in regards to TV watching. Respondents describe their TV habits, their favorite and worst programs, but they also talk about their complaints and feelings toward Globo. Their responses reveal three levels in which Globo's roles can be observed and will be examined: individual, family, and community. Also, I will discuss class and gender differences regarding Globo's viewing habits. At the end, I will include comments from members of an online bulletin board about the role of Globo in their lives.

4.1. Role for the Individual

Globo Internacional can be heard in the background of several interview tapes. When the interview was in a Brazilian business, Globo was on. When the interview was in the subscriber's home, Globo was on as well.

Most Globo subscribers, men and women, turn on the TV as soon as they are home from work and only turn it off when they go to sleep. All the housewives I talked with have Globo on all day. Few only turn on the TV for a specific program. They like to

leave the TV on as they prepare dinner, eat and wind down. This routine is soothing for many. João Luís, the photo/video retailer in Broward, says he feels calmer and more relaxed as he watches Globo. In Toronto, Júnia, who works as a cleaner, says that she needs Globo for entertainment. She works long hours to save money to send to Brazil. For a few hours a day, novelas help her escape her arduous life: “It (Globo) is just fun, entertainment, especially for people like me who have such a busy life, so without any fun. When I turn my novela on, I don’t worry about anything. I am there... I forget about my life.”

Júnia not only forgets about her life as a cleaner in Toronto but also connects to her previous life in Brazil. She says she always liked novelas and was dependent on them even in Brazil. So, in terms of TV habits, she is reproducing what she used to do in Brazil.

Also in Toronto, Maria Teresa, a beautician, explains why Canadian TV had no room in her life:

Look, I work everyday. When I wake up, I want to watch “Ana Maria Braga” (women’s program) before I leave. When I come back, the 6 o’clock novela is starting. So I can’t (watch Canadian TV). I should watch it a little bit. I watch a few movies Saturday night. But for us here, if we don’t have Globo we don’t have anything at all. We get off work to go home and watch Globo to hear our language, see our people... see what people are wearing there...

In fact, several respondents, even those fluent in English, say they get tired of speaking English all day, and when they are home they want hear Portuguese. In some ways, it is a relief to be able to leave momentarily the new culture, which they never feel they can totally comprehend, and go back to their home culture, their mother tongue.

For the majority of people interviewed in this study, Globo Internacional is very important. It is set out to fulfill an emotional need, and for most people it does. This need, as discussed before, comes from a mix of homesickness and loneliness. In fact, three women cried during the interviews. A simple question such as “what does it mean to be Brazilian?” often generates a strong reaction that begins with a sigh or a big smile.

To understand how Globo helps coping with homesickness, it is important to examine what image Globo conveys to expatriates. As seen in the literature review, scholars say that Globo helped forge Brazilian identity. Confirming that premise, most respondents indeed associate Globo with Brazil. The image that comes to mind when they see Globo’s logo is Brazil. For example, Marcelle, a sales assistant who moved to the United States when she was 16 years old, says: “When you see it, you feel more Brazilian. Every place you see Globo, you think there is Brazil there. Brazil is reaching the world. It is a representation of Brazil.”

A few responses reproduce Globo’s own promotional phrases such as “Padrão Globo de Televisão” (“Globo Standard for TV”, meaning its standards are top), referring to Globo as “excellence,” “the top,” and to the sound its symbol used to make between commercials: “Plim-Plim.” That shows the name brand is deeply consolidated.

However, Rogelis, a fine artist in Florida, has a more critical image of Globo: “Globo is dominator, a monster in a good sense, a power in the bad sense too. Everything that is very strong... you have to be very careful... they do whatever they want because they can. People are manipulated by Globo.” His response hints at the negative side that comes with great power, and the criticism that Globo received at the end of Brazil’s military regime.

Overall, most responders agree with the idea that Globo means “Brazil,” or “a piece of Brazil,” “home,” even “family;” also “Brazilian pride” and “the world for Brazil,” as it was for Carlos, a real estate agent in Toronto, when he was growing up in a small town in Brazil:

I remember, even when I watched in Brazil, I have always thought that Globo – you know, I am a native of the interior of Minas— ... as an international thing. I thought that it was perhaps an international TV station, a multinational company. That’s why for me, I say that Globo showed the world to me. We see today Brazil shown by Globo; when for me it was the contrary.

With all that in mind, it is easier to understand the emotional role that Globo plays for some subscribers. For instance, Vanderlei, a 36-year-old driver in South Florida, says, “Without it (Globo Internacional) I don’t live, I die. I go nuts here. It is true... I don’t like (American TV)... sometimes I go to the movies to watch films... that’s it. I like to see and watch the things in Brazil.” Several answers were on this same line. Like Vanderlei, Elisa, the housewife in Missouri, says that Globo Internacional is her lifeline. That could also be because the channel is the only reminder she has of Brazil in Columbia, where she lives:

It (Globo) is like my father and my mother, as if it were my family because I have not visited Brazil for a long time. When I see (on TV) the Christ (statue on the mountain top) I cry... when I see Rio de Janeiro, I cry a lot. To me, it (Globo) is my family. The only reference of Brazil in my life is Globo. If I didn’t have it, I would have already left or done something more serious. I wouldn’t make it.

Elisa’s sentiment is similar to Clausi’s, also a housewife, in Toronto:

In my life it (to have Globo) is to be present, although far, but inside of Brazil. Wow! It is as if I were in Brazil. If I turn it off it is like I lost someone of my family. Globo is something that is inside of us. It is family. For example, if the satellite connection is lost for some reason, it is like losing a family member. Something is missing. Do you understand? It is part of my life, my daughters’, my husband’s...

In Toronto, Globo's reception fails more often, especially for those who use a system of coded cards that are inserted in the satellite box. When the card expires, respondents say they get desperate. Fabiana, a TV producer, explains:

If the card runs out I cry. Then my husband has to run and find a way to fix it... especially at the time of "Celebridade" (novela). At the end of my novela, the card ran out and I spent a week and half without it. I would call Brazil to know what was happening in the novela. It was total dependence.

It may seem that only women or housewives feel this way, but several men express a similar response. For example, as Carlos, a real state agent, explains the unreliability of Globo's reception, he described his desperation after losing the reception:

You lose the signal not only because the card runs out but also because of a thunderstorm, snow... We get so desperate that -- where we used to live, the antenna was near the chimney -- I would climb up a ladder to the third floor, which didn't reach it, to try to clean it. Once, in the middle of the winter, all snowy, my friend and I climbed up to try to fix it. It is such a part of your daily life that when the card runs out, it is as if I had lost something.

For these respondents, Globo Internacional works primarily as a way to deal with homesickness and loneliness. Immigrants often feel isolated in the new society, and Globo helps break this isolation by reconnecting them to Brazil. That is also the case for Michelina who moved to Canada to stay with her daughter after her husband died:

It (Globo) is very, very important. I cannot say it is more important than health, my grandchildren, because that would be impossible. But that aside, it is very important... perhaps because I don't go out a lot. It is true. Listen, I like politics very much. I voted for the Workers' Party. I call my son almost everyday for about an hour. We talk about politics as if I were there. It feels like I am there.

It is interesting to note that, like Michelina, almost all of the respondents talk about what they watch on Globo with relatives in Brazil or friends in the community.

Enáile says that Globo is all they talk about at work. They usually comment on news, a soccer game or a novela. To talk to relatives about what happens in their country makes them feel closer to Brazil. Maria Inês says she can talk with any friend because she knows what happens in Brazil everyday. Before, she had no idea.

In fact, some respondents say Globo's main role is to keep them up to date with Brazil. They enjoy the immediacy of broadcast journalism, even when the news is not particularly useful. For example, Marco Antonio, a 53-year-old storeowner in Miami, says:

It (Globo) has a role to inform, through its rhythm, which is fast, a briefing about what goes on in Brazil. For example, I heard via Globo about the death of Brizola (politician) immediately: "Leonel Brizola just died." He was very important to Rio for a certain time.

Other respondents also used the news on the death of Leonel Brizola as an example. In Toronto, Maria Teresa described how his death became the talk of the day:

Globo gave the news that Leonel Brizola (famous politician) died. The next day, everybody was asking: What happened? Yesterday Globo had an extraordinary report. Everybody talks. It was Leonel Brizola who passed away. It is very hard to find a channel like Globo, with all due respect to other channels. Globo arrives quickly... it has mobility... it is quick.

Maria Teresa is a beautician and likes to talk about the news in Brazil with her clients. Also in Miami, Lea likes to know what is going on in Brazil because of her job tutoring Portuguese:

Because I teach Portuguese, I always have to be up to date with new words, new expressions. A lot of my students are very curious. Some are businessmen who travel a lot. I am also interested in slang. As I said, the newscast here is too local and I don't know anything that goes on in Brazil. I always have to know and I like to know about things that are happening there.

Marco Antonio says that what is on Globo becomes the topic of conversations in the store:

When a novela is catching on, from the middle to the end, we do (talk about it). When we talk about something, we don't refer to it as Globo. But it is about something broadcast on Globo. For example, yesterday there was a game between Flamengo and Santo André, in which Flamengo lost 2 to 0. People talk about it, but nobody says it was on Globo. People say: "Flamengo, what a shame." I say, "all right, all right." When it's about a novela, people say: "Who killed Lineu?" That's because it is a novela on Globo.

It is interesting that all Brazilians understand the information comes from Globo Internacional. This illustrates that the channel has become ordinary in the life of Brazilian immigrants and a given in the community.

Also, almost all respondents agree that Globo shows the new trends, slang and expressions in style in Brazil. For example, says Arthur, a student in Toronto, that is what happened with 'popozuda,' a song that he saw on "Luciano Huck" (variety show) that spread over there. He also mentions expressions like "Cada mergulho é um flash" (each dive is a flash)," which are popular in Brazil because of a character in a novela.

In particular, a novela for teenagers ("Malhação") is cited several times because it portrays new slang used by the youth. That is especially true because novelas set trends in Brazil, and those trends continue overseas. Haircuts, clothes and accessories seen in novelas are frequently reproduced on the streets in Brazil. That also happens in South Florida. K.M., who works in a Brazilian store, says:

Those who deal with fashion here are always looking at what is on Globo's novelas... what they are wearing... "So and so has a tricot earring" or "Did you see what Cristal was wearing?" You hear that a lot. The same way you look in magazines to see what Globo's actresses are wearing.

Brazilian trends are also copied by expatriates who live in the region of Dundas Street in Toronto as Enáile explains:

At the time of “O Clone,” a novela, people wanted to wear lots of jewelry. If they didn’t find them here, they would order them from Brazil. And then: I have a Portuguese friend who saw them and liked them. This spreads a lot. It is interesting. It simulates the local commerce. I have seen it a lot. Sometimes we see something and call Brazil: “I saw in the novela. They are wearing this and that. Send it to me”... shoes, earrings... When you look around, everybody is wearing things that come from Brazil: bracelets, feather earrings, you know, people here start wearing those. If you don’t have someone in Brazil to send you this stuff, you go to a Brazilian store.

I noticed that many respondents are proud to dress as a Brazilians. Clothes are an important statement about one’s identity, which will be the focus in the next chapter. Likewise, to know what is going on in Brazil and be able to spread the news gives individuals a feeling of empowerment and pride.

At the same time, some interviewees are very critical of Globo. Several complain that Globo focuses too much on the culture of Rio de Janeiro. For instance Júlia, a bicultural teenager in Miami, says:

Brazilian culture is immense, and it doesn’t show half of it. It would do a better job, if they showed programs about each state. But it is only a little bit. If a novela is set in Rio, we know what is going on there, but we don’t know what is going on in São Paulo.

In Toronto, T. Ramos, a 25 year-old who studies English and volunteers in a hospital, says that Globo and Brazil would have much to gain if they showed more of the northeast, in particular Maceió where she is from:

Maceió was only on the news now because of the rain... part of the city was under water. At school I show pictures of where I come from and people go “wow.” People know about Rio and São Paulo. But excuse me, Rio and São Paulo are nothing compared to Maceió. I went 10 years ago to Rio and couldn’t believe what Copacabana was. They took me to a beach where the water looked rusty, where there were rocks on the sand...

I said I am sorry but I am not going there. In my city, the water is blue and the sand is thin. Can you imagine if they uncovered the rest of Brazil? What an incentive for tourism it would be!

Like T. Ramos and Júlia, Maria Teresa also longs to see more of the entire Brazil. She voices the desire of many respondents: a tourism program that would divulge the beauty of Brazil. That illustrates the need they have to feel proud of where they come from. Maria Teresa says:

I think it should be more reporting about Brazil, more about Brazil... because we are rich in culture...They should at least once a week have a report about every state: Pernambuco is beautiful, Recife, Maceió. I will be tired of speaking about them... one is prettier than the other. Today I had a Portuguese woman who has visited Porto Seguro and Vitória. She came back in love with it. If they showed more, more tourists would go there. They show a bit of Bahia, sometimes, Rio de Janeiro. They limit themselves. They should have a program about tourism in Brazil.

Maria Teresa says her Portuguese friends would like to go to Brazil, but they think there is too much violence. She blames this negative image on Globo:

They (Globo's newscasts) only show São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. And they don't show the wonderful places in Rio and São Paulo that don't have violence. I am 43 years old... I lived in Brazil my entire life... of these years, I lived here only three. I was never robbed. I live in a town that is an island surrounded by beaches: Guarapari... people won't attack you. Brazil is not like that. It is a huge country. It is said the violence index in Brazil is acceptable. Nobody accepts violence, but in terms of the size of the country, it is acceptable. People should know about it. They should talk more about culture and less about violence. But TV shows more violence than the beautiful things we have. More people would go to Brazil, if Globo had a program about tourism.

Also, other respondents criticize Globo as not representative of the whole country. Because the focus is mostly on Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo, the two largest cities of Brazil, the news is often negative. It is interesting that most respondents do not disapprove of Globo's newscast because of its government/business elite bias (a common

criticism in the past, as seen in the literature review). Most of them wanted to stay away from that debate, as Dionísio, legal assistant in Toronto explains:

I don't want to join the discussion that along the years many academics have dwelt into about Globo's influence as a mass medium in the popular thought. I don't like this discussion because it is a bit exaggerated and it depends on the political position one is in: they either demonize or "angelize" Globo. I believe that newscasts like "Jornal Nacional" and "Jornal da Globo" because of their reach and the size of the staff, try to represent the reality in a more or less honest way. But it is evident that in this discussion that if there is a political bias... it may exist as it does in any media, which is normal for any media. I don't join this discussion against or for it. I try to watch TV putting this discussion aside, maintaining an independent criticism about the news and commentary... take the best... the news that is presented.

In fact, the great majority of respondents believe that Globo's coverage offers a fair representation of the news in Brazil and the world, especially compared to American news, which is seen as too patriotic. Many emphasize Globo's excellent coverage on economy, a subject that is less seen in American newscasts.

The problem with the news on Globo is that "it's all bad news." A lot of respondents say they are shocked by the negative news, on corrupt politicians, slums, poverty, drug wars and inefficiency. Some, like Vanessa, says that Globo dwell too much on negative news:

For example, they show the war in Rocinha (slum in Rio). They show that all month. I think they show too much negative news. It's OK that it didn't have an end. But it's too negative. Perhaps that is just Brazil. But there is much good news that isn't shown.

Many claim that the newscasts scare away not only Brazilians but also the Portuguese from Brazil. Clausi, who is married to a Portuguese in Toronto, explains:

Sometimes it exaggerates a great deal. It displays a blatant reality that it shocks those who are watching...Unfortunately, I know a lot of Portuguese people who have never been to Brazil who watch Globo Internacional and are afraid, in shock, very afraid to ever visit Brazil.

That's just because of the newscast. One person said to me: I am crazy about Brazil. He has Globo Internacional and watches the newscast and feels unsure.

However, some respondents blame the negative news not on the coverage of Globo but on Brazil's reality that is too violent. For example, Arthur, an 18-year-old student in Toronto says:

What you see is what is happening. It depends on the newscast; "Jornal Nacional" keeps you updated with what is going on... You watch "Jornal Nacional" to see what the politicians are doing, corruptions that were revealed, violence, drug trafficking... rarely you see something that you go: "Cool."

In this sense, I suspect that because some expatriates are exposed to negative news on Brazil, their choice to leave the country is reinforced. They feel content because they are safe and far away from the problems in Brazil. Paradoxically, Globo helps reduce their homesickness by showing Brazil's warmth and beauty as well as by reminding expatriates that social conditions are still difficult and unstable.

Some of the people I interviewed subscribe to Globo but are very discontent with it. For example, Rogelis, a fine artist in Florida, is addicted to TV. He says that, besides the newscast and soccer games, Globo's programs are very bad. He is referring to the mass-oriented programs. At the same time, he says he feels closer to Brazil since he subscribed to Globo. It is ironic that he needs Globo but he does not like it:

It (Globo) is to deal with homesickness. It fulfills a need. I might be contradicting myself because I say I don't like it. But I am curious to see what is going on there. But it is a torture because it doesn't end with your homesickness. It is just a walking stick.

In fact, Rogelis says he feels like an outsider watching something that is far from his life. I argue that the more one is culturally assimilated in the American life, the more

one feels like he or she is watching a channel from a distant country. Moreover, he has a love-hate relationship with Globo, which reflects the sentiments he has for Brazil. In the next chapter on Brazilian and local identities, I will examine this issue more fully.

Other dissatisfied Globo subscribers also contradict themselves. Within this group, the most dissatisfied are the soccer fans. It is important to remember that Globo Internacional's TV schedule is not the same as the Globo Network in Brazil. In Brazil, each Globo affiliate might broadcast the soccer match of its state team, while Globo Internacional has to decide on only one. Some soccer fans say they understand that Globo cannot please them all. However, major sports events are not broadcast because of copyright agreements. That is what disappoints many subscribers, as Ruben, a systems engineer in Florida, explains:

Its programming is very limited. Programs that we would like to watch, such as Formula 1, soccer games with the national team and Olympic games can't be broadcast; and the explanation for that is not always acceptable. A chronic case is the soccer matches. Globo Internacional never transmits them because of contract constraints. However, other international channels show these games to their respective countries. A recent example was Brazil vs. France. It was broadcast live to the USA by an American network and also by a Hispanic channel and French channel TV-5. The only channel that wasn't interested that didn't show the game was Globo Internacional. We have the impression that Globo doesn't want to invest in some event that will not bring an immediate financial gain but satisfaction to the subscriber.

Ruben's concern is shared by several respondents who are dissatisfied that they pay \$25 a month for the Brazilian channel, but cannot have the same programs that are shown in Brazil. This complaint also extends to commercials. For example, Dionísio in Toronto explains why he misses Brazilian commercials:

Commercials nowadays are not mere advertisement but vehicles of culture. So sometimes I feel a bit outside of this context (in Brazil). There are many commercials of products that don't arrive here, so they don't air

them. What happens? Some of these commercials turn out to be cultural manifestations: In fashion, in soccer stadiums we see some symbols that we can't understand. These symbols become popular. They become strong. For us it is difficult to understand. I go to Web sites of cartoons in Brazil, and sometimes these cartoons spoof these commercials and for me it is hard to understand. We also don't have access to everything new in Brazilian music. Sometimes, when they make a musical parody, it is hard to understand it. These are all part of it. I personally wish that Globo would air Brazilian commercials.

Ironically, some of the programs that respondents wish Globo Internacional would show are American/foreign movies or children's cartoons dubbed in Portuguese or copies of American programs. For example, Globo has the rights to recreate the reality show "Big Brother," while Globo Internacional cannot broadcast its Brazilian version. Because Globo Internacional is limited to novelas, soccer, newscasts and Brazilian series/sitcoms, the same programs are shown twice in a day.

The repetition of programs is the main complaint toward Globo Internacional. For Lea, in Florida, one of the few women who do not like to watch novelas, it is frustrating:

Really the programs don't serve me: Four novelas a day (it's actually five, including the teenage series) – I watch none of them, children programs, same thing: repetition. I think they need to do a market study to find out what the population wants. The majority who subscribes to Globo is for news and soccer.

Lea, like Ruben, speaks on behalf of sports fans, the group that is most dissatisfied with Globo. But even ardent Globo enthusiasts are annoyed by the repetition. For instance, Rose, a fashion stylist in Florida, says:

They should not repeat the programming. They repeat it a lot. For me, who watches programs at the store, when I come home, I have to watch them again. I think they should expand the programming. They should try to follow the way it is in Brazil. They should find a way, but should expand it.

Another difference between Globo in Brazil and Globo Internacional is that some programs are delayed. For example, Novelas are delayed for a day and Globo Repórter (in-depth reporting) for a week. Only the daily newscasts are broadcast at the same time they are in Brazil. The delays annoy some respondents, like Clausi in Toronto:

Whenever I call my sisters in Brazil to see if the programming corresponds to the one here, it doesn't. Sunday is the worst day. It has too much soccer, and "Sítio do Picapau" reruns, "Trapalhões" – things that don't show in Brazil anymore. For example, they don't show "Carga Pesada" (series) when it is done there. There are other things that they wait until it ends there to broadcast here like "Jovem Guarda" ("Jovens Tardes," a music show), which they showed only a few. The punctuality is not great. Sunday is bad. When they show "Fantástico" here (newsmagazine show), it is almost over there. They cut "Faustão" in the middle. Saturday morning they have "Xuxa" again when they have it the whole week. It is not necessary. The only one that is worth repeating is "Planeta Brasil" (special program to Brazilian immigrants) because it is on too late on Sunday nights. But a lot are not worth repeating. It should be more up to date. Why some series are broadcast there but not here? When they show it, it is two months after they did in Brazil.

Clausi previously sent an e-mail complaining to Globo about the delays and repetition, although Globo's reception in Toronto was illegal at that time. Other respondents in Toronto contacted Globo to complain or give suggestions. That illustrates their feelings of ownership to the channel. They may not be happy with it, but they believe it is their channel (even when it is not legally broadcast there).

However, Globo Internacional is not the main channel for one group of Brazilians: the Evangelicals. Evangelical Protestantism is an emerging force in Brazil, in particular appealing to the poorest classes. According to Antônio Flávio Pieruccio (2004), traditional religions in Brazil -- including Candomblé, Umbanda, Catholicism and Spiritualism -- are in retreat. Even within Protestantism, Lutheranism, the formerly dominant Protestant religion in Brazil because of the German immigration, has become

limited compared to the growth of Pentecostal and Neopentecostal sectors, which have doubled every 10 years since the late 1980s and 1990.

While in Toronto Evangelicals do not stand out, in South Florida (Broward) there are eight Evangelical churches, as opposed to three Catholic churches and one Candomblé center, according to the Brazilian Consulate in Miami.

It is interesting to note that for Brazilian Evangelicals Globo is not very important. In their view, Globo's programs are too risqué and mundane. Globo is not "their" channel. Instead, the Evangelicals have an alternative: Record Network. Record was founded and is run by Evangelicals. In 2000, a year after Globo, Record launched Record Internacional. For instance, Sandra, who immigrated to Florida because of a calling from God, prefers Record:

Record is better in this case. They always say: It is a program for you and your family. There aren't bad words, pornography, sensuality... there is a little bit because Brazil has a bit of that. But it doesn't have as much as Globo. Record has programs that are more wholesome.

Moreover, Sandra says that Globo ignores the importance of Evangelicals:

It (Globo) never talks about the Evangelic side. There was an event that happened last year in Brasília with more than 2 million people during a cd recording -- the cd that most sells in Brazil against, I believe, secular cds -- but Globo doesn't ever mention it... never invites them over to sing in the programs. There isn't anything.

To make matters worse, she adds:

In novelas, there is always something about spiritualism. On this novela they are rerunning, the guy comes back in someone else's body. On this one at 7 p.m., one guy is a medium. Someone told me that before every novela, Globo goes to a spiritual center to bless the novela seven times for it to be successful.

Evangelicals in Brazil abhor Afro-Brazilian traditions, claiming they have ties with the devil. Because these traditions are broadcast on Globo under a positive light, they ostracize the Evangelical community. Despite these issues, Sandra subscribes to Globo in her business to attract costumers and at home because of her mother, who “said she would be depressed if she hadn’t have Globo.” Sandra says she will terminate the subscription at home when her mother goes back to Brazil.

Not counting Sandra, all respondents have no plans to cancel their subscriptions to Globo Internacional. Because of it, they feel closer to Brazil, which is important for them. They might have many complaints about Globo, but what it provides them, much like a MasterCard commercial, is priceless.

4.2. Role for the Family

In general, interviewees believe that Globo helps maintain the connection to Brazil on the individual level. But that is true for only some immigrant’s children. These children, raised in a culture different than their parents, are always mentioned among the reasons why Brazilians have Globo at home.

For example, Carlos, father of a 16-month old boy in Toronto, says: “One (role of Globo) is to maintain the culture; and the other is to teach my son, who was born here and is Canadian, not only to learn the language but also the culture of the country. For me that is very important.”

In fact, Carlos watches the children’s programming with his son as well as soccer games. He was happy the day of the interview because his son was watching a program that he used to watch when he was a child:

It is funny because today I noticed that he (son) likes “Sítio.” In reality... I am not sure if that’s because he is a little bigger... but today he paid attention to it the whole time. He was watching “Sítio do Picapau” with me. He is 16 months, can you imagine? When he saw, for example, “Emília” or “Visconde” (fantasy characters), which are different, he paid attention. And soccer! He is only 16 months old, but if you have soccer on, he is right there.

Carlos stands out as a determined father who understands the importance of raising a bicultural child. He expects that his child will read children’s books in Portuguese, listen to and do the things he did. Carlos says, “I think this is important: not only through Globo but the community-- there are many things here that help you to maintain your culture. There are governmental programs so you can continue to (maintain your culture). They promote multicultural diversity.” Carlos refers to the Toronto’s multiculturalism atmosphere, which will be examined closer in the chapter on Brazilian and local cultures.

Of particular note regarding this interview are the parent’s attitude and the community’s acceptance. I do not think that these should be considered sole factors that dictate how children of immigrants feel about Globo, but I believe they do play an important role.

Some respondents, like Carlos, are active in using Globo as a tool to show their culture to the children. Lilian, who has a small grocery store in Florida, says:

I think Globo is fundamental for my family. During Festa Junina (St. John's festivities), which is very strong in the Northeast (of Brazil), where my husband is from, they showed a lot of the parties, *quadrilha* (square dance)... you don’t know what a *quadrilha* is here. She (her daughter) didn’t know it, so she saw the tradition of the fires: They make a fire in front of each house; it is a tradition. They think it will bring them good luck. So it is something she didn’t know and we said: “See... this is a tradition.” But also everything that happens in Brazil, in terms of culture, for me, Globo is very important because it shows to her. When I see it on TV, I show it to her. It’s been three and half years she hasn’t been there,

so she forgets... and through the TV, it is very easy to keep this alive for her.

Lilian's daughter is the one who was starting to forget Portuguese since they immigrated to Florida. After Lilian subscribed to Globo, "she improved a lot because she would speak English all day at school and she would go home and watch TV in English." Now they have the TV on Globo all the time. However, Lilian is not entirely content with Globo; she wants "more cultural programming, especially for children of Brazilian parents, children who were born here and don't have a lot of information about Brazilian culture."

Moreover, Globo does not have the rights to broadcast American cartoons dubbed in Portuguese like it does in Brazil, where "Bob Esponja" (Sponge Bob) and "Garotas Superpoderosas" ("Powerpuff Girls") are a hit. In addition, Brazil does not have a tradition in producing cartoons. Because of the lack of cartoons on Globo Internacional, many children prefer American channels that have cartoons all day long, according to their parents.

In Toronto, Clausi, a housewife with two daughters in elementary school, explains that to pass your own culture in a different country to your children is difficult:

It is a battle, you have to persist, keep forward, never give up. If your child speaks English, you say: "No, not like that." Search for books, comics, videos – all the videos at home are in Portuguese, there is nothing in English. It is to say: "I am Brazilian; I love my country and I will pass that to my girls." And they say: "I am Brazilian."

Clausi's husband is Portuguese and their TV is also on Globo all the time; therefore, the whole family watches Globo. On the other hand, Christiane in Missouri subscribed to Globo hoping to show Brazilian culture to her American husband and

children, but ended up being the only one who watches the channel. Christiane says:

I put on Globo and in reality I am the only one who watches it. My son doesn't watch anything, not even programs for him, because these programs are shown when he is at school. So it doesn't work for him. My husband rarely sees something.... his Portuguese is not that good. He has a hard time.

It is understandable that in homes where only one parent is Brazilian, Globo plays a less important role for the family. In Christiane's home, there are two TVs: one for Globo and for American TV, usually on PBS. Christiane says that her son is not interested in Globo because there are no programs for children 9 years of age. The only program, "Sítio do Picapau Amarelo," is broadcast when her son is at school. Her hope is that when he becomes a teenager, he will be more interested in finding out about his Brazilian roots. Globo will be there to show them:

I was talking with a Brazilian friend who has a girl about to become a teenager. This girl is visiting Brazil now. My friend said she talked with her daughter on the phone and she said she was watching novela. She is in vacation in Brazil. She notices that everybody watches novela. So probably when she goes back she will want to watch novela the same way she was doing in Brazil. I think maybe when a certain age comes he will identify more with the culture. So far, he doesn't understand much the difference, what is, what is not. But some day he will realize that he will be different because he has this culture, perhaps he will want to learn more and see more. That's when the TV will play a more important role.

In homes where all members of the family are Brazilian, even those who immigrated to North America almost 20 years ago, Globo quickly became the central media in the household. Respondents such as Michelina and Deusa talk about their grandchildren watching Globo with them. Perhaps that has something to do with having only one TV in the house and living in a Portuguese community where most people watch Globo.

I argue that determined parents, especially those who still dream about going back to Brazil, are a big part of the role of Globo in their daily lives. For example, Laurinda, a homemaker for the elderly who has lived for more than 18 years in Toronto, says her 3-year-old daughter loves Xuxa (kid's program hostess) and Ana Maria Braga (cooking/news variety show). Like Brazilian children at home, she adores the Parrot puppet (show's sidekick). By exposing her daughter to Brazilian culture through TV, among other things, Laurinda hopes her daughter will have fewer adaptation problems if they go back to Brazil. In reality, she is helping her daughter forge a Brazilian identity and a sense of belonging to this country that she did not quite leave despite almost two decades overseas.

4.3. Role for the Community

Brazilian media are not new in North America. Locally produced newspapers, most commonly tabloids emerged in the 1980s in New York. Tapes of novelas and occasional newscasts were around since 1990s. However, no media have had the scope of Globo Internacional. This extensive reach is a key factor for Globo in promoting the idea of a transnational Brazilian community.

Much like in Brazil, Globo's programs are topic of conversations as mentioned previously in this chapter. For Brazilian immigrants, to have a channel of their own gives them a sense of uniqueness that is shared only between other subscribers or Brazilians at home. Carlos in Toronto says that it makes them feel good to be able to comment on what they see on TV. At the same time, Júlia, the teenager in Miami, explains that people who do not have Globo feel left out:

I have friends who have it and who don't. My friend who doesn't have it, poor girl, suffers because we talk about it a lot, and she doesn't understand it. So I have to explain what happens. Sometimes she watches it at home with me.

Having something special that they can talk about, Júlia and her friends who are Globo subscribers have an interest that sets them apart. That distinction in itself reinforces a sense of community. But there is more. Because Globo's programs set and show trends in Brazil, as seen earlier, they also have an entire collection of cultural symbols unique to them, including slang, new expressions, and fashion styles.

In the section about the role of Globo for individuals, I focused on Globo's trends from the point of view of the individual. Here the focus is on the importance for the community. Particularly, Brazilian trends seen on Globo quickly catch on in Miami and Toronto. As seen earlier, when viewers see their favorite actresses wearing something they like, they soon ask for those items in Brazilian stores. In Toronto, Maria Teresa, a beautician, says: "There is this girl in the 7 o'clock novela wearing dresses that are flowery and that show her cleavage... you can go to the Brazilian stores here and you will see they already have them."

Brazilian businesses rely heavily on Globo; they are always paying attention to what people are using in Brazil in order to place orders for their stores. Rose, a fashion stylist in Miami, says that Globo is vital to her job: "I do a lot of research based on Globo (its programs and newscasts)." Even product placements during a novela are picked up by Globo viewers in North America, as K.M, who works in a Brazilian store in Pompano Beach, explains:

This novela that just ended, "Celebridade," displayed Natura products (beauty company). We have a lot of Natura products, so when the novela showed a perfume called Brazil; the next day there were people asking if

we had it. It is very interesting.

For João Luís, a video retailer in Miami, the immigrants' need to import Brazilian products creates a demand for Brazilian trends that eventually reaches Americans as well:

Brazilians watch people wearing new clothes on Globo. Then they want to buy, for example, a new bikini to wear it here. Then Americans here see the bikini and want to have one just like it, and go to a Brazilian store. That's what has been going on. Now my wife was wearing Brazilian jewelry and an American woman stopped her to ask where she got her earrings.

That is not such a far-out idea; other Brazilian products such as low-cut jeans, the widespread use of flip-flops and the famous Brazilian waxing have crossed into the mainstream culture.

Also, it is notable that Globo Internacional helps reproduce Brazilian life in places where there is an abundance of Brazilians. In Broward, Lilian, the owner of a small grocery store, says that the suspense surrounding the death of a main novela character dictated the lives of Brazilian expatriates in Florida:

When the novela "Celebridade" was on, everybody was: "Who killed Lineu?" That was a commotion in Brazil and here. By the way, in the two days before the last chapter of Celebridade, during the novela, the store stopped. Not one soul came to the store. My husband said, "What is going on?" It was the novela! Everybody went home to watch the novela. And then, I saw on Jornal Nacional that the streets in Rio were empty, people were getting off the bus in the middle of the way because they wouldn't have time to arrive home: this lady went to a bar that had a television on and watched the novela! Here I think that happened too; everything stopped because of the novela.

Historically, last chapters of novelas, especially when the identity of a murderer is revealed, attract a huge audience. According to IBOPE, the Brazilian Institute of Public Opinion and Statistics, Lineu's murderer revelation hit 82 percent of audience share in Brazil (O Estado de S. Paulo, 2004). Unfortunately, it is still hard to measure Globo

Internacional's audience, but gauging from these interviews, I suppose the picture is not very different overseas.

If one ponders about the parallel of what happens in Brazil and in Miami in the last chapter of a novela, he or she will realize that is a very interesting phenomenon: Brazilian communities overseas are able to mirror the habits in Brazil, as if they truly lived in a piece of Brazil in another country.

In other words, it is clear that Globo Internacional reinforces and is reinforced by transnationalism, "a process in which international migrants maintain their ties to the home country – despite its geographical distance – while living in the country of settlement" (Margolis, 1995 p. 29). In the mid-nineties –before Globo Internacional -- Margolis pointed out that Brazilian expatriates lived simultaneously within two nation states. With Globo Internacional, transnationalism became official.

Moreover, Brazilian immigrants can be reached across the United States, including Alaska, via the commercials aired on Globo Internacional. When Maria Inês, vice president for cultural affairs of a Brazilian center in Miami, wanted to get a message to the whole community about the launching of an elementary school in Portuguese, she advertised on Globo:

We didn't know how to inform the Brazilian community about this school -- Ada-Merrit School (bilingual school) -- that would be opened for registration. We had a commercial on the air. It was excellent. We had excellent response. We had people from other states calling, asking about the school.

It is important to note that Globo Internacional has advertisements of all sorts of Brazilian businesses from car dealers, groceries to churches and restaurants. Some respondents, like Nieta in Miami, complain that these commercials are so bad, cheap that

they “devalue Globo’s programs.” Marcele says they are ridiculous. At the same time, they convey a small-town feeling, except that this town does not exist in a geographical sense.

However, subscribers in Toronto feel left out because most commercials are directed to immigrants in the United States. Carlos says he was hoping Globo Internacional would become officially available soon (it did in February 2006) because the community there needed that encouragement.

As João Luís, the photo/video retailer in Florida, sums up the role of Globo on the social level, its importance for the community is indisputable:

It (Globo) has empowered the community. Through commercials about events, it has strengthened the community in all aspects. Today we know when there is a soccer game. People stop to watch and talk about it. We watch novela and during the week we talk about it. We watch the newscast and are informed about what is going on. It gives you information to talk about Brazil with the community... and along comes the commercials for stores, restaurants, etc. It’s been very good for the community.

4.4. Gender and Class Differences

If Globo helps maintain Brazilian culture in North America, it may be assumed that it reinforces gender and class differences that exist in Brazil. These differences are more prominent in Brazilian society in comparison to the more equalitarian American society, as discussed in previous chapters. What happens when a Brazilian immigrates and, for the first time, her husband is paid less than she makes? Who is in charge of the housework? Who cooks? And who watches the cooking show?

For instance, Júnia has been in Toronto for almost four years working as a cleaner. She says that she is better paid than her husband, who is in civil construction. She works odd hours, so he cooks for her sometimes. That simple task -- a man cooking

for his wife – is not a Brazilian habit. Women often work all day too; yet because men in general have better salaries, women are in charge of the chores once they are home. That changed for Júnia in Toronto. However, when it is time to watch TV, she still likes to watch “Ana Maria Braga” (women’s program) and novelas. One observation is that no men in this study say they watch “Ana Maria Braga.”

In other words, Globo displays Brazilian gender roles that are dissonant from the context immigrants live now. In the case of Júnia, it does not matter if the TV conveys stricter gender roles but in reality they act in the opposite way. Yet, it is hard to say if that would stay the same in the long run. Perhaps more men will begin to watch the cooking show.

In fact, viewing habits reflect Brazilian gender division; nevertheless, it is not a rule: not all men love soccer and hate novelas, and vice-versa. I suspect that many men are used to watching novelas because of their wives, and after they immigrated – even when alone -- they still do it. What holds true is that the same way women look for novelas as a way to feel closer to Brazil, so do men (e.g. Marco Antônio and Vanderlei in Florida, Vinicius and Dionísio in Toronto).

In Miami, after almost 16 years in the United States, Maria Inês says that her husband finally watched a novela with her. Perhaps that was due to the novela’s high quality, his desire to look for Brazilian “things,” or a growing acceptance of less determined gender divisions:

There are these wonderful novelas, like “Celebridade,” which ended now. It was the first time that my husband, who is 64 years old – he hated novelas – ... sat and watched the whole thing. He said, “It will never get me again because this thing is addictive.” (laughs). If he went out, he would tape it. He was worse than me because if I go out and miss one day, it is OK. The next day I catch what happened. But he was addicted to that

novela. It is very well done.

Homesickness hits all genders equally; this means men might want to watch novelas only so they can see a little bit of the life in Brazil. At the same time, most women interviewed for this study seem to be more interested in watching the national soccer team, which illustrates their desire to look for their Brazilian identity.

However, most female respondents dread regional soccer matches. In Toronto, Enáile's only complaint about Globo is: "I think the Sunday schedule is very tiring. It shows too many soccer games, but men like it. If my husband were here, he would say the opposite because he loves soccer all day long."

In short, there is a gender division in regards to TV habits, but I argue the trend is toward blurrier lines. Also, I suspect that the more immigrants assimilate in the new society, the more they will consider programs with sexist representation of women, either as sexual objects or as subservient housewives, bizarre.

As far as social class, most respondents, regardless of their class, like to watch news, novelas and soccer. However, immigrants who are highly educated make a distinction between shows that the masses watch and the shows that they watch. The upper classes cite the newscasts and "Programa do Jô" – the equivalent to the David Letterman show -- among their favorite programs and despise programs for the masses.

For example, Marco Antonio in Miami, college-educated in Rio de Janeiro, says:

Globo is not tacky, although it has programs for tacky ("brega") people, like 'Faustão.' Globo's novelas are brilliant, not tacky. Mexican soap operas are extremely tacky. I would say that American TV is a huge Méier (low-class neighborhood in Rio); and Globo is Ipanema (hip, rich area in Rio).

Respondents with college degrees also want more educational programs and

fewer programs for the lower classes. Sonia, who has a college degree but ended up working as a cleaner since her husband lost his job, says:

I would remove “Faustão,” (variety program), for example. It is useless. It is a silly program. I lose my Sunday, which is a day I have and could watch a lot of things on TV. The program doesn’t interest me. That “Turma do Didi” (slapstick comedy) is argh! Other comedy programs like “Zorra Total” are not funny at all. They could take them all out. I like things like newscast, documentaries...

This distinction between high-class and low-class programs is clear. By choosing one and disdaining the other, the viewer reveals his/her class affiliation. Yet again, the American society is much more equal than the Brazilian one. While in Brazil a cleaner is paid about \$100 a month and a professional receives \$3000; in the United States that gap is much smaller.

As Valéria Magalhães (2003) explains, class in Brazil refers to affordability of consumer goods. Yet, in the United States, immigrants in menial jobs have as much access to consumer goods as the high-middle class in Brazil. Items that in Brazil are considered to be a luxury (e.g. VCR, answering machine, laundry washer, and car) are ordinary to the American working class. In this case, other factors such as class origin in Brazil and status – cultural capital, fluency in English and proper documentation – determine the social class in eyes of Brazilian immigrants.

Such hierarchy does not make much sense in North American life. For instance, American media are concerned with appealing to the middle class. However, Globo must attract Brazil’s two social extremes; and in its international version, it reinforces this apparent class polarization.

Nevertheless, because the context in North America is different from the one in Brazil, some responses have already echoed the change. For example, before her move to the United States, Maria Inês would stay away from the kitchen, an area restricted to the maids. In the United States, Maria Inês says she learned to be independent:

I used to have two maids and a driver. I don't have them anymore. I drive much better. I must drive. I didn't know how to cook. I learned a little bit. I was totally unaware of my house. I have a cleaner; she comes and goes. But now I have to take better care of my house. The family has to help cleaning. They have to put the dishes in the dishwasher... Although here in Florida I have a maid who cooks for me. But many things have changed in my life. I improved myself. I became more independent. I was too dependent on my maid. If she didn't show up, it was a tragedy. Now I can take care of it.

One might argue that wealthy people in Brazil are distanced from their own Brazilian culture more than they are in North America. In this case, that may be true because cooking is relegated to the poor in Brazil. Yet, when the rich immigrate, they miss Brazilian food as much as the immigrant who has menial jobs. For Maria Inês, that resulted in her tackling cooking for the first time. It is curious that one of her favorite shows is “Ana Maria Braga” (women’s show associated with low-class housewives). Maria Inês loves her recipes: “I go to the Web site and print them. I have a folder with Ana Maria Braga’s recipes.”

In Toronto, Fabiana, a TV producer who is married to a Canadian, also surprised herself when she enjoyed watching “Ana Maria Braga:”

After I moved here, I started to watch “Ana Maria Braga.” I started to write down her recipes. Before, I would criticize my mom. I was biased against these programs for housewives. I would tell her: Gosh! How tacky you are! To watch this horrible program of this woman who has terrible hair! And here I am, watching it everyday. And worse, I would go to her Web site to write down the recipes. When your lifestyle changes, you watch things that have nothing to do with you before: Video Show, Video Game. How people change! I think it becomes part of your life here; you

don't want to lose the link with your country.

Fabiana is embarrassed to admit she watches the “Ana Maria Braga” show; yet she watches it since she feels that it connects her to Brazil. Because of the immigrants’ need to search for their identity, and in particular their country’s identity, they often look for their roots. As discussed in chapter three, Brazilian culture emerged from the lower classes. Therefore, it is understandable that Fabiana became interested in the show that is for “tacky housewives.” However, she sees her choice – to watch the show -- from a Brazilian, more hierarchical perspective, which is why she feels ashamed to watch it. It is important to mention that traditional gender roles are also more evident in lower classes or in peripheral areas; people in big cities have similar lifestyles in the globalized world. Fabiana is from Brazil’s largest city and looks down on traditional roles.

Finally, before initiating this study, I wondered if Globo Internacional was more important for women and immigrants in menial jobs. But based on the interviews, I realized that gender and class are not significant in this case. Both wealthy immigrants, who moved to United States because of high positions in multinational companies, and those who have unskilled jobs and send money to Brazil believe Globo Internacional is important as a way to maintain their link with Brazil. I also spoke with men who are more dependent on Globo than their wives. In fact, rich or poor, men or women, they all like to have Globo on to feel at home.

4.5. Yahoo! Online Group

I joined Yahoo’s GloboInternacional on March 1, 2004, introducing myself as a student who was researching the channel and was looking for subscribers in the Miami

area. Only one person responded to my message. Then, I participated in a few discussions as a viewer. Later, on July 27, 2005, I shared with the group some of the results from the interviews in South Florida and Toronto, as described in this chapter, and e-mailed the abstract that I used for an earlier presentation. This time three members wrote back. Although it was a small number, their response ignited a fervent discussion about Globo - - some defending it and some attacking it.

However, before examining the feedback from the online group, it is important to understand in what circumstances the group was formed. Yahoo!'s GloboInternacional discussion group was created on Oct. 16, 2001 by Louis S. in response of unsuccessful attempts to communicate with Globo. At that time, Globo had interrupted the broadcast of soccer matches, which infuriated many subscribers. Globo Internacional has a Web site, where one can write comments and ask questions, but it had several glitches that discouraged participation. Also, several subscribers were aggravated because they did not get any response.

The GloboInternacional group became an open forum to vent disappointments with sports coverage, novela repetitions, an incorrect programming grid, and customer assistance (in particular, regarding DISH Network). The concept was based on the premise that it is a legitimate right to complain and protest. On Nov. 15, 2001, Louis S., as moderator of Yahoo!'s GloboInternacional group writes the following letter (message #188):

Globo Internacional, Dish Network, KBS and others,

We write to you to express our sadness and anger for the way your companies have handled your subscribers to Globo Internacional channel 596 on the DISH network in the US and on other systems around the world.

We strongly believe that we have been a victim of the classic bait and switch salespitch. Globo, Dish and KBS had promised and advertised that by purchasing hundreds of dollars in equipment and paying a monthly fee between \$20-\$25 US Dollars we would get year round soccer matches from Brazil. This was true only in the first year

of Globo and soon after they cut the soccer and left us subscribers in the cold without any detailed explanation. All that was said was "Por força de contrato..." (Due to contractual obligations). We believe that GLOBO had a verbal CONTRACT with its users when it promised and failed to deliver Brazilian soccer. It is totally unacceptable to do that to a community that dreamt of watching Brazilian soccer matches in their homes in America. A station that considers itself the 4th largest in the world is not performing anywhere near that level.

The insult is such that once Globo cut out the soccer they didn't even bother to beef up their sports programming with extra highlights shows or "best of moments" from the matches. They simply dropped the soccer and didn't think twice, without any substantial explanation.

We will not stand for that and many of us have already canceled Globo and plan on doing the same with DISH. On January 1, 2002 we will be canceling Globo in mass. We will also contact all forms of media around the world so that they are aware of this embarrassing situation. We have not discarded yet a false advertisement class action lawsuit against the above companies. All this could be avoided if we got what we paid for...live Brazilian Soccer. Below is just a small list of the Globo subscribers that are part of this group and that will be canceling or already have.

We hope this can be resolved quickly without further damage to the reputation of your company.

Signed,
Louis S.

Finally, on Nov. 22, 2001, Globo International employee, Priscila Beloch, writes to the online group with good news: Globo had negotiated the rights to broadcast internationally the games of Brazilian clubs, except the national team (message #239). She had joined the group previously and had been reading the complaints. Her participation was important not only because it validated the group but also because it served as a bridge between subscribers and the corporation. Priscila let the group know about schedule changes, special programs and answered questions – she was frequently

bombarded with questions and complaints. However, in 2004 Priscila writes that she moved to a different department and left a replacement, Patricia, who did not communicate with the group (message #5018).

With time, other topics emerged that often do not refer to Globo (e.g. where to find a Brazilian product online, how to renew a passport, how to use slingbox, etc). Still, soccer discussion predominates in the group. Novela comes in a distant second place, thanks to a small group of women who once in a while lead the conversation toward this topic. In March 2006, the group consists of 211 members, but it seems that only a small number of people, no more than 10, actually communicate often.

4.5.1. Online Responses

One of the first persons who wrote back with feedback on my research was Rosane, a mother of two children and married to an American, in New York State. Like many interviewees in Miami and Toronto, she says Globo also fulfills a need to have something of her culture:

I started to subscribe to Globo because I missed having news and I missed the language. Here I only have one friend. I also thought that my children would end up learning through children's programs – sad illusion... But I like the programs in the evening, I like Jô (similar to David Letterman), I like novelas, of course. I also feel more informed about what goes on in the world. (message #5700)

Rosane usually comments in the forum about novelas; she does not criticize Globo as much as the soccer fans:

I don't complain much, unlike most people. For me to have this vehicle to hear about Brazil everyday is good. I am simple and it doesn't take too much to satisfy me -- that must be it. I would like to watch volleyball matches, but I know it is not possible. But for me, the rest (of the programs) is worth it. (ibid)

Rosane found in Rosi, a mother of two girls, who is also married to an American and has lived in Texas for nine years, an ally, not only as novela fans but also because they are generally not angry at Globo. Rosi writes: “I watch Globo (and TV Record as well!) because I like to be in contact with Brazilian culture and I want my children to have contact with it, so they don’t grow up to become snotty ‘gringas.’ Their roots are Brazilian” (message # 5709).

Both Rosi and Rosane want to maintain a link with Brazil and use Globo Internacional as a reinforcement of Brazil in their lives. Although Rosane was disappointed that the children’s programs did not appeal to her children, that is not the case of Rosi:

Globo Internacional is fundamental at home. It keeps my children linked to the Portuguese language and Brazilian culture. My father, who lives with us, doesn’t speak English, so I don’t need to say anything else, right? Globo is on 24/7, as we say here. Globo is extremely important, despite all its faults. My husband (American) loves soccer, and even he watches Globo faithfully. GI (Globo Internacional) makes me believe I am in Brazil, especially Sundays, when I loyally watch “Fantástico,” about which we curse, and curse and curse but watch. I always watch the newscasts. And that is the reason I watch it, despite it is expensive and faulty, because it keeps me anchored in Brazil. (message #5718)

Rosi’s and Rosanes’s responses are very similar to the majority of interviewees I talked with in Toronto and South Florida. It is interesting that Rosi writes that Globo keeps her anchored in Brazil. Of course, it is the Brazilian identity that Globo personifies that anchors her. That is crucial for immigrants who are lost in the sea of confusion that is a new culture, as seen earlier in this chapter. Yet, not all people use TV the same way. But because the prevalence of Globo is enormous in Brazil, it comes as no surprise that

most Brazilians feel that way in regards to Globo.

On the other hand, Henrique, who has been in the United States for 20 years and is married to an American, says that Globo is not very important to him or his children (message #5718). He thought it would be good for his children but they did not like the children's programs, as they understand little Portuguese. As a soccer fan, Henrique belongs to the type of subscribers who is most dissatisfied by Globo. He only watches Globo on Wednesdays and Sundays for soccer games. Still, he was one of the first ones to join the Yahoo! group to complain about Globo. He also writes:

To make matters worse, both Globo Internacional and Record Internacional (the other Brazilian channel) don't care about subscribers. I think the problem is that we used to have something in exchange for payment, which is not very common in Brazil :-). Things like a grid that works, or to have soccer matches of teams of other states, or not to repeat so many novelas... Globo does not realize that we pay for their salaries and they should not ignore us. (ibid)

Several members of the group say that Globo is insignificant for them, yet they formed this group to complain about it. It shows an intriguing contradiction. In the group, I found more viewers who loathe Globo, compared to the ones in Florida and Toronto. For example, Henrique is adamant: "I must say I never liked Globo, not even when I lived in Brazil. I won't even discuss the brainwashing that it does to Brazilian individuals. Globo is a monopoly in Brazil. It elects and destroys presidents, and it is the arm of the country's dominating elite." In common, their responses reveal a passionate dislike for Globo and ambiguous feelings toward Brazil.

In fact, Rosi and others took offense with Henrique's criticism and called him "gringo" alluding that he was too Americanized (message# 5714). Rosi writes, "If you knew a little more about Brazilian culture, you would know how important Globo is

(despite its monopoly) in the everyday life of Brazilians. We all have the right to feel proud of it.”

Henrique responds that immigration has changed him (message# 5728). “I don’t aspire to move back to Brazil, but I am not frustrated because of that. I have adapted well here as I would have in any place of the world since I don’t see the world in geographic lines.” He also writes that he is still Brazilian because he loves “churrasco” (Brazilian barbecue) and checks out beautiful women despite his American wife.

It is interesting that a conversation about Globo inevitably turns into banter about identity. That shows that, whether viewers like it or not, Globo is a channel that represents Brazilianess, a common response in the interviews.

Most recently, two members announced they were canceling Globo’s subscription. One was Egidio, of Texas, who had been in the group since 2003. He writes:

I put up with the abuses of DISH (network) and Globo Internacional up to my limit. On March 9, I officially cancel my contract with Dish. I am tired of the lack of respect for consumers ...The carelessness with the programming is unforgivable. The grid is... crap and not reliable. I am fed up with all that... “Globo quality” may work in Brazil, but for the international market GI (Globo Internacional) is a long way off. (message # 6325)

The other individual who was leaving the group was Claudio, a member since 2001. He writes that the only reason he had Globo was for soccer, but “Globo insisted on showing the same teams.” He decided to subscribe to FOX Sports in Spanish where he says he can find more matches of teams in São Paulo, his hometown. In Claudio’s message there are several grammar and spelling mistakes. Rosi does not let it pass unnoticeable. She writes:

I am not even going to start talking about the reasons why I subscribe to Globo, and it is not even for novelas – it is to maintain contact with the Brazilian culture (or its lack of culture...), contact with Portuguese language and assistance so I will not make many mistakes when I speak or write, for example, to use “mas” (“but”) instead of mais (“more”). (message #6272)

Rosi refers to Claudio’s broken Portuguese and stirs another discussion about Globo. Rosane writes about the many reasons she watches Globo. For instance, she says: “I like to see how Brazilian actors are aging; I also like to watch the take on the news. Brazilian fashion is much prettier” (message #6279). Her response echoed a common response among interviewees in Toronto and South Florida.

Ruben, who was interviewed for this study and has a negative perception of Globo highlights a Brazilian bias in Globo’s newscast:

The newscasts put Brazil in an importance level that is totally surreal. I remember when Lula was in Washington to visit Bush. Watching the newscast, I had the impression that all of Washington stopped to welcome the president of Brazil. When the camera was on Bush, though, I thought his face looked a little bored. The next day I looked for the news in a local paper, but nothing! Then in national news, there was a small note about Bush meeting with presidents of various countries of the Third World. Lula was only one more... then I understood Bush’s bored face. (message # 6283)

It is evident in Ruben’s comments that he perceives the newscasts with American eyes. Certainly, further discussions follows Ruben’s message.

Overall, there is a clear division between soccer fans and novela fans. Most women do not participate in topics about soccer, and vice-versa.

I wondered why soccer fans did not create a group to talk about soccer instead of a forum about Globo Internacional. The answer goes back to the foundation of the forum. The forum was created to push Globo to broadcast soccer. In reality, like they do in

Brazil, they turn to Globo for sports. However, they cannot have all they had in Brazil, so these viewers are very frustrated. Still their commitment to Globo is apparent.

In an earlier message, Louis responded to a strong attack on Globo. He writes:

I have lived here since 1968! (since age one) Do you have any idea how it was before Internet and Globo Internacional? I spent YEARS without ANYTHING about Brazil. I was completely oblivious. Perhaps I had some news from relatives in Brazil, but very little. Newspaper? Of course, I could buy a newspaper that would be a week old, but I had to drive 40 miles to buy it. I could also stay awake until 4 a.m. to listen to short-wave radio... You don't know how good you have it! If Globo were the only connection you had to Brazil that would make some sense... but with the Internet, Brazil is much closer. For as much as \$20 you don't appreciate what you have... too bad you were not here in the 1970s and 80s to see how 'good' things were! (message #1013)

Louis reminded the group of the time before globalization, but the demands for more soccer games continued.

In an earlier e-mail posting (#1358), Priscila Beloch, the liaison between the Yahoo group and Globo Internacional, writes that she liked to believe the group was a small sample of Globo's subscribers in the United States. She is correct; except that this group mostly represents the point of view of soccer fans, as it was created to demand more soccer matches and complain about Globo's inadequate customer service. Recently, I discovered there are other discussion groups on Yahoo! that focus on Globo Internacional; and I presume there are many others on the Web.

For several members, Globo Internacional is still a pioneering channel that does not meet Globo's standards at home. The question is that the majority of respondents in this study wants "something" Brazilian, to have access to news, and see Brazil, even if it is just through the television set. For many male subscribers, that means soccer. While two members announced they canceled their subscriptions, they did it out of frustration;

they wanted to watch their teams on Globo so much that they joined a forum to vent about it.

With that in mind, their response was similar to sports fans whom I interviewed in South Florida and Toronto. Also, the few novela fans, who jumped to the defense of Globo's criticisms, use Globo to feel close to Brazil and maintain Brazilian culture. Again, it is unfeasible to dissociate Globo with Brazilian identity. Based on fervent online debates, there is a tension between American values and Brazilian values, sending culture and receiving culture, rejecting Brazil and becoming American, embracing both or rejecting both, and rejecting America and maintaining Brazil. All these elements were present in the interviews for this study.

Although I did not have a lot of feedback on my study, examining the Yahoo group confirmed some of the roles that Globo Internacional have for subscribers. It also served as a way to identify the frustrations and grievances toward Globo.

4.6. Conclusion

Does Globo help maintain Brazilian culture in North America? Novela fans in the Yahoo! Group agree with most respondents in this study, who answer "of course" and "no doubt about it." That is evident, especially in the areas of high concentration of Brazilians. However, Globo Internacional did not create these communities. People have lived almost the way they do in Brazil for many years, as Maxine Margolis documented in the early 1990s.

I argue that Globo Internacional, because of its scope and immediacy as a broadcast vehicle, indeed underpins transnationalism. Yet, it creates a Brazilian culture

that is not identical to the one in Brazil, as one might suspect. Assuming that TV is not able to transmit all that is Brazilian, a few respondents believe only in Brazil one can really understand what is going on. For instance, Dionísio, a legal assistant in Toronto explains the difference:

People who are there (in Brazil) have direct access to the popular culture of the streets. When TV begins to depict these aspects, time has gone by, so it is not the same anymore. One has to understand that it is always a little late, as opposed to the contact in real life. Real life is much quicker than TV. The time it takes for slang to reach TV is longer than the time it is out there in real life.

At the same time, when asked whether Globo helps maintain Brazilian culture, Dionísio answers: “No doubt about it. I believe so. It is an important factor... to know what is going on...even if it is a little late to know about the customs there. I think it is worth it.” In other words, he acknowledges that the culture overseas is not an exact copy of the one in Brazil, but that doesn’t mean it is less Brazilian.

On the other hand, Sonia in Broward is resolute: “Globo doesn’t help maintain the culture. The information they serve here helps you not lose your links there. But when you go back to Brazil, that is very little, not enough.” In reality, Sonia is right that if one relies solely on Globo, it would be very little. Except that it does not stop there. Respondents in this study talk about Globo with other viewers, go to stores to buy items they see on Globo and gather to watch main events on Globo. Also, parents do not use Globo in an isolated manner; they read books and comics for their children; they take them often to Brazil. And above all, they speak Portuguese at home.

Marco Antonio in Miami also believes that to maintain culture it is necessary to have “more contact among Brazilians, the institutionalization of places.... It is not the TV

that maintains the culture. Culture exists, despite TV. Globo doesn't have this role here.”

In fact, Marco Antonio's conception of culture is restricted:

The lack of preservation that is done here is on the same level in Brazil. Do you think that Carnival parades are preservation of Brazilian culture? I don't think so. The CTG, do you know what it is? It is the Center for the Preservation of Gaucho Culture. Here there isn't. Is there anything equivalent to CTG in Rio? Not really. My son found out about a group that preserves jongo in Madureira. Do you know what jongo is? It is a dance. It is part of the roots of Brazilian culture. So what happens here is very similar to what happens in Brazil.

According to Marco Antonio, Brazilian culture is disappearing in Brazil; in its place, he sees a mass-produced way of life. In his view, culture is also stratified: there is high culture and low culture. He believes that poor people are more susceptible to mass culture. Rogelis also in Miami agrees with this idea: “What culture does it (Globo) maintain? That same brainwashing crap! It is unbearable. It pollutes people's minds...” As I mentioned before, Rogelis has a love-hate relationship with Globo, which curiously reflects how he feels toward Brazil.

Good or bad, Globo Internacional is something incontestably Brazilian, which is what expatriates, those interviewed in Toronto and Miami or members of the Yahoo! group, are craving for in North America. In the next chapter, I will examine the question of identity and adaptation dynamics with the hope to begin comprehending this picture.

CHAPTER 5. BRAZILIAN IDENTITY AND LOCAL CULTURE

In this chapter, I intend to connect the information about Globo's roles for Brazilian immigrants with views on Brazilian and North American identities and the adaptation to a new culture. I will also compare acculturation dynamics in Toronto and South Florida and examine six personal stories to understand how the roles of Globo and acculturation attitudes play out together.

As seen in the literature review, adaptation to a new culture does not happen evenly: The more alike immigrants and the receiving people are, the easier it is for them to adapt in the society. In other words, religion, race, class, and education are all important factors in predicting the adaptation process. For example, in the globalized world, upper classes around the world have similar lifestyles, tastes and habits. When a wealthy urban person immigrates to Miami, she or he does not have to overcome a huge cultural gap that, for instance, someone from a rural village in the interior of Minas Gerais (state in Brazil) has.

At the same time, the ways immigrants perceive themselves and others are also crucial. The question is national identity, which comes from sharing features with fellow nationals but also through the contrast with others. Jean-François Bayart (2005) writes, "The production of identities, and thus also the production of cultures, is relational; it reflects a relationship to the Other as much as a relationship to the Self" (p. 96). It is also important to remember "identities are made and (unmade) only through the mediation of such identificatory acts, in short, by their enunciation" (Bayart, 2005 p. 92). This means

that identification is contextual, multiple and relative. In Brazil, someone from the state of São Paulo is renowned for being cold, hard working and less extroverted compared to individuals from Bahia, who are laidback and relaxed. It is interesting to see that Brazilian immigrants seem to overlook all these differences and create one common Brazilian identity.

Some respondents think of identity in antagonistic and Manichean fashion: “We are hot; they are cold.” Others look for the commonality of all human beings. They realized that if they are to live in the new country for good, they have to focus on the positive things.

Another element that surfaced in the interviews was a sense of belonging. During World War I, Simone Weil noted the significance of belonging:

To be rooted is perhaps the most important and least recognized need for the human soul. It is one of the hardest to define. A human being has roots by virtue of his real, active and natural participation in the life of a community which preserves in living shape certain particular treasures of the past and certain particular expectations for the future. This participation is a natural one, in the sense that it is automatically brought about by place, condition of birth, profession and social surroundings. Every human being needs to have multiple roots. (Weil 1952, p. 41)

No wonder immigrants seem to cling to their original country. Marcos Sorrentino (2001) writes that belonging is empowering: When you are totally lost and do not know where north, south, east or west are, where people live, where your relationship ties are, you feel more impotent. The sense of belonging to a nation, a group or a culture allows one to visualize, map and interpret one’s space (my translation).

In fact, some respondents, even after almost 20 years overseas, still feel that their home is Brazil. They cling to their Brazilian identity also because their original plan was

to go to North America and return once they save enough money. Yet, time passes and many create roots in the new country, as seen in this research. For instance, of 21 interviewees in the United States, 10 plan to live in the United States permanently; four are undecided; and seven want to go back to Brazil. In Canada, of 22 interviewees, nine want to stay; eight plan to go back; and five are undecided about their future. A few have tried to return to Brazil, but could not adapt to life there and departed again to North America. Some wish they could be in two places at the same time. While this is not possible, they surround themselves with other Brazilians, eat “pão de queijo” (cheese bread) and watch Globo Internacional.

5.1. Brazilian Identity

What does it mean to be Brazilian? Interviewees for this study answer this question in three distinct ways that I categorized as nostalgic, disenchanted and detached.

The majority of respondents, 30 out of 43, see Brazilians as warm, spontaneous, friendly, happy -- even under bad circumstances. It is fascinating how different people in different places reiterate this same idea. For example, Silvia in Broward says: “Brazilians are the best people. We know how to be friends. We have parties despite all the problems. We joke around. We make a barbecue with the little money we have and have friends over, having fun.” Meanwhile, Maria Teresa in Toronto says: “Brazilians are always happy despite all the problems... they find a way to cheat sadness.” And also Luciana G., a secretary in Toronto, says:

It (To be Brazilian) is to have pride. It is to be happy. What does it mean the word “Brazil”? It means happiness, to smile... if you say you are from Brazil, people expect you to smile. It is to be close, warm. In my opinion, the word “Brazil” means a lot of things like happiness despite all the problems. Despite everything, he smiles.

In reality, I argue that this glossy creation of a Brazilian identity by immigrants comes from nostalgia and idealization, much like a soldier, when stationed overseas, believes his girlfriend is prettier and sweeter than she actually is. Respondents report that the way they see Brazil changed after they immigrated. Enáile says: “For me, it (to be Brazilian) is everything. It is my life. After I came to this country, I learned to value Brazil even more. It is my country, my land. If I see yellow and green, my heart beats faster. I am proud to say I am Brazilian.”

According to José Carlos Sebe Bom Meihy, (2004), the effect of “saudade” -- a mix of longing, homesickness and nostalgia – reorganizes memory. Meihy documented the lives of about 700 Brazilians in New York, including the disappointment when 100 of them returned to Brazil. The image they conceived fell apart in the midst of Brazil’s rough reality: poverty, unemployment and violence. Daily things that expatriates miss so much lose their magic once they are there, Meihy reports.

A second kind of response reflects disenchantment with Brazil. Six respondents in Florida as opposed to only two in Toronto share this view. Perhaps they are starting to see themselves from the perspective of the receiving community – a sign of assimilation. W. E. B. Dubois (1903) coined the term “double consciousness’ to describe how African-Americans look at themselves through the eyes of the other.

This sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness - an American, a Negro; two warring souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (1903, ed. 1995, p. 45)

The idea of “double consciousness” can also be used regarding Brazilian immigrant. For Marcele in Florida, who immigrated at 16 years of age, to be Brazilian has a weight, meaning that it is a burden. Ruben, an engineer in Florida, says that to be Brazilian means to be “associated to Hispanic culture, which doesn’t have a very respected reputation in this country.” They are clearly positioning their perspective from an American stance. So is Rogelis, a successful fine artist in Florida, who feels conflicted toward his Brazilianess:

There are two sides. I am proud and ashamed of it. The good side: We are more emotional, affectionate and family oriented. But if an American says: “I met a Brazilian.” I think to myself: I hope he didn’t scam you or take advantage of you. This side is the cancer in Brazil... this lack of respect, education.

In Toronto, Brazilians see themselves under a more positive light. It is not Brazilian people who are bad; it is the Brazilian government .In that sense, they are not ashamed of being Brazilian, like immigrants in the United States. However, they are disappointed with politicians. S. Luz, who has been in Toronto for a month, explains:

You see our country doesn’t provide opportunities for everybody; only those with financial conditions are able to do well. We are proud that we are a good people, that our culture is rich. But when we move on to politics, we see that each politician only cares about himself.

And finally, there is the detached answer, in which the respondent does not project feelings in “what it means to be Brazilian.” Only three interviewees, Nieta and Marco Antônio in Miami and Christiane in Missouri, express such a response. Christiane and Nieta say, “I am Brazilian because I was born in Brazil;” and Marco Antonio, “It (to be Brazilian) is to value your country, its grandeur and misfortunes. It is not a better or worse country than others. It is circumstantial.” This answer also reveals a relativist

stance, in which the respondents are practical, not deluded or conflicted. It seems that it may also be a defense mechanism: not to look at the differences in order to avoid a struggle.

5.2. North American Identity: Canada

Identity is defined in contrast to the “other.” During the interviews, I heard many times that Brazilians are warm and extroverted as North Americans are cold and introverted. Clausi in Toronto explains:

The difference is huge: ice and volcano. We are the volcano: always hot, ready for everything, to help, happiness, fraternity, solidarity, to understand. Does it have a negative side? Yes, but I think the positive side is the way that we are as human beings. Canadians are more bureaucratic. They give me the impression of a false image, formality, authority, perfectionism, do you understand? I think that is false, that it is skin deep. You can't expose yourself. To be what you are is embarrassing, shameful.

Clausi says that to be what you are is shameful. It is interesting that the word “shame” appeared frequently during the interviews, especially in Florida. When one immigrates, his or her values and beliefs are questioned time and again in the receiving culture. Often what one considers to be accepted in one's society is wrong or demeaned in another. Some feel shame about themselves or about members of their group. Clausi is resentful because of her shame; therefore she condemns the Canadian character. Likewise, Arthur and Vanessa agree that Canadians like to preserve their image as opposed to Brazilians “for whom it doesn't matter to be superior but to have fun.” They disdain Canadian superiority.

T. Ramos expresses one common view: “He (the Canadian) doesn't become attached easily. He is uptight, but receptive... not warm like Brazilians. Brazilians say:

‘Come here. Let’s have something. Let’s have lunch!’ They are more like: ‘Hi, how are you? Do you need something?’ They are more formal.” This example illustrates the contrast between Canadian individualistic personality versus Brazilian relational one, as discussed in the literature review. Several respondents mention they do not know their next-door neighbor in Toronto, when in Brazil they know everybody in their neighborhood.

However, while it is true that most respondents repeat that Canadians are cold “like their weather,” many point out they are polite and nice overall. In fact, several interviewees jumped to the defense of Canadians. For instance, Michelina, who immigrated to live with her daughter, says:

People say they are cold, but my daughter and I don’t think so. If you ask information on the street, they are always attentive to explain the direction. My son worked among Canadians and the boss said to him: “You don’t need to work very hard because this is heavy work already.” They treat people with respect.

Likewise, Deusa, a housekeeper who has lived in Toronto since 1987, has a similar opinion:

People say that Canadians are very cold and quiet, but it is like everything. There are Brazilians who are very noisy and Brazilians who are quiet. It is hard to find them, but you do. I cannot complain about Canadians because the people I work with, the people I know, never looked down on me because my English is not pretty. If I go to a bank, I can do what a Canadian can. If I go to a hospital, I am treated the same way a Canadian is treated. I am sure that it doesn’t have much difference.

In fact, several respondents feel welcomed in the Toronto, a city with immigrants from all over the world. Government policies are renowned for promoting inclusion. It is common to hear parents speaking a foreign language to a child, switching back and forth between English and some other idiom. Brazilian immigrants believe people from other

nations see them as a festive, relaxed people, especially because of soccer and Carnaval.

Enáile explains:

It is interesting because even Canadians, when we say we are Brazilians, like that a lot...I have friends from Africa who are crazy about Brazil. They have more Brazilian things than me: flags... I have an African friend who adores Brazil. His dream is to go to Brazil. He will install Globo at his home... Canadians treat you very well. Of course, there are bad people in any place. The ones I know are very helpful. I can't complain.

For Dionísio, a legal assistant in Toronto, the Brazilian spirit results from Brazil's own brand of multiculturalism, which in Brazil means an informal mix of races while in Canada it refers to a distant respect for other cultures:

I think that the Brazilian differentiates from the other people in the world in an important question: Brazilian's multiculturalism assimilates foreign culture and interbreeds them all into one culture, which means that Brazilian culture received influence from all the cultures that formed it. On the other hand, in Canadian multiculturalism, despite it is propagated all over the world, the communities are kept separated from each other, trying to preserve their own local culture. That doesn't happen in Brazil. Any people who come to Brazil intermingle and become Brazilian. A typical example is the Portuguese: When they arrive, they become Brazilian. Arabs and Turks integrate themselves and become Brazilian. Blacks and Indians went through this in the past. So there exists a Brazilian community, a Brazilian blood, which is a mix of all these cultures. To be Brazilian in itself is to have a bit of everything, so this creates a happy people, an extroverted people, who are carefree, perhaps too much in relation to their country and future. But let's try to say the good things: I think Brazilians are very happy and content, despite the problems they face. These characterize Brazilians anywhere they go: This relaxed and happy way to live.

Dionísio elaborates on the same ideas repeated by many interviewees. It is interesting that Dionísio, who has a law degree and comes from the middle class, shares the same perception of other immigrants who hardly finished high school in their small village in Brazil. When asked about what it means to be Canadian, he responds:

Canadians here in Toronto are the exception. If you look around in this area, in any part of the city, you find two or three out of 10. There are very

few. But, having lived here for five years, I have met some. First, I think they are typically North Americans and Anglo Saxons by definition. You have lived in the United States, so you know them. Canadians would be Americans with less people around... Americans filtered by foreigners. In the USA, Americans are the majority, so they have opportunity to express themselves as they are. Canadians would be the same if they were not the minority in the country. In Toronto, which is my place of reference, they are people who feel surrounded by immigrants wherever they are. In their own country, they try to assimilate these cultures that arrive in their countries; but they are naturally Anglo Saxons. They are more reserved, colder. They don't express what they feel and think. It is hard to understand what they think. They have an excessive concern to be nice: Even when they don't like you, they try to be politically correct. They have that appearance of niceness even when they don't feel it. That's the opposite of Brazilians. Brazilians, if they feel something, they say it. They are more authentic.

However, several interviewees express that Canadians are only uptight because the busy life and the weather make them that way. Romilda, a laundry worker, says, "People say they (Canadians) are cold, but I don't think so: I think they have a different upbringing. They are more uptight and have more problems to relate to other people."

Like Romilda, Júnia explains that their coldness is the environment's fault:

Generally they are a little cold, but I think that's because of life here that is very fast. Time goes by fast. You work a lot. When you get home, you are so tired... you do something, eat, and sleep. There is no such thing as friendship, to call friends to chat, or to meet and get together just to chat, to be always with your relatives. So people are raised here to be very independent and they become colder. They live in their own world. Then we come here and find all of them very different. We think they are cold, but it is the culture. The country is cold. When it is very cold, people don't want to go out, they stay at home. It is cold. There is so much snow.... Sometimes you take a Canadian out to a Brazilian place and he opens up completely... he thinks it is wonderful, do you understand? To be there, that party... People like it. But here the cold doesn't let you be that way.

Some respondents boast about Canadians' fascination over Brazil. Maria Teresa, for example, notes a Canadian interest in discovering Brazilian culture and helping immigrants:

They (Canadians) are more reserved, introverted... they don't mix a lot, but poor is the Canadian who falls for a Brazilian... give him six months and he marries her. They go nuts. But they are the kind of people who reward what you do for them. They are always worried about the people who are here illegally. I met a lady who is wonderful... she is very lonely so she said that Canadians should learn more from Brazilians... because we live here with modesty, but we don't let our happiness die. They don't: They live very well; they have a lot of money, but they don't live with happiness. They don't live well with anything. But it is a welcoming people.

Maria Teresa talks with pride about how caring and affectionate Brazilians are, while Canadians are appreciative and kind. As a beautician, Maria Teresa is in contact with many Canadian customers and treats them in a Brazilian fashion:

My clients love our pedicure, manicure and waxing... massage. You know, Canadian women need it a lot because they are stressed out. Our way is different. And they come here because of our charisma. They are women who are very depressed, not just because of winter, but because they go to work and go home, go to work and go home. They don't go out, dance and listen to music. I love music; I love to play; I love to dance.

Overall, respondents have a positive view of Brazilian identity; at the same time, they have a positive view of Canadian identity – for the most part. Even when they suspect that Canadians do not genuinely like them, interviewees say the receiving community never mistreats them. At the end, they acknowledge the cultural differences for what they are. They realize these differences, and some think that both cultures have a lot to gain from each other.

5.3. North American Identity: United States

In general, perceptions in South Florida are less romanticized than the ones in Toronto. The emphasis is not on the cold-versus-warm myth, although that also appears, but on the American individualism and Brazilian relationism. It is interesting that

respondents in Canada see Brazilian as opposite to Canadians, but this comparison implies a contact, which does not seem to happen as often in the United States.

For example, Silvia, an 18-year-old sales assistant, says: “He (the American) distances himself from people and he only thinks of working, working and working.” She has almost no contact with Americans because she lives and works in Pompano Beach, the headquarters of the Brazilian community. It is important to remember that these perceptions of Americans are possibly rooted in ideas that exist in Brazil as well.

Many respondents perceive American individualism as arrogant. For example Ruben, a systems engineer says that to be American means “to be completely detached from what happens in the rest of the world, and to believe that he or she is better than any person from any other place only because he or she was born here.” His response reveals resentment, like Clausi’s in Toronto. Likewise, Marco Antonio, who offers a detached response when asked about Brazilian identity, says: “It (to be American) is to know the values of its country, its grandeur and misfortunes, like any people.” Except that the difference between Brazilians and Americans is “Americans know less about their misfortunes; Brazilians know more about their misfortunes.” That also confirms a prevalent view of Americans as self-righteous.

It is ironic that expatriates criticize the belief that Americans put too much value on money, when they immigrated to the United States specifically for money. For example, K.M. says she lives in the United States because she needs to -- not because she wants to. She needs the money. Yet, she says:

They (Americans) are mercenaries, capitalists...that’s the way they are. The central part of their lives is making money. They always have to have more. If a neighbor buys a car, the next day the other neighbor buys another car to show that he is better. If one husband gives a \$3,000 ring to

his wife, the next week her friend wishes for a \$5,000 ring. They live in this competition to see who is better than the other. ...

It is interesting to point out that one's opinions often reveal something about oneself as much as about the others; perceptions are always subjective. It seems that K.M. is talking about her feelings toward herself. In reality, the central part in her life in the United States is to make money. She is frustrated and unhappy, therefore projects this image on Americans.

For Sandra, the Evangelical in Broward, Americans are also rigid, methodical, capitalistic and narrow-minded:

Americans are stiff; it has to be that way... they can't turn left or right. If you put him to work making little round cakes, they will make little round cakes. If it comes out a bit like a square, they won't try to fix it; they will throw it away. They are narrow-minded and very capitalistic. All they think is money. If they have a job, they want another one. They don't think about anything else. They want to improve the house. They want a better car... to gather more money, to invest in stocks. And "how much do you own?" or "how much are you investing?" It is all about money.

For these expatriates, having a negative view on the other seems to be a way not only to distinguish themselves but also to make them feel superior.

Júlia, an 18-year-old who immigrated to the United States at age of 10, sees herself as Brazilian because she feels attached to her family and enjoys Brazilian informality:

Americans put themselves first. They think of themselves first. In Brazil, I lived in a building and knew all my neighbors. Here I don't know any. I've lived in the same place for seven years. If I know anyone, it's because they are Latinos. Americans, on the other hand, want to work and make their money. They have that routine that doesn't change much. Brazilians like to do this and that... go to a friend's house just to chitchat... throw a small party... anything... Brazilians are always talking and having fun. Americans are very technical. They go to Disney; they go someplace... they only have fun when they spend money. Brazilians are more practical: just get together for a barbecue and have fun. Brazilians are warmer.

That's why I will always be proud to be Brazilian. You never go to an American's house and find all the friends together. They are always by themselves with their family. Their family is always son and daughter. You don't see aunts, uncles and cousins. One lives apart from the other. Brazilians want the family around. Americans are very different. It is the culture. For example, I just finished high school and my teacher asked what college I would go to. I said I wanted something around here because I didn't want to be far from my family. He said this is exactly an answer of Latin people. Here you see American kids who are 18 years old, trying to be the farthest away possible from their parents. Since they are little, they are separated from their family... they are independent very fast. In Brazil, we are so dependent on our family care and affection.

Speaking as someone who transits between two cultures, Júlia refers to some ideas that are commonplace in several interviews in both Toronto and South Florida. (She uses the word "technical" for Americans, meaning that they are rigid.)

On the positive side, many respondents admire Americans' work ethic, public spirit, patriotism and nuclear family, which are all tied to individualism. Unlike Canadians, who are seen as politically correct, Americans are straightforward, as Rogelis explains:

Americans are straightforward and smarter, which doesn't mean more intelligent. This is cultural. We are raised not to bother others. Americans are polite, but they are not afraid to express what they are thinking, even if it means to say no. Brazilians are shocked when Americans are straightforward or sincere, which is a virtue. Brazilians are more ritualistic.

For Maria Inês in Miami, Brazilians are irresponsible and careless when they are not personally involved in a situation, as opposed to Americans:

He (the American) is individualist, but he works for his own community because he knows he will improve the life around him. He is not a friend. How do American people live socially? The church he attends to... he works for the church...his children's school; he works at his children's school. That's the social part: church and school... the group they belong. They don't care about other places but their place has to be well. They work, give money, make efforts, but the Brazilian is totally disconnected from the community. He doesn't have community spirit.

Sociologist Roberto da Matta (1996) explains that the Brazilian disconnection that Maria Inês talked about as a disregard for the common good reflects Brazil's relation between hierarchy/interpersonalism as opposed to the North American individualism/universalism. As an oligarchic society, Brazil imported the West's liberal ideology, which turned in Brazil into a system that serves the rich and excludes the poor. The result is that institutions are for John Does. Americans, on the contrary, believe in the impersonal values of the individual.

American patriotism, which is tied to the liberal ideology, often carries a negative meaning for the respondents. However, Lilian, like Maria Inês, also admires this American feature and wishes Brazilians could learn to care of their country like Americans do:

It (To be American) is to be proud of the country where you live. It doesn't mean I am not proud of Brazil, but it is different. They really can be proud of the country where they live, for its power... also because of the seriousness of its politicians – of course, bad things exist in all countries – but here it is different. They are patriots; they love their country truly. In Brazil, if we truly loved our country... unfortunately everybody should leave Brazil, live abroad, to have love for Brazil. But the American doesn't have to leave the country to love it.

Lilian reiterates that the perception of Brazil changes after they immigrate. A part of that has to do with the emotional memory, as discussed in the beginning of the chapter. It is also due to the immigrants' repositioning and adaptation in the new culture.

5.4. Acculturation Dynamics

Immigrants move from their country, where culture, symbols and expectations are relatively clear, to unknown territory. From the moment they step on the new land, they

are overwhelmed by the new signified concepts and behaviors. Like in a movie where the uneducated girl has dinner with her boyfriend's swanky family, foreigners observe the locals to follow their behaviors and feel ashamed when they realize they made a mistake.

The immigrants' values and beliefs are often questioned in the receiving culture. Sometimes what one considers to be accepted in one's society is wrong or demeaned in another. Perceptions of themselves and others are constantly being created, evaluated and reevaluated.

Years ago, I hosted a friend from Sweden. He spent only two weeks in the United States, but all he talked about was Sweden. The whole time, he was fixated on comparing Sweden to the United States. He would say "in Sweden we do this; in Sweden we do that." I was intrigued and exhausted by his endless comparisons; yet his reaction was quite normal.

In fact, several respondents describe the adjustment in a new culture as overwhelming, to the point of triggering physical reactions, especially in the form of headaches. Research shows that the process of acculturation involves stress, depression and anxiety. The symptoms associated with this experience are called "acculturative stress" (Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987).

Some interviewees for this study have lived in North America for almost two decades separated in their own community. They did not learn English because their lives, including work, church and other social activities, are carried out within the community.

However, with time, all groups assimilate culturally in the receiving society.

According to the Migration Information Source Web site, by the third generation, or among immigrants' grandchildren, English monolingualism is the prevalent pattern. The question is "to what sectors of the society and in what conditions [does] this shift occur[s]. For it is not the case that a vast host nation receives each immigrant group with the same attitude or bestows on each the same doses of benevolence and assistance" (Portes and Rumbault 2001, 302-303). Portes and Rumbaut refer to structural assimilation, while this study deals with acculturation. Yet, I agree with these scholars, as seen in the literature review, who claimed that selective acculturation and biculturalism is a key factor for structural assimilation, especially in the case of so-called minorities.

One wonders the long-term implications of strict immigration policies and the minority archetype in the United States as opposed to the multiculturalist approach in Canada. It is interesting to note the difference of receptions between these two countries when one compares the views of Brazilians in Toronto to the ones in South Florida.

Although this study does not intend to foresee the future of Brazilian immigrants, it describes how the respondents live in the local culture to elucidate the role of *Globo Internacional* in their adaptation process.

In order to help understand Brazilian immigrants in the United States and Canada, I will employ a model (Table 1, next page) formulated by psychologist John Berry and his colleagues (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry & Sam, 1997). They have categorized four coping strategies used by immigrants in the acculturation process: assimilation (interaction with the host culture and devaluation of one's own culture), integration (maintenance of one's culture as well as interaction with the host culture), marginalization (rejection of one's culture of origin as well as avoidance

the host culture), and separation (maintenance of one's culture of origin and minimal interaction with other groups, especially the host culture).

Acculturation Attitudes		- Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
		Yes	No
- Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	Yes	Integrated	Assimilated
	No	Separated	Marginalized

Table 1: Berry's Acculturation Attitudes (Berry et al., 1989)

5.4.1. Dynamics in Toronto

Toronto has one of the largest Portuguese communities overseas. The Portuguese have been in Canada since the 1950s and were well established before Brazilians landed. In 1999 a public hearing of third language and ethnic programming with the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (online transcript of hearing proceedings) stated that Portuguese make up 2.3 percent of the population by mother tongue). It is the third largest non-English group in the Greater Toronto area after the Chinese and Italian. The City of Toronto provides a variety of materials on services and program in Portuguese.

The first large group of Brazilians arrived in Toronto in late 1980s. Six respondents belong to this group (Wanderlei, Marcia, Romilda, Deusa, Fabio and Laurinda). They are all from small towns in the state of Minas Gerais in the interior of Brazil. These immigrants did not come with a college degree and did not know English.

As soon as they arrived, they settled in the Portuguese Village (Dundas region). They found work in Portuguese businesses, civil construction and housecleaning.

Fabio, who works as a cleaner, quickly recognizes the importance of the Portuguese for Brazilian immigrants: “What would have been the fate of Brazilians who arrived 20 years ago if it wasn’t for the Portuguese? They were the key. They have helped and still helped us.” Because of the common language, Brazilians also searched for Portuguese churches, schools and associations.

The Portuguese also helped Brazilians by providing a positive point of reference for Brazilian identity. Almost all interviewees say that their friends are mostly Brazilian and Portuguese. Most of them propagate the idea that Portuguese love Brazilian culture. Michelina, a retired cook, explains: “When my daughter came here, her friends here would say that to live among Brazilians is to live happily. The Portuguese would tell us that we have a sweet way to speak to you.”

Due to size of the Portuguese community, I wondered whether Brazilian identity would turn into a drop in the Lusitanian character. Yet all respondents say that Brazilians influence the Portuguese more than the other way around. For example, Marcia, who owns a Brazilian restaurant, says: “Brazilians don’t become Portuguese. The Portuguese like us. They copy our ways, our clothes... Brazilians and Portuguese are united. And depending on the Brazilian, they bring the Portuguese to the Brazilian way.”

However, a few interviewees say the Portuguese mistreat Brazilians, especially at work because the Portuguese are usually their bosses. Also the Portuguese has a reputation of being boorish and often cranky. Consider a conversation between T. Ramos, occupational therapist/hospital volunteer, and S. Luz, lawyer/ESL student, that happens

during an interview:

Ramos: I think that the Portuguese community is one of the largest here. If it weren't for them, it would be hard to find jobs. But they are very arrogant, rude... They criticize Brazil. They say Brazilians are lazy.

Luz: I saw yesterday a Portuguese cursing a Brazilian. It was the first time I saw it. They use bad words as if they were regular words.

Ramos: They say "caralho" ("dick") a lot. They say: "Brasileiro do Caralho."

Luz: Rodrigo (husband) said that he went to the store and forgot how to ask for cheese. The guy seeing that he was having problems ordering cheese kept quiet. He was Portuguese. Only after a long time, Rodrigo asked: "Do you speak Portuguese?" The guy said: "Yes."

Ramos: There are two kinds of Portuguese. When he likes Brazil, he really likes it. When he doesn't like it, stay away. They are very rude. They are worse than paper that grates iron.

Although T. Ramos and S. Luz describe the Portuguese negatively, they recognize there is another type of Portuguese who likes Brazil. By believing there are two kinds of Portuguese ("the one who likes us" and "the one who does not"), they are open to mix with the Portuguese.

Also, Brazil via Globo represents an interesting case of reverse cultural imperialism. Similar to the way American culture is prevalent in England; Brazilian culture is popular in Portugal. Helena Sousa (1998) writes about the presence of Globo in Portugal:

Brazilian expressions entered into people's vocabulary, Brazilian first names are quite popular, novela's actors and actresses' fashion accessories are imitated, "Brazilian-style" Carnival is "reproduced" in a substantial number of towns. There is also a common perception that telenovelas had an important role in terms of liberalizing social behavior (p. 16).

The Portuguese have watched Globo's novelas since 1977 and continue to do so when they immigrate. In fact, as I mentioned in chapter three, several Portuguese businesses receive Globo Internacional. Seeking Brazilians to interview, I entered bars

and restaurants that were showing Globo only to find Portuguese individuals. That confirms the interviewees' image that Brazilian culture is widespread in the Portuguese Village. Several respondents say that the Portuguese participate in Brazilian events. For example, Maria Teresa, the beautician on Dundas Street, says:

They (the Portuguese) love Brazilian music. You don't see a Portuguese car that doesn't have Brazilian music. They love our dance and our happiness. We had about 5,000 people coming to the show of Daniela Mercury (singer) here and half of the people who came to buy the tickets were Portuguese.

Also within Canada's multicultural environment, the different ethnicities do not carry a heavy burden of the term "minority." It is interesting that the word "shame" only surfaces once in the interviews in Toronto. On the contrary, the respondents report that they feel proud of their Brazilian character. I argue that the Portuguese play a role in this perception.

However, because many respondents rely on the Portuguese Village, they often do not need to learn English. That is also in part because most of them plan to move back to Brazil once they retire – but not without leaving descendents in Canada. Only two from the first Brazilian wave, Marcia and Wanderlei, think about staying permanently in Canada because they invested in businesses in Toronto.

The language deficiency is a big obstacle in the acculturation experience in Canada for this older generation, as Romilda, a laundry worker, says:

I don't participate much (in Canadian society) because I came here at an older age... (about 40 years old) perhaps I didn't have opportunity, or perhaps not opportunity but willingness to go to a school to have more means to participate in the Canadian society. We don't participate in a lot of things because we are not prepared for them, especially because of the language. When you don't speak English fluently, you have barriers that perhaps you didn't want to overcome. You find work good enough to support you and to do things in Brazil. For me that was enough. But

something I recommend to the young people who arrive is to study. Canada gives you good opportunities. It has little discrimination.

Many respondents try to reproduce Brazilian life. For instance, I often heard similar versions to what Enáile says: “To tell you the truth, my life here is totally Brazilian: the way I live, the things I buy, the clothes I wear. I am almost 100 percent Brazil. The only difference is my salary, which is Canadian.”

Looking at the big picture, one may think that Brazilians are separated from the Canadian society. Nevertheless, I argue that respondents are integrated in Canada’s multicultural society via the Portuguese community. They maintain a Brazilian culture, at the same time they live according to Canada’s multiculturalism. Almost all respondents appreciate and value the country, which indicates a positive inclination toward integration.

Despite not speaking English, most respondents welcome the acquisition of Canadian habits. Among some of the new habits is to drive carefully and respect the rules. For instance, Zelma, a 50-year-old who works in a clothes store and recently began dating a Canadian, says:

The first habit I think is very strange is not to have a full meal for lunch... you know, to have a sandwich instead of a meal for lunch. Sometimes I think: I will be like a Canadian today and have a snack for lunch. But I don’t think I am replacing Brazilian culture with Canadian culture. I might be acquiring some habits, but I am not losing my culture

Like Zelma, many respondents do not believe that they are less Brazilian because they might be adding some elements from the Canadian culture. In other words, one does not have to lose one’s culture in order to acculturate. For Deusa, a 50-year-old housekeeper, the acculturation process taught her to behave in three different manners:

“When I am here, I live according to the country. When I am in the Brazilian community, I laugh, I joke. When I am in Brazil, I don’t have to think: ‘Am I Brazilian or Canadian?’ There I don’t have to think. I feel at home.”

In Brazil, she does not think about culture; she only lives it. In Canada, she switches from one culture to another, behaving the Canadian way when she has to and intensively experiencing all her Brazilianess in the Brazilian community.

However, learning to behave like a Canadian does not come easily. Luciana G. a 21-year-old, who has a degree in nutrition but works as a secretary, describes what acculturation meant to her:

The point that I think I am becoming more Canadian is that before I was friendlier. Due to school and living among them, I think that I am more private now... more shy. But most of the time, I live in my culture. I live the way I was raised. In some things, I am square. Canadian culture hasn’t influenced me much. Perhaps it made me become colder in some ways. I was too soft. Now I am harder. It is not so much because of Canadian culture but life itself. When you get here, you have to learn to be a person, like it or not.

Unlike some respondents who are able to switch from one culture to another effortlessly, Luciana G. has been through tough times adjusting. She changed from being spontaneous and friendly to shy and cold. She believes her natural friendly behavior is not appropriate to her new environment. In her everyday experiences in Canada, she felt rejected -- “It is hard to make friends,” she says – and constrained.

Luciana’s difficulties are understandable if one takes, for instance, the Brazilian greeting and the Canadian greeting: In Brazil, a greeting means you exchange up to three kisses on the cheek; in Canada, a simple head nodding is fine. For a Brazilian, not kissing is awkward, yet for Canadians, not kissing does not mean they have negative feelings for

the other person. Because of this cultural difference, a meeting between a Canadian and a Brazilian may be described in two disparate ways, depending on the perspective. Some bicultural individuals make peace with the cultural differences and understand the intended meaning for each behavior. In this example, they learn that “not kissing” in Canada does not translate into rejection, as it would be in Brazil. Yet Luciana suffers because she can only see the world through her Brazilian lens. In fact, most respondents, regardless of how long they have lived in North America, still struggle with cultural differences. For this reason, they are content with carrying on their lives within the Portuguese Village.

Only three interviewees (Luciana H., Fabiana and T. Ramos) are not in constant contact with the Portuguese community. They all have college degrees and are working on internships to gain Canadian experience. Two of them are married to Canadians, and the other one immigrated to Toronto with her husband. Yet their closest friends are Brazilian, and they also speak Portuguese everyday. T. Ramos goes to a Brazilian spiritualist center; while Luciana H. and Fabiana have monthly meetings with other wives of Canadians. In other words, they also participate in the Brazilian community and maintain a Brazilian culture. For example, Fabiana, a TV producer, says she drives like a Canadian but preserves several Brazilian habits:

From Brazilian culture I still do: To try to become friends with people in the first day I meet them; I invite them to come over -- something that they don't do here... I have my nails done every week, that's a Brazilian thing. I only buy shoes in Brazil: they are better and cheaper. And clothes! I still don't buy clothes here. Although everything is globalized, I find Canadian fashion very different from the one in Brazil. So I prefer to buy my things there. I don't think I adapted myself to here yet. Music! I can't disconnect myself from Brazilian music. I always have Brazilian music in the car and at home.

That illustrates a common sentiment among all respondents in this study: the need to be in contact with Brazilian culture. As subscribers of Globo Internacional, they remain interested in Brazil.

Also, like Luciana G., Fabiana says, it is difficult to form friendships, even though she is married to a Canadian: “It is not like Brazilians. When a foreigner comes, the Brazilian opens the door and has plenty of curiosity to find out where you come from, who you are...Here you have to make an effort to integrate yourself in the society.”

Making an effort to integrate in the society means trying to copy Canadian perceived behavior, with all that it means for Brazilians. Like Luciana G., several respondents mention to turning inward, becoming more individualistic and more responsible. For Júnia, that means:

I focus on my life -- not that in Brazil you pay too much attention to other people's lives. There you spend more time with your relatives. You are more involved in any problem, and here you stay more on your own. Education changes a bit as well. You start working more and take things more seriously.

As for what respondents most like about their lives in Toronto, almost all of them mention Toronto's safety. Dionísio says: “We stop to look around to see if we are being followed. I am more relaxed...I don't keep an eye on the traffic to see if a motorbike is aiming at me, or if I am strolling around, there is money in my pocket.” Safety also translates into financial security, which was commonly praised about Canadian life. For instance, Carlos says:

I say safety in every sense... not only the safety to be able to go out with your wife and come back 3 a.m.... of course, things happen here.... But for sure it is safe here.... Safe in terms of health system... you know you will be taken good care. Safety/security at work... I have worked in the same company for 12 years. It is something that we see a lot. It is rare to see a company firing an older person to hire a younger one. They value

experience, honesty... Also the safety in the political realm... Of course, politicians steal the same way they do in Brazil, but you see things working. You pay taxes, but you see they are cleaning the streets.

For Enáile, Canada has given her a chance to escape poverty and live with dignity:

I was raised in a very poor family. So I am amazed here. If I work, I will have money. I trust in my work. You don't have to be afraid to lose your job today because if you are able, tomorrow you will find another one; unlike in Brazil, where if you lose a job, you are unemployed for a year or more. And you suffer... you get paid minimum wage... it is horrible. I think it is fundamental to work and have money.

Enáile, who intends to live in Canada permanently, misses little things from Brazil such as her mother's lap. In fact, all respondents say they are homesick and try to maintain Brazilian culture by participating in the community, making Brazilian friends, speaking Portuguese, eating Brazilian food and watching Globo Internacional.

Maintaining Brazilian culture does not conflict with Canada's multiculturalism. It is worth noting that everyone I interviewed considers it a value to maintain Brazilian identity as well as relationships with other groups – mainly the Portuguese.

5.4.2. Dynamics in South Florida

In comparison to Toronto, the acculturation process in South Florida is more varied. I found immigrants who rely on the Brazilian community, which is at least three times larger than the one in Toronto, as well as those who are isolated from it. A few respondents are well integrated into American society and are moving toward biculturalism.

Unlike in Toronto, where Brazilians benefit from allying with the Portuguese, Brazilians in Florida are separated from the local minority group: the Cubans. Although

Cubans are Latin Americans -- and one could assume a natural connection between the two groups – a coalition seldom happens. Geographically most Brazilians have settled in Broward, an area previously associated with Haitian immigrants. In fact, some Brazilian stores coexist with Haitian businesses. Brazilians who live near Cubans in Miami-Dade do not rely on the Cuban community either. Lea, a secretary and Portuguese tutor, explains:

When I moved here, I put my children in a Catholic school, and I didn't know anybody and I thought that volunteering for lunchtime would make me meet more moms. I didn't work; they didn't work either. There was a way to meet people. And I met this woman, Patricia from Oregon, who was moving to Miami the same year I was. We became friends and tried to get into a group of other mother that seemed to be fun. They were always laughing, always together. They were volunteers for the majority of the sports that their kids practiced. But we couldn't enter in that group... We tried, "Hi, how are you?" and so and so. But we were practically ignored. Until one day we learned. My daughter, Andrea, became friends with a little girl. The mother liked my daughter very much. I met the mother of the girl. And through her, I entered the group. It is a Cuban clique, a tight one...they don't let you in basically. You have to know one and this one has to introduce you to the group. It doesn't matter if you want to go there, all friendly and nice, (the way Brazilians do), it doesn't fly. They are very cohesive. They have their values that are completely different than they think the others have. They think nobody has suffered like them. So they want to help each other. They are traumatized. And they vote for Bush.

That is, of course, a very different picture than the one in Toronto, in which the Portuguese not only share a culture but also are willing to mix with Brazilians. While in Florida Brazilian immigrants do not have the help of an official, legitimate group; they rely on the large Brazilian community, partly composed of non-documented immigrants. There they can find jobs, shop and socialize in environments where Portuguese is the main language and Globo is commonplace. As Sonia, a housekeeper who lives in Broward, shows me her condominium, she points to a proliferation of satellite dishes and

says: “See, these are all Brazilian.”

As opposed to Toronto with a neighborhood where Brazilians are concentrated within walking distance, the community in South Florida is more dispersed. It is necessary to have a car to drive from one Brazilian shopping center to another. The avenues are large and the streets are crowded with cars.

The Brazilian center, Centro Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, is situated on the same floor as the Brazilian consulate in a posh building in Miami, far from the majority of Brazilian immigrants who live in Broward. Maria Inês, the center’s vice president for cultural affairs and a Globo subscriber, talks about the challenges of uniting the Brazilian community in South Florida:

The Brazilian in Pompano is usually illegal and is afraid to get together, which has nothing to do... the Consulate isn’t here to expose anyone. It wants to gather people to create a community, but they don’t want it... There is a lot of people who don’t want to be part of a group. This has to end. Of course, here in Miami there are people of every social, educational and cultural class. You have classes A, B, C, D, E and F. But I think we should forget about it and do work that would involve everybody. Let’s see if we can. Some people see us as elitist. But we are trying to change our image, to reach more people.

So, on one hand, non-documented Brazilians want to live their lives as invisible as possible so they will not get caught by immigration officials; on the other hand, the social class antagonism typical of Brazilians, discussed in previous chapters, hampers the solidification of one of the largest Brazilian communities in North America.

Still, the center works to promote and legitimize Brazilian culture, by organizing initiatives to make Brazil visible in South Florida. For example, it helped launch the first public school with dual language education in English/Portuguese, the Ada Merrit Elementary School. The school is open to children from Miami-Dade, Broward and

Monroe counties. Such an initiative represents a positive move toward biculturalism, which is important in an environment of exclusion and discrimination.

In several interviews, I notice more conflicted feelings and a recurrence of shame that was associated with the process of becoming an individual from a minority group. Even in Brazil's cordial racism, the concept of minority does not apply because the majority of people are mixed. In the United States, there is the mainstream American individual and the minority one, unlike Toronto – where multiculturalism is intrinsic to the country's cultural fabric. Minorities are often perceived as part of the underclass, uneducated, lazy and irresponsible. When they acculturate in American society but are not structurally assimilated, they are more likely to apply these negative stereotypes to themselves. However, it is important to note that an inferiority complex often exists before Brazilians immigrate to North America.

Almost all respondents say they do not have American friends, as Rogelis, a fine artist in West Palm Beach, explains:

You don't mix, not even in regard to Hispanics... In Pompano, Brazilians are not mixed with Americans. Americans don't mix. There are racism among Blacks against Jamaicans and Haitians. In Brazil, it is very different. To be Brazilian is to mix. The tribes here are very separated. The universes are different. Everything is stereotyped.

Rogelis points out that mixing is not part of the American character, unlike in Brazil. African culture composes the fabric of Brazilian society. But Brazilians are isolated in South Florida. They rarely form alliances with African-Americans or Cubans, as seen earlier in this section.

Rogelis adds that "Life is good but it is bad," which is a common view of interviewees. Life is good because you live in better conditions, but it is bad because

human relations are weaker. Rogelis, along with Ruben and Sonia, tell me they have no American or Brazilian friends, only acquaintances. I argue they have certain elements of a marginalized acculturation. They have conflicted feelings toward Brazil, Globo, and Brazilian and American communities. They live according to the American society but are not integrated; they are interested in Brazilian culture but at the same time they are ashamed of it and do not want to associate with Brazilians. For example, Ruben, a systems engineer, says:

I think if I chose to live here, I need to learn to behave the way they do... It is not acceptable, for example, to continue driving the way we do in Brazil, or to try to “take advantage” or speak loud in public the way we do in our country because this kind of behavior is not well seen here. If we act with respect to their culture, we will also gain respect to our culture, which is the opposite of what we have seen.

As seen in the section about identity, Ruben perceives Americans as arrogant and Brazilians as a minority group, with negative meanings associated to the term. Ruben, Rogelis and Sonia are respondents who feel ashamed to be Brazilians. They indeed borrow the perspective of the other – and not any “other,” but the arrogant American created in their minds. It is from that point of view that, for example, Rogelis feels embarrassed by certain Globo programs: “The comedies are very bad. The variety programs look like Hispanic programs. I am ashamed by ‘Faustão’ and ‘Huck.’” When I encountered his reactions, I was intrigued by Rogelis’ negative feelings. The programs that he mentions might be cheesy, but the word “shame” seems too personal to describe a TV show and too negative to associate it with one’s origins; therefore it requires further examination.

According to James Gillian (2003), psychiatrist and director of the Center for the Study of Violence, shame can be explained as a defense mechanism against wishes to be loved and taken care of by others. Gillian's 30-year work with prisoners shows that the cause of most violent acts is motivated by feelings of humiliation. He argues that conditions such as poverty and social exclusion are conducive to violence. Shame, in the form of losing one's pride, dignity and self-value, represents "the death of self." Guillian argues that the death of self is crueler than actual death because it represents one's shame of one's own existence. In fact, people risk their own lives to validate their self-pride or honor, and to avenge humiliation and social exclusion. Gillian explains: "The psychology of shame, pride, guilt, and innocence can be understood as constituting the psychology of self-love and self-hate, which in turn is central to the vicissitudes of love and hate toward others" (p.1177-1178).

New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman called attention to the importance of minimizing feelings of shame and humiliation as it relates to the war in Iraq:

Never, ever underestimate a people's pride, no matter how broken they might be.... Tap into people's dignity and they will do anything for you. Ignore it, and they won't lift a finger. Which is why a Pakistani friend tells me that what the U.S. needs most in Iraq is a strategy of 'dehumiliation and re-dignification.'(New York Times, Nov. 5, 2003, Section 4, p.11.)

I argue that this should be the approach taken with undocumented immigrants, who often live in shame. Several respondents in this study either overextended their visas or came to the United States via Mexico. They feel socially excluded because that is indeed what they are. Many of them have fake social security numbers. I spoke with one who bought her house in Broward, despite her illegal status. The fear of getting caught is constant. Others dream about visiting Brazil, but cannot because of the obstacles involved

in reentering the United States. For example, when I ask Marcelle, a 21-year-old, what it means to be American, she looks down and says: “To me it means to be able to come and go.” Her shame and sadness is noticeable. That is something I did not find in Toronto, where even immigrants who exceed their visas are entitled to public health care and do not suffer the paranoia of the immigration police that is pervasive in Florida.

However, I do not suggest that the respondents for this study might become violent. The point is that shame (in relation to their group, especially with the tightening of immigration laws) and hostility toward Americans are linked. For Brazilian immigrants illegally in the United States, the outcome is likely to be isolation -- the least desired condition for immigrants, in which one lives like a zombie who does not belong anywhere. For K.M., social exclusion is so devastating that she suffers characteristics of isolation, in spite of working in the Brazilian community:

What is good for us here (Florida) is jobs because we don't have enough jobs there (in Brazil). You have no opportunities there... But I don't feel good here. I don't like it here. I live here because I need to. Nor my children, who are 18 and 19 years old, like it here. I didn't get used to it. I live here, but I feel that I live in no place at all.

So, contrary to respondents -- mostly in Toronto -- who feel they live in two places (Brazilian culture and Canadian culture), K.M. describes a half-existence. She is alive, but she does not exist anywhere.

Also, shame evokes the image of an abandoned child who is not wanted or understood by anyone. Many immigrants recognize such feelings, especially if they do not speak English. Brazilian writer and cartoonist Henfil (1985), who was exiled in New York for two years during Brazil's military dictatorship, writes in his book “Diário de um Cucaracha” (“Diary of a Cucaracha”) about his helplessness and feelings of inadequacy.

Henfil, a hemophilic, felt humiliated in particular when he had to go to the hospital and would answer, “yes” to all questions because he was ashamed he could not speak English. “Suddenly for not speaking English, I’m feeling stupid. I even have to tell myself every once in a while: You know how to draw, make cartoons, you are not stupid!” (p. 19). Henfil explains he felt second-class even to dogs and lampposts.

Consequently, many respondents find solace in Brazilian environments. In Toronto, they often shop and socialize within the Brazilian community. For instance, Marcos C., a Web designer who lives in Deerfield Beach, says:

All my friends are Brazilians, and I listen to Brazilian music, radio. So the culture stays with you. There are always shows with Brazilian artists, Brazilian parties. I never stop talking Portuguese, I hang out with my friends on the beach. You have to take advantage of having a Brazilian community, restaurants, parties... It’s important to live where there is a Brazilian community. I would hardly live in another place (outside Brazil) besides Florida, maybe New York.

It is important for Marcos to maintain his contact with the Brazilian community. Yet at the same time, he has acquired some American habits, especially in the workplace. As is the case in Toronto, most respondents see acculturation as adapting to the rules of a country and incorporating American lifestyle, without leaving behind the Brazilian culture. For example, Lilian, who owns a small grocery store, says:

We add American culture to our lives. We don’t modify it. For instance, Mother’s Day is on the same day. But Father’s Day is on a different day. We, at least, celebrate it on both days. We give a gift to Fernando (husband) both days. In Brazil we don’t have Thanksgiving, but there is here; so we celebrate it here. During “Festa Junina” (festivities for St. John, St. Peter and St. Anthony), we listen to cds, Brazilians throw “Festa Junina” parties. So that’s what I said, we don’t replace it but we add to it. We add American culture into our lives. We have Halloween. We have Thanksgiving. And Brazilian people here have Thanksgiving. More people shop at our store to make dinner. I wouldn’t think so, but Brazilians really celebrate Thanksgiving but without forgetting things from Brazil.

It is interesting to see this summing of cultures, especially when one manages to incorporate the positive characteristics of both cultures. In fact, several respondents hope their children will be able to value both Brazilian and American cultures. For instance, João Luís, says: “My son who lives here must be 100 percent American, and when he is in Brazil, he has to be 100 percent Brazilian.”

However, some respondents report they rely exclusively on the Brazilian community to find work and socialize. That often happens when they work in a Brazilian business. When immigrants work alongside Americans, their social activities are with Brazilians. Yet when they work in Brazilian businesses, all aspects of their lives are within Brazilian culture. For example, Joel has virtually no contact with Americans because he works for a moving company that employs only Brazilians. Like almost all respondents, he believes that it is easy to maintain Brazilian culture in South Florida. Because he feels that he lives in a Brazilian manner, he does not plan to return to Brazil. He lives in his own Brazil outside Brazil. In the beginning of the interview he tells me: “I am already adapted.” In other words, he feels he has no conflicts.

However, there are others who consciously avoid the receiving culture as they hold on to their Brazilianess. For example, Ricardo, who works with carpet repairing, says: “Everyday that I spend here gives me the conviction that my place is there (Brazil) not here. I think we all feel the same.” Although acculturation processes have a mix of various elements, Ricardo is a clear example of a separated acculturation. He sees no value in interacting with Americans: “I personally have no intention to date an American girl or even to make friends with Americans, if you really want to know... I don’t get the

American culture...” When asked whether he was replacing Brazilian culture with the American one, Ricardo responds: “The same shirt I wear here I wear there. I have no intention to acquire this idiotic patriotism that Americans have...I eat the same food. We just ate a ‘feijoada’ (typical Brazilian dish).”

Regarding the Brazilian upper class in Miami, they are in contact with their own Brazilian group. This Brazilian community is so active that they can easily maintain Brazilian culture as well. They have the advantage of traveling to Brazil often. It is well known that many Brazilian celebrities and entrepreneurs have houses in Miami and Brazil. In fact, Miami provides a richer version of Brazilian culture. There are typical Brazilian stores and restaurants, including expensive ones, such as Porcão steakhouse – which has a wall covered with pictures taken of Brazilian celebrities such as soccer players and Globo actors dining there. At Porcão, the upper class is treated like royalty by humble waiters who offer a servitude that is particular to Brazilian culture.

Wealthy Brazilians in Miami are also separated from mainstream America, but, unlike the ones in Broward, they socialize with other groups, in particular South Americans. For example, Maria Inês, wife of a retired executive and vice president of the Brazilian Cultural Center, says she has almost no American friends, but her friends are Argentinean, Peruvian, and Spanish. In fact, her Argentinean friend watches Globo Internacional with her and was able to recognize Jô Soares (a talk host like David Letterman) shopping in a store in Paris. Maria Inês tells me the story:

One day she was at the entrance of Galeries Lafayette and bumps into him (Jô) and say: “You are the Fat one on the TV!” She then said: Vous êtes Jô Soares? And he said, “Oui!” And she said, “I am Argentinean; I live in Miami and have a Brazilian friend who watches you every single day. He then sent me a note saying ‘thank you for watching me.’ There you see how Globo is uniting, globalizing. Globo is globalizing. You see, the

Argentinean goes to Paris and knows there is the Fat one, Jô Soares, on my Brazilian channel here in Miami.

Maria Inês is a Globo enthusiast who invites people over for events such as soccer and Carnaval shown on Globo. As far as replacing Brazilian culture with American culture, Maria Inês says: “I never stop being Brazilian, to feel as a Brazilian, to do Brazilian things, never.” Her sentiment was common to many respondents.

The most well adapted interviewees are the ones who are successful at focusing on the positive aspects of the new culture and who also do not feel imprisoned by their social conditions. Nieta, wife of an executive in Miami explains: “I think we have to look for the good things in a place... The American culture adds something to me. I have lived here for such a long time... it’s where I earn my living... there is some sort of gratitude. If I am unhappy, I have to leave.”

However, the poorer and less educated immigrants are, the more difficult it is for them to return to Brazil. They routinely feel: “I am only in the United States because I need to.” Yet they are the ones who suffer most from discrimination.

The establishment of the Ada Merrit Elementary School, Brazilian businesses and organizations such as churches and the Brazilian Center strengthen the Brazilian community and counteract sentiments of social exclusion. Lilian, the owner of a small grocery store, says the police department in Broward promoted a dinner for Brazilians to create better relationships between the police and Brazilians. This example indicates that members of the receiving community are alert to the importance of integrating immigrants. There is a significant number of undocumented Brazilians in the region and it is risky to pretend they do not exist.

In fact, in order to filter messages of exclusion and discrimination, Portes and Rumbaut (1989) suggest ethnic networks and the help of family and community resources to support higher aspirations. As seen in the literature review, Portes and Rumbaut advocate for selective acculturation that aims for an upward assimilation combined with biculturalism. Despite the existence of isolated acculturation, there is hope for a more positive trend in South Florida.

5.4.3 Personal Stories

I decided to include five personal stories to demonstrate the ways in which acculturation attitudes and roles of Globo are intertwined. In previous chapters, my basic reference was the questions: I examined how each question was answered by each interviewee. However, I believe that it is important not only to see these elements playing together but also to concentrate on a few personal stories in order to provide a clearer picture of who some of these immigrants are and why they respond the way they do. The following stories were chosen because they represent the most common types found in this study.

Marginalized/Assimilated in South Florida: Sonia

Sonia immigrated to Florida three years ago because her husband received a job offer to work in a firm in the technology field. They sold almost everything they had in Brazil and headed to Florida. Not too long after her husband was hired, he was laid off. Sonia, her husband and three teenage children decided to stay in the United States, even though their visa ran out. To make ends meet, Sonia, who has a degree in education, began working as a cleaner.

Experiencing her husband's loss of employment and suddenly finding herself as an illegal immigrant was a big emotional setback for Sonia. Still, she was able to purchase a house, which is where my interview with her took place, as her daughter was glued to Globo Internacional watching the semifinal of a singing competition.

Despite the obstacles in her life in the United States, Sonia does not plan to go back to Brazil. She says: "I will only go back if I have problems with the immigration or health problems. I wish I could legalize my situation. I honestly don't want to go back." Sonia is gloomy about life in Brazil and is ashamed to be Brazilian because of Brazil's corruption, poverty and political exploitation. She says she wants to distance herself from all that.

However, during her first Carnaval in Florida, she was desperate to watch Brazil's traditional parades of samba schools. So she subscribed to Globo, which has the sole rights to broadcast the event. In reality, she says she missed hearing Portuguese on TV. Like several interviewees for this study, she felt lost because she could not understand English. "I would listen to American programs and wouldn't understand anything. When 9/11 happened, I didn't understand anything at all. I can get a bit of Spanish, but sometimes it is harder than English."

Sonia rarely watches American TV, besides movies. When she is working in American houses, she likes to have Court TV on or watch programs about beauty products. "But nothing else attracts me. I can say that Brazilian TV gives me what I want. It gives information on Brazil."

In fact, Sonia is committed to watch the newscasts. Globo is important for her because:

It keeps me updated in every aspect of Brazil. I like to know what is going on. When people talk about Brazil, I like to know what they are talking about, even novelas. I don't have to have the commitment to watch them, but it is good to know what is going on in every sense. Unfortunately people like novelas. Everybody talks about them. If you don't have a clue, you are ... out of touch. So it is good to be informed always.

Sonia was not a novela fan in Brazil. But since she moved to the United States, she became more interested in them. Yet, she thinks that Globo's programs are very weak, especially those directed to the poor classes (variety shows).

Perhaps because Sonia went through a class downgrade, she is very sensitive about social class. She lives in Broward, where most of the undocumented, middle to lower class Brazilians live, but she does not like to socialize with them. She explains why she has no friends:

There are many people from Valadares (small town in Minas state). Mineiros (native of Minas) from Valadares is a serious problem here. It's 80 percent of the people here. But I was disappointed with people from Rio (too). I am from Rio! But the Cariocas (native of Rio) proved to be so low class. I can generalize because all of them who I met here are so low. I know you are Carioca, but I am also one. I found out here the culture of the slums, drinking... unfortunately that's all I saw here. They have an attitude that doesn't match with how they live in practice. In theory, they are more liberal, open, and in practice they are very hypocritical. They drink a lot, start up arguments, and try to take advantage of you. But see... I don't know how the cariocas of zona sul (rich area) are because all you find here is people who come from the slums. All they do is get drunk. You can't have friends like that, unless you are like that. I don't mean to say that I am better... I am no better than anyone, but I am definitely different.

Sonia does not identify with the local Brazilians. She does not believe there is a Brazilian community in South Florida. She says there are many Brazilians, various groups, but no real community: "The community is divided between several communities, for example, the Evangelical community... The Evangelicals are very

strong... they dominate it. And that's another question. They say what they don't practice. They criticize and talk about what you do." Sonia is in conflict with Evangelicals because she practices "Espiritismo" – a Brazilian spiritualist religion that believes in reincarnation and communication with spirits – which is demonized by Evangelicals.

In short, I argue that Sonia's acculturation attitude is one of marginalization because she wants to distance herself from Brazilian culture: She does not have Brazilian friends, does not socialize with Brazilian immigrants, and her religion ostracizes her from the majority of Brazilians in South Florida. Still she shops and eats in Brazilian businesses. The other thing that keeps her connected to Brazil is Globo Internacional. Also, her situation in the United States is one of social exclusion: She does not have proper documents, does not have American friends, is not fluent in English (although she speaks English at work), does not go to American events and does not like American TV.

Sonia's interview stands out to me because she is the only one who says she does not miss Brazil: "I will be honest. I don't miss anything and anybody so far." Apparently, she does not suffer from the cultural division that most immigrants do. But she contradicts herself in some instances. For instance, Sonia watches Globo because of the newscasts, yet she feels disturbed by news from Brazil:

I asked my son to turn off the TV... I think I saw people getting food in the trash. So I thought: What kind of country allows that?... When I see the newscast, I cry because you see people begging for their retirement, at the same time that millions are being stolen.

Why would someone like to watch negative news about a place they want to distance themselves from? In Sonia's own words, one may read the clue:

We who are here have to go down on our knees and give thanks for the opportunities this country gives us: The opportunity to live with dignity – something that our country doesn't give. I am here living on a lower job and bought my house. And in Brazil, not even people with a college degree can buy a house. This saddens me...some people with so much and others with nothing. This makes me sad. I want to distance myself from this... I don't want to go back to Brazil. And I like this country a lot. People can complain as much as they want. But I am very grateful to it. Here we work hard, but we can make it.

In reality, Sonia watches the newscasts to keep reminding her about the reason she left the country. That keeps her from feeling homesick. Sonia does not like to have Globo to feel closer to Brazil or to be up to date in terms of trends or ephemeral culture. In fact, she also disagrees with the great majority of interviewees when she says Globo does not help maintain Brazilian culture. In reality, she wants to be far from everything.

On the other hand, Sonia shows positive inclinations toward assimilation into the American culture. Although she thinks Americans keep to themselves and are more distant and individualist, unlike Brazilians who need to touch, she wants to learn to be polite and respectful like Americans. For example:

In this country, you don't hear cars honking. Honking is very impolite. This country teaches you to drive in a way to avoid accidents – only dumb people don't learn it. Here you learn that if you see a bicycle, you practically stop your car. Seatbelts, speeding, drunk driving... I want my children to understand these things. When you go out with your dog, the issue of cleaning, to understand that it is a public space.... I like this side: their politeness. They say excuse me. In Brazil, people bump into you and say nothing.

It is fortunate that Sonia is able to see the positive aspects of American culture. However, her undocumented status, along with feelings of inferiority and shame mixed with disappointment and contempt toward the Brazilian community indicate a tough acculturation process. In this case, besides reassuring her choice to stay when it shows

Brazil's negative news, Globo Internacional also serves as a link to Brazil, which is an important role for someone who is marginalized.

Separated in South Florida: Rose

Rose is originally from the Brazilian state that sends the most immigrants to North America: Minas Gerais. She moved to Florida five years ago before our interview because all her family is there. As a fashion stylist, she was able to open her own store in a Brazilian shopping center in Pompano Beach where I interviewed her. Rose lives entirely within the Brazilian community and has had Globo since she arrived in the United States. She explains why:

I think it is a primordial factor to have Globo here so you can conciliate your life in America with your roots naturally. I think that Globo fulfills us in terms of the things we miss from there. I couldn't live without Globo. I moved from another house because of Globo. My life is Globo... all that I know... I don't speak English very well. My life is Globo.

For Rose, Globo is warmer than American TV and shows the reality as it embellishes it a little bit. She loves Ana Maria Braga, the hostess of a cooking/interview show and watches novelas "because they are culture" and to get fashion ideas for her store. Rose talks about Globo with everybody, and tries to convince her Brazilian friends who are married to Americans to install Globo at home: "They (Brazilians married to Americans) feel very distant from the Brazilian way... they leave their roots... so I always talk about Globo to them."

Rose says Globo means Brazil. For this reason, it helps maintain Brazilian culture; it represents Brazil fairly; and it makes her feel closer to her country. Given that she would rather live in Brazil, Globo helps her cope with homesickness:

Of course we wanted to be there (Brazil). But the country doesn't provide the opportunity to live, a chance to work... If you are 40 years old in Brazil, you are history... Here 70-year-old ladies are driving. I have an example that is my grandmother, who came here at 78 years old and recently went back to Brazil. Here she worked until 5 am. There she feels that she is nothing. So we are only here because of work opportunities...

Like many interviewees, Rose's favorite aspect of American life is safety or "peace of mind." While she knows via Globo about all the violence that happens in Brazil, she is disconnected from any crimes and accidents in Florida. "We don't know about them because we don't turn the TV on, American TV."

Rose realized as soon as she immigrated to the United States that she would be happier if she could reproduce Brazilian life in the United States. (She does not tell me whether she is undocumented but she tells me stories about crossing the border with Mexico). She says: "My home, my girls and me, we live Brazil. We sleep, wake up, eat, and work Brazil. We live as if we lived in Brazil. Even my food is Brazilian. Everything is Brazilian. So there isn't much of a difference, only family. I miss my relatives and friends." She misses her friends because as much as she wants to replicate Brazilian life, she says that Brazilians in Florida are not the same as Brazilians in Brazil:

You have colleagues, but that real friend that is always in your home, playing guitar, having a beer, you don't have...It is more that kind of "hi, how are you?" friend; not that fraternity, that kind that when you are sick, your friend is taking care of you. Everything here is because some sort of interest, convenience. Do you understand?... People change and really change. But I don't condemn them, you know why? Because of what we go through here, the battle that it is here, the battle for survival, so you become colder... no doubt about it... without wanting it. I, who was well connected in Brazil in the fashion field, my home would have people late at night every night. Here I don't have this anymore. And you can't. If you have that, you experience the betrayals you have in life. People backstab you. It's impressive. I don't know why that happens. That's why I distanced myself more. I live among the people because I am part of them. I am one of the people who have business in America and I am part of them. I live among them. I am in all events. I do everything for the

community, but I am more alone.

Perhaps Rose cannot quite reproduce Brazilian life because that life is a creation of her memory reorganized by homesickness. Yet it is true that Brazilians quickly adapt to the workaholic lifestyle, especially because most immigrated to make money and send it to Brazil. Immigrants often take on some individualistic values that they criticize. For example, Rose says:

I told you that I don't live among them (Americans), right? Can you imagine how I feel about them? I don't live and I don't want to live among them. I can't be with people who are very cold, capitalistic. This country, Americans, lives for money. When we do a barbecue, we invite one or another and they say: "Gosh, when was the last time I saw something like that? We should be more like that." But life here doesn't give you that. It is a half-delusion to live in the US. Do you live better? Yes, you live better: You have the car you want, the house you want, you eat where you want. But it has a price. You lose a bit of your identity when you live here. If you are the same person that you are in Brazil, you can leave. You can't stay here because if you don't follow the scheme here, you can't stay.

Her statement also illustrates Rose's acculturation process. No one goes through it and remains immune, even those who manage to create their own Brazilian world outside Brazil. Rose's separated acculturation is blatant: "I don't need America for anything. I don't have to coexist with Americans. I live in their country independently from them." She lives well in the United States and plans to live here permanently because of the Brazilian community. Rose does not have American friends. She explains:

I am the kind that has to hug, kiss.... Here at my store, people say: 'I need you. My mom is sick or my brother was hit by a car, or so and so is coming through Mexico.'...I may be very busy, but I say: 'Come and sit here and tell everything you want, relieve what you have to say.' I stop and listen. That's why I can live here (in Florida).

Rose has no intention of assimilating into American culture; and she does not need to because she lives within the Brazilian community. Although it is not a perfect copy of life in Brazil, it is good enough for Rose to be herself. In this scenario, Globo is vital; she mentioned several times that Globo is her life. In fact, her only complaint is that Globo Internacional repeats the programming twice a day. For her, that is frustrating because she indeed watches Globo Internacional all day long, in her store and at home. Therefore, she would prefer if the programming were an exact rebroadcast of Globo TV in Brazil, which could be seen as a parallel of what she would like to have in Florida: an exact reproduction of life in Brazil, with an American salary and limited violence, of course.

Integrated in South Florida: Sandra

Sandra's interview is different than most interviewees because the role that Globo plays for her is minor. In fact, another element takes a big part of her life: religion. Like many Brazilian immigrants in South Florida, Sandra is an Evangelical. I speak with Sonia in her "lanchonete," a Brazilian version of fast, cheap food, where Globo Internacional is on all the time.

Globo is a must-have for Brazilian businesses. It even sets the pace of Brazilian life. Sandra explains: "Liking or not, you are forced to watch it all day long. You are right there, serving a client as you listen to the TV. If there is something that interests me, I stop to see, sometimes even when the client is right in front of me..." That is typical Brazilian, and I suspect her Brazilian customers do not mind Sandra's behavior.

Sandra also watches Globo sometimes at night, after her customary church related activities:

When we come from church, we watch Jô (similar to David Letterman) and Jornal da Globo... But if you say you will remove TV from my life, I won't say I will die... it is not that important for me. It is an entertainment, a way to forget about your life. To me it doesn't make too much of a difference. But it is good. If it is there I will watch it.

Globo also means Brazil for Sandra. It makes her feel closer to her country, and at the same time -- like for several respondents -- it scares her away from there:

Because of the news in Rio... violence, you feel the problem of unemployment. You think twice about going back to Brazil. You feel closer to what is going on in Brazil. You don't feel so oblivious to what is happening there. When you don't have Globo, you are unaware to what is going on... you don't have news because the American newscast doesn't show anything about there. If you don't read newspapers or watch TV, you don't know about the laws that are changing, the congress and the issues voted.

In short, Sandra believes that Globo helps maintain the culture and inform her about news, changes and trends. But these aspects of her life are not fundamental to her because Brazil is not her main identity source; first of all she is Evangelical, more specifically, she is Baptist. As mentioned before, Sandra says it was a call from God that guided her to immigrate. She goes to a Baptist church, where most of the congregation is Brazilian; hence the main language spoken in her church is Portuguese.

It is a dream of many Brazilian Evangelicals to come to the United States. It was American missionaries who brought their religion to Brazil. Brazilian Evangelicals find in American Evangelicals a sense of brotherhood. For instance, although the majority of Sandra's friends are Brazilians, she is one of the few interviewees who have American friends. Yet Sandra has a typical stereotyped view of Americans as perfectionists, rigid

and uptight and of Brazilians as spontaneous and happy.

Also her TV habits reflect her biculturalism: besides Globo and Record (the Brazilian Evangelical channel), she watches CBN, the American Evangelical channel, in addition to American movies and sitcoms.

I argue that her acculturation attitude is one of integration because she values both American and Brazilian culture. In fact, she applied for a permanent visa to live in the United States legally. Although she is not entirely integrated -- her life takes place within the Brazilian community— she is open to cultural assimilation: “You end up assimilating some things: safety, transit... you respect the police authority, which doesn’t happen much in Brazil. Authority is imposed on you. You even start respecting more other people, lines...”

For her children, who are in elementary school, she hopes “to pass the culture of Evangelic religion but with the Brazilian twist.... because our church is Brazilian.” Yet Sandra welcomes the influence of American culture: “American society passes a lot of their culture to them too. And they have American values... my husband and I pass Brazilian values... our church pass Brazilian values... it ends up becoming a mix ... and they have a mix of both cultures.”

Like for many Brazilian immigrants, religion plays a crucial role in Sandra’s adaptation. Through her religion, which is a dominant one in the United States -- especially prominent in the current administration -- Sandra finds a common ground between two cultures. In this case, Globo’s role is secondary. It keeps her in contact with Brazil and the immigrants’ community, but it is more of a habit than an emotional need.

Bicultural/Integrated in Toronto: Luciana H.

Luciana H. earned a degree in speech therapy in Brazil and works as a volunteer in a Toronto hospital to build on the Canadian experience. She talks with me in the hospital's food plaza. Her husband is Canadian, and they met when both were traveling in New York.

Because of her marriage and work, Luciana has a predominantly Canadian lifestyle. She speaks English more often than Portuguese, and she feels appreciated in Canada, unlike in the United States:

Canada is a country with open doors to immigrants and that values cultural differences; this makes you feel welcomed. You are different; your culture is different, but they will accept you. In the United States it is different, depending on the region you live, they are racist against the immigrant. From my experience, I noticed that.

Luciana has lived in Toronto for two years – but not near the Portuguese Village. She perceives Brazilians in the Portuguese community as migrant workers who do not want to integrate into the Canadian life, contrary to her. She describes her acculturation process:

To live in another culture, you have to adapt to it. You have to shape yourself according to the new environment. If you don't, you won't be happy. I went through this stage of negation and comparison... to think that Brazilian culture is the best in world and irreplaceable. But you are not happy in this stage.

Luciana struggled with the Anglo-Saxon element of Canadian culture, in particular, because her husband is of English and German descent:

I learned to be more flexible to live with my husband because he is different, his culture is different. I can't demand him to behave warmly like me. It is difficult. I have my ups and downs. Sometimes I change my ways, but sometimes I say: "I am sorry, if you don't change, this is not going to work out." In general, I have changed a bit... I already dropped

the habit to walk holding hands with my husband. In Brazil, couples are always together holding hands... but here if you are not holding hands, it doesn't mean you are not affectionate; it is just the way. But if I don't do it in Brazil, people think it is strange that we don't walk holding hands. So I changed that I am not touchy feely anymore. I lost that because my husband is not like that.

Her flexibility indicates a positive move toward finding a compromise as she is learning how to read a second culture.

However, this process is a strenuous one. Luciana finds comfort in her Brazilian friends, deemed as "real friends," and also in Globo Internacional, "only Globo does that for me." She says she wanted Globo "because I wanted to have a channel in Portuguese, which would make me feel more at home. When I am at home and turn on Globo, I have the feeling that I am in Brazil. When a friend calls me, we speak in Portuguese. So I forget I am in another country."

Luciana likes the newscasts and contemporary novelas also because she can follow the latest fashion trends in Brazil. She formed a group of Brazilians who are married to Canadians, and this group of friends often calls each other and talks about what they see on Globo. "We know who is famous, who is in, what are the new trends... basically who set the trends is who is on TV."

It is important for Luciana to maintain Brazilian culture. Her dream is that when she has children, they will speak Portuguese, listen to Brazilian music and know silly things like, who Xuxa (TV hostess) is. She explains how she maintains Brazil in her life:

You have to be in contact with Brazilians. You have to be in one way or another infiltrated in this community. Globo helps me a lot. As I said, I feel at home when I watch Globo. I feel part of Brazilian culture. I don't feel alienated from what is going on in Brazil. So it is for me, through friends and TV.

In her first year, Luciana experienced a difficult time, but once she found friends and TV, her acculturation became less painful and she started to be more flexible. I argue that missing Brazil, her Brazilian culture and identity, led her to a stage in which she was closed to assimilating the new culture. Once she subscribed Globo Internacional, which “shortens the distance” between Canada and Brazil and made Brazilian friends, she relaxed. In that sense, Globo plays a role in her biculturalism.

Separated/Integrated in Toronto: Dionísio

Dionísio stands out because, unlike the stereotype regarding Brazilians who live in the Portuguese Village, he has a college degree and plans on staying permanently in Canada. I mentioned his opinions on Canada’s multiculturalism earlier in the chapter.

Canada attracted Dionísio because of its stronger economic opportunities. He took advantage of the country’s open immigration policy, and in less than five years opened an office as a legal assistant and immigration consultant. His office is in the heart of the Brazilian community. He says: “Sometimes I forget I am in Canada. At work, I speak Portuguese all day long. I watch TV in Portuguese, listen to the radio, and go online. Here as you see, we have access to everything we have in Brazil in terms of food. Only a few things you won’t find here.”

Dionísio tells me that 15 years ago, he lived in the United States. At that time, he lost contact with Brazil and adjusted to the American lifestyle. However, that did not happen in Canada:

This could have happened if I had opted, but I didn’t want to. I decided to be close to the community. If you are close to the community, you don’t miss anything. If I want to eat “feijoada” Saturday, I can. Living in the community like I do now, it is easy. We ordered water in Portuguese. We have access to everything. There is a TV here that is off, but I can assure

you that it has a satellite connection to receive Globo.

The only thing that changed for Dionísio was his professional life: “I think professional life in Canada is a million times better than the one we have in Brazil. You can develop a professional plan and evolve in your career... where you want to be in 10 years.” This comment shows that Dionísio was able to adapt to the Canadian life. He did it by staying in a Brazilian street within the Portuguese Village. His coping strategy for acculturation was to live separately –within the community. Yet, as mentioned previously in the chapter, this mode of integration fits into Canada’s multiculturalism.

Dionísio says that his neighborhood is “like a small Brazilian villa. If you live here for a week, you will see that this community reproduces life in Brazil... the only strange thing is that Carnaval is during cold season. February here is winter.”

Globo, as the main broadcaster in Brazil, is an important part of Dionísio’s life. In his first two years in Toronto, Dionísio watched Globo in bars and restaurants. As a lawyer, he understood the possible legal ramifications of pirating Globo Internacional, but his need to connect to Brazil is larger than his concerns. (He did ask me not to use his real name in this study; so Dionísio is a pseudonym).

Dionísio subscribes to Globo because he feels much more emotionally connected to Brazil than to Canada. He grew up watching Globo and thinks that it reflects what Brazilians feel and think. In other words, he identifies with it. Going beyond his emotional link to Brazil, watching Globo means that he knows more of what is going on there than in Canada. For instance:

Sometimes it is easier to be better informed about there than here. Recently, someone told me about a fire on the island of Toronto, and I only found out about it two days later because I read the newspaper by chance. For me, it takes me longer to know what happens here; whereas I

know what happens in Brazil immediately.

Dionísio stays connected to Brazil because his heart remains in Brazil. He takes advantage of the Internet by reading his state's newspaper "Zero Hora" everyday, and listening to soccer games via online radio. Globo Internacional is the only TV channel he watches: "I am not familiar with the programs here and don't have cable."

In short, Globo is an important element in making his separated acculturation possible. He does not want to lose Brazilian culture, and through Globo and the community, he is able to live the way he wants. Dionísio is so content with his life that he does not plan to move back to Brazil.

Bicultural/Integrated in Missouri: Christiane

It is worth including a case from Missouri as an illustration of the role of Globo Internacional in a place without the reinforcement of a Brazilian community. Christiane came to the United States on a student's visa and then, after marriage to an American, decided to remain in the country. She serves as an officer for Latino communities in Columbia and is quite well-known as the only representative from Brazil in these organizations.

Christiane was one of the first Brazilians in Columbia to subscribe to Globo Internacional in 2000. As I mentioned previously: She wanted to have Globo to expose her son and her husband to Brazilian culture. However, at this point she has been the only one watching the channel.

There is a conflict in her family because the only TV that receives Globo is also the TV with the best PBS reception, their favorite channel, and where the VCR is hooked

up. This way, whenever she wants to watch Brazilian programs, no one else in her family can watch their programs. The solution is to tape her programs and watch them alone later at night. This example demonstrates her strong commitment to watching Globo.

The reason for her firm disposition to watch Brazilian TV can be tied to an emotional need to be in contact with her home community. Christiane says that in order to see herself she watches Globo. As a matter of fact, she has seen relatives on TV several times. It also reminds her of her life in Brazil because Christiane is from Rio de Janeiro, where most of Globo's programs are produced. She says:

Personally, it is very important especially because I am a Carioca (native of Rio de Janeiro). Globo, because it is international, has been showing a lot of the beauty of Brazil. And especially when they air a novela showing Rio, I have to watch it. Some novelas show the buses, the people, and buildings-- the bus I used to take, the street I used to walk on. There are a lot to do with me. It is very important. So I like to see novelas only because I want to see those things.

Christiane understands this behavior and does not expect to feel the same way with American TV. She does not comprehend American comedy and specifically mentions her dislike for Saturday Night Live, for instance. It is interesting to point out that sense of humor is said to be one of the last cultural frontiers for a foreigner to overcome. But American TV, particularly PBS, fulfills her intellectual needs with its educational programming.

There is no doubt for Christiane that Globo TV helps maintain her in contact with Brazilian culture, but, mostly, it plays a positive role in her new life. She says:

Globo helps me deal with homesickness. It is so nice to watch it when they show Rio along with beautiful music, I go: aah... I think it is beautiful to see it, but I do not want to live there; I do not like to live there. I like to go there for tourism and come back. So, for me, to see it on TV is great.

In other words, Globo serves her in two ways: It relieves her nostalgia and it reminds her of the Brazilian reality, one she does not intend to go back to. In this sense, I argue that Globo indirectly reinforces her commitment to her life in the United States. It could be because Christiane is a very practical person. She tells me she comes from a military family, so she was used to moving to different states in Brazil. Because Christiane was forced to move several times, she learned ways to better adapt to each new place. She says:

I don't have a lot of problems with living here or there. I learned that when you moved to a new place, you have to look for the good things that you will like. If you only see the bad things, you will hate it and will live terribly. So you have to learn to look for the good things and enjoy what you do. To me, I live here; I like it here; I like what I do. I am Brazilian because I was born there... but...I don't situate myself in terms of place but situations.

Her comment illustrates the issue of globalization. Christiane detaches herself from place. She does not try to make sense of the American and the Brazilian cultures. She considers herself a mix of two cultures:

Renata: Would you say that Brazilian people are more informal?

Christiane: Yes.... We have different cultural backgrounds. So I remember at the time I thought it would be nice for him (husband) to watch *novelas* to see how people are there...the family relationships... why I behave certain ways... because it is different.

Renata: You mean that Brazilians have a closer relationship with the family, instead of the nuclear family?

Christiane: Yes, but I don't even want to go into detail. It is more the personal behavior. We have different reactions because we come from different cultures. Do you understand?

Renata: Yes, but I would like to know how it is different.

Christiane: We are Latin Americans and they are North Americans.

Renata: What does it mean?

Christiane: We are below the Equator.

Her reluctance to discuss differences between Brazilian and American identity perhaps speaks to her practicality or to the blurred boundaries between cultures in this age. She also says that before she immigrated to the United States, she often felt like a foreigner in Brazil. For example, she never wanted to have a maid, like middle-class people have, and she did not feel comfortable with her family's financial help. Also, she is quick to assume changes that will make her life easier. For example: "Brazilians like to shine pots. I do not; I put them in the washing machine like an American. So I will substitute things like that. So some things that are culturally linked to Brazilian tradition are lost in my life."

However, Christiane is determined to speak only Portuguese at home with her children. She says that language is the most important cultural legacy she wants to leave them: "With language comes the rest." So she reads books in Portuguese to them, listens to Brazilian music and, of course, subscribes to Globo. She cooks Brazilian food whenever her schedule allows it. And she always tries to be involved in the general community as a representative of Brazilian culture. She says:

I want to be present always and give my support (to any cultural program that involves Brazil). When I see something, I try to pass it along to other Brazilians because it is important. I try to connect with people in the cultural area. I know people who are movie theater owners, so when they ask what movie they should bring, I tell them. You have to be involved in the community. That's how I try to maintain it.

Christiane's adaptation process is a positive one. She maintains her Brazilian culture, not through isolating herself, but on the contrary, showing it to the local community. She is aware that, in order to be a whole person in life, she cannot completely dismiss her original cultural identity. This identity empowers her and,

because she is conscious of this empowerment, she wants to pass it along to her children. In other words, she employs her native culture not as a way to separate herself from the American community, but to serve as a bridge between both cultures.

5.5. Conclusion:

Considering that cultural identity works as a mediator of acculturative stress (Kim-Bae, Lauren 2000), I argue that Globo, as a medium that influences and is influenced by Brazilian culture, helps Brazilian immigrants cope with their adaptation both in Toronto and South Florida.

It is also interesting how individuals use Globo Internacional in different ways. For Luciana H., it helped her embrace biculturalism. In the case of Sonia, who is on verge of isolation, Globo keeps her connected not only to Brazil but also to the Brazilian culture in Florida. For immigrants who remain separated from the mainstream culture, Globo is an important part of their experience of living in a Brazil outside Brazil. On the other hand, for immigrants who have some other primordial factor of identification, such as religion, Globo Internacional is an ordinary habit in the Brazilian community.

However, there are main differences regarding identities and attitudes between Toronto and South Florida related to Canada's multiculturalism versus U.S. minority identity, the reception from a host group (the Portuguese), size and geographic distribution of the Brazilian community, and the sharp social class division in Florida, seen in a smaller scale in Toronto.

While Toronto's interviews are more homogenous and positive, the ones in the United States are mixed and more conflicted. At the end, all immigrants, as inherent to

human beings, are trying to adapt to a new life. Globo Internacional is an indispensable resource for many Brazilians, helping them to feel at home in a foreign land. For others, it is a reminder of the reasons why they left their country or even one more Brazilian habit that makes up Brazilian life outside Brazil. As it happens in Brazil, I believe that Globo reinforces the status quo, in this case, for Brazilian communities overseas.

CHAPTER 6. GLOBO'S TURN

This chapter is based on communication with Globo executives and online research. It covers background on Globo's international attempts, expectations and strategies of Globo Internacional, "Planet Brazil," and future priorities.

My initial plan was to travel to New York and visit the headquarters of Globo Internacional. However, my personal funds were extinct during the fieldwork in South Florida and Toronto, so I relied mostly on e-mails.

Despite their high profiles, Globo Internacional executives were available via e-mail. Adriana Sabino, president of Miami's Centro Cultural Brasil-USA gave me the e-mail of Yara Cavaignac, commercial director of Globo Internacional, who then provided me with the e-mail address of Amauri Soares, Globo Internacional's CEO in New York. I first wrote to Soares on May 2, 2005. After exchanging a few messages, he suggested two contacts in Brazil: Marcelo Spínola, director of international distribution, who could speak about the number of subscribers, subscription costs, and channel programming; and Mônica Albuquerque, executive director of CGCOM- Central Globo de Comunicação (Globo's communication department), who was knowledgeable about wider issues such as strategy and priorities.

Both Spínola and Albuquerque directed me to other names: Marcos Milanez, affiliate relations, who quickly sent me a database with numbers on subscribers worldwide and Globo Internacional's news release; and Alessandra Oberling, coordinator of Globo-University Project. Oberling serves as a liaison between Globo and students or researchers. Oberling asked me to complete an application with general information

about my research, signed by a faculty adviser, along with an agreement that I would make the research available to them. On Aug. 8, 2005, I received a Word document with the responses. I asked who exactly answered the questions, but Oberling said that it was no person in particular but the staff of the DNI - Divisão de Negócios Internacionais (“Division of International Business”).

Although my original idea was to talk in person with Globo’s executives, I understood that it would be very difficult not only because it would require more travel funds but also because in general large corporations are often hard to approach, especially by a student. For example, Globo would not discuss growth projections and future strategies. At each step, I decreased the number of questions and lowered my expectations. On March 2006, Marcos Milanez verified some numbers and priorities over the telephone. At the end, I was glad that Globo’s CEO answered my e-mails and I gathered enough valuable material regarding Globo Internacional plan’s for its role for subscribers, which will be compared to subscribers’ statements later in the chapter.

6.1. Background

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, years before Globo Internacional, anthropologist Max Margolis (1995) formulates that Brazilian expatriates in New York lived simultaneously within two nation states. Their feet were in North American but their minds were in Brazil. Tapes with Globo’s novelas could be found in Brazilian stores and video rentals were advertised in Brazilian newspapers. It is within this scenario that Globo Internacional was launched in August 1999.

Previously, Globo organizations ventured in the international market with mixed results. Based on the popularity of its novelas, Globo expected to establish a European television network. In 1985, it bought 90 percent of Telemontecarlo in Monaco but the venture was not profitable. Its transmission consisted of Globo's programs and locally produced programs in Italian and French. In 1994 Globo finally sold its remaining shares. The European economic recession, the fall of the Italian lira in relation to the US dollar, and the financial difficulties of Ferruzzi, its broadcast partner, were among Globo's reasons to withdraw from the market. "A sharp 25 per cent drop in 1993 advertising revenues at Telemontecarlo-- to below 100 billion Lira (\$60 million) -- may have helped the Brazilians to focus on the problem." (Video Age International, February 1994).

In the midst of the failure of Telemontecarlo, Globo tried once again to buy a private channel in Europe. This time, it was in Portugal, and it was successful. Globo decided to assist and invest in the Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC) channel, investing 15 percent, the maximum allowed by law to a foreign company (Sousa, 1998). In September 1994, Globo signed an exclusivity contract with SIC. By mid-1995, mainly due to Globo's novelas and expertise, SIC became the most watched TV channel in Portugal. In 1996, the four most watched TV programs were four Globo novelas shown by SIC (ibid).

Globo Internacional also seems to be meeting, if not exceeding, financial expectations. Every year new transnational programs and new resources are launched. For example, in 2004, TV Globo Internacional created a new signal, with the same content, available in Africa and Europe. In addition to adjusting its programs to the local time, it could also sell advertisements specifically intended for the two continents.

According to a release (Appendix C.1) sent by Milanez, on its fifth anniversary in 2004 Globo Internacional reached 1.8 million homes, including basic packages, in more than 45 countries, in a potential market of 5 million people around the world. In the same year, the channel announced it would begin distribution via cable by companies in the United States and Europe, most prominently through a partnership with Comcast, the largest cable TV operator in the United States. It is also distributed by RCN in Massachusetts, state with the largest concentration of Brazilians in the USA; Atlantic Broadband, in Miami; and Naxoo, in Switzerland.

6.2. Expectations and Strategies

TV Globo Internacional intends to be the main communication vehicle in Portuguese in the world, a meeting point for the Portuguese-language community. Globo's Division of International Business (DNI, in Portuguese) states: "Our mission is to entertain and educate Brazilian families who live overseas and Lusophone communities about Brazil and our culture, employing the Globo quality of production."

(Appendix B.2)

However, DNI writes that its main target is new as well as temporary Brazilian immigrants, who miss watching their favorite programs such as newscast, soccer and novelas. According to DNI, Globo plans to sustain itself with native Portuguese speakers. It is not worried about appealing to new emerging viewers. Second and third generation Brazilians are not the priority perhaps because they are still in small numbers since Brazilian immigration was insignificant before the 1980s. Yet, several interviewees indicate that among the reasons why they subscribe to Globo is to expose Brazilian

culture to their children. Although there are two children's programs on the channel, they only last a half-hour and, as mentioned in previous chapters, Globo does not have cartoons.

Globo's priority is very practical and demonstrates the apprehension of a new channel: "Our big concern is to reach the spectator's home with the image and quality of Globo. We want to be accessible in all the ways, cable and satellite, and to offer TV Globo's best programming," DNI writes. On March 2006, Milanez (Appendix B.4) explains over the phone about the difficulties in reaching all areas. Although Globo was successful in partnering with Comcast, the deal only included cable in Miami and Boston areas:

The problem is that we didn't manage to have cable in the entire U.S. territory. There are other regions that the Brazilian population can't access because they can't install the satellite dish or the location isn't suited for the reception. That happens in New York. In Bronx and Queens, there are large numbers of Brazilians but some can't get the reception via satellite. Cable would have been ideal. (Appendix B.4.)

While in the United States, Globo Internacional can court deals directly with the cable company, this is not the case in Canada: Globo first had to obtain a broadcasting license with the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). Only after Globo received the broadcasting license in November 2005, they could negotiate with cable companies. On March 2006, Globo Internacional partnered with Rogers Digital Cable to offer Globo Internacional in Ontario, the province where most Brazilians live. Yet, "our goal is eventually to make Globo Internacional accessible in the entire Canada," Milanez says (Appendix B.4.) One important reason behind the interest in Canada is its large Portuguese community. "They (the Portuguese) identify

with Globo's programming either because they like our novelas or because they watched SIC in Portugal," Milanez explains. "We try to reach this community as well."

It is understandable that the company's priority is to increase subscriber numbers, especially given that 80 percent of its budget comes from subscriptions and only 20 percent comes from advertisement (Folha de São Paulo, 2004). Although Globo does not want to discuss growth projections, it reveals that its objective is to keep a 35 percent annual budget growth. Milanez seems optimistic about reaching this goal: "We believe that the expansion and distribution via cable in the United States might help in the budget's increase in this territory" (ibid).

Currently, Globo is working hard courting opportunities not only to expand geographically but also to increase subscriptions worldwide through continual promotions and marketing actions. According to the news release (Appendix B.1), these include: keeping marketing shares along with the distributors, which brought good results in the United States, participating in Brazilian events and advertising in the Brazilian press.

Among sales initiatives, Globo Internacional promoted "Globo Summer Tour" in 10 U.S. states with the largest Brazilian population to strengthen the brand name, bring Globo closer to the subscriber and to increase sales. In addition to that, Globo Internacional participates in the events of the Brazilian community. The most famous one is the "Brazilian Day" in New York City. Since 2003 Globo Internacional gained sole rights to broadcast the event, boasted as the largest ethnic event in New York City with an attendance of one million people (Appendix B.1). Globo sees the "Brazilian Day" as a great opportunity for branding and commercialization of advertisement quotas. Its most

celebrated actors and TV hosts participate in the event.

In Europe several marketing initiatives were implemented, as well as efforts in advertising and promotion of events and shows of Brazilian singers in several European countries. And in Africa, Globo Internacional sponsored Miss Angola 2004, as well as continual marketing campaigns through billboards, radio and advertisements in local magazines. TV Globo Internacional, distributed by Multichoice Africa, has become one of the most popular channels in Angola.

Meanwhile, Globo Internacional is not a finished product. The phrase “Globo quality,” repeated over the years on TV and its releases, is a solid concept for Brazilians. Yet, certain characteristics of Globo Internacional digress from Globo’s proclaimed standard. For example, some subscribers complain in this study about the show’s punctuality, especially compared to American programs, as Ruben in Florida notes: “Here in the USA, it (Globo) lacks in the aspects of organization and customer service. It doesn’t listen to complaints nor answer our questions. The fee is exorbitant, and it seems they trust too much on the lack of competition.”

Other interviewees, as seen in chapter five, joke about the ridiculous local commercials, which give an amateurish feeling to the channel. But that impression is not too distant from the reality. Globo is still an emerging channel (see table 2, next page). In the United States, it was first launched as a premium or a la carte channel on DISH Network – which is still not as popular as cable TV. Only in 2004 Globo Internacional on cable was launched in Massachusetts and Florida.

In the United States, Globo states that 71,600 households subscribe to Globo Internacional (December, 2005). For every household it is estimated that there are four

viewers, totaling 286,400 viewers in the United States. This number is probably larger considering the widespread piracy in Canada. Also, businesses such as restaurants count for about 10 percent of the subscribers (AcheiUSA, 2003). Yet, the number of viewers is still relatively small. Therefore, the commercials reflect a developing market, as opposed to the ones in Brazil, where the market for Globo TV is sound and prosperous.

<i>Country</i>	<i>Subscribers</i>
<i>Angola</i>	<i>80,700 households</i>
<i>Australia</i>	<i>350 households</i>
<i>Chile</i>	<i>600 households</i>
<i>Colombia</i>	<i>9,000 households</i>
<i>Europe</i>	<i>5,000 households</i>
<i>Japan:</i>	<i>28,400 households</i>
<i>Mexico</i>	<i>223,000 households</i>
<i>Panama</i>	<i>500 households</i>
<i>South Africa, Mozambique and other African countries</i>	<i>15,400 households</i>
<i>United States</i>	<i>71,600 households</i>
<i>Total Premium (not including basic packages)</i>	<i>434,500 households</i>

Table 2 (source: TV Globo, December 2005)

6.2.1. Planet Brazil

Brazilians outside Brazil are the primary audience of Globo Internacional. Globo is fully aware that immigrants are different from Brazilians at home; they share common experiences and obstacles as they adapt in the receiving society. The program “Planeta

Brasil,” which portrays immigrants’ stories, illustrates this understanding. Amauri Soares, director of Globo Internacional, notes:

First of all, “Planeta Brasil” intends to allow Brazilian immigrants to be able to see themselves in Globo’s programming. This is a concept that permeates all the programs of Globo in Brazil and we believe we should employ it overseas. Secondly, “Planeta Brasil” proposes to be an instrument for building the Brazilian immigrant citizenship. Here I am not referring to the status as citizen established by immigration or governmental bodies. I am talking about the condition as citizen, to have rights that are independent of the status of the presence of any Brazilian in any country. There are human rights, work rights and serious emotional questions, for example, that are part of the immigrant’s life. And the program debates all of these, always. (Appendix B.3)

In November 2005, Globo Internacional released the soundtrack of “Planeta Brasil” on CD, a compilation with 14 songs featured in the program. “Planeta Brasil” employs Brazilian songs as a strong element in storytelling. These songs refer to homesickness, identity and endurance – all familiar feelings among expatriates. Soares says in a release that the idea came from viewers who would call Globo about the songs: “Every week we would receive several e-mails and phone calls of people asking the name of a song that we used in the program’s soundtrack. So we thought about making it easier for the public and gather the songs in one CD” (Portal Imprensa, 2005).

Globo Internacional’s most recent initiative is “Cidadão Global,” a daily bulletin that focuses on useful news to immigrants, released in February 2006. Its concept elaborates on “Planeta Brasil”’s premise that immigrants, regardless of their status in the foreign country, are worthy of rights and duties. “Cidadão Brasil” relies on the expertise of a consulate officer about Brazilian citizen services such as passport renovation, birth registration and voting assistance, among others (ComunidadeNews.com, 2006). As a public service to expatriates, “Cidadão Brasil” demonstrates a concern with the

immigrant viewer.

Several interviewees recognize Globo's effort to speak to the immigrants' heart. For example, Nieta in Florida says: "Globo Internacional plays exactly this rescuing role: You who are abroad, who miss Brazil! They have messages that are fit to reach a homesick person."

I asked interviewees whether they thought Globo Internacional spoke to them or felt like a channel from a faraway country. The response is almost unanimous in Toronto, even among Brazilians who immigrated in 1987: "Globo is for me." For example, Júnia, who works as a cleaner, says: "I am not far from that reality. Everything is very close to you. That reality makes sense." Others say that TV hosts often refer to the audience of Globo Internacional, saying "and thank you, who are watching us through Globo Internacional."

However, Fabiana, a TV producer who is married to a Canadian, is one of two people who disagree: "I feel as if I were watching it from far away about people who are far from me. It is not for me and it wasn't made for me. Except that there is this program, 'Planeta Brasil.'"

In the United States, the same question receives mixed responses. One observation is that Globo Internacional is easily available in Florida, while in Toronto a viewer is more likely to be a fervent Globo fan in order to resort to the black market for Globo's reception. So, as two respondents in Columbia agree that Globo speaks to them, in Florida, 9 out of 19 feel like outsiders in regards to Globo Internacional. These are some of the same interviewees who either have a negative perception of Brazilianess (the disappointed ones) or are detached from their original identity. It is important to

remember that interpretations are mediated by the interviewees' own experiences, which are also tied to their acculturation attitude.

Marco Antonio, who has a detached perception of Brazil and shows elements of isolation in a predominantly separated acculturation, says, "I feel what is common to all human beings, a sense of strangeness." For Rogelis, who is ashamed to be Brazilian as well as ashamed of "low-class" programs: "I feel that I am an outsider watching something that is far from my life." Also, Marcele and Júlia, who represent generation 1.5 in the United States, share the same opinion. Júlia says: "I follow it (Globo) but I don't participate. I am here, I can't feel that I am part of it." Contrary to Júnia who lives in Toronto but whose mind is in Brazil, that reality, although it makes sense, is not close to them.

Still, for those who feel that Globo Internacional is a remote channel, "Planeta Brasil" is often mentioned as an exception. For example, Sandra, the Evangelical who owns a Brazilian fast-food restaurant says: "It (Globo) could speak a little more to us. It does a little bit. There is only 'Planeta Brasil' that talks about our reality."

"Planeta Brasil" succeeds as a vehicle through which immigrants are able to see themselves. Several interviewees mentioned they wanted people in Brazil to watch the program as well. For instance, in Florida, Lilian says:

I think it would be interesting if 'Planeta Brasil' were broadcast in Brazil to explain to people there... because when we are in Brazil, we think that all here is wonderful... that everybody accomplishes things very quickly and that all is easy. It is truly easier than in Brazil, but we go through difficulties as well.

If "Planeta Brasil" were indeed broadcast in Brazil, besides validating the expatriates' perspective, Globo Network would come full circle in today's globalized

world.

6.3. Future Priorities

Should a transnational channel be a straight rebroadcast of the country's original channel or become a transnational channel for a transnational audience? According to DNI: "The trend for the channel is to continue transmitting the best of what Globo has to offer but also to localize some programs." In other words, it will be a mix of both.

Evidently, the channel has to maintain its format because its appeal lies in its familiarity to Brazilian immigrants. For instance, Lilian, who uses TV as a tool to show Brazilian culture to her daughter in Florida, says: "If it were something that was addressed only to us here, it wouldn't be fun, worth it. It has to be really everything from there, so that we who live here have the chance to soothe our homesickness as well as to know all that is happening there." In fact, most interviewees indicate problems that are tied to Globo Internacional's schedule that is different from the original one: daily repetition of novelas and other shows, lack of games with the national soccer team, including the World Cup, no Formula 1 race, restricted Olympics coverage, and no cartoons or movies (dubbed in Portuguese).

Specifically concerning the World Cup, Globo is fully aware there is a high demand for it. Milanez says: "We have a strong interest in the copyrights of this competition, but unfortunately we don't have an estimate of when we will be able to show it on our grid" (Appendix C.3). The great obstacle for its transmission is the fact that broadcasting rights are detained by country, as explains Priscila Beloch, a Globo Internacional employee on the Yahoo! Group; Globo Internacional would have to obtain

rights for each country where it broadcasts in order to show the World Cup (message # 713). It is intriguing that the concept of countries is still intact in world events. Beloch suggests that these laws are falling behind the globalizing trend. However, if the rules change, Globo Internacional would have much to gain by broadcasting such world events. I believe that the trend is that some day it will. Meanwhile, Brazilian expatriates take what they can get.

While copyright agreements do not allow Globo Internacional to broadcast all its programs, Globo could also take advantage of programs produced by its other Globo channels (e.g. TV Futura and GNT) and affiliates throughout Brazil. Several interviewees say they want to see more programs on tourism and arts. They are proud of Brazil and look for programs that reflect their view. As immigrants craving for their identity, they are also interested in cultural programs as a way to learn about their history, music and language.

On the other hand, Globo Internacional gradually has improved and produced special programming with the immigrant in mind. The most remembered initiative in the interviews is “Planeta Brasil”- as covered in this chapter. Besides the new “Cidadão Brasil,” DNI also cites Brasil TV (a compilation of regional newscasts broadcast in different Brazilian states), which replaced the regional newscast of Rio de Janeiro, and Intercine Brasil, which shows Brazilian movies, instead of non-Brazilian movies that are transmitted in Brazil.

6.4. Conclusion

Transnational channels are booming all over the world. Brazil's Globo Internacional did not miss the trend. As DNI writes, "The world is becoming more globalized and local operators want, more and more, to offer a personalized service: TV, Internet for Brazilians, for the Chinese, for teenagers, etc" (Appendix B.2). Aware of its market – Lusophones who already loved Globo's novelas and a increasing number of Brazilian expatriates – Globo Internacional understands that there is still a lot room to grow, especially in regards to its global reach, customer services and overall quality.

New initiatives, such as Globo's signal for Africa and Europe, and "Cidadão Global," show that the channel is expanding gradually. One area has not seen any development: programs protected by copyright agreements. Not broadcasting these programs highlights the contradictions in media globalization, in which, at the end, money talks and a few media corporations rule nevertheless. For Brazilians, who, if anything, are renowned for their artful soccer, nothing is more frustrating than not watching FIFA World Cup on "their" channel. Perhaps one day, global copyright laws will be less restrictive and Globo Internacional will be able to afford to transmit the World Cup – for the sake of Brazilianess.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSIONS

This study was developed to understand the role of Globo Internacional for Brazilian immigrants in two North American cities. Using a cultural studies perspective, it completed 43 in-depth interviews in Portuguese with immigrants in Toronto, Miami and Columbia, Mo.

Since its foundation in 1964, Globo Network has aimed to reinforce a cohesive Brazilian identity in Brazil. Globo's discourse promotes Brazilian culture. Globo is conveyed as the channel through which Brazilians see themselves. Its motto is "Globo, a gente se vê por aqui" or ("Globo, we see each other here").

Based on Stuart Hall's communication model, I argue that most subscribers receive Globo's discourse without questioning it. These viewers decode the content in a dominant fashion. They are the same Brazilians who have a nostalgic concept of Brazil, as seen in chapter six. For instance, respondents often say, "In Brazil people are happy despite being poor." For them, Globo means Brazil, family and home. They turn on Globo to feel at home and believe that Globo's newscast shows the reality in Brazil, as it provides a fair representation of the news in the country and the world. Several respondents say the only objection they had to the newscasts is its excessive focus on violence, but still respondents believe that does not depart from what is really happening in Brazil.

A smaller number of subscribers (three out of 22 in Toronto, and five out of 19 in Florida) recognize the dominant ideology implied in Globo's discourse, but interpretations are mediated by their own experiences. For example, some interviewees

are aware of Globo's spin, but focus on its positive side: the choice to listen to programs in Portuguese and see things that are familiar to them. In South Florida, some respondents more commonly have negative stereotypes about Brazilian identity. Others, for instance, anchor themselves in their religion, which sends messages that conflict with Globo's discourse. Some of these viewers feel detached from Brazil and others are disappointed and reject their home country. But there is not an exact line that divides these responses.

Only one respondent, Rogelis, in Florida, presents some characteristics of an oppositional decoding of Globo's discourse. He is ashamed to be Brazilian and Globo's programs. Rogelis refers to Globo as a brainwashing monster. Yet, he uses Globo as a "walking stick" in his life in the United States. Rationally, he rejects Globo's ideology but that does not matter because his nostalgia for Brazil speaks louder.

Either loving or hating Globo Internacional, interviewees say that the programming helps maintain an emotional proximity to Brazil. The love-hate relationship with Globo refers more often to respondents' frustration in regards to programs that are missing in Globo's international programming, in particular sports events – only in South Florida some respondents use words such as "shame" when speaking about Globo's programs. That is because overall Globo is seen as a top quality network. In their opinion, Globo is not tacky like Hispanic networks or North American soap operas.

For many respondents to be able to watch novelas, soccer games or Brazil's national newscast is crucial to their well being in North America. They find comfort when they turn on Globo Internacional as they forget about their lives as immigrants.

For a first and second generation of immigrants, the importance of maintaining cultural roots is undeniable, especially in the case of minority groups. As seen in chapter

six, cultural identity helps individuals filter messages of discrimination (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001), as it mediates acculturative stress. (Kim-Bae, Lauren 2000).

Globo reinforces Brazilian culture on the individual level, especially for people who are born in Brazil. Globo is easier to comprehend not only because of the language but also because of symbols that are familiar to them. Several subscribers say that the images broadcast on Globo make sense to them. By contrast, respondents do not identify with American and Canadian TV; Brazilians often do not understand North American media's sense of humor and they find the news too ethnocentric and biased by patriotism.

For second-generation immigrants, Globo is often referred to as one of the tools used by parents who want to raise their children bicultural. But not all children like to watch Globo's programs. In some mixed households where one of the parents is North American, the Brazilian individual often watches Globo Internacional alone. The New York Times covered a similar phenomenon that is happening with second and third generation Hispanics who grew up watching Univision. Although there is still a lot of market demand for Univision's programs in the United States, "more Latinos are American-born and English-speaking, and their tastes in television are changing more quickly than Univision's shows" (New York Times, 2006). However, reaching second and third generations is not a concern of Globo Internacional, which is still a new channel that targets new and temporary immigrants.

As a channel that promotes Brazilianess, Globo plays an important role for many Brazilian immigrants. Some interviewees report their perception of Globo changed after they immigrated. That often happens because immigrants have an emotional need to grasp their cultural roots in order to create a sense of self-empowerment. Turning to

Brazilian roots means watching novelas, soccer and the Carnaval parade (all broadcast on Globo Internacional). For other Brazilians, it could be something else: religion, music, Capoeira, food, etc. Regardless of how, it is crucial for immigrants to have something that anchors them, according to a member of the Yahoo discussion on Globo Internacional.

In regions where there is a large number of Brazilians, it is evident Globo Internacional reinforces and is reinforced by transnationalism. Max Margolis (1995) has studied Brazilian immigration since the 1980s and notices that Brazilians overseas mirror the habits in Brazil as if they lived in a piece of Brazil in another country.

However, the immigrant life is not an exact copy of the one in Brazil. José Carlos Meihy (2004) argues that life overseas cannot be reproduced as it is in Brazil. Ricardo, who works repairing carpets in Fort Lauderdale, agrees: “What we actually have here is Brazilian culture that is Americanized – of course, we are in another country... what I miss most is what Brazil truly is.” But what is Brazil exactly? That varies from person to person. In this study, many respondents have an idealistic view of Brazil, where all people are friendly and warm. Meihy explains the immigrants’ memory is reorganized based on nostalgia and homesickness. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, these are the most enthusiastic subscribers who decode Globo’s discourse in the dominant manner.

In short, respondents live in a virtual Brazil. They pretend they are in Brazil because it is hard to be a foreigner and to comprehend a new culture. Both in Toronto and South Florida, they can get by without speaking English; they can work in Brazilian businesses, follow Brazilian trends, and have Brazilian friends. They know where to find Brazilian products easily and eat Brazilian food, as they watch a TV that shows Globo

Internacional. Some interviewees have lived in North America for almost 20 years and never learned English because their existence was restricted to Brazilian communities.

Silvio Waisbord (1998) affirms that even though media technologies bring a new consciousness, the population must be integrated into cultural communities where identity shaping is created and maintained. In other words, identity emerges from relational interactions in the community.

In Toronto, the Portuguese occupy the place of the “other” in the respondents’ minds. The Portuguese, an established community in Toronto, provide a positive reference for Brazilian identity because, besides a strong cultural affinity, since the 1970s the Portuguese relate to Brazilian cultural products such as Globo’s novelas and music. I argue that Brazilians are integrated in Canada’s multiculturalism through an alliance with the Portuguese. It is in the Portuguese Village that most Brazilians live and find work when they arrive in Toronto.

In South Florida, Brazilians are more often isolated in their own community. Their contact with other groups, including the largest minority, Cubans, is minimal. In fact, Cubans are portrayed as a tight clique that rejects other groups.

In addition, Brazilians are divided along social class and geography, which is quite noticeable in South Florida. The richest Brazilians live in Miami and work to make the community visible. In Broward County (Fort Lauderdale and Pompano Beach), Brazilians are usually from lower classes, often undocumented and work in menial jobs, living in social exclusion. The social division is reminiscent of an existent hierarchy in Brazil, a country renowned for its social inequality. To make matters worse, unlike Canadian multiculturalism, the American minority ideology and its immigration policies

translate into a social burden to Brazilian immigrants. More respondents in Florida have mixed feelings about Globo and Brazil. Yet the rich and the poor consider Globo important in their lives, as Globo has different programs meant to appeal to both groups.

Regarding gender differences, it is no surprise that women like novelas and men like soccer. However, this division is not as absolute as in the past: some men watch novelas and some women watch sports. On March 2006, the cover story of Folha de São Paulo's Sunday magazine (the Brazilian equivalent to the New York Times magazine) was about the growing number of men who are novela devotees. For the current 8 o'clock novela, "Belíssima," 38 percent of viewers are men (Revista da Folha, 2006). In the article, Maria Lourdes Motter, researcher at the University of São Paulo's Núcleo de Telenovelas, says that in the past, men discriminated against women's taste; but recently, as women's position has improved, what used to be called "women's programs" does not make as much sense anymore. Also, because novelas, soccer games and newscasts are programs that "everybody" watches, doing the same is a form of insertion in the group.

On the other hand, some respondents report a change in taste regarding TV programs. After they immigrated, they began to watch women's programs that were once considered low class as these shows give tips on cooking and housework. They explain this happened because their lifestyle changed. In the United States, they had to learn to be housewives, while in Brazil their maids would do all the work.

In general, the question of a Brazilian community is still debatable. Responses regarding the existence of a Brazilian community both in Toronto and South Florida are mixed. Some are certain that the Brazilian community is a given fact; others often say: "There are many Brazilians but not a community," or "we should be more united like the

Cubans (or Portuguese) are. They have a strong community, not us.”

Still, assuming that Brazilian communities are emerging, media flow coming from Brazil actually contributes to underpin the community. Via Globo Internacional, immigrants are up to date with the latest news, trends and fashions. Respondents seem to be empowered as they have something unique to them; Globo’s programs are a common topic of conversation. Also several Brazilian businesses, churches and events advertise on Globo, which reaches widespread Brazilians in North America like never before. For instance, Maria Inês, the vice president for cultural affairs at a Brazilian center in Miami, says that she had people calling from all over the United States about an advertisement of the first bilingual Portuguese/English public school in the country.

When local interactions are weak, Globo Internacional serves as a small connection to the original community. Although that might not be enough to create a Brazilian culture, a small connection plays a positive role in alleviating acculturative stress, as seen in the interviews with immigrants who are isolated from Brazilian networks.

If a community with a strong identity indeed helps immigrants into an upward assimilation combined with biculturalism into the North-American culture, I argue that Globo Internacional plays a positive role in this process. Yet, as it happens in Brazil, Globo also reinforces the status quo, in this case, for Brazilian communities overseas.

It is interesting that homesick immigrants who think about returning to Brazil believe that Globo helps them cope with homesickness and feeds their link to their country. They do not want to miss out on anything. Immigrants who decide to stay permanently in the receiving society use Globo to remind them of why they left their

country in the first place. They feel their decision is validated, in particular, as they watch the newscasts that feature news on poverty, violence and corruption.

This study focuses on Brazilian immigrants, but immigrants all over North America have access to programs in their native language. Globo Internacional is one of 120 international channels offered by DISH Network in the United States. Chinese, Pakistani, Russian, African, Greek, Israeli, Arab, Japanese, Korean, Caribbean, Polish, Filipino, South Asian, Farsi, French, German and Armenian immigrants who subscribe have access to their home channels. It is amazing to imagine that all these different immigrants are able to receive their country's take on news, learn about new trends in culture and changes in their region. I do not presume that the roles that Globo Internacional plays for Brazilian expatriates would be the same ones for all international channels regarding their ethnicities. However, this study explores questions that are common to all of them.

The final question is: Are ethnic channels detrimental to the immigrants' adaptation in the receiving society?

I argue there is great potential for these channels to become a positive factor for immigrants' integration in the United States. However, as just one single factor in a complex process, one cannot overlook the risk for Globo to be used as one more tool for immigrants to separate themselves from the U.S. society. But also, it must be considered that their separation might be a reaction to how they are welcomed in the host society.

In regions like South Florida, Boston and New York, where one can work, shop, go to church and make friends in Portuguese, Globo could be seen by some as a factor that hampers the adaptation in the mainstream community, or, at least, makes the

immigrants' isolation more bearable and continual.

On the other hand, even in the situation where Brazilian TV is detrimental to the adaptation in the United States, it is still better to maintain the link with one's culture than isolating oneself from both identities, which happens in the case of marginalization. Taken from Berry's (1989) four-fold classification model, marginalization is the most dangerous process for the immigrant and for the receiving community. It is the one often associated with violence and disruption of the civil order. Leading to marginalization, for Portes and Rumbaut (2001), the worst policy is "forced march assimilation." One example is Proposition 227, which passed in 1998 in California. Also known as the "English for Children" initiative, this law banned bilingual education in public schools. In 2001, Arizona voters approved a more restrictive law that replaces bilingual education with English immersion programs (Wright, 2005). Attempts to wipe out bilingualism produce resistance and resentment from ethnic communities that result in more segregation and encapsulation, and consequently more "dissonant acculturation" (Mora, 2002).

Therefore, national agencies should not be worried about the role of ethnic media as prejudicial to North American communities. On the contrary, they should facilitate their use by immigrants as part of creating a strong ethnic community and employ their programming to help children to learn more about their grandparent and parent's culture. By the third generation, only a minority in any group maintains bilingualism, while speaking only English is the predominant pattern among grandchildren of immigrants.

In fact, respondents for this study – 15 out of 19 in Florida and 22 out of 23 in Toronto -- believe that there will be a Brazilian-American (or Canadian) culture in North

America. This demonstrates not only a healthy openness to North American identity but also optimism regarding the acceptance of their identity by the receiving society. Some interviewees say this hybridism already exists. For example, Luciana H. has no doubt about it: “That’s what I live now... a bit of everything.” Globo Internacional plays a part in this picture.

Although it is clear that Globo Internacional is reinforced by and reinforces transnationalism, this may only be true in regions with a large population of Brazilian immigrants. For example, in Boston, Globo Internacional is quite visible in the Brazilian neighborhood. Like in the Brazilian communities featured in this study, Brazilian stores show Globo Internacional, and billboards advertising the channel are visible in the streets of Somerville, Framingham and Marlboro. But Boston, Miami and Toronto, are not typical cities in North America.

In addition, the scope of this study is restricted to a small number of interviewees, so one has to be careful about generalizations. Hence, this topic could be explored in several other ways. A large-scale quantitative research could focus on mapping Globo subscribers to reveal the actual reach of Globo Internacional in North America. Is Globo truly becoming commonplace for Brazilian immigrants all over Canada and the United States? What is the percentage of immigrants who watch Globo? These are important questions that I cannot answer.

Also, a large research is more appropriate to answer questions about macro dimensions. For example, I am careful not to generalize that immigrants from rural areas, like in the interior of Minas Gerais state, live more separated from the mainstream culture than the ones from upper classes or urban areas. One reason is that some respondents

from urban areas also live isolated in the Brazilian communities, for instance Dionísio in Toronto and Maria Inês in Florida. And some respondents from lower classes, or who were originally from upper classes in Brazil and suffered a social downgrade when they immigrated, work for Americans and only rely on the Brazilian community to socialize. One example is housecleaners and babysitters, who keep a close contact with Americans. Therefore, this study does not offer clear-cut explanations.

Another weakness in this study refers to my lack of funds, which made unviable traveling to New York and Brazil in order to interview Globo executives in person. Also, for the same reason, I could not spend a longer period of time in both Toronto and Miami. For example, I only interviewed two Brazilians who immigrated as children. As a mother of a bicultural child, I am personally fascinated by the second generation of immigrants; I believe they are the most interesting focus for future research. In this case, it would be particularly appropriate to conduct a long-term study with these children to understand how Globo makes sense as they transit from one culture to another.

Also, certain topics in this study could be used as starting points for further research. For instance, gender and class differences or even race, which is not covered in this study, could each become the focus of a long-term study on Globo Internacional. Issues of identity and culture are in constant change and would benefit from a longer study.

Future research may tackle the different transnational cultures that may be emerging across the world. For example, how is the transnational Brazilian culture that is emerging in Japan compared to the ones in Europe or the United States? With the increase of information flow, it is more likely that these communities are updated and in

sync with the changes in Brazil, yet regional differences may also remain. In the past, immigrant groups preserved elements of their culture that disappeared in their sending culture. However, in the globalization age, this picture might change.

Other implications of transnationalism must also be studied. For example, to what extent a citizen identity is being developed among immigrants? This study observes the embryonic phase of this concept as respondents acknowledge the value of programs “Planeta Brasil” and “Cidadão Global.” More studies are necessary to examine whether and how such media outlets foster the construction of a transnational Brazilian citizen. Also, as transnational citizens are created, how would Globo Internacional would impact, for example, Brazilian elections?

At last, it would be pertinent to try to look at the phenomenon of ethnic channels in general. There are several studies about Hispanic channels but the field of ethnic channels is still emerging. A cross-cultural study would be valuable if it could find the similarities and discrepancies in the roles that immigrants assign to all these channels and to place this phenomenon in the context of the global age.

In a final note, as Globo Internacional began transmission in Canada on Rogers Digital Cable in 2006, Canada’s new conservative government recently abandoned a Liberal amnesty plan and declared that from then on it would be stricter regarding deportation (Toronto Star, 2006). This move puts into question Canada’s welcoming attitude regarding immigrants, which was confirmed in this study, as well as its commitment with multiculturalism.

APPENDIX A – INTERVIEWS

A.1. Lilian, 41 years old, retailer, from Rio de Janeiro,

General Information

Renata: How have you lived in North America?

Lilian: 3 and half years.

Renata: What brought you here?

Lilian: What brought me here is, what the great majority of Brazilian came for... the economic situation in Brazil: We had our own business and lost everything we had, 30 years of work... after a certain age in Brazil you don't have chance for employment.

Renata: Do you plan on staying here?

Lilian: I do. I go to Brazil just for tourism. I am very well adapted here. My family, my husband, my daughters are here. We have our business here. We intend to stay.

Reasons to Subscribe Globo Internacional

Renata: When did you start subscribing Globo?

Lilian: About two and half years.

Renata: What are the main reasons to subscribe Globo?

Lilian: First because my daughter was forgetting Portuguese – my youngest was starting to speak Portuguese poorly. She would forget many words. To be informed about what goes on in Brazil through Jornal Nacional (national newscast) and other programming, and to deal with homesickness too.

Renata: Who had the initiative in your house to subscribe Globo?

Lilian: Me.

Renata: Do you watch American TV?

Lilian: Not anymore. I used to but I moved to a different house and at home we only receive Globo, but I am also trying to install the other channels be. But for a while I only have Globo.

Renata: Do you miss seeing Brazilian culture on regular TV?

Lilian: Yes because there isn't anything, not one information. Sometimes on the Hispanic channel, when a tragedy happens in Brazil, it shows on the American channel; but only when something very tragic. But in terms of our culture, you don't see anything in any American nor Hispanic channel.

Renata: What is the difference between American and Brazilian TV?

Lilian: I don't know if it is because I am not used to it, but I think our programming is more diverse, richer.

Renata: How do you watch TV? (For example, do you let the TV on while you do other things or sit on the couch and pay attention).

Lilian: It depends on the program. If it is something I like very much, I sit down to watch it. If not, I am sometimes in the kitchen where I can see it, and I pay attention as I do something.

Renata: What is your daily routine in terms of watching TV? What programs do you most watch and like?

Lilian: I like Globo Reporter very much. I like novelas as well, depending on the novela. Some novelas really grab me, while others don't. I like to watch Fantástico (weekly newsmagazine) and Jornal Nacional as well.

Renata: What is your daily routine in terms of watching TV?

Lilian: When my daughter is on vacation, the first thing we do when we get home is to turn on the TV. It is automatic (laughs). When she is on vacation, I only watch in the evening when I go home. If not, I watch it here (in their grocery store) because now we have Globo here too for us and our customers. People used to ask us: You don't have Globo? Sometimes they wanted to eat something and watch TV. The customers asked for it. I miss it too because sometimes I am watching something at home and I wish that my husband would be watching it here as well and we didn't have. And customers asked for it. For example, this week a customer asked for it. The TV was off and he said: "Lilian, is it Globo? My wife is in the hair salon and I wish I could watch the newscast while I wait for her." I said, "That's fine." I turned the TV on and he watched it. I had forgot to turn on the TV because I was busy and didn't remember. He asked for it and I turned it on.

Role of Globo

Renata: What is the role of Globo in your life?

Lilian: I don't think there is one Brazilian who isn't crazy about Globo. I was born watching Globo. So it is very important because it has a great amount of information about all you can imagine, culturally, economically... in all aspects, I think Globo is absolutely fantastic. Globo is the best broadcaster in Brazil

Renata: Do you talk about Globo's programming with other Brazilians here and in Brazil?

Lilian: Yes, no doubt about it. Here and in Brazil via telephone. Now that there has been the novela *Celebridade* it was: Who killed Lineu? The commotion was in Brazil and here. By the way, in the two days that anteceded the last chapter of *Celebridade*, during the novela, the store stopped. Not one soul came to the store. My husband said, "What is going on?" It was the novela! Everybody went home to watch the novela. And then, I saw on Jornal Nacional that the streets in Rio were empty, people were getting off the bus in the middle of the way because they wouldn't have time to arrive home, went to a bar that had a television on and watched the novela! Here I think that happened too; everything stopped because of the novela.

Renata: Do you feel closer to Brazil since you have started to watch Globo International?

Lilian: Yes, no doubt about it.

Renata: If you have children...

Lilian: Two daughters. The oldest one wants to install Globo at her house. She doesn't have Globo now

Renata: Does the youngest one who lives with you watch Globo?

Lilian: Yes. Thanks to Globo she started to speak Portuguese correctly. She was speaking... using verbs in wrong tense.

Renata: So you noticed a difference?

Lilian: Yes, she improved a lot because she would speak English all day at school and she would go home and watch TV in English. She would speak a little bit of Portuguese with us at home. So she was losing it. I said, "You can't lose it! It makes no sense." I

came here, then would learn two languages, Spanish and English, and forget Portuguese. No way. Then she improved a lot by watching Globo.

Renata: What is the image of Globo for you? What does it mean?

Lilian: It is what I said: The largest broadcaster in the country.

Renata: Do you think the programming speaks to you? Or it feels like you are watching TV of a faraway country?

Lilian: No, I don't think so. We have to think that all that is there is a Brazilian network, it has to do with Brazil. It has to be that way. There is a program now that I think it is shown only for Brazilians here. It is *Planeta Brasil*. I think it would be interesting if *Planeta Brasil* were broadcast in Brazil, to explain to people there... because when we are in Brazil, we think that all here is wonderful... that everybody accomplishes things very quickly and that all is easy. It is truly easier than in Brazil, but we go through difficulties as well. So I think it would be interesting that they would broadcast it in Brazil too. But I don't feel that way. But I think it is good too because if it were something that was addressed only to us here it wouldn't be fun, worth it. It has to be really everything from there, so that we who live here have the chance to soothe our homesickness and to know as well all that is happening there. I think it is important. The current way is great.

Renata: What do you think of the news that comes from Brazil?

Lilian: What I think? I feel very sad especially – of course about the whole country- but about Rio, my city, because of the violence. I feel sad from the news I hear from there... the majority of the news, right? But there is also good news.

Renata: Do you think Globo does a fair representation of Brazilian news? Is it only bad news?

Lilian: No, for example, when I see RJTV (local newscast from Rio), of course, the majority of the news are bad, there aren't many good news. But when I watch SPTV(newscast from São Paulo), it is the same thing. Some reports are about fashion, other things, but the great majority is about violence. But I think this isn't because it is Globo's focus; it is the reality: Brazil lives this reality of too much violence. Many things are happening there in this sense. So I think it is really what is going on.

Renata: Do you think Globo keeps you updated in terms of new Brazilian trends, such as language, fashion, music, etc?

Lilian: Yes. For example, in Jornal Hoje (midday newscast) you can see this stuff.

Renata: Does it help you to maintain Brazilian culture?

Lilian: Yes, no doubt about it.

Renata: Are you satisfied with Globo's programming?

Lilian: Very. I have always been.

Renata: What could be improved?

Lilian: More cultural programming, especially for children and the youth, for children of Brazilian parents, children who were born here and don't have a lot of information about Brazilian culture... cultural programs for children.

Brazilian and Local Identity

Renata: What does it mean to be Brazilian?

Lilian: (cries) It is difficult to say. It is so many things. Let me see if I can make it simple to tell you. My husband says that to be carioca (native of Rio) is a state of mood and to be

Brazilian is also a state of mood. Because I know some Americans... one only comes here dressed in green and yellow (Brazilian colors): snickers are green and yellow, the clothes, shorts are from Brazil... but it isn't only him that I know... I know other Americans who FEEL they are Brazilians. They love Brazil so much that they think they are Brazilians. So my husband is right: To be Brazilian is a state of mood

Renata: How much of your life do you spend in Portuguese?

Lilian: Always, 95 percent because the business we have and also the place where we live. 95 percent of my customers are Brazilian, so I have to speak Portuguese all day. You know, I have to say something that has nothing to do with your research but it is just an observation: I have nothing against Portugal, on the contrary... but I think our language should be Brazilian not Portuguese, don't agree? Because our language, our country is the only one that speaks Brazilian. In general, countries that speak Portuguese (Angola, etc) they speak Portuguese from Portugal with that accent from Portugal. We are the only country that has the Brazilian Portuguese.

Renata: Do you have access to other Brazilian media?

Lilian: I only have Globo. I might have Record TV at home. We have magazines here. Sometimes I read them. There are many newspapers here in the community that have news from Brazil.

Renata: Is there a Brazilian community in the town you live? (restaurants, stores, newspapers)

Lilian: Oh, yes, and a very large one.

Renata: What do you most miss about Brazil?

Lilian: Everything (cries again). I miss my family (relatives), but we talk often. I miss everything...

Renata: That's fine. It is answered. What do you most like about your life here?

Lilian: Safety, security that we have here and we don't have here. That's what I most like. I feel safe when I go to an ATM machine to get some money. This sense of safety, tranquility, is what I most like here.

Renata: What does it mean to be American?

Lilian: It is to be proud of the country where you live. It doesn't mean I am not proud of Brazil., but it is different. They really can be proud of the country where they live, for its power... also because of the seriousness of its politicians – of course, bad things exist in all countries – but here it is different. They are patriots; they love their country truly. In Brazil, if we truly loved our country... unfortunately everybody should leave Brazil, live abroad, to have love for Brazil. But the American doesn't have to leave the country to love it. That's it. He loves his country truly.

Renata: What is the difference between American and Brazilian in general?

Lilian: Brazilians have an inside happiness pertinent to Brazil itself. The majority of Brazilians, if they have money in their pockets or not, they have parties, they joke, laugh. It is in their nature to be joyful. But the American is more reserved, more uptight. We arrive and say enthusiastically "Hi, how are you!"

Renata: To what extent, if at all, are you replacing your Brazilian culture with the general culture of the North America?

Lilian: We don't replace it. We add to it. We add American culture to our lives. We don't modify it. For instance, Mother's Day is on the same day. But Father's Day is on a different day. We, at least, celebrate it on both days. We give a gift to Fernando

(husband) both days. In Brazil we don't have Thanksgiving, but there is here; so we celebrate it here. During "Festa Junina" (festivities for St. John, St. Peter and St. Anthony), we listen to cds; Brazilians throw "Festa Junina" parties. So that's what I said, we don't replace it but we add it. We add American culture into our lives. We have Halloween. We have Thanksgiving. And Brazilian people here have Thanksgiving. More people shop at our store to make dinner. I wouldn't think so, but Brazilians really celebrate Thanksgiving. But without forgetting things from Brazil.

Renata: To what extent do you believe it is possible to keep one's Brazilian culture in the North America? How does one do that?

Lilian: Here it isn't very difficult. Here the community is very large. So it isn't difficult. There are many churches. They have *Festa Junina* and other Brazilian events. Also Globo is a great vehicle to be able to maintain it. But also promoting cultural events. Americans do that. The police department here in Broward promoted a dinner for the Brazilians here at the restaurant to create better relationship between the police and Brazilians. There was a samba show. We promoted a dinner only for *pernambucanos* (natives of state of *Pernambuco*) here. More than 100 *pernambucanos* came to the restaurant. We had typical food, dessert – a traditional cake in Recife, called *bolo de rolo*, it is like a strudel but different. So we had a very nice night. Brazilians do it sometimes. They get together, do some sort of event. At the beach, one a year, I think on Independence Day (Brazil's), they put up several booths with typical food: acarajé. Capoeira people also do that: games and typical food. It is all a way that people have to be able to do it and maintain.

Renata: What are the specific aspects of the culture you are trying to keep?

Lilian: It seems that I am talking about Globo only because you are doing this research, but I think Globo is fundamental for me because during St. John time, which is very strong in the Northeast (of Brazil), where my husband is from, they showed a lot of the parties, *quadrilha* (square dance)... you don't know what a *quadrilha* is. She didn't know it, so she saw the tradition of the fires: They make a fire in front of each house; it is a tradition. They think it will bring them good luck. So it is something she didn't know and we said: "See... this is a tradition." But also everything that happens in Brazil, in terms of cultural, for me, Globo is very important because it shows to her. When I see it on TV, I show it to her. It's been three and a half years she hasn't been there, so she forgets... and through the TV, it is very easy to keep this alive for her... the magazines too, books...

Renata: Do you think there will be a hybrid Brazilian-American culture?

Lilian: Yes, now doubt about it. In my case, I teach her to love Brazil but also to love the United States because this was the country that received us, so I want her to have this mix. And I think this mix happens. You live here. In school she spends time with many American children, so the Brazilian child takes it in. It is what I said, there will be this combination... there is no reason to divide... we have to add ours too. We don't have to divide but to sum.

APPENDIX B – INTERVIEWS

All materials were translated from Portuguese

B.1. News Release

TV Globo Internacional:

- Launched in August 1999, in 2004 TV Globo Internacional completed 5 years of success, its signal reaching the four corners of the world. It is exhibited in more than 45 countries by the largest TV distributors in each region that it is present.

- It is a channel entirely in Portuguese, broadcast 24 hours a day, destined to Brazilian and Lusophones overseas (except in Portugal) or about 5.5 million people. Its programming consists of TV Globo's productions, with highlights such as live newscasts, live soccer games, as well as novelas and miniseries and other high rated programs on TV Globo.

- TV Globo Internacional also produces a specific program for its audience: "Planeta Brasil", which focuses on the life of Brazilian immigrants in the world, as well as assists the community divulging the most important consular news. It premiered in 2003 and continued to be a big success.

- TV Globo Internacional has the sole rights to broadcast the Brazilian Day in New York. That's the largest ethnic event in New York City, attended by more than 1 million people. That's a great opportunity for *branding* and commercialization of advertisement quotas.

- It reached 1.8 million homes in 2004, of which 400,000 are part of *premium channel* and/or *a la carte* (model in which the channel is not included in the basic package of the distributor) in the USA, Japan, Europe (except Portugal), South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Mexico, Chile, Colombia, Panama. In Latin America, via cable, it has 1.4 million subscribers, specifically in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

- In 2004, the channel began distribution via cable by companies in USA and Europe, most prominently through a partnership with COMCAST, the largest operator of pay TV in the USA. It is also distributed by RCN in Massachusetts, state with the largest concentration of Brazilians in the USA; Atlantic Broadband in Miami; and Naxoo, in Switzerland.

- We keep marketing shares along with the distributors. In the USA that brought good results: we promote Globo Summer Tour in 10 states with the largest Brazilian population in the country, to strengthen the brand name, bring Globo closer to the subscriber and to promote sale. In addition to that, we participate in the large events of

the community and we advertise throughout the year in the main community press.

- In Europe several marketing initiatives were implemented, as well as efforts in advertising and promotion of events and shows of Brazilian singers in several European countries.

- In Africa, TV Globo Internacional sponsored Miss Angola 2004, as well as continual marketing campaigns through outdoor, radio and advertisement in local magazines. TV Globo Internacional, distributed by Multichoice Africa, has become one of the most popular channels in Angola.

- Some of the expansion plans of TV Globo Internacional in 2005: more penetration via cable in the USA and via cable and satellite in Europe; release in Canada and Israel; increase in subscribers worldwide through continual promotions and marketing actions.

- In 2004, TV Globo Internacional launched a new signal, with the same content, to the regions of Africa and Europe. In addition to the main goal of adjusting its programs to the local time, now it can also sell separately advertisements specifically intended for two continents.

B.2. Corporate Interview: Division of International Business (DNI, in Portuguese)

DNI: First of all, TV Globo Internacional doesn't broadcast in Canada. The few people who have the channel at home manage to get the transmission through pirating DISH Network from the USA. For this reason, the answers below refer to Miami, as you asked me, although they are general questions that could be applied to the world broadcast of the channel. Another important observation: the official name of the channel is TV GLOBO INTERNACIONAL, with 'C'.

Renata: What expectations does Globo have as it becomes an international medium? How does it speak to its international audience?

DNI: TV Globo Internacional intends to be the main communication vehicle in Portuguese in the world. Our mission is to entertain and educate Brazilian families who live overseas and Lusophone communities about Brazil and our culture, using the Globo quality of production. We reach 1,8 million spectators in the world, in a potential market of 5 million. Globo Internacional is a meeting point for the Portuguese-language community in the four corners of the world.

Renata: What have been the main concerns or challenges in going global? What has been successful?

DNI: Our big concern is to reach the spectator's home with the image and quality of Globo. We want to be accessible in all the ways, cable and satellite, and to offer TV Globo's best programming. In the United States, we are distributed by four companies (Comcast Cable, RCN Cable, Atlantic Broadband and DISH Network) – this illustrates our success. The world is becoming more globalized and local operators want, more and more, to offer a personalized service: TV, Internet for Brazilians, for the Chinese, for

teenagers, etc. In this context, TV Globo Internacional has the best to offer: not only in superproductions, but also with technical support, marketing, promotions, etc. The challenge in this context is to be present in all these places (today – Summer 2005- it's on 45 countries) maintaining the Globo quality.

Renata: What is the trend in terms of programming? To create more programs specifically for the immigrants or to continue replicating the Brazilian schedule?

DNI: Globo Internacional broadcasts a program especially created for the channel, produced in New York: Planeta Brasil. The trend for the channel is to continue transmitting what Globo best has to offer, but also to localize some programs. Brasil TV, for example, is a compilation of regional newspaperst that are broadcast in every state of Brazil. Another example: While in Brazil Globo shows Intercine with foreign movies on Saturdays, currently Globo Internacional is broadcasting Intercine Brasil, on Saturdays, – a collection of Brazilian classics.

Renata: Can Globo Internacional sustain itself only with native Portuguese speakers? Will Globo's audience be limited to new immigrants or temporary residents?

DNI: Yes, TV Globo Internacional wants to reach Lusophone communities. However, our target is new as well as temporary immigrants.

B.3. Amauri Soares, Director of Globo Internacional (personal communication)

Renata: What is the role that “Planeta Brasil” wants to play for its viewers?

Amauri Soares: First of all, “Planeta Brasil” intends to allow Brazilian immigrants to be able to see themselves in Globo’s programming. This is a concept that permeates all the programs of Globo in Brazil and we believe we should employ it overseas. Secondly, “Planeta Brasil” proposes to be an instrument for building the Brazilian immigrant citizenship. Here I am not referring to the status as citizen established by immigration or governmental bodies. I am talking about the condition as citizen, to have rights that are independent of the status of the presence of any Brazilian in any country. There are human rights, work rights and serious emotional questions, for example, that are part of the immigrant’s life. And the program debates all of these, always.

B.4. Marcos Milanez, Affiliate Relations (phone interview)

Renata: I would like to know growth projections and future priorities?

Marcos: Well, I can’t really tell you about growth projections because this information we don’t usually give out, even to the press. We can’t give numbers, maybe percentiles. I will have to talk with my director.

Renata: That’s fine. I understand that. What I really want to know is whether Globo Internacional is meeting the expectations. I would say that it is, but I just want to make sure I am correct.

Marcos: I will get back to you after I talk with my director.

Renata: Also, from what I can see the priority is to reach Brazilians worldwide. Is that correct?

Marcos: Yes, we have been available via satellite, as you know. The good news is that

we made a deal with cable to reach Miami and Boston areas. The problem is that we didn't manage to have cable in the entire U.S. territory. There are other regions that the Brazilian population can't access because they can't install the satellite dish or the location doesn't suit for the reception. That happens in New York. In Bronx and Queens, there are large numbers of Brazilians but some can't get the reception via satellite. Cable would have been ideal.

Renata: And in Canada?

Marcos: As you probably know, for the first time a Brazilian channel is now available in Canada. Unlike the United States, where we could court deals straightly with the cable company, in Canada we had to obtain a license with the CRTC, the governmental body for communication. Obtaining the license, we managed to form a partnership with Rogers Digital cable, and offer Globo Internacional in Ontario, where most Brazilians live. Our goal is eventually to make Globo Internacional accessible in the entire Canada, but initially it will be only in Ontario. One interesting thing is that there is a large Portuguese community in Canada and they identify with Globo's programming either because they like our novelas or because they watched SIC in Portugal. We try to reach this community as well.

Renata: How about the World Cup? Any chance Globo will ever broadcast it?

Marcos: Again, I will have to talk with the director and get back to you.

(later by e-mail)

Marcos: Unfortunately, I can't inform you about growth projections. Nevertheless, our goal is to maintain 35 percent annual growth for our budget in the following years. We believe that the expansion and distribution via cable in the United States might help in the budget's increase in this territory. About the World Cup, we have a strong interest in the copyrights of this competition, but unfortunately we don't have an estimative of when we will be able to show it in our grid.

APPENDIX C. YAHOO! DISCUSSION GROUP (in Portuguese)

Description: This is a group used to discuss programming on Brazil's Globo Internacional channel available on DISH Network

Sample Page:

View: [Simple](#) | Summary | [Expanded](#) 5700 - 5729 of 6404 [First](#) | [< Previous](#) | [Next >](#) | [Last](#)
As: [Msg List](#) | [Thread](#)

Subject	Author	Date ▾
5700 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Oi Vou aqui colocar meus dois vintens..nao era assim que se dizia "no meu...	Rosane Weiss rwfrom_ny   	Jun 28, 2005 6:23 am
5701 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Rosi, a gente se diverte com voce! Muitissimo obrigada pelo seus vintens. Eu...	Johnson, Renata Jacqu... globaljourna...  	Jun 28, 2005 10:01 am
5702 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Rosana, me desculpe!!! Eu escreve Rosi porque me confundi na hora! Mas sei que...	Johnson, Renata Jacqu... globaljourna...  	Jun 28, 2005 10:09 am
5703 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional RosanE _____ From:...	Johnson, Renata Jacqu... globaljourna...  	Jun 28, 2005 10:09 am
5704 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional OPS! Rosi e Rosane sao 2 pessoas diferentes! Mas tudo bem, eu gosto da Rosi...	Rosane Weiss rwfrom_ny   	Jun 28, 2005 11:29 am
5705 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Eu sei, eu sei, que vergonha.... Perdao. Re _____ ...	Johnson, Renata Jacqu... globaljourna...  	Jun 28, 2005 11:30 am
5706 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Se vc ainda tem tempo, pq vc tb nao fala da influencia da novela na televisao...	Rosane Weiss rwfrom_ny   	Jun 28, 2005 11:31 am
5707 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Renata: Pra você não passar vergonha sózinha, eu confesso que tambem...	Ruben DeOliveira rujuoliveira   	Jun 28, 2005 11:37 am
5708 Re: tese sobre a Globo Internacional Rosane, Eh isto mesmo. Novela dita moda no Brasil e tambem nas cidades onde...	Johnson, Renata Jacqu... globaljourna...  	Jun 28, 2005 11:48 am

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ⁱ This idea was discussed by Prof. Ibitola Pearce in a meeting with me on March 2006.