DIREITOS HUMANOS E QUALIDADE DE VIDA

NAS COMUNIDADES FALANTES DO PORTUGUÊS NOS EUA E CANADÁ

ATAS DO SIMPÓSIO INTERNACIONAL
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Human Rights
& Quality of Life
in the portuguese speaking communities
in the US and Canada

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in the portuguese speaking communities in the US and Canada

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PREFÁCIO

A presente edição, dedicada à publicação das atas do "Simpósio Internacional sobre Direitos Humanos e Qualidade de Vida nas comunidades falantes do português nos EUA e Canadá", iniciativa realizada pelo Governo dos Açores, em parceria com a Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers (MAPS) e a Lesley University, nos dias 09 e 10 de Novembro de 2011, na cidade de Cambridge, Massachusetts – EUA., visa partilhar e difundir, junto de um público alargado, as reflexões feitas pelos palestrantes, provenientes de Portugal, EUA, Canadá, Cabo Verde, Brasil e Angola.

Esta iniciativa enquadra-se no âmbito de um conjunto de conferências/congressos na área social, promovidos pela Direção Regional das Comunidades, em parceria com várias entidades, sedeadas nas comunidades da diáspora e suas congéneres nos Açores, organizadas numa Rede Internacional de Organizações de Serviço Social. O Simpósio internacional em apreço, que contou com a colaboração de instituições como a Princeton University, o Boston College e a Fundação Luso Americana para o Desenvolvimento, correspondeu à sétima edição das citadas conferências e teve como objetivos:

1) Proporcionar aos seus participantes um espaço de reflexão, no qual os problemas e as questões sociais que afetam as nossas comunidades emigradas são analisados à luz dos Direitos Humanos e Qualidade de Vida, possibilitando a todos quan-

tos exercem a sua atividade, no âmbito social, o conhecimento e a compreensão dos principais instrumentos existentes, bem como das estratégias efetivas para a promoção e defesa das populações que servem.

2) Manter um acompanhamento e atenção permanente às novas dificuldades que enfrentam as comunidades de língua portuguesa face ao contexto sócio-económico global, por via do reforço de redes internacionais compostas por instituições governamentais, ONGs, organizações de serviço social que, devido à proximidade dos cidadãos e ao conhecimento das necessidades específicas, melhores condições reúnem para responder adequadamente aos novos desafios.

3) Promover a dinamização e o alargamento das referidas redes a novas parcerias, com vista a assegurar a máxima participação e colaboração de associações e organizações que prestam apoio social às nossas comunidades, no desenvolvimento de ações e projetos potenciadores da melhoria da qualidade de vida e de uma integração bem sucedida dos cidadãos nas sociedades de acolhimento.

Reunidos, neste volume, estão os **contributos** trazidos pelos oradores convidados, nomeadamente, académicos, investigadores, estudiosos e interventores sociais, com formações científicas e técnicas de diferentes campos do saber, cujas comunicações se debruçaram sobre as temáticas abrangidas pelo programa do simpósio, nomeadamente a **Saúde, Educação, Deportação, Apoio Comunitário e Liderança,** áreas que estão na base de cada um dos 5 capítulos que constituem a estrutura fundamental deste volume.

Os artigos constantes desta obra transmitem, em grande medida, conhecimentos de ordem teórico-prática, fruto dos tra-

balhos de pesquisa e investigação dos seus autores, no âmbito das citadas temáticas, tendo como pano de fundo o *fenómeno das migrações* e a análise, à luz dos direitos humanos, das problemáticas que lhe estão subjacentes.

Contem, igualmente, artigos que expressam uma forte presença no terreno dos profissionais que desenvolvem trabalho de proximidade nas organizações, no apoio direto a públicos desfavorecidos e vulneráveis das comunidades de língua portuguesa, emigradas nos países da América do Norte. Numa abordagem direcionada para uma maior integração dos cidadãos nos países de acolhimento, o trabalho desenvolvido visa garantir a dignidade do ser humano, do seu bem-estar e melhoria da qualidade de vida.

A qualidade, e também a quantidade, dos trabalhos compilados neste livro dá nota do envolvimento e dinamismo existentes nas instituições e organizações ao serviço das comunidades de língua portuguesa, comprometidas com a defesa intransigente dos direitos humanos, maior igualdade e justiça social, nas suas áreas de intervenção.

De destacar a inclusão, neste trabalho, do discurso do Secretário Regional da Presidência, André Bradford, que presidiu à cerimónia de inauguração do simpósio, bem com a distinta preleção do Nobel da Medicina, Craig Mello, orador principal do simpósio. Esta publicação conta, ainda, com uma conclusão que dá conta de alguns projetos que a Direção Regional das Comunidades, do Governo dos Açores, dinamiza, nos EUA, Canadá e nos Açores, junto das populações alvo de intervenção e reflexão no âmbito deste simpósio – comunidades de língua portuguesa.

Em nome da DRC deixamos aqui uma mensagem de profundo reconhecimento e agradecimento às e aos profissionais que deram o seu contributo e tornaram possível a realização do Simpósio e desta obra. Desejamos a todos e todas uma boa leitura, esperando que, com este trabalho, *nos sintamos mais fortalecidos e preparados para enfrentar os desafios e procurar respostas que conduzam à defesa e salvaguarda dos direitos humanos nas comunidades migrantes.*

Ponta Delgada, Maio de 2012

Maria da Graça Borges Castanho
Diretora Regional das Comunidades
Governo dos Açores – Portugal

FOREWORD

This current edition, dedicated to the publication of papers presented at the "International Symposium on Human Rights and Quality of Life in Portuguese-Speaking Communities in the U.S. and Canada", an initiative of the Government of the Azores in partnership with the Massachusetts Alliance for Portuguese Speakers (MAPS) and Lesley University on November 9 and 10, 2011, in Cambridge, Massachusetts (USA), aims at sharing and disseminating, among a wider public, the reflections made by a set of speakers/ participants coming from Portugal, the U.S., Canada, Cape Verde, Brazil and Angola.

This initiative falls under a series of conferences/meetings in the social field conducted by the Regional Department for the Communities in partnership with various entities headquartered in the communities of the diaspora and their counterparts in the Azores, all of which are organized within the International Network of Social Services Organizations. This International Symposium, which received support from institutions such as Princeton University, Boston College and the Luso-American Development Foundation, corresponded to the seventh edition and set the following objectives:

1) To provide participants an opportunity for reflection, in which problems and social issues affecting our immigrant communities are analyzed in the light of Human Rights and

Quality of Life. Thus enabling all who practice their profession in the social services' context, the knowledge and understanding of the main current instruments, as well as, effective strategies for the promotion and protection of the populations they serve.

2) To maintain an ongoing monitoring and attention on the new problems facing the Portuguese-speaking communities in relation to the global socio-economic context, by strengthening international networks composed of governmental institutions, non-profit organizations, and social services organizations, which due to the proximity to the people and the knowledge of specific needs, gather the best conditions to better be able to respond adequately to the new challenges.

3) To promote the revitalization and expansion of such networks to new partnerships, in order to ensure maximum participation and collaboration of the associations and organizations that provide social support to our communities in the development of actions and projects aimed at improving the quality of life and enhancing the successful integration of citizens in the host societies.

Altogether, this volume contains the **contributions** brought on by guest speakers, including faculty, researchers, scholars and social stakeholders with scientific background and techniques from different fields of knowledge, whose lectures have focused on issues covered by the symposium's program, such as **Health, Education, Deportation, Community Support and Leadership.** These areas are the basis of each of the five chapters that constitute the fundamental structure of this volume.

To a great extent, the articles encompassed by this publication communicate knowledge of the theoretical and

practical domains and it results from the research and investigation of its authors within the scope of the above-mentioned areas and its underlying problems in the context of the *migration phenomena* and its analysis in the light of human rights.

It also contains articles that express a strong presence of on-the-field professionals who develop outreach work in organizations in direct support of the disadvantaged groups and the vulnerable Portuguese-speaking emigrant communities in North American countries. In an approach targeted at achieving a greater integration of citizens in host countries, this work seeks to ensure human dignity, well-being and improved quality of life.

The quality and also the quantity of work compiled in this book demonstrates the envelopment and dynamism existent in the institutions and organizations serving the Portuguese-speaking communities with a commitment to the uncompromising defense of human rights, greater equality and social justice in their areas of intervention.

The speech by André Bradford, the Regional Secretary for the Presidency, who chaired the opening ceremony of the symposium, as well as, the distinct lecture from the Nobel of Medicine, Craig Mello, keynote speaker at this symposium, are some of the highlights included in this work. This publication also contains a conclusion, which describes some of the projects developed by the Regional Department for the Communities, Government of the Azores, in the U.S., in Canada and in the Azores within the target population of the intervention and

reflection in the context of this Symposium - the Portuguese-speaking communities.

On behalf of the Regional Department for the Communities we further leave a message of deep gratitude and appreciation to the professionals who have contributed and made possible the materialization of the Symposium and this publication. We wish you all a good read, hoping that through this work, *we feel more empowered and prepared to face the challenges and seek answers that lead to the defense and safeguarding of human rights in migrant communities.*

Ponta Delgada, May, 2012

Maria da Graça Borges Castanho
Regional Director for the Communities
Government of the Azores – Portugal

COMUNIDADES AÇORIANAS NOS EUA E CANADÁ: AÇÃO DO GOVERNO REGIONAL EM PROL DA SUA INTEGRAÇÃO E DAS NECESSIDADES DAS DIFERENTES GERAÇÕES *

André Bradford

Secretário Regional da Presidência

Governo dos Açores – Portugal

Começo naturalmente por, em nome do Governo dos Açores, saudar calorosamente todos os presentes por se associarem a esta iniciativa, disponibilizando o seu tempo, os seus conhecimentos ou a sua experiência, para a análise e reflexão sobre uma dimensão que normalmente é pouco contemplada quando se debatem as questões da diáspora açoriana e que tem particular significado nos tempos difíceis que vivemos.

Allow me to salute in a special way Professor Craig Mello, whose presence here we truly value and who has become, in this short period since his first visit to the Azores in 2009, an Azorean at heart and a true friend of the Region. Thank you very much, Craig, for being here with us today.

Não poucas vezes a relação dos poderes públicos com a diáspora tende, sobretudo na sua dimensão mediática, a sobrevalorizar os sucessos e a minorar os problemas porque passam as comunidades emigrantes nos países de acolhimento. É verdade que tal acontece, no caso particular dos Açores sobretudo, porque em larga medida as nossas comunidades no exterior representam casos de sucesso

quanto à sua integração, ao seu desenvolvimento pessoal e económico e à sua inclusão social. Mas também não é menos verdade que subsistem áreas onde os padrões de integração não são os desejados, originando situações de injustiça, de segregação e de difícil adaptação sócio-económica.

Por outro lado, é preciso também atender hoje às demandas naturalmente distintas das diferentes gerações de açor-descendentes no exterior e ter sempre em consideração que não há receitas absolutas ou genericamente aplicáveis a todos os casos e a todos os destinos de acolhimento dos açorianos emigrados.

Se por um lado temos a primeira geração de imigrantes numa faixa etária que exige atenção ao nível da prestação de cuidados de saúde e que, por força da sua não total integração linguística, requer um acompanhamento mais próximo pelos restantes membros da comunidade, por outro, temos as gerações mais jovens cuja memória sentimental e afetiva em relação aos Açores vive sobretudo de uma realidade construída pelos avós ou pelos pais e que necessita necessariamente de ser resgatada e consubstanciada numa aproximação efetiva à realidade dos Açores de hoje, com tudo o que isso implica enquanto desafio em termos de políticas públicas.

Temos também problemas decorrentes das práticas dos próprios países de acolhimento, com natural destaque, no caso dos Estados Unidos, para a deportação e para os impactos negativos que a mesma causa, por um lado, na desagregação familiar e comunitária aqui e, por outro, na integração e inclusão social dos deportados no seu regresso forçado aos Açores.

Estas são, em traços muitos genéricos, as principais temáticas que este simpósio que agora se inaugura pretende analisar numa perspetiva desassombrada e verdadeiramente transversal, provando o empenho do Governo dos Açores em acompanhar todas as dimensões da vivência das nossas comunidades no exterior – nos sucessos e nas dificuldades - e no, caso em particular, nos Estados Unidos e Canadá.

O que nos propusemos fazer nesta iniciativa, e esperamos conseguir nos próximos dois dias com o vosso contributo, é um reforço do debate sobre que ações e medidas concretas podem e devem ser promovidas, questionando as nossas autocaracterizações enquanto comunidade emigrante e promovendo as melhores práticas para assistir aqueles que necessitem da ação do Governo dos Açores ou das inúmeras organizações que connosco colaboram no âmbito da Rede Internacional das Organizações de Serviço Social, instrumento fundamental para tornarmos mais ampla e eficaz a resposta pública aos reais e variados anseios dos açorianos no exterior.

Estou certo de que as pessoas aqui reunidas - muitas delas representando associações já integradas na Rede e outras que irão firmar amanhã o seu protocolo de adesão com a Direção Regional das Comunidades - saberão fazer desta ocasião uma oportunidade para o fortalecimento da dinâmica do trabalho em rede, potenciadora da inovação e da qualidade no âmbito das respostas sociais às nossas comunidades no exterior.

O contexto atual de dificuldades económicas e financeiras, experienciado na Europa, mas também aqui nos Estados Unidos, com importantes reflexos ao nível do emprego, do sistema de

proteção social e da qualidade de vida em geral, introduz novas pressões sobre as comunidades migrantes.

Todos nós conhecemos, e alguns de nós já terão mesmo vivido, períodos em que, a existência de um ciclo económico recessivo como o atual, fez surgir sentimentos discriminatórios e em alguns casos repressivos dirigidos aos setores mais frágeis e desprotegidos, incluindo as comunidades de imigrantes.

Há não muito tempo, por exemplo, o Canadá, país que poucos se atreverão a caracterizar como anti-imigração, iniciou um processo de repatriamento acelerado de imigrantes portugueses, alguns com cerca de vinte anos de residência no país, mas que não haviam cumprido todas as formalidades para a respetiva legalização.

Este exemplo e outros debatidos recentemente nos Açores, por ocasião da Conferência METROPOLIS, a maior reunião internacional de especialistas em questões relativas às migrações, reforçam a necessidade de acompanhamento da realidade das comunidades no exterior, mas também de uma acrescida responsabilidade social quer por parte dos poderes públicos, quer por parte dos órgãos de comunicação social de massas que têm um papel fulcral na perceção social, positiva e negativa, dos fenómenos migratórios.

A mobilidade entre países e regiões, aparentemente fácil, criando a ideia ilusória, da não existência de barreiras entre os países e os povos, está ao contrário envolta numa teia de leis e regulamentações que imperam sobre a vontade individual dos cidadãos, em nome umas vezes da segurança coletiva e outras vezes, infelizmente, por força de um securitarismo excessivo

que os tempos foram tornando quase natural e, por isso, mais incómodo de contestar.

Neste sentido é fundamental que os cidadãos possam aceder a informação fiável e esclarecida, para que possam prevenir a ocorrência de situações de residência ilegal e o abandono forçado dos países de acolhimento, provocado pela infração às leis que regulam as entradas e saídas, e as condições de permanência. Por isso, o Governo dos Açores, através da Direção Regional das Comunidades, avançou com o Programa LEGAL - *Legalization Effort of the Government of the Azores and Logistics*, de auxílio e fomento dos processos de legalização ou naturalização, que muitas vezes dependem apenas de um pequeno impulso adicional ou de uma ajuda burocrática para se concretizarem, mas que são essenciais para evitarmos novas situações injustas de abandono compulsivo dos países de acolhimento.

O Governo dos Açores tem, por isso, insistido não poucas vezes na necessidade da nossa comunidade no exterior percorrer todo o caminho que leve à legalização da residência porque só assim serão cidadãos de pleno direito no país de acolhimento, sem nunca deixarem de ser açorianos de raiz e de pleno direito.

As nossas comunidades no exterior, tal como, mais recentemente, os imigrantes que acolhemos na Região e que se tornaram parte, por vontade própria, da construção da nossa sociedade, constituem um capital imprescindível na definição e afirmação dos Açores que fomos, que somos e que queremos ser, e a defesa desse capital passa necessariamente por uma integração, legal e de facto, o mais conseguida possível, sem perda de identidade, mas com ganho de direitos.

Da parte do Governo dos Açores, as comunidades açorianas espalhadas pelos quatro cantos do mundo sabem que estão na nossa agenda diária, na nossa ação quotidiana porque as consideramos, e com muito orgulho, parte inalienável da açorianidade.

* Discurso proferido na cerimónia de abertura do simpósio

Portuguese communities in the U.S. and Canada: Intervention by the Regional Government of the Azores on behalf of their integration and the needs of the different generations *

André Bradford

Regional Secretary for the Presidency

Government of the Azores – Portugal

On behalf of the Government of the Azores, I begin of course, by giving a warm welcome to all who are here to join this initiative and are making available their time, knowledge or experience to the analysis and reflection of a dimension that usually receives little attention when debating the issues of the Azorean Diaspora and which has particular significance in the difficult times we live in.

Allow me to salute in a special way Professor Craig Mello, whose presence here we truly value and who has become, in this short period since his first visit to the Azores in 2009, an Azorean at heart and a true friend of the Region. Thank you very much Craig, for being here with us today.

Too often the relationship of the government with the diaspora tends to be based, especially in its media, on overrating the successes and mitigating the problems, which the emigrant communities go through in their host countries. It is true that this happens in the particular case of the Azores largely because our communities abroad represent success stories about integration, personal and economic development

and social inclusion. But it is no less true that there are areas where the integration standards are not the desired ones, thus leading to situations of injustice, segregation and difficulties in socio-economic adjustment.

On the other hand, we must now also meet the unique demands of the different generations of Azorean-descendants abroad and always take into consideration that there is no absolute or generally applicable solutions to all cases and to all the host destinations of Azorean emigrants.

On one side, we have the first generation of immigrants in an age group which requires attention at the level of health care and that, by virtue of its non-total linguistic integration, requires closer monitoring by the other members of the community. On the other, we have the younger generations whose sentimental and emotional memory of the Azores lives mainly in a reality constructed by their grandparents or parents and which necessarily needs to be rescued and embodied in a real approach to the Azorean reality of today -with all that this implies as a challenge in terms of public policy.

We also have problems arising from the practices of the host countries themselves, with natural importance given, in the case of the United States, to deportation and the negative impact that it causes, not only in the breakdown of the family and community here, but also in the integration and social inclusion of the deportees in their forced return to the Azores.

These are, in much generic outlines, the main themes that this symposium, which is about to begin, aims to analyze in a

fearless and truly cross-sectional perspective, thus demonstrating the commitment by the Government of the Azores in monitoring all aspects of the life experiences of our communities abroad - the successes and the difficulties - particularly in the United States and Canada.

What we set out to do in this initiative and what we hope to achieve in the next two days with your contribution is to strengthen the debate on the concrete actions and measures which may and should be promoted. Hence, questioning our self-characterization as an emigrant community and promoting best practices to assist those who require the action of the Government of the Azores or of the many organizations that collaborate with us in the International Network of Social Services Organizations - an essential tool to make more widespread and effective the public response to the real and diverse concerns of Azoreans abroad.

I am sure that the people gathered here - many of them representing associations already integrated in the Network, and others that tomorrow will sign the protocol of accession with the Regional Department for the Communities - will know how to make this occasion an opportunity to strengthen the dynamics of networking, which promotes innovation and quality within the social responses directed at our communities abroad.

The current context of economic and financial difficulties experienced in Europe, but also here in the United States, with important effects on employment, on the social protection system and on the quality of life in general, introduces new pressures on migrant communities.

We all have knowledge, and some of us have even experienced, periods in which the existence of an economic recession cycle like the current one, has given rise to discriminatory and in some cases repressive feelings directed to the most fragile and vulnerable sectors, including immigrant communities.

Not long ago, for example, Canada, a country that few dare to characterize as anti-immigrant, started a process of accelerated repatriation of Portuguese immigrants, some of them with over twenty years of residency in the country, but who had not fulfilled all the formalities for their legalization.

This example and others discussed recently in the Azores, at the METROPOLIS Conference, the largest international gathering of experts on migration issues, reinforce the need to monitor the reality of the communities abroad, but also the need for greater social responsibility by public authorities, and by the mass media, which play a key role in the positive or negative social perception of the migration phenomena.

The apparently easy mobility between countries and regions, which creates the illusory idea of the lack of barriers between countries and peoples, are instead wrapped in a web of laws and regulations that prevail over the will of individual citizens - sometimes in the name of collective security, and sometimes, unfortunately, by virtue of an excessive ideal of security that the times have turned to become almost natural, and therefore more cumbersome to contest.

In this sense, it is essential that citizens can access reliable and clarifying information so that they can prevent the occurrence of situations of illegal residency and forced abandonment of the host

countries as a result of the violation of the laws that regulate the entries and departures, and the conditions of the stay. Therefore, the Government of the Azores, through the Regional Department for the Communities, went forward with the LEGAL Program - *Legalization Effort of the Government of the Azores and Logistics*, to help and encourage legalization or naturalization processes, which often depend only on one small extra boost or bureaucratic help to become materialized, but which are essential to prevent further unjust situations of compulsive departure from the host countries.

Therefore, the Government of the Azores has insisted many times on the need of our communities abroad to go all the way in the pathway leading to the legalization of residence, because only then will they become rightful citizens in the host country, without ever ceasing to be Azoreans of their own right and origin.

Our communities abroad, such as more recently, the immigrants we welcomed in the Region, and who became of their own volition part of the construction of our society, form an essential capital in the definition and affirmation of the Azores that we were, that we are and that we want to be. Defending this capital necessarily involves an integration, legal and actual, to be achieved without loss of identity, but rather with gaining of rights.

On what concerns the Government of the Azores, the Azorean communities scattered through the four corners of the world must know that they are in our daily agenda, in our daily actions, because we proudly consider them to be an inalienable part of Azoreanity.

*Speech made at the opening ceremony of the symposium

HUMAN RIGHTS AND QUALITY OF LIFE IN THE PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN THE U.S. AND CANADA: FROM A PERSONAL TO A PROFESSIONAL PERSPECTIVE *

Craig Mello.

University of Massachusetts

Worcester – USA

First of all I would like to thank the Government of Azores for the invitation. It is an honor to be here today. However, I'm sure that some of you are thinking why a biologist is giving a talk here at a symposium on "Human Rights and Quality of Life in the Portuguese-speaking Communities in the United States and Canada". The U.S. is a country made of immigrants and in my origins THERE is an Azorean community who came to the U.S. precisely in search of better life conditions. Hence, the program of this international symposium, which includes discussions on the issues of health, deportation, education, community advocacy and leadership in the Portuguese-speaking communities, has much significance to my family and me.

In fact, the reason I'm here today begins with a courageous decision made by my Azorean grandparents to leave their family and friends behind in the beautiful little town of Maia in the island of São Miguel around 108 years ago. But why did they leave? Maybe it was partly a wish to see new horizons; perhaps it was a desire to provide better economic and educational opportunities for their young children.

Although I did not have the chance to get to know my great grandparents, their influence came down to me through my grandfather Frank Mello. Frank Mello was my hero. His infectious love of life filled all who knew him with joy. His happiness was magnetic. His example and that of my other grandparents (none of whom were given the opportunity to complete high school) helped me in ways I did not appreciate until much later. Full of curiosity, with a passion for his garden, for simple pleasures like card games and stories from his past, good jokes, math tricks and a voracious appetite for "reader's digest" and the Boston Red Sox. My grandfather, Frank Mello was full of life.

Frank Mello was born in 1911 a few years after his family came to the USA. When he was 14 years old he had to quit school and take a fulltime job. He worked a variety of factory jobs through the great depression. And until he was 24 years old every paycheck, including the one from the Friday before his wedding, went to his father to help support the family.

Frank Mello loved athletics and in his free time, he played baseball and football, even making semipro status in football. For a career he eventually settled on driving a grain delivery truck. He filled his truck twice each day with 10,000 kilos of grain, and delivered often by himself unloading the 100-kilo bags carrying them and stacking them in barns - 10,000 kilos before lunch and 10,000 kilos after lunch. He was also a volunteer fireman and in later years a member of the town council. When I was a kid I wanted to be a fireman like him.

When I got older and saw men walk on the moon and my grandfather gave me money to help buy parts for a telescope

that I built to watch the stars and planets. When I went to graduate school in biomedical science, he listened with interest as I described my research.

My grandmother told me the story that when my dad, their first child was born, she remembers my grandfather holding my dad and saying with conviction "someday you're going to college". My father attended Brown University where he met my mother, and then went on to obtain his PH.D in Paleontology from Yale.

There was never any doubt that I would get the chance to go to college. But I was so fortunate to have the examples of my parents who were both first in their families to attend college, and my grandparents none of whom completed high school.

The perspective they gave me was invaluable. I knew what a great opportunity I was getting. And yet I also knew that in the end a person can live a full and meaningful life in any profession, a life full of passion both for your own dreams and for those of your children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

In a way it is simple, Frank Mello taught me that the secret of life is living with passion and humility. It is not about success or failure or how much money you make. It is about having a good attitude, a strong moral compass and a desire to make the world a better place. He taught me that even if my dream job failed to materialize I'd still have my curiosity and love of life. I knew from his example that I could still live a full and meaningful life no matter what I did for a living. And this a basic factor upon quality of life and in understanding the importance of complying with human rights in our communities and in the world we live in.

Fortunately, science has worked out for me as a career. Science is a journey into the unknown, into the universe of ideas, it is all about imagining possible worlds, and then checking, – through experimentation, to see which of those imagined worlds is most similar to the one in which we live in.

The scientific process is good for maintaining ones humility. Because no matter how much you may love one particular idea or model the chances are that it is either completely wrong or simply is not adequate to explain the world. Indeed you learn in science that being wrong is not a problem. As scientists, we are mistaken almost all the time and as long as we learn something in the process we are happy.

In my lab we have one of those calendars filled with images and sayings modeled on "inspirational" quotes but with a twist. One month had a picture of a rusted hulk of a shipwreck resting on a shoal with just its stern showing above a beautiful sunset sea. And the heading across top read "Mistakes: it may be that your only purpose in life is to serve as a warning to others".

If you can laugh at your own shortcomings and failures then you understand what I'm trying to say. It is not success itself, but the act of trying to succeed that matters. It is not the destination it is the journey. For all people, a sense that this journey we are on has meaning is central to a purposeful fulfilling and happy life. For my great grandparents and for my grandfather Frank Mello, a big part of that purpose was knowing that their children and grandchildren would have opportunities they never had.

I believe that finding purpose in life depends on understanding our journey, on knowing where we came from. By understanding our past so that we can see all the possible futures more clearly. So that we can strive more intelligently to make the world a better place.

As you heard in the introduction, Andrew Fire and I shared the 2006 Award for the Nobel in Medicine for discovering something called RNAi. Perhaps the best thing about winning that prize is getting the opportunity to tell non-scientists about my work. For example, to be able to tell my neighbor that he is related to the grass he's mowing, that plants have RNAi too, and to have him/her actually listen to me. RNA interference is a natural mechanism for turning off genes, it exists in every one of your cells and none of us would be here without it.

Perhaps the best way to explain it, is to point out that cells entered the information age over 3 billion years ago. Imagine having the Internet with all that information out there and no way to search it. RNAi is the cells' solution to that information problem. RNAi is the search engine of the cell. Just as you have all learned to type a few key words into a search engine when you want to find a web page or reference, our cells can load short snippets of information in the form of RNA onto cellular machines that use the information to search for similar sequences in the cell. RNAi is now making it possible for researchers and clinicians to use the cells own search engine to find and silence gene products called mRNAs inside the cell.

Researchers are making progress towards harnessing RNAi to turn down genes whose miss-expression contributes

to diseases, like cancer, HIV, arthritis and many others. We discovered it while studying a microscopic worm called Caenorhabditis elegans. There are billions of these worms in a few yards of topsoil. Although they have only about one thousand cells those cells are very similar to ours.

For example they have just over 300 neurons and they can learn and remember simple associations for just over 24 hours. The inner machinery in worm cells is very much like ours. They have muscle cells, intestinal cells and skin cells like ours. And like our own cells each cell utilizes RNA interference to regulate gene expression.

But why are worms so similar to us? One may ask. The answer is clear: they are similar because humans and worms shared a common ancestor.

For some reason the Theory of Evolution is controversial in the US. However, that doesn't make it any less a fact, no less than for example the fact that the earth is round and orbits the sun.

There's beauty in the relatedness of all life, and of our planet as the shaper of life's myriad forms including our own. To quote from Michael Dowd's book "Thank God For Evolution". Over eons, step-by-step, this natural sorting process (evolution) has sculpted diversity and complexity in the stream of life.

It is true: our ancestors once lived in the sea and had the personality and intelligence of a worm; our even more distant ancestors spent their entire lives within the confines of a single

cell. But it is not true that out of the single cell or the worm came the human.

The genetic code of ancestral worm or single cell was just the canvas. The painter was the sum total of all the forces at work on Earth (and some beyond), operating over timescales we cannot fathom".

Darwin wrote in the closing lines of his famous book *On the origin of Species*: "There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed into a few forms or into one; and that, whilst this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved".

Science tells us that our collective journey began with a "big bang" 13.7 billion years ago. The big bang theory states that the energy from that explosion created clouds of super hot matter that condensed to form hydrogen atoms, which in turn condensed into galaxies.

Stars formed and over billions of years nuclear reactions in those stars fused hydrogen into heavier elements including Carbon, Nitrogen, and Oxygen. In fact all your atoms were formed in those early stars long ago. The interesting thing is that, every single atom inside your body was once inside a star that blew up. To paraphrase Sir Harry Kroto, who I once heard describe these events: "that explosion smeared your carbon atoms all over out into space, they floated around in space and ended up here in this room today. And you're lucky to be here

because most of the carbon atoms are still out in space. A lot of the people who could be here are still out there.

The earth and our Sun formed from the remnants of past stellar explosions, and some 3.8 billion years ago life arose on Earth. The best guess is that the original living things were self-replicating molecules similar in structure to RNA. DNA came later and somewhere around 2 billion years ago the RNA interference mechanism arose in the common ancestor of plants, fungi and animals. Thus, we are formed from stardust, but we are also part worm. This is our story.

To me it is profound to contemplate that the systems inside our cells, like RNAi, can go on and on for billions of years, life on earth has already survived for 1/4th of the entire age of the universe. If we can learn to build sustainable, and resilient societies and technologies our future is truly staggering and boundless.

Humans must go out there and start writing the next chapter in the story of life. Humans must reinvent our throw away society and replace it with a sustainable civilization that provides a high quality of life to all people, and allows us to live in peace with all of our fellow creatures.

This is the challenge facing humanity; it is a challenge that requires scientists, economists, engineers, political leaders, artists, and farmers. It is a challenge that should be tackled by every government, by every university, and by all our institutions.

In our life times we will likely face a population on this planet of close to 10 billion people. How can we ensure that all these

people will have a high quality of life, if we cannot even ensure fresh water and food for those already living today?

Today, the problems that seemed to loom on the distant horizon when I was a child, seem closer, and yet their solution still defy us. We still seem paralyzed and unable to agree with each other on a course of action. The bickering and inaction among our political leaders is unforgiveable considering all that is at stake.

The challenges ahead are real. However, on the bright side, our capacity to understand those challenges and to craft solutions, has also increased tremendously. Humans must come together, not only as Azoreans, or as Portuguese, but also from all nations, religions and political persuasions. Humans should remember that life is a journey we share with each other and with every creature on this planet.

Let us recognize that only by coming together in shared purpose can we rise to meet the challenges that face humanity in the coming decades. Only by finding common purpose can we make this world a better place.

As former Secretary of State Madeline Albright put it in a commencement address at Brown University: "at this celebration of learning and shared resolve, I hope we will each embrace the faith that every challenge surmounted by our efforts; every problem solved by our wisdom; every soul awakened by our passion; and every barrier to justice brought down by our determination will ennoble our own lives, inspire others, and explode outward the boundaries of what is achievable on this earth".

While we keep these lofty goals in mind, we must also remember what Frank Mello showed us by his example. While we can strive to make the world a better place for our children, our happiness is not determined solely by achieving that goal, but by doing our best, and making the best of the life we have to live. We must all take the time to recognize and celebrate the beautiful things in life. People often speak of the "pursuit of happiness" as if it is a chase. In fact happiness is all around you every day if you take the time to notice it.

There is a beautiful poem I once read, in which the poet compared happiness to a beautiful crystal ball that had been smashed to pieces and scattered around the world. She wrote of how some people who came across one of those beautiful pieces would tirelessly spend their days, not admiring the beauty of the piece of crystal they had found, but desperately trying to find all of the rest of the pieces. Take the time to admire the beautiful things in your life. Nobody will ever find all of the pieces of that beautiful crystal ball, but everyone will find some of them.

In the line of beautiful and amazing things in our lives I'm going to tell to you about my youngest daughter Victoria. At the Nobel headquarters, I told her to save all the Nobel coins she could find. The chocolate coins were laid out everywhere and I told her they were the most valuable coins in all the ceremony. And I really believed in it too. Because she is diabetic from young age, chocolate was truly the best gift in the world to her. It was because of this daughter that I felt powerless when I found out she had this condition. And that is also why I have fought hard to find a cure or at least something to improve her life and the lives of all the children who share this problem. Thanks to

science, Victoria carries around a device which allows her to obtain the right insulin dosage whenever she needs it without having to be tested and take injections several times a day. We must remember that only a few years ago, children born with the same condition as my daughter, would die without us being able to do anything about it. There was no medication or anything to help with this debilitating health problem. Although, there is still no cure, nowadays, diabetics can lead a full life with very few restrictions in the pursuit of their education goals, in creating their own family, or achieving quality of life or happiness.

By solely using examples from my own life, I have addressed all the issues outlined for this symposium including: human rights, such as right to health care and education, full citizenship rights and community advocacy and leadership. Ensuring that all these goals are accomplished, results in quality of life not only for our communities, but also for the world population.

When we think about the countries with Portuguese-speaking communities such as the U.S. and Canada, and the countries of origin of the members of these communities (Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau and East Timor), it is vital to remember that all these principles and lessons are of great importance for the development of those countries and for the attainment of quality of life. Therefore, we all have to take on this responsibility and act by ensuring and promoting the right for education among the younger generations, by proving the right for quality health care to all, and by creating a local and global movement of community advocacy and leadership.

In regards to the developing countries which have demonstrated some problems at the level of human rights and quality of life, the Portuguese-speaking communities in the U.S. and Canada have a moral obligation to make use of their knowledge and capacity for action in order to create more just societies where the value of human life and the right for happiness are respected and promoted. This is the pathway for Portuguese-speaking communities everywhere to live in peace and within an environment of social justice and harmony with the rest of the world.

I conclude by wishing you all a productive symposium in which the results are in real-life and action-oriented strategies for the Portuguese-speaking communities in the U.S. and Canada. I also remind you that it is essential to lead happy lives and to ensure that others around us are also happy.

*Speech by Craig Mello, 2006 Nobel Laureate in Medicine

CAPÍTULO I

SAÚDE

FAMÍLIA E VIOLÊNCIA CONJUGAL NOS AÇORES

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Universidade dos Açores – Portugal

Pretendemos apresentar algumas das conclusões relativas a um estudo realizado no âmbito do Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade dos Açores (CES-UA) sobre a violência doméstica nos Açores (Rocha e outros, 2010), mais especificamente sobre a violência conjugal denunciada à Polícia de Segurança Pública, relevando algumas das caraterísticas sociodemográficas das vítimas, na sua quase totalidade mulheres. Tendo em vista uma mais cabal compreensão do fenómeno, designadamente numa ótica de desigualdades de género (Dias, 2002; 2003; Casimiro, 2008; Lalanda, 2003; Torres, 2001, 2002), explicitada numa das suas formas extremadas, contrária ao respeito dos direitos humanos, iremos enquadrá-lo nas mudanças familiares que se têm vindo a registar na Região nos últimos anos (Rocha, 2003; 1991).

Uma das caraterísticas da mudança social em Portugal é o tempo curto em que se realizou, uma vez que alguns dos indicadores que a tipificam se podem igualar hoje aos dos países mais desenvolvidos, em especial quando nos situamos no contexto dos estudos sobre a família. Com efeito, as alterações que se fizeram sentir em grande parte do mundo ocidental, em especial na Europa, nos Estados Unidos da América e Canadá,

após o término da 2ª guerra mundial, e de forma mais intensa a partir dos anos sessenta do século passado, foram sendo assumidas em Portugal só após a revolução de Abril de 1974. Como consequência, após a revisão da Concordata com a Igreja Católica em 1975, surge a lei do divórcio, e mais tarde a consideração legal de equidade entre o casamento e as uniões de facto, após uma evolução que tornou menos significativa a preponderância do casamento católico (Lalanda, 2002). Neste contexto, os indicadores demográficos, dando bem conta da conjugação das alterações nos valores e nas práticas, evoluem de modo distinto, apresentando uma diminuição nas variáveis nupcialidade, mas também na natalidade e na mortalidade, em especial na mortalidade infantil, e um aumento na divorcialidade, explicitando, assim, um outro sentido e valor às relações de conjugalidade, à procriação e até ao valor da criança.

Nos Açores, a mudança faz-se ainda mais tardiamente, inicialmente com uma diferença temporal de cerca de 10 anos, que vai paulatinamente encurtando, apresentando atualmente uma situação relativamente semelhante à observada na generalidade do país. O tempo ainda mais curto em que se processaram as mudanças sociais no arquipélago açoriano torna ainda mais visível o contraste entre as diversas gerações e a diferente vivência e interiorização do papel do homem e da mulher na sociedade e na família (Rocha e outros, 1999). Este facto parece-nos fundamental para a compreensão da vivência da conjugalidade, das práticas e valores que lhe estão subjacentes e que se refletem na conflitualidade que emerge no seio da família, designadamente no casal, da qual a violência, em especial a violência física, parece surgir num misto de padrões tradicionais e de modernidade tardia.

Se considerarmos os padrões tradicionais que conferiam ao marido, a condição de chefe de família e senhor do destino da mulher que vigoraram em Portugal até aos anos 70; se o modelo económico, atribuiu aos homens o estatuto de provedor dos recursos, relegando a mulher para um percurso secundarizado, quer como ativa ou doméstica, esta última entendida como "não trabalho", não será difícil enquadrar como "naturalizada" a prática da violência, como um direito do ser adulto, aliás também exercido, por esse motivo, sobre as crianças. O poder do homem é, assim, muitas vezes confundido com o do "ser adulto" (Amâncio, 1994), contrastando com a falta deste, por parte das mulheres, consideradas frágeis e desprotegidas.

Não obstante as alterações posteriores ao estudo acima citado, que configuram a igualdade de direitos e oportunidades de género, e a adoção de novas práticas tanto quadro no doméstico, como no laboral, existem por vezes barreiras nem sempre fáceis de ultrapassar no quotidiano profissional ou familiar das mulheres portuguesas em geral e açorianas em particular. Ou seja, as importantes alterações legais que configuram a igualdade, designadamente a de género, não encontram sempre correspondência na realidade, mesmo quando a violência passou a ser crime público e, como tal, mais facilmente denunciado.

Uma das alterações resultante do fenómenos demográficos anteriormente indicados, é a diminuição da dimensão média da família que nos Açores, cujo declínio se acentua nas últimas duas décadas, registando uma diferença de menos de uma pessoa entre 1981 e 2011 e de cerca de duas se compararmos com a situação apresentada no ano de 1940.

Atendendo ainda à dimensão, não em termos médios, mas sim considerando a importância relativa das famílias consoante o número de pessoas, as diferenças são assinaláveis, desde logo com o maior valor percentual nas que tinham 7 e mais indivíduos no ano de 1940, que na década de sessenta já iguala as que têm 3 e 4 pessoas. A partir de 1981 a percentagem mais elevada respeita às que têm unicamente duas, diminuindo significativamente as de maior dimensão. Sublinha-se a este respeito que os quantitativos das que têm uma única pessoa em 1940 não difere muito das que têm 7 e mais em 2001. Nesta última data, a maior concentração respeita às famílias com 2, 3 e 4 pessoas, a grande distância das restantes. Os dados mais recentes, relativos ao censo de 2011, que são ainda provisórios, acentuam a evolução anterior, sendo de sublinhar a significativa diminuição das famílias numerosas, consideradas na informação estatística disponível para a última data, 2011, no conjunto das que têm 5 em mais pessoas. Comparando com as duas datas

anteriores, verifica-se que o ritmo de declínio se mantém, pois se em 1991 as famílias com esta dimensão correspondiam a quase 30% do total, já em 2001 o valor tinha passado para 21,2%, registando em 2011 o valor de 13,8%, ou seja, uma diferença de oito pontos percentuais ao longo da última década do século passado e mais de sete pontos percentuais na primeira década deste século.

**Quadro 1 - Nº de pessoas na família nos Açores,
1940, 1960, 1981, 1991, 2001, 2011**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7+
1940	5,8	14,1	17,7	17	14,7	11,4	19,2
1960	4,9	15	17,9	18,2	14,9	11,1	18,1
1981	10,9	20,9	18,5	17,2	12,3	8,3	12
1991	11	21,2	18,9	19,6	12,9	7,6	8,8
2001	13,8	22,3	21,7	21,1	11,2	5,3	4,7
2011	17,2	25,5	23,5	19,9	13,8*		

Fonte: INE, Recenseamentos da População; Dados provisórios do censo de 2011

Mas as alterações nestes últimos anos são também muito significativas se considerarmos os agregados familiares unipessoais, que passam de 13,8% em 2001 para 17,2% em 2011, uma diferença bem mais significativa do que a observada no decénio anterior, configurando a importância quantitativa que tem vindo a adquirir o conjunto das pessoas que vivem sós. Esta é uma realidade que adquire relevância nos Açores e que não pode, também ela, deixar de ser perspetivada na modernidade social em análise, quer se considere a sua relação com o envelhecimento demográfico, quer com as ruturas na conjugalidade ou com a independência económica das mulheres e dos jovens, aspetos que ultrapassam, no entanto, os objetivos específicos deste artigo.

Considerando as três variáveis que mais interferem na dimensão da família, isto é, na sua constituição, rutura e aumento do número de pessoas: nupcialidade, divorcialidade e fecundidade, constata-se uma diminuição no primeiro deste fenómenos, cujos valores passam de cerca de 8 ‰ para 4,9 ‰ nos anos que medeiam 1991 e 2010, embora o seu ritmo seja menor do que o verificado no divórcio que é bem mais expressivo, que triplica neste mesmo período, conforme se pode observar no gráfico 2. Assim, a diminuição da importância da formalização do casamento, ainda que distinta da vivência da conjugalidade, vai-se impondo, sendo acompanhada pelo aumento da sua rutura, o que configura, também nos Açores, um outro entendimento das relações entre o homem e a mulher, tanto no interior do espaço doméstico, como na sua inserção e afirmação no espaço público.

Gráfico 2 - Evolução da taxa bruta de nupcialidade nos Açores, 1991-2010 (‰)
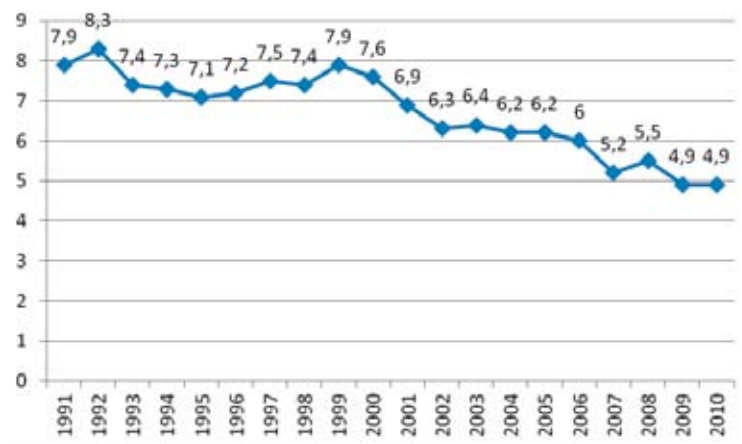
Fonte: INE, Estatísticas Demográficas 1991 a 2010

Gráfico 3 - Evolução da taxa bruta de divorcialidade nos Açores, 1991-2010 (‰)

Fonte: INE, Estatísticas Demográficas 1991 a 2010

A principal responsabilidade no decréscimo da dimensão familiar cabe, contudo, ao declínio da natalidade, que se inicia de forma mais evidente ainda nos anos oitenta (Rocha, 2008; Rocha & Ferreira, 2008; Rocha e outros, 2008; Rocha e outros, 2005), estando o número de filhos por mulher em 1991 muito próximo do limite da renovação das gerações (2,1 filhos por mulher) o que já não acontece nos anos seguintes, assistindo-se a um declínio progressivo que em 2010 se fica por 1,4 filhos por mulher (gráfico 3).

Gráfico 4 - Índice sintético de fecundidade nos Açores, 1991-2010
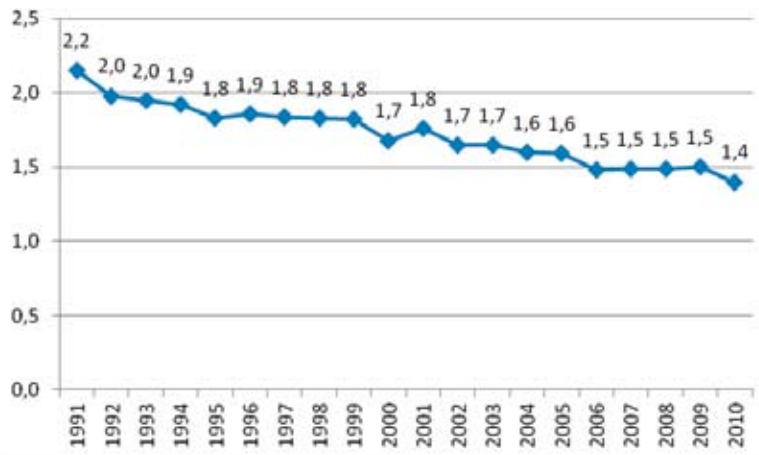
Será, pois, neste contexto de mudança e de afirmação de uma modernidade tardia, de coexistência de gerações que vivenciaram experiências muito distintas na sua formação e enquadramento familiar, como de vida profissional e social, que iremos, ainda que brevemente, apresentar alguma das caraterísticas das vítimas de violência conjugal nos Açores, na sua grande maioria mulheres, como anteriormente referimos.

Atendendo ao estado civil verifica-se que a maioria é casada, 70%, não sendo de negligenciar o conjunto dos divorciados e solteiros, já que estes atingem um valor da ordem dos 12,5% cada um. Ou seja, verifica-se que quase 1/4 das vítimas não estão inseridas num quadro formal da família tradicional, independentemente de sabermos se vivem ou não em conjugalidade, ou mesmo se a violência foi exercida por um companheiro de uma relação presente ou passada.

Não estando ainda disponíveis os dados definitivos do Censo de 2011, designadamente no seu cruzamento do estado civil por grupos de idade, não nos é possível fazer uma comparação cabal desta caraterística entre a vítima e a totalidade da população. Todavia, tendo em conta os dados provisórios e a população com 15 e mais anos - uma aproximação relativamente grosseira, principalmente se considerarmos os solteiros - constata-se que os divorciados registam quantitativos bastante inferiores, da ordem dos 6%, ou seja, um valor percentual de sensivelmente metade dos observados nas vítimas, sendo também bastante inferior o valor percentual dos casados, da ordem 56%, quantitativos que não podem ser dissociados do peso relativo das restantes categorias, designadamente dos viúvos, que na população total são em número mais elevado do que na população em estudo. Ainda assim, a comparação indicia uma violência que pode exercer-se mais significativamente na população divorciada em estudo, que é fundamentalmente de mulheres, como já referimos.

Gráfico 5 - Vítima por estado civil (%)
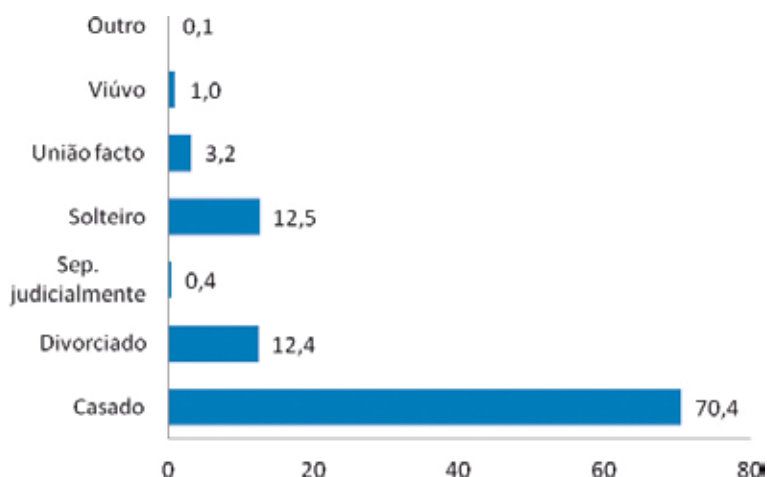
Gráfico 6 - Vítima por número de filhos (%)

Número de filhos	%
Não tem filhos	23,5
1 filho	27,8
2 filhos	30,9
3 filhos	11,5
4 filhos	4,3
5 filhos	2,1
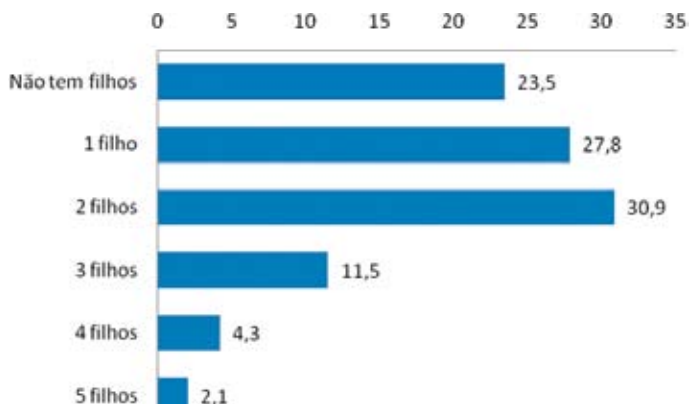
Uma comparação com o número de filhos da população total, se considerarmos os valores do Índice Sintético de Fecundidade, anteriormente apresentado, que hoje se situa no valor 1,4 filhos por mulher e que desde meados dos anos noventa é inferior a 2, parece igualmente indicar a possibilidade de uma fecundidade um pouco mais elevada na população em análise, isto é, aquela que é vítima de violência doméstica denunciada às forças policiais.

Gráfico 7 - Vítima por grupos etários (%)

Grupo etário	%
menos de 15 anos	0,1
de 15 a 19 anos	3,0
de 20 a 24 anos	11,1
de 25 a 29 anos	16,8
de 30 a 34 anos	20,0
de 35 a 39 anos	16,0
de 40 a 44 anos	15,5
de 45 a 49 anos	8,5
de 50 a 54 anos	4,0
de 55 a 59 anos	2,5
de 60 a 64 anos	1,4
65 e mais anos	1,2
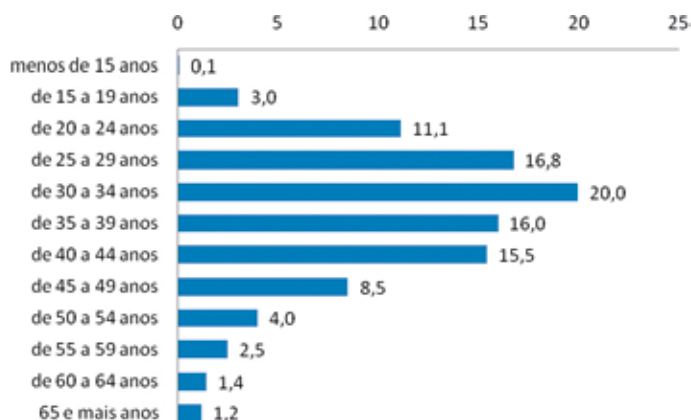
Atendendo à idade, constata-se que a maioria se situa entre os 30 e os 34 anos, com cerca de 20%, sendo que a quase totalidade - cerca de 70% - está entre os 20 e os 44 anos, o que a enquadra numa população adulta jovem ou relativamente jovem, pertencente a gerações que nasceram já sob um regime democrático ou que ainda eram crianças quando este foi instaurado. Mais ainda, entraram na vida adulta quando já se faziam sentir de forma evidente as alterações anteriormente referidas nos fenómenos da nupcialidade, divorcialidade e natalidade.

O nível de instrução das vítimas é bastante baixo, com mais de 60% a não deterem o grau de ensino obrigatório - 3º ciclo do ensino básico - registando o maior valor percentual no 1º ciclo, que há muito deixou de ser o patamar da obrigatoriedade escolar, facto que, de resto, não se coaduna com a preponderância verificada nos respetivos níveis etários. Ou seja, estamos perante uma população jovem pouco qualificada, que parece ter níveis de educação ainda mais baixos do que a globalidade da população açoriana. Não podemos, no entanto, deixar de sublinhar os valores existentes para as vítimas que se enquadram nos graus de ensino mais elevados, nomeadamente os de nível secundário e superior, com quantitativos de 5,9% e 2,7%, respetivamente. Comparando com a população total os quantitativos são, todavia, mais baixos, pois em 2011 estas categorias representavam, no primeiro caso, 10% e no segundo 9% da população do arquipélago, o que indicia uma prática menos sentida nos estratos populacionais mais qualificados.

Gráfico 8 - Vítima por nível de instrução (%)

Nível	%
Sem habilitações	1,7
Básico 1º ciclo	35,5
Básico 2º ciclo	27,7
Básico 3º ciclo	16,4
Ensino Superior	2,7
Secundário / 12º Ano	5,9
Outro	10,2
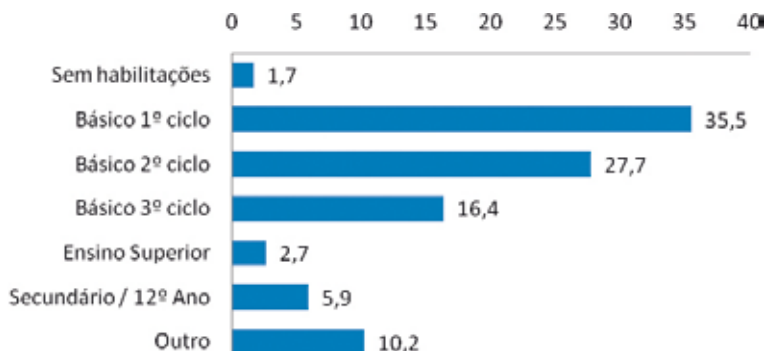
Gráfico 9 - Vítima por profissão (%)

Profissão	%
Quadros sup.Administração...	1,8
Especialistas das profissões...	2,6
Téc. e prof. de nível intermédio	2,8
Pessoal administrativo e...	1,8
Pessoal dos serv. e vendedores	20,8
Agricultores e trabalhadores...	0,8
Operários, artífices e trabalhadores...	3,3
Operadores de instalações e...	0,9
Trabalhadores não qualificados	10,4
Outro	54,8
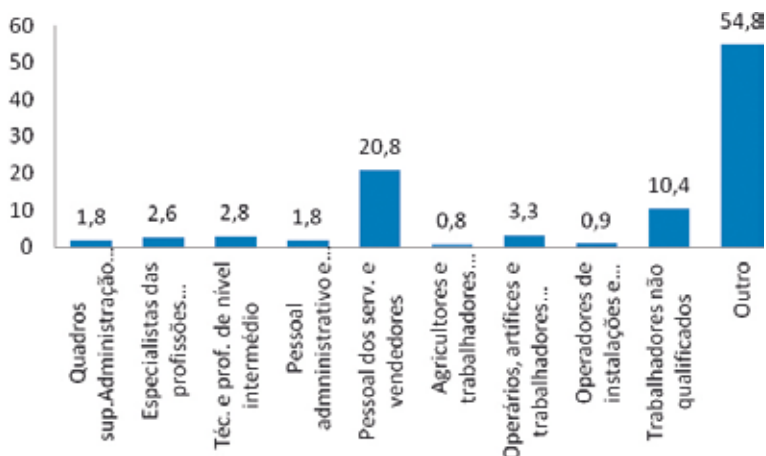
Observando as profissões, e apesar da grande maioria não estar identificada (54, 8% na categoria Outros), achamos pertinente realçar o elevado valor registado no *Pessoal do Serviços e Vendedores*, que é o dobro do observado na outra categoria que se lhe segue - a dos *Trabalhadores não Qualificados.*

A análise das variáveis relativas à educação e à profissão conduz-nos a uma perceção da transversalidade do fenómeno da violência conjugal, vivido por grupos sociais distintos, mas que não

deixa de penalizar mais aqueles que estão na base da estrutura social. Neste sentido, julgamos poder concluir que a violência conjugal nos Açores se enquadra num contexto demográfico e familiar em transformação, que atinge preponderantemente populações jovens menos qualificadas, ocorrendo, no entanto, em meios diferenciados do ponto de vista cultural, económico e social.

Importa compreender melhor os contextos e, principalmente, a mudança e os tempos e ritmos da mudança, que nos Açores foram especialmente comprimidos, mesmo por comparação com o conjunto do país, onde as alterações são temporalmente mais pequenas do que na generalidade dos países ocidentais, designadamente da UE.

Esta situação pode ser especialmente agravada num contexto insular, bastante diversificado, que condiciona os recursos e a consequente intervenção policial ou mesmo de outras instituições sociais, mas pode também propiciar uma maior proximidade, que justifique a facilidade da denúncia que tornaram os Açores, à data da realização do estudo, a região do país com os maiores níveis de violência doméstica apresentados nas forças policiais.

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THE AGING PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN TORONTO – BREAKING ISOLATION

Cidália Pereira e Marília dos Santos

Abrigo Centre, Toronto – Canada

Abrigo Centre is a multi-service charitable organization that focuses on building capacity in west Toronto by helping individuals and families achieve their full potential.

Abrigo Centre for Victims of Family Violence opened its doors in 1990 to respond to the needs of women victims of domestic violence. As the program grew, Abrigo was able to expand its services to families, in 1994, and to youth in 1995. In 1997, Abrigo began to serve the male perpetrators of domestic violence offering group counselling through the Partner Abuse Response program. That same year the agency name was officially changed to Abrigo Centre. The services expanded again in 2000, to provide information and settlement services to the Portuguese speaking communities, including the newcomer communities from Angola and Brazil.

Abrigo has developed services to meet community needs based on assessment of needs and available resources. Currently, Abrigo offers the following services:

- Services for women victims of violence
- Family counselling

- Individual and group counselling
- Information and referral
- Form filling
- Income tax clinic
- Newcomer orientation and First Steps
- Volunteer program
- Parenting programs (Success by Six, PAI, Strengthening Families for the Future)
- Outreach and youth services (counselling, leadership and lgbt group)
- Employment services (social assistance recipients)
- PAR – Partner Abuse Response
- Seniors Recreation Service - **_Grupo Vida e Esperança_**

To understand the needs of the Portuguese population that live in Canada, specifically in the city of Toronto and outlying areas, it is helpful to have an overview of the city. Some significant statistics include[a]:

- 410,850 persons of Portuguese descent in Canada
- 69% of those live in Ontario (282,865)
- Toronto's population is 2.4 million
- Portuguese is the fifth mother tongue language and non-official home language
- Toronto has 2x the incidences of low income compared to the rest of Canada
- Toronto is a prime destination for new immigrants, as well as a significant number of tenants and seniors
- Toronto has 67.9% of all low income seniors (2006 Census)

Abrigo serves a cross section of the population in Toronto. Some information on the profile of the people that we serve includes:

- Approximately 5000 individuals a year
- The majority are female
- Estimate 90% are of Portuguese speaking descent
- Majority are first generation immigrants with limited English speaking skills
- Majority are from Azores, and have clients from mainland, Brazil and Angola
- A significant number of clients are receiving some form of social assistance or are low income

Some of the themes that affect the multicultural populations that also impact the Portuguese community include:

- Domestic violence and family conflict
- Language barrier
- Lack of access to information and resources
- Financial difficulties
- Accessibility for persons with physical, mental and other disabilities
- Increasing isolation of seniors
- Educational achievement

Abrigo Centre attempts to address community needs based on funding received through government sources. These needs have included domestic violence, settlement services, adult employment programs, youth employment programs, youth outreach on healthy relationship, Angolan youth outreach, and a youth lgbt group.

One of the emerging needs is the isolation of our aging population. Statistics show that the population in Canada is aging and the birth rate is lowered. In 2001, it was estimated that 3.92 million Canadians were 65 years of age or older. The seniors' population is expected to reach 6.7 million in 2021 and 9.2 million in 2041 (nearly one in four Canadians). The shift in demographics will affect healthcare, labour markets, participation in society and government finance programs (ie. pension programs)[b].

Good health is not just about accessing good healthcare. Researchers have identified twelve determinants of health. These determinants fall into the arena of a person's social and economic circumstance, their physical environment and their individual behaviour[c].

We had anecdotal stories of seniors living on their own, being isolated, not going out to clubs, work, volunteer or religious activities and not having a support system to call upon. Certain staff members took action to address this growing concern in our community.

A seniors' workgroup was formed and met in August 2010 to plan a seniors' recreational group. On November 2, 2010 the group had its official start. Within weeks over 100 members were registered. An average of 50-60 individuals comes to participate in the group. They named themselves **Grupo Vida e Esperança.**

Who is coming to the group? The majority of the participants are females, widows, retired, and a significant number are low

income. Some participants have a background of domestic violence. Some women who are married come without their partners. There are a few couples who attend as well as a couple of widowers.

The benefits the seniors receive from participating in the program include:

- Decreases isolation
- Make friends and spend time with them outside of group
- Allowed to be themselves
- Take ownership – plan activities and have input on programming
- Foster independence
- Help each other
- Eager and participatory
- Task oriented and responsible
- Positive physical and emotional changes (self-care)

What do they do in the group? Some of the activities offered include:

- Games (cards, bingo, domino)
- Brain teasers
- Poetry
- Singing, theatre and dancing
- Exercise and massage
- Trips (local and outside the city)
- Outreach to agencies
- Ambassadors
- Seniors Day (Casa dos Acores)

Many seniors are benefiting from participating in this group and participating in other activities in order to be active and maintain their health and well being. Some of the younger seniors are assisting older seniors. Some seniors have made new friends and created a support network. The seniors look forward to the weekly activities.

Some seniors may find it difficult to participate in large groups or be in noisy places. It may be a matter of finding the right activity or a different environment that is more comfortable for them and allows them to engage. As the senior population ages, their health care needs become more complex and they may need to be in a more supported environment. The challenge is being able to offer programs that engage a variety of seniors. If there are no programs available there will be almost no opportunities for seniors to participate and engage in activities outside of their home environment.

Endnotes

a   Excerpt from the 2006 Census.
b   Excerpt from *Canada's Aging Population* produced by the Public Health Agency of Canada, http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/seniors-aines/publications/public/various-var-ies/papier-fed-paper/fedreport1-eng.php
c   Public Health Agency of Canada, http://www.phac-aspc.gc.ca/ph-sp/determinants/in-dex-eng.php

HIV/AIDS HEALTH BARRIERS OF THE PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN TORONTO, ONTÁRIO

Fernanda Da Silva

Aids Committee of Toronto – Canadá

Este texto corresponde a um breve resumo sobre as atividades do **AIDS COMMITTEE OF TORONTO (ACT) e a VIVER**, **Coligação de Agências de Língua Portuguesa sobre a SIDA/AIDS**, os quais oferecem programas e serviços às Comunidades de Língua Portuguesa de Toronto, Ontário, Canadá.

O ACT é uma das maiores organizações de SIDA/AIDS do Canadá, com base comunitária, sem fins lucratrivos, o qual é subsidiado pelos 3 níveis de governo do Canadá (local, provincial e nacional). O ACT oferece serviços de saúde, apoio, educação e prevenção para pessoas infetadas e/ou afetadas com VIH/HIV e SIDA/AIDS ou que correm o risco de contraír o vírus da SIDA/AIDS.

Foi fundado em julho de 1983, a partir de um fórum organizado por um grupo de pessoas da comunidade gay/homossexual que trabalhava na área de saúde, respondendo assim a uma doença, na altura, desconhecida no Canadá, que estava afetando tremendamente os homens homossexuais (gay men), o grupo mais afetado por este Vírus da Imunodeficiência Humana ou VIH/HIV.

O vírus da SIDA foi descoberto na cidade de Toronto, Canadá, em 1984, e o teste do VIH surgiu logo depois da descoberta do Vírus da Imunodeficiência Humana/VIH. Alguns anos mais tarde, pessoas infetadas com oVIH/HIV começaram a necessitar de apoio e informação sobre este vírus, o qual continuou a aumentar rapidamente atingindo assim cifras superiores ao número de pessoas que já se encontravam com a SIDA/AIDS, ou seja, na fase final desta doença (full-blown AIDS).

Por muitos anos, o ACT foi a única organização comunitária de SIDA/AIDS na cidade de Toronto que oferecia serviços limitados de SIDA/AIDS. Posteriormente surgiram outras organizações, as quais incorporaram a estrutura do ACT, até se formalizarem oficialmente.

O ACT iniciou o seu trabalho com um número muito baixo de funcionários, os quais desempenhavam duplas funções. Mais tarde, e com a ajuda do governo e de fundos comunitários, os funcionários do ACT passaram a ter posições mais específicas e especializadas.

O ACT foi sempre, e continua a ser, um líder nos programas e serviços de SIDA/AIDS. É também uma organização de caráter voluntário que oferece, anualmemte, horas de trabalho voluntário equivalentes e/ou superiores a 3 posições de 3 funcionários a tempo inteiro. Como veem, o ACT depende muito do trabalho voluntário da comunidade e, para manter o nível de profissionalismo necessário, oferece treinamento em todas as áreas de trabalho desta organização.

O ACT oferece um variado leque de serviços de apoio, programas de prevenção <u>com ênfase</u> em homens que têm relações sexuais com homens (MSM Program), mulheres e jovens infetados, e/ou em risco de contraír o VIH/HIV. Todos os serviços e programas do ACT são gratuitos e oferecidos na Área da Grande Toronto (Greater Toronto Area - GTA).

Trabalha em parceria com outras organizações comunitárias de SIDA/AIDS, a nível local, provincial e nacional. O ACT é também membro da VIVER, a Coligação de Agências de Língua Portuguesa contra a SIDA/AIDS. Por sua vez, a VIVER trabalha com outras organizações comunitárias que prestam serviços de apoio, aconselhamento, prevenção e educação nas comunidades de Língua Portuguesa em Toronto.

O objetivo de criar a VIVER, Coligação de Agências de Língua Portuguesa contra a SIDA/AIDS

Na Área da Grande Toronto (GTA) encontra-se a maior população de Língua Portuguesa do Canadá em que mais de metade não fala Inglês. O Português é a quarta língua materna mais falada em Toronto/GTA. As comunidades de Língua Portuguesa na GTA são diversas, compostas por indíviduos e famílias das várias regiões de Portugal, Brasil e África. A maioria dos imigrantes Portugueses são das ilhas dos Açores, Madeira e Portugal continental, Angola, Moçambique, Guiné, Cabo Verde e em menor número provêm de Goa, Damão e Dio (ex-colónias da Índia).

De acordo com as estatísticas da cidade de Toronto, os Portugueses eram o terceiro maior grupo com VIH/SIDA (HIV/

AIDS), contando assim com 63 casos. O segundo grupo de pessoas infetadas de Língua Portuguesa é de origem Brasileira. Uma vez que são muitas as pessoas que fazem o teste do VIH anónimo, não é possível saber os números exatos de indivíduos de Língua Portuguesa que vivem com o VIH//SIDA (HIV/AIDS). Somente as pessoas que fazem o teste do VIH no médico de família e/ou através do Departamento de Imigração é que entram nas estatísticas do Departamento de Saúde Pública da Cidade de Toronto. (Public Health Department de Toronto). Para evitar a discriminação e a estigmatização de qualquer grupo étnico de pessoas que vivem com VIH/SIDA/AIDS, este mesmo departamento deixou de publicar as estatísticas por etnia ou país de origem.

Derivado ao aumento do número de pessoas infetadas com o VIH/HIV, em 15 de maio de 1997, teve lugar um fórum sobre o impacto da epidemia de VIH/SIDA (HIV/AIDS) nas comunidades de Língua Portuguesa de Toronto. Neste fórum, foi indentificada uma lacuna nos serviços médicos e sociais em língua Inglesa sobre a SIDA/AIDS. Devido a barreiras culturais, religiosas, linguísticas, literárias e sócio-económicas, esta comunidade tem sentido, frequentemente, a falta de acesso aos serviços médicos em língua Inglesa sobre a SIDA/AIDS. Por isso, foi criada a VIVER, Coligação de Agências de Língua Portuguesa para o VIH/SIDA(HIV/AIDS). Em 1998, a VIVER e o ACT entraram em acordo formal para resolver as necessidades das comunidades de Língua Portuguesa da GTA sobre a SIDA/ AIDS. O ACT tem supervisionado e administrado os programas de Língua Portuguesa, tais como o Programa para Homens que têm Relações Sexuais com outros Homens (Men who have Sex with other Men - Portuguese-speaking Men's Outreach Program), o

Programa de Educação e Prevenção das Comunidades de Língua Portuguesa sobre a SIDA/AIDS, e o Programa de Serviços Diretos de Atendimento aos Clientes Infetados com o vírus da SIDA/AIDS (Portuguese-speaking Case Manager Program Program for HIV/AIDS Clients).

O ACT/VIVER, que tem a responsabilidade de trabalhar especificamente com clientes e famílias infetadas e/ou afetadas pela SIDA/AIDS, ajuda, assim, no acesso aos serviços do ACT, entidades governamentais e de outras organizações de caráter social e governamental, que oferecem serviços, testes anónimos, medicamentos e outras ajudas necessárias aos clientes infetados com o VIH/SIDA-HIV/AIDS.

A homofobia, o estigma e a discriminação continuam a ser as barreiras mais difíceis do trabalho de educação e prevenção nas comunidades de Língua Portuguesa em Toronto. Infelizmente, a SIDA/AIDS é vista ainda como um problema de saúde da comunidade homossexual/gay e não como um problema de saúde mundial. Para mais informação sobre a SIDA/AIDS, convidamos os nossos leitores a visitarem o Website do AIDS Commitee of Toronto (ACT) portugues@actoronto.org

THE CHANGING VIEWS OF PORTUGUESE–SPEAKING IMMIGRANTS REGARDING MENTAL HEALTH

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The original title of this presentation included a statement frequently heard by psychotherapists delivering services to the Portuguese-Speaking immigrants from Brazil, Cape Verde and Portugal in the Boston area: "I am not crazy!" This statement may express a defensive attitude towards referring family or providers but underneath this sentence always expresses the cultural stigma attached to psychotherapy and psychotropic medication.

Culture is fluid, not monolithic. As they come into contact with the American society, our immigrants are exposed to this fluidity. The conservative values and limited educational background of Portuguese immigrants resulted in a cautious attitude towards acculturation, as evident in their resistance to psychotherapy, virtually a non-existent service in Portugal when they emigrated in the 60's, 70's and 80's. For the Portuguese populations medication was more acceptable, especially to treat the most impairing mental illnesses such as schizophrenia and major depression. The Brazilian immigrants started arriving in the Boston area in the 80's, around the time the Portuguese immigration came to an end. Brazilian immigrants were generally young adults and, except from the ones coming from the interior of Brazil, they were city-wise and open to new experiences.

Many Brazilians expressed relief in having access to psychotherapy, which they could not afford in Brazil, and were receptive to medications though frequently worried about developing a dependence on them.

Times have changed. In the last years, the Portuguese Mental Health clinic (PMH), at the Cambridge Health Alliance (CHA), located in Cambridge, has maintained a long wait list of Portuguese-speaking clients seeking psychotherapy. This is the only mental health clinic in Massachusetts serving the Portuguese-speaking communities where the psychotherapists, either social workers or psychologists, are native Brazilian, Cape Verdean and Portuguese individuals. The staff psychiatrists are exclusively involved in prescribing medication and only a couple of them are native of Portuguese-speaking countries. The clinic provides individual, couple and family treatment modalities covering all age groups from children and adolescents to adults and the elderly. Except for eating disorders, the clinic covers all types of psychiatric problems, with depression and anxiety predominating.

Presently the clients at PMH are mostly Brazilian followed by the Portuguese and a few Cape Verdeans. Throughout the years male clients have increased but the majority of care seekers are still women. The psychotherapy is usually conducted in Portuguese because most of the clients are not fluent in English. Others who are fluent in English still prefer this clinic because it offers the cultural context where they remain ingrained. An interpreter is usually present in sessions with the psychiatrists. The law in Massachusetts requires that trained interpreters be available to insure private communication between patients and providers.

The PMH clinic always had a stable, small number of clients with major mental illness, namely schizophrenia, schizoaffective and bipolar disorders. The vast majority of the clients, however, have consistently presented cases involving varying degrees of depression, anxiety and panic, trauma, and domestic violence. Acculturation stressors frequently impact immigrants' marriages and parenting due to changes in gender roles, new individualistic and privacy expectations especially among sons and daughters, and long working hours for adults that may leave the family unattended. For the undocumented immigrants the situation in the US has become increasingly difficult due to laws that limit access to work, driving licenses and education. Undocumented immigrants also live under the constant fear of deportation. The Brazilian community has been most affected by this situation and in the last couple of years a large number of Brazilians returned to Brazil. Many of them were able to save money or invest in Brazil and felt confident returning to their home country. Some of these returning individuals were not able to achieve the American dream, felt embarrassed for it, but still preferred to join their families in Brazil than to remain isolated, overworked or struggling financially in the US, where the economic crisis has further reduced opportunities for immigrants.

The Portuguese-speaking immigrants' appreciation for mental health services evolved through the years as their exposure increased. Since the PMH clinic started in the 80's, clients became comfortable at discussing the benefits of therapy —particularly those with positive psychotherapy experiences—and frequently recommended family and friends to the clinic. Psychotherapists like me have had countless conversations normalizing psychotherapy by explaining to clients that this is a service

that anyone can benefit from and not just, as they believed, individuals with major mental illness. Comparisons to other traditionally supportive relationships in the community helped demystify the shame and fears of psychotherapy. For instance, clients learned that just as priests or pastors can give them spiritual or emotional support, the psychotherapists also uplift their well-being and, like the priests and pastors, maintain confidentiality. Fears of gossip ran high in the Portuguese-speaking communities. Knowing that one can speak freely without having her or his life "broadcasted" in the community is one of the immediate benefits of psychotherapy.

Other factors contributed to changes in attitudes regarding mental health. Portuguese-speaking immigrants have become more aware of the complexity of psychological and social issues, not just in a passive, fatalistic way, as the Portuguese used to say: "Seja o que Deus quiser" or " let it be God's will". Their increased knowledge and acceptance of clinical services may be related to new personal experiences in the American society, or to information that they obtain from their educated and acculturated children and friends. In addition, Brazil and Portugal have changed in their capacity to openly address medical, psychiatric and addiction problems that traditionally were kept in secrecy. Regardless of their English fluency, Portuguese-speaking immigrants are attentive viewers of TV Globo and RTPi where talk shows, soap operas and the news portray in vivid detail topics that include mental illness, addiction, HIV, sex, discrimination and racism, homosexuality, domestic violence and sexual abuse.

Working with immigrants presents challenges that shape the delivery of clinical services. The PMH clinic provides a type

of psychotherapy that is mindful of the needs of its client population. Psychotherapy takes a holistic approach attending to the psychological, physical, spiritual, and the social needs of the clients. This translates into doing therapy in Portuguese, coordinating services with the primary care nurses, doctors and psychiatrists, doing couple's and family work as needed for the individual client, referring clients to community services to assist with basic needs or safety services, translating to clients who bring letters they cannot understand or interpreting for a utility agency to adjust services, encouraging clients to take English classes, motivating clients to join a church, AA or another supportive group of their choice, and explaining to clients the socio-cultural norms of the American society so that they can fit in and consequently increase their chances of success within both their immigrant communities and mainstream society. The PMH clinic is part of the clients' support network. Various clients use our services in an intermittent way, returning as needed to cope with new difficulties.

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FOUND IN INTERPRETATION: THE ROLE OF BRAZILIAN MEDICAL INTERPRETERS IN MEDIATED MEDICAL ENCOUNTERS

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Introduction

This paper deals with complex interactions that develop during intercultural communication in health care settings. It derives from the analysis of in-depth interviews with three experienced Brazilian medical interpreters in Boston, Massachusetts. It examines how interpreters perceive their roles in medically mediated encounters. It also addresses questions about the interpreters' training in the field of interpretation/ translation studies and whether interpreters are more concerned with linguistic accuracy or with cultural understandings.

The status of medical interpretation as a profession

In the United States medical interpretation status as a profession has been slowly improving over the years. The seeds for this betterment are already present in the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, one of the most famous and celebrated pieces of legislation in the country. Section 601 of Title VI, which was enacted as part of this 1964 law, states that "No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from

participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." This includes discriminations based on individual's ability to speak and/or understand English (Carrasco 2009). This piece of law has been often reexamined and zeroed in as in the 1998 memorandum of the Office of Civil Rights Act of the Department of Health and Human Services that states that "[…] the denial or delay of medical care because of language barriers constitutes discrimination […]" (cited in Flores 2006: 230). Another major advancement in the field is the **International Medical Interpreters Association (IMIA),** founded in 1986. One of the main missions of IMIA is to "Define educational requirements and qualifications for medical interpreters." Finally, in areas like the Greater Boston, there are a growing number of colleges that offer courses in medical translation.

In spite of all this legal and organizational apparatus, the profession still faces numerous basic problems including the non-existence of a National Certification, poor or no training at all, and perhaps most disheartening, children interpreting for family members (Frieden, 2003). As we will discuss in the remainder of this text, it is not uncommon to come across interpreters that had never had any training in the field and, after a short test to check their capabilities of interpreting medical terminology, started working immediately. According to Dr. Glenn Flores "Ad hoc interpreters, including family members, friends, untrained members of the support staff, and strangers found in waiting rooms or on the street, are commonly used in clinical encounters" (2006: 231). Actually, there is a vast literature that documents the use of children as translators (Feldman-Bianco, 1995; New York Times, 2005; Elliot et al 2006). Another not so unusual practice is to "transfer" from one language to another

without formally studying the new language. For example, in our fieldwork we encountered interpreters specialized in Spanish that learned Portuguese from his/her Brazilian peers and started interpreting also for Portuguese speakers (Ribeiro et al. 2004).

Short biographical information

For this paper, we interviewed two females, Bianca and Silvia, and one male, Lucas[1]. All three started in the profession at least ten years ago and none had any kind of training before they started to work. Curiously two of them became Adjunct Instructors in two colleges of the region that offer a one-year course on medical interpretation. At the time of the interviews, they were in their late 30s or early forties. One of them is particularly interesting as she was a medical doctor in Brazil and became an interpreter while she was living in the Boston area.

Interpreters and the theory of agency

Human agency is a philosophical concept. Depending on the philosophical tradition, the capacity of a human to act as an agent is taken to be a personal act specific of that human being (a social phenomenology perspective) or it can be seen as a collective, historical dynamic act (a Marxist perspective). In this paper, we embrace Ahearn's definition of the concept, "Agency refers to the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (2001:112), which is based on linguistic anthropology and its premise that "culture in all its forms emerges from everyday linguistic agency that is itself shaped by sociocultural formations" (2001: 125).

We believe that the way interpreters reported how and why they chose the profession supports Ahearn's (op. cit) agency

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[1] All names have been changed to preserve participants' confidentiality.

theory. One of the first findings that strikes us while analyzing the interviews is the fact that all interpreters, but for the medical doctor, stated that it was by pure chance that they ended up in the profession. Lucas, for example, is an accomplished musician who was looking for a more stimulating day job than to work in bookstores:

Excerpt 1

Lucas:　I was trying to find a way to make money that was not working in bookstores. That was what I was doing here and then I said: what can I do? I can speak Portuguese. First I was looking for a job in the newspaper, in the translation sector. Then she placed an ad.[2]

　　　Later on in this same interview, Lucas even uses the word "serendipidity" to refer to his process of job hunting and its happy ending as an interpreter. Undoubtedly, this process of being an artist in a society that does not value artists enough for them to make a life without a day job encourages aspiring artists to look for other sources of income. Often they are highly specialized artists, who do not have other profitable skills; thus they end up working in jobs that do not require formal credentials as it is, up to now, the field of interpretation.

　　　Bianca has a quite similar experience to Lucas. She came to the United States in her early twenties, when she was still a sophomore in college Portuguese in Brazil. After exploring a rather middle-class immigrant life performing menial jobs, Bianca explored an intellectual marked. However, just as Lucas, she did not have any educational credentials which would be marketable. Therefore, she gladly accepted a job as an interpreter offered by

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[2]　The original data in Brazilian Portuguese has been included in the appendix.

a friend. As Lucas, she insists on the fact that she never looked for a job as an interpreter. While talking about her job search, she uses expressions such as "it happened by chance", to which she referred to three times in a sequence:

Excerpt 2
Bianca: It was by chance. I wasn't looking (for this job). It was by chance.

Silvia, the Brazilian medical doctor, is the only participant that actively looked for a job as an interpreter with a future career goals in mind. She recounts her experience of becoming a medical interpreter insisting on the verb **querer** (to want). And she justifies her intense desire by adding that she wanted to get acquainted with the way medicine is practiced in this country:

Excerpt 3
Silvia: It was a part-time job that I wanted to do because I wanted to practice [...]

The analysis of these three short excerpts reveals how changes happen because of systemic problems including lack of credentials to perform more profitable jobs or lack of appropriate visa for workers. However, in spite of having a limited number of choices, most of the time one is able to intervene and display some acts of agency. We will see that the medical doctor chose to perform this job to have a significant experience abroad; Lucas wanted a more interesting day job; and Bianca was able to combine her passion for biology and languages.

The birth of an interpreter:
a professional or a gifted individual?

Lucas started his career as a Legal Interpreter in 1997. As this branch of interpretation is significantly better paid and has overall a much higher status than the medical branch, one would expect that less than fifteen years ago, there was already some kind of training to prepare future professionals. Surprisingly enough, Lucas reveals that this was not the case:

Excerpt 4

Lucas: I had no training at that time [...] I was there (in one of the interpreters' agencies) took a written test and was approved. I took an oral examination, a very easy one, very mediocre, and they put me to work.

Without any training, Lucas becomes, almost instantaneously, an interpreter in the capital of Massachusetts, a state that has a long tradition in the field of Education and hosts a significant number of leading Universities. Four years later, Lucas becomes a medical interpreter and finds out that training for new professionals was as chaotic as in the legal branch of interpretation. In the next excerpt he reports that.

Excerpt 5

Lucas: I took a test, not too long, with not many details [...] I took a written test […] no one talked to me in Portuguese. It was an interview in English with the director there.

This kind of frustration is echoed by Silvia who has not had any kind of formal training.

Excerpt 6

Interviewer: But how was this test? Did you go there?

Silvia: This test, she asked me to read some materials and I was reading for an hour, more or less, since I had never worked in this area. And right after I took the test and so, if I didn't know the exact word, for example, spleen, I do not remember, but I said: that organ that […] is important to store blood, which is on the left ... When I could make the communication work, she fully accepted. The problem is that I had never been to a doctor (in the US)... and she found it strange that I had a good curriculum, at that time I had already done a (medical) specialization […] ..

Interviewer: And this material, were these medical terms?

Silvia : No, it was a little: the mission of an interpreter ... I think [it's] the material from the Cambridge Hospital.

Bianca's training was not different from her other two colleagues:

Excerpt 7

Interviewer: [..] was it something by chance and then they gave you any training? Anything? How was that process? Were you "shadowing"?

Bianca: My training was great. I entered the room with Anna, she began to observe me and then five minutes later she was called and then she said: Bianca, you are great. You can stay here alone. And that was it.

Interviewer: Amazing!

Bianca: It was very informal.

Invisibility, Agency and the Interpreters' Role

In several studies about interpretation one finds the same debate that has been unfolding for more than a century in literary translation studies (Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Angelelli 2004). This crucial debate has its origins in an ideology that posits that language can be separated from culture, and therefore translators should strive to make a foreign text look like as if it was written in the language it is translated. Therefore, both the translator and the elements of foreignness should become invisible (Venuti, 1995). This is obviously an impossible task as language is embedded in culture and the translator has to navigate between two language-cultures and make choices that are culturally informed and many times far from the "original" text simply because realities are often sharply different among cultures. Therefore, there is not a single way of translating a passage of a text as there is not, even in the same cultural universe, a single way of speaking or conveying an idea.

In the field of interpretation, this debate can be equated with the ideology that interpreters should be just a "conduit," or in other words, she has no agency whatsoever. Various studies in sociolinguistics (Metzger 1999; Roy 1989, 2000; Wandensjö 1992, 1995, and 1998) argue that interpreters are co-constructors of the triadic interaction: health care providers, patients, and interpreters. These studies show, for example, that translators manage the interactions by controlling turn taking (Roy 2000). More important, however, these studies support the claim that research in interpretation should portray what really happens in the triadic encounters to better inform decision makers to shape interpreters' training. In other words, it is imperative to approach interpreters' studies in a descriptive

rather than normative fashion. In our own research, findings corroborate studies that posit interpreters can't be invisible:

Excerpt 8

Bianca: There is a current within the medical interpretation that says that the interpreter has to be only a language translator. So [a person] is not really there. So a person is just a little machine that translates. And I know that there are many interpreters who identify with that, and they like it and prefer it. There is another current that says: Once you have three people talking in the room there is a relationship, that is, it is clear that the voice of the interpreter has to be a neutral voice, the interpreter must be a neutral voice in the sense that they can not reveal their emotions […] The role is simply to be there to facilitate communication. But one cannot eliminate (the relationship) completely, we can't. Because it is a gesture, it is a smile, it is one touch, you know ..., we create that relationship.

In the passage above, it is clear that Bianca doesn't perceive the interpreters' role as only a "conduit." She argues that just the fact of having a third person in the doctor's room will necessarily have some kind of impact on the whole conversation. This is due to obvious reasons, including the most basic one: the very presence of someone establishes some kind of relationship. Although extremely professional, to the point of affirming that the interpreter needs to be a neutral person, Bianca acknowledges that it is impossible to be totally detached from the situation. There are extra-linguistic cues that suddenly came up including nonverbal features such as a

gesture, a smile, and a touch. This is approximately the same viewpoint Silvia adopted:

Excerpt 9

Silvia: Because there is this thing, that you should not interfere in the relationship. Your mission is to make the communication work properly but you can not speak for anyone, neither for the doctor nor for the person. But that's what was quite interesting because there were moments that were so different, so different, it was not enough to talk about what the U.S. [doctor], the doctor was saying and .., on the other side also, the people would address me as if I was the person who would help them, not the doctor. Because there is this thing of the cultural identity and language as well. I think it is more the culture than the language.

In the beginning of the quote above, Silvia expresses her preference for the conduit metaphor. The interpreter's role is simply to translate the literal meaning conveyed by the healthcare provider. However, she also acknowledges that once she speaks, the patient positions her as someone who could help her because language is immersed in culture and issues of identity surface. Lucas also, to a certain degree, is ambivalent towards this traditional rule of neutrality and invisibility.

Excerpt 10

Lucas: My way of interpreting is that I want these two people to look at one another. Any communication that is not [focused on] the very words, will be (only) among them. I'll be out. So much so that I try to avoid looking

at people in the eyes when I'm interpreting. I look at the floor, at the walls.

Lucas assumes the role of the mediator as interpreter by avoiding eye contact with both participants. We will see in the following segment that he takes an active role providing guidance to the clinician when needed.

Excerpt 11

Lucas: Instead of me changing the way that the clinician said, I say (to the clinician):

"Look, I can see, I can assure you that this person does not understand. How about if you, for example, ask her to explain to you, ask her to explain what you have just said. Then you ... ". If the doctor has patience, [first right, to hear that] then he'll see that the person did not understand, [probably], right.? Then he will see that he has to say it in another way, trying to get where he wants to be using another strategy.

In the following excerpt, Biancas ackowledges that there is an on-going educational process:

Excerpt 12

Interviewer - What do you tell your students or what do you say ... you edit (the talk) sometimes when you translate?

Bianca - We should not, we should not. Generally, my directions to the students are:

"you're beginning (your career), you have to do everything exactly right ... In five years or three years, when you have more experience and you have a ... a

... better idea, and a certain intuition and then yes, you
　　　　　　　can make changes ."

Interviewer:　　You change to the third person ...

Bianca:　Exactly.

Interviewer:　　this kind of thing, so.

Bianca: Exactly. But I always tell them, "in the beginning, you
　　　　　　have to do everything right, according to the rules."

Interviewer: But for example, suppose, if someone ... a patient
　　　　　　is swearing a lot (saying many four-letter words), he is
　　　　　　feeeling a horrible pain …

Bianca: Look, I do not translate these four-letter words because
　　　　　I do not know many four-letter words in English.

　　　In this segment, Bianca acknowledges the educational
process. In the beginning, the novice interpreter assumes the
traditional role (of being a simple conduit). As the interpreter
gains more control and knowledge of such communicative
intercultural interactions, Bianca states that one may feel ready
to gain more visibility and agency.

Conclusion

　　　Medical interpreters vary in the different roles they take
as they mediate communication in clinical settings.　In their
professional training, as Sylvia, Lucas and Bianca state, they
are expected to be invisible. However, our research indicates
that face-to-face interactions in such complex communicative
encounters often require interpreters to play the additional roles
of cultural brokers and advocates. In each of their interviews,
these professionals discuss the multifacet nature of medical
interpretation, both from the medical and from the client/

patient perspectives. Most often than not, the interpreters find themselves in a paradoxical situation having to attend to multiple perspectives and demands: educated to be invisible and having no agency while being solicited or required to act.

Medical interpretation constitutes a very complex social interaction as attested by several studies (Angelelli, 2004; Roat, 2000; Venuti, 1995, among others). Interpreters needs to be able to assume these different roles at different times according to the social and communicative needs of clients/patients and HCPs. Therefore, it is imperative to approach interpreter's education in a formative rather than a normative fashion. One needs to observe what works best to serve patients/clients and HCPs in such complex interactions.

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Appendix

The Portuguese and English Texts for Ribeiro, B., Lira. S. and Jouet-Pastre, C. Found in Interpretation: The Role of Brazilian Medical Interpreters in Mediated Medical Encounters.	
Excerpt 1 Lucas: Eu tava tentando um jeito de ganhar dinheiro que não fosse trabalhar em livrarias que era o que eu estava fazendo aqui e aí eu falei: o que eu sei fazer? Eu sei falar português. Primeiro eu estava procurando um trabalho no jornal, de agência de tradução. Daí ela botou um anúncio.	L: I was trying to find a way to make money that was not working in bookstores. That was what I was doing here and then I said: what can I do? I can speak Portuguese. First I was looking for a job in the newspaper, in the translation sector. Then she placed an ad.
Excerpt 2 Bianca: Foi por acaso. Foi meio sem procurar, foi meio ao acaso.	B: It was by chance. I wasn't looking; it was by chance.
Excerpt 3 S: Aqui foi um bico mesmo que eu quis fazer porque eu queria praticar[…]	S: It was a part-time job that I wanted to do because I wanted to practice [...]
Excerpt 4 L: Não tinha treinamento nenhum naquela época […] Eu fui lá, fiz uma prova escrita. Passei. Fiz uma prova oral muito vagabunda, muito chinfrim e me botaram pra trabalhar.	L: I had no training at that time [...] I was there (in one of the interpreters' agencies) took a written test and was approved. I took an oral examination, a very easy one, very mediocre, and they put me to work.]
Excerpt 5 Lucas: Tinha uma prova não muito extensa assim não muito não entrou em muitos detalhes assim […] Eu fiz uma prova escrita [...] ninguém falou comigo em português foi uma entrevista em inglês mesmo com a diretora lá.	L: I took a test, not too long, with not many details [...] I took a written test […] no one talked to me in Portuguese. It was an interview in English with the director there.

Excerpt 6 C: Mas como é que foi esse teste? Você foi lá? S : Esse teste, ela pediu para eu ler um material e eu fiquei lendo por uma hora mais ou menos, como eu nunca tinha trabalhado nessa área e logo em seguida eu fiz o teste e assim, o que eu não sabia exatamente a palavra, por exemplo, baço, eu não lembrava, mas eu falei: aquele órgão que receptor de sangue, que é importante para armazenar sangue, que fica do lado esquerdo... Coisas que eu pude dar voltas mas fazer a comunicação funcionar ela aceitou plenamente. A questão..., e também nunca tinha tido nenhum médico, ela achou estranho eu ter um currículo bom, na época eu já tinha feito especialização [...] C: E esse material era o que, eram assim termos médicos? S : Não, era um pouco isso: a missão do que é ser intérprete..., acho que o material do Cambridge Hospital.	C: But how was this test? Did you go there? S: This test, she asked me to read some materials and I was reading for an hour, more or less, since I had never worked in this area. And right after I took the test and so, if I didn't know the exact word, for example, spleen, I do not remember, but I said: that organ that […] is important to store blood, which is on the left ... When I could make the communication function she fully accepted. The problem is that I had never been to a doctor (in the US)... and she found it strange that I had a good curriculum, at that time I had already done a specialization[…] .. C: And this material, were these medical terms? S : No, it was a little: the mission of an interpreter ... I think [it's] the material of the Cambridge Hospital.
Excerpt 7 C:[..] foi uma coisa por acaso e aí eles te deram algum treinamento? Alguma coisa? Como é que foi o processo? Você ficou fazendo "shadowing"? B: O meu treino foi o máximo. Eu entrei na sala com a Ana, ela começou a me observar e aí cinco minutos depois chamaram ela e aí ela falou. Bianca, você está ótima. Você fica aí por conta própria. E foi isso. C: Gente! B: Isso foi muito informal	C : [..] was it something by chance and then they gave you any training? Anything? How was that process? Were you "shadowing"? B: My training was great. I entered the room with Anna, she began to observe me and then five minutes later she was called and then she said: Bianca, you are great. You can stay here alone. And that was it. C: Amazing! B: This was very informal

Excerpt 8

B:Tem uma linha, dentro da interpretação médica que diz que o intérprete tem que ser apenas o tradutor lingüístico. Então, é uma pessoa ausente..., é uma maquininha de traduzir. E eu sei que há muitos intérpretes que se identificam com isso, e que gostam disso, e preferem isso. Tem outras linhas que dizem: uma vez que você tem três pessoas na sala conversando existe uma relação, ou seja, é claro que a voz do intérprete tem que ser uma voz neutra, o intérprete tem que ser uma pessoa neutra, no sentido que ele não pode colocar suas emoções..., as suas prioridades. O papel dele ali está simplesmente facilitar a comunicação. Mas não dá para se eliminar completamente, não dá. Porque é um gesto, é um sorriso, é um toque, sabe..., a gente cria essa relação.

B: There is a current within the medical interpretation that says that the interpreter has to be only a language translator. So [a person] is not really there. So a person is just a little machine that translates. And I know that there are many interpreters who identify with that, and they like it and prefer it. There is another current that says: Once you have three people talking in the room there is a relationship, that is, it is clear that the voice of the interpreter has to be a neutral voice, the interpreter must be a neutral voice in the sense that they can not reveal their emotions […] The role is simply to be there to facilitate communication. But one cannot eliminate (the relationship) completely, we can't.. Because it is a gesture, it is a smile, it is one touch, you know ..., we create that relationship.

Excerpt 9

S: Porque tem essa coisa de você não interferir na relação. A sua missão é fazer a comunicação adequadamente mas você não pode falar por ninguém, nem pelo médico, nem pela pessoa. Mas isso é que foi muito interessante porque tinha momentos que era tão diferente, tão diferente, não era o suficiente falar o que o americano, o médico estava falando e..., do outro lado também, as pessoas se dirigiam a mim como se eu fosse a pessoa que ia ajudá-los, e não o médico. Porque tem essa coisa a identidade cultural e da língua também. Acho que mais cultural do que só a língua.

S: Because there is this thing, that you should not interfere in the relationship. Your mission is to make the communication work properly but you can not speak for anyone, neither for the doctor nor for the person. But that's what was quite interesting because there were moments that were so different, so different, it was not enough to talk about what the U.S. [doctor], the doctor was saying and .., on the other side also, the people would address me as if I was the person who would help them, not the doctor. Because there is this thing of the cultural identity and language as well. I think it is more the culture than the language.

Excerpt 10

L: O meu jeito de interpretar é eu quero que essas duas pessoas se olhem. Qualquer comunicação que não seja as palavras em si vai ser entre eles ali eu vou ficar de fora. Tanto que eu tento evitar olhar as pessoas nos olhos quando eu estou interpretando. Eu olho pro chão, pra parede.

L: My way of interpreting is that I want these two people to look at one another. Any communication that is not [focused on] the very words will be among them. I'll be out. So much so that I try to avoid looking at people in the eyes when I'm interpreting. I look at the floor, at the walls

Excerpt 11	Lucas: Instead of me changing the way that the clinician said, I say (to the clinician): "Look, I can see, I can assure you that this person does not understand. How about if you, for example, ask her to explain to you, ask her to explain what you have just said. Then you ... ". If the doctor has patience, [first right, to hear that] then he'll see that the person did not understand, [probably], right.? Then he will see that he has to say it in another way, trying to get where he wants to be using another strategy.
Lucas: Em vez de você fazer a sofisticação você mesmo, você fala: olha, eu estou vendo... eu posso te garantir que essa pessoa não está entendendo. Que tal você por exemplo: pergunta para ela explicara para você... pede para ela explicar o que você falou. Daí você... Se o médico tivesse paciência, [primeiro né, para ouvir isso] aí ele vai ver que a pessoa não entendeu nada, [provavelmente], né. Daí ele vai poder ver que ele tem que falar de outra maneira, tentar chegar aonde ele quer chegar com outra estratégia.	
Excerpt 12	Interviewer: What do you tell your students or what do you say... you edit (the talk) sometimes when you translate? Bianca We should not, we should not. Generally, my directions to the students are: "you're beginning (your career), you have to do everything exactly right ... In five years or three years, when you have more experience and you have a ... a ... better idea, and a certain intuition and then yes, you can make changes ." Interviewer: You change to the third person ... Bianca: Exactly. Interviewer: this kind of thing, so. Bianca: Exactly. But I always tell them, "in the beginning, you have to do everything right, according to the rules." Interviewer: But for example, suppose, if someone ... a patient is swearing a lot (saying many four-letter words), he is feeeling a horrible pain … Bianca: Look, I do not translate these four-letter words because I do not know many four-letter words in English .
C – E o que você fala para os seus alunos ou o que você faz assim... você dá umas editadas, às vezes, quando você está traduzindo? B A gente não deve, a gente não deve. Geralmente, a minha proposta com os alunos é: você está começando, você tem que fazer tudo direitinho. Daqui a cinco anos, ou três anos, quando você tiver muito mais experiência e você tiver uma..., uma..., idéia melhor, e uma certa intuição e aí sim de repente você pode se [amoldar]. C – Você muda para a terceira pessoa... B – Exatamente. C – ... esse tipo de coisa, assim. B – Exatamente. Mas eu sempre digo para eles: no começo, você tem que fazer tudo direitinho conforme as regras. C – Mas por exemplo, vamos supor, se tiver alguém... algum paciente falando um monte de palavrão, assim, que está com uma dor horrível? B – Olha, eu não traduzo os palavrões porque eu não sei muito palavrão em inglês	

CAPÍTULO II

DEPORTAÇÃO

Managing Transitional Issues for Deportees and their Families

Thomas M. Hodgson, Sheriff

Detention Center of Bristol County, MA – USA

In 1999, Carlos Cesar, President of the Regional Government of the Azores, visited the Bristol County Sheriff's Office to sign a memorandum of understanding relating to the deportation of illegal immigrants from Portugal. This agreement called for the Sheriff's Office staff to assist Portuguese detainees prepare for reintegration prior to their removal from the United States. Since the initial agreement was signed, the Bristol County Sheriff's Office has pursued a number of initiatives to work in partnership with the Azorean government on the various complications and concerns relating to the removal of illegal immigrants.

One of the major concerns facing the Azorean government was that some deported individuals were arriving in the Azores with serious criminal histories and authorities had little information bout their criminal past and future threat to the citizens of the Azores. A procedure has since been established whereby criminal history information is provided through the Portuguese Consulate and passed along to the Portuguese authorities overseas.

Due to the number of deportees with criminal records, the criminal justice system in Portugal has been faced with

increasing social and economic hardships. The type of criminals arriving from the United States and Canada have presented new challenges to prison operations and raised the anxiety level of the citizenry regarding both personal protection and protection of one's property.

To that end I have made several trips to the Azores, along with staff, to meet with prison authorities and both local and federal police to discuss initiatives to manage public safety concerns.

With regards to public health issues the Azorean government has been faced with issues such HIV and hepatitis C, which were not prominent several years ago. The additional costs for treating deportees who arrive with drug related and other types of health issues has created economic challenges. In an effort to minimize the costs of unnecessary testing and diagnostic treatment the Bristol County Sheriff's Office staff have been encouraging detainees to take their medical files with them at the time they are deported. Having this information when they arrive allows health services in Portugal to access treatment plans and medical history.

Several years ago, approximately ten social workers from the Azores participated in a reintegration conference hosted by the Sheriff's Office. The invitation was extended to assist these individuals with strategic planning for the eventual integration of deportees in Portugal.

Since that meeting the Azorean government has embraced its program offering transitional housing, counseling, and family support through newly established not-for-profit agencies.

My previous visits to the Azores often include time to speak with deportees to understand transitional issues and specific challenges to successful integration.

Most recently, for example, deportees were complaining about the lack of reading materials in the English language. Upon my return I was able to have donated eight large boxes of newly released books which were sent to the Azores.

Discrimination of deportees by nationals is often verbalized as an obstacle to securing employment. I have encouraged the deportees and the Azorean government to pursue volunteer initiatives and to provide municipal work projects in exchange for the government subsidies offered the deportees.

The visible images of deportees working to support the needs of the Azorean society will lessen feelings of discrimination and bolster the self-esteem of the deportees.

Programs that have been developed for our immigration detention center include family support and counseling to prepare the deportee and their family to deal with separation anxiety, financial planning, and issues dealing with children of the deportee.

In an effort to provide a continuum of necessary services, I subsidize the annual budget of the Immigrants Assistance Center. As a result of a member of the Center staff meets daily with detainees to assess family and personal issues relating to the deportation process.

As a means of assisting deportees with legal access, I established a memorandum of agreement with the New England School of Law to have their interns work with deportees relating to legal questions. There is no cost to the Sheriff's Office or the deportees for this service.

The partnership between the Bristol County Sheriff's Office and the Azorean Government illustrates a comprehensive approach to dealing both here and abroad with the complicated issues of deportation.

Through the development for new initiatives in dealing with the deportees prior to and post removal, we are able to better understand how to integrate deportees with minimal adverse impacts upon the receiving country economically and socially.

Proactive integration planning also minimizes anti-American sentiment, reduces the likelihood of re-entry, and the cost for a second removal and incarceration. Lastly, working with other countries creates buy in to a shared responsibility to successfully manage the issues of deportation. Ultimately, this type of partnership can only serve to strengthen our diplomatic relations and make more proficient our ongoing efforts to manage the issues and impacts of deportation around the world.

U.S. DEPORTATION: A SYSTEM IN SERIOUS NEED OF REFORM

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The deportation system of the United States is a gravely flawed enterprise.[3] Disproportionately harsh, legally complex, and unforgiving, it has long caused, and – despite recently widely-reported attempts at reform – it continues to cause immeasurable harm to millions of noncitizens and citizens alike. As a massive enforcement mechanism, the deportation system implicates much more than our country's sovereignty or individuals' immigration status. It challenges powerful societal values and basic human rights. The unprecedented rise in U.S. deportations since the mid-1990's demands a closer look at its underlying legal structures and justification as well as to the effects of deportation both on deportees and their families, and on the communities they leave behind and those to which they are sent.

Deportation and Immigration Detention: The Scope of the Problem

Louis Post – at the time responsible for the Bureau of Immigration – wrote a powerfully critical book about what he termed the "Deportations Delirium" of 1920.[4] That year, during

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[3] *See generally*, Daniel Kanstroom, DEPORTATION LAW AND THE NEW AMERICAN DIAS-PORA, Oxford University Press (2012).

[4] Louis Post, The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-Twenty: A Personal Narrative of an

the first major, widespread episode of general deportation enforcement in the U.S. (much of it aimed at "radicals"), some 14,557 people were deported.[5] During that same year, immigrant admissions totaled about 430,000, for a "deportation ratio" of about 3 percent. That is to say, that the nation of immigrants deported about 3 people for every hundred it admitted as permanent residents. By comparison, from 1996 through 2010, more than 14 million lawful permanent residents – about 1 million each year – have been admitted to the United States. Removals and returns[6], however, have grown exponentially, exceeding 20 million, for a "deportation ratio" of 144 percent.[7] Indeed, even if we only count formal deportations, the ratio between admissions and deportations is still many times greater than it was in 1920. And yet, if you were to ask most Americans whether the country is in the midst of a "deportation delirium," few outside of the communities that have largely been targeted would likely think so.

We will not speculate in this essay about why this is so. Our goal, rather, is to focus on the facts. The most important fact is this: the past two decades have witnessed an explosion of the immigration detention and deportation systems. An overhaul of U.S. immigration law in 1996 in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing led to an expansion of the grounds for deportation, especially with regard to crimes that make someone subject to

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Historic Official Experience (1923).

[5]   DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 36, p. 95, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

[6]   Returns include various mechanisms applied at or near the border, most commonly, the southern U.S. border. Formal deportations during this period exceeded 3.5 million.

[7]   DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 36, p. 95, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

deportation.[8] The 1996 laws also imposed mandatory detention for many noncitizens, established new fast-track removal procedures, and eliminated certain previously available forms of discretionary relief. These dramatic changes were followed by stepped-up immigration enforcement by the newly- created Department of Homeland Security in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001.[9]

However, the modern expansion of deportation in various guises has been a fact since the early 1980s. Since 1980, the number of times an individual non-citizen has been caught somewhere on U.S. soil and determined to be subject to deportation has exceeded 35 million.[10] The number of people formally deported each year has increased steadily, from 50,000 in 1995 (the year before the sweeping changes to immigration law) to 387,000 in 2010.[11] Furthermore, this last number does not account for the more than half a million individuals who were forced to leave the country that year without receiving a formal order of deportation, either by being returned upon apprehension at the southern border or receiving an order of "voluntary" departure.[12] Between the years 2001-2010, more than 2.7 million people have been forcibly deported, and over 9 million more were "returned."[13]

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[8]   *See The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996* (AEDPA) Pub. L. No. 104-132, 110 Stat. 1214 (1996) and the *Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996* (IIRIRA) Pub. L. no. 104-208, Div. C, 110 Stat. 3009-546 (1996).

[9]   *See generally*, Daniel Kanstroom, DEPORTATION NATION: OUTSIDERS IN AMERICAN HISTORY, Harvard University Press (2007).

[10]   DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 36, p. 95, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

[11]   *Id.*

[12]   *Id.*

[13]   *Id.*

Alongside the growth in deportations, immigration authorities have increasingly relied on the detention of noncitizens to facilitate deportation. Some of those targeted for deportation are subject to "mandatory detention", meaning that they do not have the right even to ask a judge for bail. They remain incarcerated throughout their proceedings, a process that may take months or in some cases even years. The business of immigration detention has grown from about 21,000 detention beds in 2002 to more than 34,000 detention beds in 2011.[14] Approximately 360,000 people were detained in 2010 in a network of more than 250 jails and detention centers, many located in remote parts of the country.[15] The 2011 budget for immigration detention exceeded 2 billion dollars – 28 times as much as what was allocated for "alternatives to detention" programs such as intense supervision and electronic monitoring programs.[16]

The Who and Why of Deportation

Anyone who is not a U.S. citizen is at risk for deportation. This includes undocumented individuals, refugees and asylum seekers, non-immigrants (meaning tourists, students, or business visitors), as well as long-term permanent residents. About a million new legal immigrants arrive each year as legal permanent residents,[17] and each year there are some 160 million legal nonimmigrant entries.[18]

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[14] Department of Justice, "Fiscal Year 2000 Performance Report and Fiscal Year 2002 Performance Plan: Strategic Goal Five," available at: http://www.justice.gov/archive/ag/annualreports/pr2000/NEWSG5.htm; Fact Sheet: Detention Management, Nov. 10, 2011, available at: http://www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/detention-mgmt.htm.

[15] DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics. (2011). *Annual Report: Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2010*, June 2011, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/enforcement-ar-2010.pdf.

[16] Fact Sheet: ICE Fiscal Year (FY) 2012 Enacted Budget, Nov. 15, 2011, available at: http://www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/budget-fy2012.htm.

[17] DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, *U.S. Legal Permanent Residents 2010,* p. 2, available at www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/lpr_fr_2010.pdf.

[18] DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, *2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*, Table

Immigration law contains a long list of activities that can make someone subject to deportation. These vary from technical violations of immigration law, to criminal offenses, to grounds related to national security. As described above, the grounds of deportation have expanded over time. In particular, the types of criminal offenses that make someone deportable has grown substantially over the years, while at the same time the discretion of immigration judges to grant relief from deportation based on a balance of equities has been curtailed. The result is that a long-term lawful permanent resident can now be deported for something as minor as a shoplifting offense.

Though Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), the branch of the Department of Homeland Security charged with enforcing immigration laws, has touted its focus on "criminal aliens" – a loosely defined term that includes convictions for disorderly conduct or illegal reentry – the data tell a different story. In 2010, more than half of the people deported had no criminal convictions.[19] The proportion of deported individuals with a criminal history went up slightly in 2011, when 55 percent of those removed were classified by ICE as criminal.[20] Still, between 2001 and 2010, over 1 million people were deported due to some form of criminal conduct that took place after they entered the United States.[21] Many would see this as an intelligent

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25, p. 65, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

[19] In 2010, 218,710 out of the 387,242 individuals deported were classified as "non-criminals." DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 38, p. 102, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

[20] Immigration & Customs Enforcement, Removal Statistics, available at: http://www.ice.gov/removal-statistics/.

[21] DHS, Office of Immigration Statistics, 2010 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, Table 38, p. 96-104, available at: http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/yearbook/2010/ois_yb_2010.pdf.

use of government resources: the removal of serious criminals from our communities.

But, as noted, the harshness of deportation law calls this rationale into serious question. Although the ranks of the deported certainly included some people convicted of serious offenses, the majority of those deported have faced this sanction due to drug offenses (often simple possession), immigration or traffic violations. In a 2009 report analyzing data it had received from ICE, Human Rights Watch concluded that approximately 72 percent of those who had been removed for criminal offenses had been removed for non-violent offenses, including minor traffic offenses, immigration law violations, and non-violent theft offenses.[22] In ICE's own report of its data, it indicated that 37 percent of the deportees it classified as criminal in 2010 had been convicted for violations of immigration and traffic laws.[23]

Despite the emphasis on deportation of dangerous criminals, the notion – easily conjured up by the term "criminal alien" – that immigrants, and in particular undocumented immigrants, are more prone to criminal activity is also a major misconception. Social science research clearly establishes that crime rates are higher among the native born population of the U.S. than among the immigrant population.[24] As a study published by the Migration Policy Institute concluded, this suggests a "paradox

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[22]   Human Rights Watch, Forced Apart (By the Numbers): Non-Citizens Deported Mostly for Nonviolent Offenses, p. 33, April 2009, available at: http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/us0409web.pdf.

[23]   Office of Immigration Statistics, Immigration Enforcement Actions: 2010, p. 4, available at http://www.dhs.gov/files/statistics/publications/immigration-enforcement-actions-2010.shtm.

[24]   See Ruben G. Rumbaut & Walter A. Ewing, *The Myth of Immigrant Criminality and the Paradox of Assimilation*, Immigration Policy Center, Spring 2007, available at: http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/special-reports/myth-immigrant-criminality-and-paradox-assimilation.

of assimilation" – that the children and grandchildren of many immigrants, and immigrants themselves who live in the U.S. for a long period of time, "become subject to economic and social forces, such as higher rates of family disintegration and drug and alcohol addiction," which result in higher rates of incarceration.[25]

The concept of "aggravated felonies" was introduced to immigration law in 1988 and at the time covered serious crimes such as murder, and drug and firearm trafficking. The 1996 laws dramatically expanded the types of criminal convictions that can be classified as aggravated felonies. Despite its severe name, the conviction need be neither a felony nor aggravated. This expansion is particularly significant because so-called aggravated felons have practically no defense to deportation, regardless of their immigration status, the length of time they have spent in the country, and whether they have U.S. citizen family members, including children. Whereas prior to 1996, individuals who were found to have committed an aggravated felony could still request relief from deportation from the immigration judge who would then weigh the positive and negative factors in the person's case, this type of relief was significantly curtailed in 1996. At the same time that opportunities to fight deportation were taken away, the definition of what constitutes an aggravated felony was expanded.

Individuals who are deemed "aggravated felons" are subject to mandatory detention, have less access to immigration court, and face a permanent bar to returning to the U.S. if deported. Furthermore, the law applies retroactively – so that individuals can be deemed to be "aggravated felons" and be subject to the

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[25]   See *id*. at 2.

immigration consequences that come with that label – even if the crime would not have been defined as an aggravated felony at the time it was committed or at the time the individual pled guilty. An individual with relatively minor convictions – such as a single conviction for theft who received a suspended one year sentence, meaning that he or she never spent a day in jail – can be deported and permanently barred from coming back as an aggravated felon. The number of people removed under the aggravated felony ground has more than doubled from 10,000 in 1992 to 26,000 in 2005, and a 2006 study found that about 70 percent of those charged as aggravated felons had lived in the U.S. for more than a decade.[26]

Major Problems in the System

Despite its obvious harshness, deportation has long been formalistically understood by the U.S. legal system as a non-criminal sanction and, for the most part, non-punitive. Though the Supreme Court has recently recognized that certain forms of deportation are an "integral part" of the penalty imposed on those who plead guilty to a deportable offense, deportation itself remains a "civil" matter.[27] As such, individuals in deportation proceedings do not receive many of the constitutional safeguards required in the context of criminal detention and prosecution. The current deportation system also raises significant questions about proportionality and fairness. Of the hundreds of thousands detained each year, many thousands – including most people with criminal convictions – are subject to mandatory detention, meaning, as noted above, that they are not eligible for release on bond and remain detained throughout their deportation

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[26]   TRAC Immigration, "How Often Is The Aggravated Felony Statute Used?", (2006), available at: http://trac.syr.edu/immigration/reports/158/.
[27]   *Padilla v. Kentucky*, 130 S. Ct. 1473, 1478-80 (2010).

proceedings. The system may also operate retroactively. Thus, many people have been deported for acts that, when committed, would not have led to their deportation or at least would have allowed them to apply for discretionary relief. Despite the fact that immigration law is widely recognized as an extremely intricate field, there is no right to government-funded counsel in immigration proceedings, leaving many to navigate the complex system on their own. This is especially the case for detained immigrants. Large immigration detention centers – some designed to hold over 1,000 people – are located in remote areas, far from the detainees' families and attorneys and nonprofit organizations offering legal services. Detainees are transferred from jail to jail with little or no notice, often being sent thousands of miles away from their family. Less than half of all immigrants are represented in immigration court, and the rate of representation is sure to be lower for those who are detained.[28] Lastly, changes in the law in 1996, and then again in 2005, limited the federal courts' ability to review deportation decisions. This is the system in which many individuals are sentenced to lifetime banishment.

Post-Deportation Legal Challenges

Because so many of those deported have U.S. citizen or legal permanent resident family members, they may be eligible – or at some point become eligible – to have a relative petition for them to return to the United States as immigrants. However, individuals who have previously been deported face significant challenges in getting a visa, even if they have a family member who can petition for them. Individuals who are deported are

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[28]   Executive Office for Immigration Review, FY 2010 Statistical Year Book, p. G-1, available at: www.justice.gov/eoir/statspub/fy10syb.pdf.

generally barred from returning to the United States for at least 10 years. Those who are deported as aggravated felons face a lifetime bar to returning. In addition, the reason for the deportation is also likely to make the individual ineligible for a visa. Some of the grounds of ineligibility can be waived, but many others – including nearly all drug offenses – create a permanent bar to return. The requirements are a bit less stringent for those seeking to enter as a nonimmigrant – meaning as a visitor or other temporary status – but these require that the individual show he or she does not intend to remain in the United States, and this can be difficult to do if the individual lived in the U.S. for much of their lives and has strong family ties here.

Data about wrongful deportations indicate substantial systemic problems. Many stories of U.S. citizens being wrongfully deported have been reported both by academic researchers and major media.[29] In addition, thousands of lawful permanent residents have been deported based on interpretations of the law later found to be incorrect. Just in recent years there have been a number of Supreme Court decisions holding that offenses that had previously been treated as "aggravated felonies" by immigration courts and federal courts were in fact not aggravated felonies.[30] For example, after years of deporting individuals as aggravated felons based on a single conviction for simple

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[29] *See, e.g.* Jacqueline Stevens, *U.S. Government Unlawfully Detaining And Deporting U.S. Citizens As Aliens*,18 Va. J. Soc. Pol'y & L. 606 (2011); Rachel E. Rosenbloom, *Remedies for the Wrongly Deported: Territoriality, Finality, and the Significance of Departure,* 33 u. Haw. L. Rev. 139, 166–67 (2011); Jill Serjeant, *Lawsuit Filed Over Man Deported and Lost in Mexico*, Reuters, Feb. 27, 2008, available at: http://www.reuters.com/article/2008/02/27/us-usa-immigration-lawsuit-idUSN2747919120080227; Ted Robbins, *In the Rush to Deport, Expelling U.S. Citizens*, National Public Radio, Oct. 24, 2011, available at: http://www.npr.org/2011/10/24/141500145/in-the-rush-to-deport-expelling-u-s-citizens.

[30] *See, e.g. Carachuri-Rosendo v. Holder*, 130 S. Ct. 2577 (2010); *Lopez v. Gonzales*, 549 U.S. 47 (2006); *Leocal v. Ashcroft*, 543 U.S. 1 (2004).

drug possession, the Supreme Court ruled in 2006 that such convictions, though they generally render someone vulnerable to deportation, are not aggravated felonies, and the immigration judges should have discretion to consider individuals' equities, such as the presence of family in the U.S., the length of time they have been living here, their rehabilitation and contributions to the community. The implications of these kinds of rulings are significant, because potentially tens of thousands of individuals have wrongfully been denied the opportunity to seek relief from removal and have been deported as aggravated felons. Nonetheless, those who have already been deported who try to reopen their cases to challenge such erroneous determinations face sometimes insurmountable hurdles.

Immigration law generally provides that when a mistake has been made, a "motion to reopen," requesting that the case be revisited, can be filed. But the Board of Immigration Appeals, which adjudicates appeals of decisions by immigration judges, has held that once out of the country a deportee may not challenge the decision through a motion to reopen, because "by virtue of their departure, [they] literally passed beyond our aid."[31] Though some federal courts are now recognizing a right to request that a court revisit a case even after deportation, these cases continue to be very difficult, and many who have been erroneously deported find themselves with no way to challenge their wrongful deportation.

Effects of Deportation

The consequences of these policies and practices of increased detention and deportation are extensive, ranging

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[31]   *Matter of Armendarez-Mendez*, 24 I&N Dec. 646, 656 (BIA 2008).

from economic and social implications, to the breaking up of families and communities. Nearly half of undocumented immigrant households are couples with children.[32] The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that there are 4 million U.S. citizen children who live in "mixed status" homes in which one or both undocumented parents is at risk of deportation.[33] Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) reported that over 100,000 parents of U.S. citizen children were deported between 1997 and 2007, and acknowledges that this number is likely an under-estimate.[34]

When a member of the family is detained, the family faces an impossible decision: it can choose to uproot the entire family, including the U.S. born children, from their home and return to the country of origin. Alternatively, the family may choose to remain in the United States, which, in the case of a deported parent, can create a single-parent family or push children into the foster care system.

Research conducted by the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project, a project of Boston College's Center for Human Rights and International Justice, on the effects of deportation on children shows that many children suffer from academic problems, depressive symptoms, anxiety symptoms, such as insecurity about the future, concern for parents, fear, sleep disturbance, nightmares, separation anxiety, and developmental

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[32] Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from augmented March 2008 Current Population Survey, Figure 10.

[33] Passel, J. S. & Cohn, D., *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States.* Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center, April 2009.

[34] Department of Homeland Security, Office of Inspector General, "Removals Involving Illegal Alien Parents of United States Citizen Children" p. 4. January 2009, available at: www.oig.dhs.gov/assets/Mgmt/OIG_09-15_Jan09.pdf.

and behavioral challenges such as withdrawal and tantrums.[35] The research also indicated that negative effects for parents who dealt with the threat of deportation included sadness, loss of energy, feelings of hopelessness, crying, anxiety, lost sleep, weight loss and gain, anger, fear, hyper vigilance, distrust, nightmares, and worry.[36] All too often, however, there is little room for judges or other adjudicators to take such factors into consideration and the effects of deportation on families and communities are largely ignored when making deportation decisions.

Negative effects of deportations are also felt in the countries to which deportees are sent. In addition to the loss of remittances, countries of deportation may not be in a position to receive and reintegrate individuals with mental health or criminal problems. In some countries, such as Guatemala and the Azores, government initiatives and nonprofit organizations have made an effort to reintegrate deportees by offering assistance such as language classes and job placement. There is no assistance offered, however, by the U.S. government, regardless of how long the deportees had lived in the United States prior to their deportation.

Today's Climate

In the summer of 2011, the Obama administration started to promote greater "prosecutorial discretion" in immigration enforcement. This was soon followed by an announcement that immigration authorities would review all pending cases in immigration court – an overwhelming 300,000 cases – to determine which cases could be temporarily closed. Of the

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[35]   Kalina Brabeck, Lykes, M.B. & Hershberg, R.. *Framing immigration to and deportation from the United States: Guatemalan and Salvadoran families make meaning of their experiences*, COMMUNITY, WORK, & FAMILY. 14 (3), 275-296 (2011).
[36]   *Id.*

nearly 150,000 cases reviewed thus far, about 9 percent were identified by immigration authorities of being meritorious of prosecutorial discretion, but only 1,500 (about 1 percent of cases reviewed) have been closed.[37] Oftentimes, even the immigrants who benefit from such prosecutorial discretion are left in limbo. Immigration authorities agree not to pursue their deportation, but may not provide them with a work permit or any assurances that they will not be placed back in deportation proceedings. Of course, such prosecutorial discretion does nothing to alleviate the plight of those who have already been deported under the current harsh immigration laws or of their families.

Despite these latest initiatives, more people have been deported in the first years of the Obama Administration than ever before. Today's deportation system remains unduly harsh and unforgiving, separating hundreds of thousands of people from their families and, many times, from the place they have long called home. Proportionality, discretion, and fairness must be restored to achieve a more just and humane immigration system.

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[37] E-mail from ICE Congressional Relations, March 9, 2012, available at: http://immigra-tionimpact.com/2012/03/14/crunching-and-clarifying-the-numbers-on-prosecutorial-discretion/.

THE UNKNOWN VICTIMS
OF THE OKLAHOMA BOMBING

Helena Marques

Immigrants' Assistance Center, MA – USA

Impact of Deportation on Children and Families

"Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breath free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tos to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door"

- Closing lines of the Emma Lazarus' famous poem inscribed at the entrance the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty welcoming immigrants to a country that could provide them with a better life for themselves and their families.

The Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act (IIRAIRA) of 1996 vastly changed the immigration laws of the United States. In 1996 the Illegal Immigration Reform and Responsibility Act was passed and signed into law by President Clinton on September 30, 1996. This law was triggered by the Oklahoma City bombing which was thought to have been committed by terrorists, even though it was later discovered that it was a crime done by a Native U.S. Citizen. This harsh immigration law is considered the most inhumane, restrictive and anti-immigrant-biased law passed in the United States.

The first word in the name of the law is "Illegal" automatically gives the reader the impression that this law targets illegal or

undocumented immigrants but, unfortunately, this law impacts Legal Permanent Residents (LPR). The majority of the legislators that signed for this law did not know the difference between legal and illegal immigrants. This law is causing long time Legal Permanent Residents (green card holders) to be exiled to countries they have no connections with. They are being deported for misdemeanors or relatively minor crimes such as shoplifting, theft, burglary, possession of small amounts of marijuana regardless of how long ago these incidents took place.

A huge flaw of the IIRAIRA law is that it is RETROACTIVE which means that ICE (Immigration Custom Enforcement) can deport a Legal Permanent Resident (LPR) for a crime regardless of time already served and the time lapsed since the incident occurred.

In many cases, lawyers who are not immigration lawyers are not aware of the consequences of this immigration law. Many times lawyers instructed their clients to plead guilty and in return jeopardized their clients status in the United States. Many of these clients get deported. A lot of times this legal advise was given to their clients long before the IIRAIRA law was passed in 1996.

In Superior Court "alien warning" is implemented by judges; however, in District Court it was not enforced until 2000. Now "alien warnings" are on docket sheets.

Once a Legal Permanent Residents (LPR) are deported, they can never enter the US. They loose all benefits including their retirement or pensions which they contributed to while residing and working in the US. Once a deportee deceases, their spouse in the US can received the benefits on their behalf.

Main Reasons for Deportation:

Eighty five percent of the 790 deportation cases that received assistance at the Immigrants' Assistance Center (IAC) since 1996, drug possession, domestic violence and assault and battery were the main reasons for deportation. (The IAC is presently working with 19 cases, 18 men and 1 woman).

Many of the deportation cases that were caused by domestic violence was due to violation of restraining orders. Many times their wives took out restraining orders (209A) against their spouses to force them into drug treatment. It backfired and they had not idea that their spouses would get deported for violating a restraining order. Even though many of the wives wanted to stop the deportation proceedings it was too late because the court was already involved. Many of them are living with guilt that their actions are what led to their husbands deportation.

Impact of Deportation on Families (US Children):

This inhumane law is destroying families, most of them US spouses and Children. Families are being torn apart; wives are left with burden of all emotional and psychological effects of the traumatic event of the break-up of the family. Many of the wives and children seek therapy and have to be medicated. Many end up being hospitalized. Many of the wives can not afford to pay their bills, they are forced to go on government assistance, some have two or three jobs and many move in with other family members because of lack of financial resources. Families have lost their homes, cars and are left in financial shambles. Many families have spent all their life savings, borrowed from banks, family members, neighbors and friends in order to pay

for legal fees, only to find out later that they had become victims of lawyers with false promises and their loved ones were still deported.

Children start to develop behavioral problems at home and at school, their grades start to decline and many times Department of Social Services get involved because the mother alone can not control the child. At times we refer the families and children to therapist to ease some of their anxiety and to cope with the trauma of the loved one being deported. Many times the children who have a strong bond with their father do not understand why their father is being deported and they feel deserted. Many of these children have to go on medication due to depression.

For the women who are deported they leave their US children in the custody of family members, many times is their elderly mother who are not capable of taking proper care of the children. These children feel neglected, deserted and become at risk. At times they follow the same pattern of drug abuse as their parents.

Even though some of the wives want to go and join their husbands they have a very hard time leaving the US. These US born wives do not speak Portuguese nor do their children and they will have a hard time finding employment or integrating into the Portuguese culture. There have been a few families that have left US to join their spouses.

Deportees also leave behind all of their family members and the only country that they know and feel connected to. Majority of them leave behind elderly mothers who are very fragile, sick and are heavily medicated due to depression. Even though they

live on a fixed income they feel obligated and responsible to take care of them financially. These mothers blame themselves for their sons/daughters being deported. Even though many of these elderly mothers became US Citizens when their children were young they were never informed about the importance of their children becoming US Citizens. These elderly mothers live in grief, feel responsible and many times send money that they can not afford to their sons/daughters to ease some of their guilt. Some of the elderly mothers have moved back to the Azores to help their sons/daughters and some of them visit them several times during the year.

Profile of a Deportee:

Due to the fact that the majority of deportees lived in the US most all of their lives, they thought that they were US Citizens.

95% of deportees immigrated to the US as children with their parents in the 1960's and 1970's. Even though we have provided assistance to deportees from other parts of Portugal, the majority of the deportation cases are from the Azores, primarily the island of Sao Miguel.

85% of the deportees witnessed some type of alcohol and/or domestic abuse at home as children by their father.

85% of the deportees started to experiment with drugs (marijuana) and alcohol at young teens (12-13-14).

95% of the deportees dropped out of high school at the age of 16.

95% of the deportees worked either as a fisherman, construction worker, carpenter, vinyl siding, roofers, and laborers.

85% of the deportees speak very limited Portuguese

90% of the deportees never visited Azores or Portugal

90% of the deportees have no family ties in the Azores

The number one reason for deportation of LPR's continues to be drug related (95%). These addictions lead to the second most common reasons for deportation which are domestic violence and assault and battery.

The average age of a deportee is mid thirty's to mid forty's but we have had several deportees in the late fifty's and sixty's. The youngest as of today has been 19 years of age.

Efforts to Change the IIRAIRA:

The majority of family members are embarrassed by the stigma attached to deportation and are reluctant to speak about the issue. In 1998 the Immigrants' Assistance Center, Inc. (IAC) developed a support group for family members of deportees so that they could not feel less isolated and be able to express their feelings and talk to other families that were facing the same challenges. The support group was called Women Immigrant Support Hub (WISH). A total of 120 women joined WISH; the group consisted of mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and friends. This group met on monthly bases in church basements in Fall River and New Bedford. The main focus was to educate the community about the impact of deportation and to try to change the retroactive portion of IIRAIRA. These families told their stories to the media, participated on vigils, did demonstrations and held information sessions with local, state and federal legislators to speak about how deportation of their loved ones had impacted their families. This activism was with the hope that the law would change.

There was a lot of support from legislators in Congress that the retroactive portion of IIRAIRA would be changed but the tragedy of September 11th occurred and that hope was diminished. The women stopped attending the WISH meetings.

Increase in Deportation:

The Patriot Act passed after the tragedy of September 11, 2001. There has been a vigorously increase in deportation by ICE since 9/11. Immigration database that is in place alerts immigration of all past criminal history of Legal Permanent Residents. LPR's are being flagged by ICE when they returned to US after traveling abroad; when they apply for their US Citizenship and when they renew their LPR card. Immigration now requires the renewal of LPR cards every ten years. Some States have signed agreements through Secure Communities and State and local police are sharing information with homeland security every time an LPR gets arrested.

Many times LPR's are being picked up picked up by ICE at home during the early morning, at work or when they go and see their probation officer.

Solutions:

The only way to protect LPR's from ever being deported or becoming victims of immigration laws is to make sure they become US Citizens. The IAC strongly believes that the best way for immigrants to integrate into the American way of life is for them to become US Citizens and vote for candidates that represent their beliefs and needs.

The IAC has been providing immigration and citizenship information sessions at the local high schools since the IIRAIRA law in 1996. During these sessions we inform immigrant students

about the importance of them applying for US Citizenship and we also speak about the deportation. We give students flyers about the consequences of criminal conduct and how it can lead to deportation. Students also learn about the Citizenship process.

The IAC has an extensive Citizenship support and assistance program that helps immigrants with the citizenship process including ESOL with Citizenship and civic classes. Thousands of immigrants have become US Citizens with the guidance and support of the IAC. The IAC has been involved with the Portuguese American Citizenship Project since the beginning in 2000. Its' main function is to promote citizenship and civic involvement. During elections the IAC sends out voter reminder cards. In addition, with the assistance of Maria Tomásia, New Bedford Election Commissioner the IAC gets copies of the ballots and passes out to clients before election day. For clients voting for the first time the IAC takes them to the voting polls and provides assistance at the polls. This is a non-partisan initiate.

SPINNING IN BETWEEN VICTIM AND OFFENDER CYCLE

Suzete Frias

ARRISCA – Associação Regional de Reabilitação
e Integração Sociocultural dos Açores – Portugal

By definition deportation implies expulsion of a person from a place or country, exclusion means shutting out, whether by thrusting out or by preventing admission, debarring, rejection whilst. On the other hand, inclusion implies a sense of belonging, feeling respected, valued for who you are.

When a person is deported several Human Rights are broken as per example:

Article 5: No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment **(Being deprive forever of all their familiar references is considered an inhuman punishment);**

Article 6: Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law **(people are expelled without the right of taking with them personal documents that give us an identity before the law);**

Article 9: No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or **exile (some of the cases are people with a mental disease that should be treated instead of arrested);**

Article 11: (2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not

constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed**.(The Law of deportation became retroactive implying that deportation wasn't the penalty imposed at the time that certain crimes were committed);**

Article 16:(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State**.(Deportation deprives children of growing normally with contact with both parents);**

Article 17: (2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property**.(After deportation people are deprived of their property, per example savings with the Unions, etc).**

Most deportees arrive with the expectations that the needs of security, stability, support, care, empathy, sharing feelings, acceptance and respect will not be met in a predictable manner. Most deportees have mixed feelings of shock, guilt, self-pity, shame, humiliation, anger, loss of meaning. As they spin between offender/victim/offender cycle, fantasies of revenge and the desire for justice and vindication appear. A "Good versus Evil" narrative develops, dehumanizing whom they perceive as enemies (in this case USA, Canada and Portugal) but because of the physical distance they project all there feelings against local people. Most of their deviant behaviors towards the community are justified as being committed in the name of self-defense and or justice against prejudice.

The program we are developing and implementing pretends to prevent conflicts, contributing to the elimination of prejudice and stigmas and tries to decrease the cultural distance. For each victim not rehabilitated we risk having other victims in

the future, for each aggressor/offender not rehabilitated, we risk having other victims in the future and traumas that are not solved in one generation will proceed to the next generation. The exclusion criteria are: Pronounced cognitive impairment; Psychotic disorder.

The program's main aim is to cause change and flexibility in three areas identified as crucial to the maintenance of the phenomenon: individual vulnerabilities, instrumental and cultural beliefs and strategies, attitudes and behaviors.

How do we do it?

1) Self-help Group and individual sessions.
- Promoting Grounding
- Acceptance of the deportation:
> New context
> New language and culture
> Losses
> Confrontation with fears

2) Documentation, information and training about community resources.

3) Arrisca Integra Sessions.
- Personal and Social skills – "PertenSer" –"BeLong"
- Citizenship and Community Services
- Form to employ
- Health Education
- Computers User's Perspective

4) Theatre of the Oppressed.

5) Common tasks and programs.

6) Celebrating feasts together.

7) Testimonials.

8) Conflict transformation "Quebrando o Circulo" – "Breaking Free".

The program is structured in 6 phases with the following contents: a) Mourn / Expressing grief; b) Why them? Understanding root causes; c) Rehumanizing the aggressor/ enemy; d) Facing own shortcomings; e) Choosing to forgive; f) Integrating trauma into new self/group identity.

A) Mourn /Express grief.
i- Experience of emotions:
      Sadness
      Fear
      Guilt
      Shame / embarrassment
ii-Violence and coercion:
      Anger and aggression
      coercion
iii-See myself in the mirror:
      Look inside of me
      Inferiority and failure
      Emotional deprivation and dependency
      Grandiosity

B) Why them? Understanding root causes.

C) Rehumanizing the aggressor/enemy.

D) Facing own shortcomings.iv- Stereotypes, prejudice and stigma.
v-Insecurity, mistrust and control
vi-See you in my mirror

E) Choosing to forgive.
vii) Admitting guilt and Restitution of Creative Justice

F) Integrating trauma into new self/group identity.
viii - Negotiating solutions
ix - Joint Planning
x- Reconstructing a meaningful narrative together
xi- Developing critical thinking

With these interventions we expect to process traumas by accepting that everyone suffered; decrease distance between locals and individuals who were deported and promote the acceptance of others as possible friends.

Adequate role models for living together
in sustainable security.

USING THE HUMAN RIGHTS BASED APPROACH TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPE VERDEAN AUTHORITIES CAPACITIES IN MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

Dário Muhamudo

International Organization for Migration (IOM),

Office in Praia – Republic of Cape Verde

This article resumes the presentation by the IOM at the International Symposium on Human Rights and Quality of Life of the Portuguese Speaking Communities in the USA and Canada that took place between the 9th and 10th of November in Cambridge, MA, United States of America.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) Office in Praia, Cape Verde, thanks the kind invitation addressed by the Direção Regional das Comunidades of the Azores Regional Government, for the opportunity to present its activities to strengthen the capacities of the Cape Verdean authorities in migration management.

At a Glance

Established in 1951, IOM is the leading inter-governmental organization in the field of migration and works closely with governmental, intergovernmental and non-governmental partners.

With 146 member states, a further 13 states holding observer status and offices in over 100 countries, IOM is

dedicated to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all. It does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants.

IOM works to help ensure the orderly and humane management of migration, to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced people[38].

The IOM Constitution recognizes the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as to the right of freedom of movement. IOM works in the four broad areas of migration management: Migration and development; Facilitating migration; Regulating migration, and; Forced migration. The IOM activities that cut across these areas include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants' rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration.

IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As the leading international organization for migration, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to:
• Assist in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management.
• Advance understanding of migration issues.
• Encourage social and economic development through migration.

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38   Although IOM has no legal protection mandate, the fact remains that its activities contribute to protecting human rights, having the effect, or consequence, of protecting persons involved in migration.

• Uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

IOM is currently implementing over 2,900 projects with a budget of over 1,4 billion USD with over 450 offices in more than 120 countries and around 7,300 staff members.

Although IOM is not part of the UN system, it works closely with the UN specialized agencies and is part of the UN Country Teams around the world.

The Human Rights Based Approach

IOM uses the Human Rights Based Approach as a Planning and Clarification Instrument in Development Strategies, as it leads to a higher definition of results by analyzing and facing inequalities, discriminatory policies and unbalanced power relations. It also allows that internationally recognized Human Rights are at the centre of its interventions and capacity development.

IOM is committed to the principle that there is <u>no sound migration governance outside the rule of law</u>. As such, States have competency and responsibility to decide, *inter alia*, on admission, stay and expulsion of migrants, but they can do so only in compliance with standards they have agreed to be bound upon. As a reference, the UN Working Group on Arbitrary Detention highlighted in 2010 that Immigrant Detention should be gradually abolished.

Most people who overstay have lack of information regarding ways of remaining or migrating again to that country. Considering this, measures can be put in place to prevent and reduce irregular migration and to promote regular migration channels.

Cape Verde

Cape Verde, is a 10 island based archipelago that is located 500Kms from the West African coast of Senegal and at the cross of the air and sea routes between Europe and South America, and Africa and the Americas. It has a domestic population of around 492,000[39] people and a Diaspora estimated to double that number. The most significant destination countries are the USA, Portugal, France, the Netherlands, Senegal, Angola, Mozambique and Germany[40].

Bilateral and Multilateral Initiatives

The following are a few examples of cooperation initiatives at the bilateral and multilateral level currently in place in Cape Verde:

- Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), a grant awarded by the Millennium Challenge Cooperation (an independent foreign aid agency of the US Government[41]). In October 2010 Cape Verde concluded the 1st Compact and given the successful implementation it started and concluded negotiations that led to a 2nd Compact being awarded, making it so far the only African country that has managed to qualify for a 2nd grant.

- Special Partnership between the European Union (EU) and Cape Verde, this framework agreement was established in "2007 under the auspices of the Cotonu Agreement, and sought to transform the existing donor-beneficiary relationship into a framework of mutual interests. This is to be achieved through political cooperation, and cooperation on migration,

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[39]   Data from the latest Cape Verde census from 2010, http://www.ine.cv/CaboVerdeAt/default.htm

[40]   IOM Migration Profile 2009, http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=redirect&action=url&goto=publications.iom.int%2Fbookstore%2Ffree%2FCape_Verde_Profile_2009.pdf&zenid=3fd313f77fd144c40c1fa284483fc4c8

[41]   http://www.mcc.gov/pages/about

security, sustainable development, the alleviation of poverty, trade liberation and flows of goods, people and capital, information, science, education and culture. A recurring theme is cooperation and integration with the EU's remotest regions in the North Atlantic (the Canaries, Azores and Madeira"[42]. While the scope of the Special Partnership is considerably wide, an agreement specifically focused on migration and mobility issues was also signed. This agreement, signed under the framework of the Special Partnership, is called the Mobility Partnership (MP). Cape Verde was, together with the Republic of Moldova the first of only two countries to sign this agreement during its pilot phase (the Republic of Georgia signed a Mobility Partnership with the EU later in 2009). The Mobility Partnership with Cape Verde highlights 3 main areas of cooperation:

• Mobility, Legal Migration and Integration;

• Migration and Development, and;

• Border Management, Identity and Travel Documents, Fight against Illegal Migration and Trafficking in Human Beings.

- Delivering as One UN, as part the United Nations (UN) reform, the intervention of the UN in Cape Verde has been framed under the "*Delivering as One UN*" since 2009. This initiative allows for a more coherent approach to the implementation of programs and activities, to the identification of synergies between the different UN agencies (thus avoiding duplication) and to an overall more effective intervention of the UN in Cape Verde in order to support the Government of Cape Verde to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDG's), and to ease the transition following its graduation to the group of Middle-

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[42]   http://www.eeas.europa.eu/cape_verde/index_en.htm

Income Countries[43] in 2008. The vision of the Delivering as One UN, has the following initiatives at its core, as recommended by the report of the UN High Level Panel: the *One Program*, where all activities are presented, its main partners identified and the different agencies comparative advantages are assembled in the UNDAF[44]; the *One Leader*, the UN Resident Coordinator has the competencies, responsibilities and authority to manage the presence and UN actions in the country, as well as a common Communication Strategy; the *One Common Budget Framework*, which allows for a more clear, coherent, consolidated and coordinated financial cooperation permitting a more effective resource mobilization in order to achieve the UNDAF goals, and; *One Office/Common Services*, where by managing the available resources in a more effective way, it is possible to maximize their impact and deliver significant operational savings.

IOM Projects in Cape Verde

IOM has been present in Cape Verde since July 2008[45]. During this period, IOM has been involved in the following projects:

- DIAS de Cabo Verde – Diaspora for the Development of Cape Verde, this Migration and Development project aimed at strengthening the capacity and the competencies of the professionals working in key development sectors in Cape Verde, through the mobilization of Diaspora competencies in Portugal, Italy and the Netherlands (the 3 target countries) to act as development agents. This took form through the

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[43]   The "Middle-Income Countries" are countries that fall under the criteria set by the World Bank's *World Development Indicators*. See also: http://go.worldbank.org/BD-ZHSEY4J0

[44]   United Nations Development Assistance Framework.

[45]   While IOM has had a presence in Cape Verde since July 2008, Cape Verde is a member state of the organization since 2001.

mapping of needs in key sectors in Cape Verde (Education, Health, Infrastructures and Tourism) after which a total of 160 requests were identified. There were over 200 highly qualified professionals of Cape Verdean origin registered on the online database which led to the accomplishment of 28 training missions. These professionals travelled to Cape Verde to perform short-term training missions in public institutions identified during the mapping exercise phase. The project also selected and invited 9 business projects led by migrant entrepreneurs based in those 3 countries to travel to Cape Verde and to present their ideas to the local authorities in search of partnerships and possible bridges for cooperation. At the end of the project, in January 2010, a total of 7 professionals have returned to settle and currently reside in Cape Verde, and 2 of the business ideas have been implemented. This project was funded with a grant from the European Union (AENEAS 2007) and co-funded by the Portuguese Development Assistance Institute (IPAD[46]).

 - Strengthening the Capacity of the Ministry of Communities to Promote Effective Migration Management and Diaspora Outreach in Cape Verde, this project was developed in order to meet the challenges faced by recently created Ministry of Communities of Cape Verde (MoC) to promote effective migration management in Cape Verde, while building the capacity of other national and local institutions dealing with migration. This will be achieved through training for MoC and other key national and local government officials, the establishment of a standardized system for migration data collection, and enhancing the communication and outreach strategy of the MC

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[46]   IPAD – Instituto Português de Apoio ao Desenvolvimento.

and IC to promote its work while reinforcing the links with the Diaspora. The activities of this project will be presented at the "International Migration Fair" which will be a showcase of all the initiatives taken place in Cape Verde in the area of Migration/ Mobility. This project is currently on-going and is funded by the IOM Development Fund with additional co-funding from the One UN Cape Verde Transition Fund.

   - The Migration House, at the request of the Cape Verdean authorities, IOM developed a framework program which governs its interventions under the Delivering as One UN in Cape Verde. This program consists of two action pillars, namely the *Pillar 1 - Research and Information* and *Pillar 2 – Orientation and Information*. As part of its activities under Pillar 1, IOM developed the first Migration Profile of Cape Verde[47], using a methodology common to 9 other West African countries, where a similar exercise took place. This allowed for the data collected in each of the different countries to be analyzed and compared in order to provide an overall analysis on migration in the West Africa region. As part of Pillar 2 activities and at the request of the IC[48], IOM recruited a consultant to revise and upgrade IC's "Deportee Integration Project", a document that was initially drafted in 2002 but due to several constraints has not been implemented. This consultancy also included a mission to the Azores islands where, together with an officer of the IC and the support of the Regional Directorate for Communities[49], the consultant had the opportunity to document the way the

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[47] "Cabo Verde: Perfil Nacional 2009", this publication is available in Portuguese lan-guage (the Executive Summary is in English), in PDF format and it can be downloaded here: http://publications.iom.int/bookstore/index.php?main_page=redirect&action= url&goto=publications.iom.int%2Fbookstore%2Ffree%2FCape_Verde_Profile_2009. pdf&zenid=3fd313f77fd144c40c1fa284483fc4c8
[48] Institute of Communities, Instituto das Comunidades.
[49] Direção Regional das Comunidades, Governo Regional dos Açores.

Human Mobility and Socio-cultural Support Network[50] works, to explore possible synergies and to identify possible paths to replicate the way this network works. The consultant analyzed the different instances of the project, the main reasons why it has not been implemented and provided possible lines of action and recommendations that have been presented to the Cape Verdean authorities. Another activity of this program is to provide pre-departure cultural orientation to Cape Verdean migrants bound to the USA. This is in line with the Cape Verdean Government efforts in preparing their nationals prior to leaving to a different country. A workshop has been organized to train focal points in the different islands on cultural orientation to the USA and an officer has been recruited to work in a Government office in Praia to provide information on social, educational and cultural aspects of life in the USA. While the service works as a walk-through information-desk, there will also be one week courses organized both in Praia, where the office is based, and in the islands of Brava and Fogo, from where the majority of Cape Verdeans bound to the USA are from. The officer will also develop two different guides for migrants who are going to and migrants arriving from the USA:

• an USA arrival guide to be given to emigrants containing practical information on services and local community associations based in the USA in the areas where they will live and where information is available to ease their integration and regular stay in the host country, and;

• a return guide for migrants who return to Cape Verde from the USA, in order to prepare their return prior to their effective date of travel.

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[50]   **Rede de Suporte Sóciocultural à Mobilidade Humana.**

Apart from the information service provided to the US bound migrants, the Migration House Program is also supporting the installation of the Immigration Coordination Unit (UCI)[51] through the recruitment of an officer that will provide information to immigrants arriving in Cape Verde seeking information to ease their integration. The immigration phenomenon is quite recent in Cape Verde, as for the most part of its history it has been a country of emigrants. To face the challenges posed by this new reality, the Government of Cape Verde established the UCI in order to coordinate, integrate and monitor the policies and initiatives that deal with immigration. This unit is based at the Office of the Prime Minister, under the Co-Minister. It is a result of the work developed by the Interministerial Commission for the Proposition of an Immigration Policy.

Final Remarks

By working with partners in the international community, IOM is able to draw on different expertise in order to support the efforts of the Government of Cape Verde in addressing some of its migration challenges. As an example in the search for answers to face the recurring issue of forcibly returned citizens to Cape Verde, the IOM consultant, together with an officer from the IC, had the opportunity to cooperate with the Azores Regional Directorate for Communities and to identify the best practices currently in place in that region.

The opportunity to present our activities at this Symposium was also an opportunity to get to know other institutions that have the same goal and to foster and develop partnerships in this area. We trust the good work

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[51]   UCI – Unidade de Coordenação da Imigração.

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and possibilities that were started here will be concretized in actions in the near future.

We renew our appreciation to the Regional Directorate of Communities of the Azores Regional Government for the invitation to attend this 1st Symposium and IOM reiterates its commitment to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society.

Thank you!

O BARCO E O SONHO
DEPORTAÇÃO – DA TEORIA À PRÁTICA

João Paulo Soares Rodrigues

Investigador no Robert Shuman Institute, Açores – Portugal

Falar de emigração é falar de viagem e de sonho. Viagem (ou viagens) onde cabe o sonho (ou sonhos). Viagens interrompidas, por acabar, onde o sonho flutua, teimando em persistir...

Vários são os escolhos com que se deparam os viajantes, ao longo de outra grande viagem que é a vida. O (s) porto (s) a que se chega não é (são), seguro (s) como se pensava ou fundeou-se no (s) porto (s) errado (s). Aportado, bem comportado, resignado, mal comportado, frustrado, deportado...

E eis o regresso indesejado à "terra do nunca", a um espaço vagamente mítico, advindo dos confins da memória familiar. É o drama da deportação.

Quem é, afinal, o deportado (ou o repatriado, como outros o chamam)? Não é fácil defini-lo, muito menos classificá-lo... Mas é preciso traçar o perfil deste indivíduo, mais ou menos estranho, que vem de fora.

Algumas das suas características mais relevantes que nos apareceram aquando das entrevistas realizadas:

Ao nível emocional:
dificuldades em expressar emoções; recorrem frequentemente a modos agressivos nos contactos interpessoais; dificuldades com o processo de individualização e com a sua governação e gestão do *self*.

Ao nível cognitivo:
possuem um pensar concreto; dificuldade de raciocínio lógicos e dificuldade de expressão.

Ao nível comunicacional:
resistem e evitam o contacto; desconfiados; desistem facilmente quando o assunto não lhe interessa; um tom de voz baixo quando estão com pessoas que não conhecem, alto quando se querem afirmar; omissão e grandes períodos de silêncio; baixa capacidade de se relacionarem.

Ao nível da sociabilidade:
dificuldade em incorporar regras; dificuldades quando confrontados com novas situações sociais.

Imagem de si:
sentimento de incompetência; de indignação; de discriminação; problemas identitários; baixos níveis de autoestima e de autoconfiança.

Associado a estas características, é visível a existência de perturbações de grande stress sociocultural cujos principais fatores geradores são:

> - **ao nível familiar**: a quebra de laços; desentendimentos conjugais;
> - **ao nível profissional**: subestimulação, mau ambiente de trabalho, insatisfação, desemprego;
> - **ao nível social**: falta de espaço, não domínio da língua portuguesa, rendimentos insuficientes, estigmatização por parte da sociedade de acolhimento.

Tais perturbações levam a <u>estados graves de depressão</u>, o que pudemos constatar no decorrer das nossas entrevistas. Estados de forte desânimo e de tristeza causados por uma perda de vontade de viver. Este estado de pessimismo global é acompanhado pelo sentimento de inferioridade que sentem, de uma perda da consideração por si mesmos distintos da simples tristeza. O pessimismo e o desinteresse que sentem são acompanhados por uma lentidão de espírito, sentimentos de ansiedade e fadiga que os atiram, muitas vezes, para a reincidência do consumo de drogas e álcool. Tudo isto cria um estado de desespero que pode suscitar ideias de suicídio, situação que ocorreu em relação a alguns deles.

Das interpretações dos contactos que temos feito sobre esta questão, e para não sermos fastidiosos, chegamos à conclusão que poderemos, sumariamente, apontar aspetos negativos e positivos. Temos verificado que, genericamente, o perfil do deportado reveste-se de uma caracterização toda ela assente numa súmula de aspetos negativos – nomeadamente a nível comportamental, cognitivo e emocional, comunicacional e social. Insiste-se demasiado nesta vertente, enfatizando os defeitos que potenciam, cada vez mais, o percurso para a exclusão social, reforçando, deste modo, o estigma e o impacto enorme que tem sobre o indivíduo e a sociedade que o acolhe.

Tal caracterização, na ótica do próprio indivíduo, mina-lhe a autoestima, corrói-lhe a autoconfiança, ao mesmo tempo que, na perspetiva da sociedade de acolhimento, se instala o estereótipo conducente ao segregacionismo ("cuidado com o deportado!").

Esta generalização e globalização dos traços tendem a esquecer o indivíduo e as suas particularidades, pondo em causa a sua autovalidação, fazendo-o resvalar para um papel de vítima – uma personagem, plena de handicaps, um somatório de dependências, em suma, uma "persona non grata".

Onde vem parar este indivíduo? A que meio? Em que tipo de sociedade vem desaguar? Provenientes de meios geográfica e culturalmente diferentes, deparam-se com um meio geograficamente exíguo, onde ainda se zela por determinados valores individuais e sociais e em que se está constantemente atento, vigilante. O deportado situa-se no extremo do fracasso quando se espera que o emigrante tem que ser, quase obrigatoriamente, bem sucedido.

Do genericamente negativo criaram-se premissas que, de universais, têm de se adaptar ao particular.

Tendo em conta que a faixa etária e o nível de escolarização constituem traços individuais, há que avaliar, particularmente, cada contexto (comportamental, cognitivo, emocional, comunicacional, social), na busca de traços positivos a enfatizar, sobretudo, através de uma psicoterapia, à partida, centrada no indivíduo – sem esquecer o grupo – observando o modo como age e interage. Ao longo desse processo poderá ser necessário, por vezes, partir do <u>negativo</u> para o <u>positivo</u>

(por exemplo, o <u>desvio</u> pode constituir um ponto de partida para a reconstrução social do indivíduo, consciencializando-o da(s) prática(s) desviante(s), partilhando-as discursivamente, numa atitude pedagógica de experiências vividas. Poder-se-á, assim, avaliar as competências e *performances* de cada um, ao descobrir potencialidades e capacidades através da inserção em atividades ocupacionais.

Perscrutando sonhos, traçando objetivos, delineando metas a atingir, é contribuir para a autovalidação do indivíduo, fomentando, sobretudo, a autoestima e a autoconfiança.

Contudo, não cabe apenas aos técnicos um trabalho de tal envergadura sem o contributo do meio, ou melhor, da sociedade onde irão inserir-se. Se um meio geograficamente exíguo, atento e vigilante, poderá parecer, à partida, negativo, há que demonstrar que o indivíduo é capaz de poder validar-se perante o outro, através de atitudes e comportamentos aceites em sociedades minoritárias que, positivamente, e por outro lado, conseguem manter incólumes determinados valores. Não é só ao indivíduo que cabe esse esforço; também à sociedade acolhedora se pede que corrobore. Aos *media*, às instituições e organizações cabe consciencializar, fomentar, partilhar, para que o estigma se vá, progressivamente, diluindo.

Que haja, sobretudo, projetos exequíveis não só na teoria, mas na prática (pensar e atuar, em simultâneo).

No âmbito desta questão, é de relevar o trabalho que a Região Autónoma dos Açores tem levado a cabo, através da Direção Regional das Comunidades e de associações (nomeadamente a Arrisca, o Novo Dia, o Abrigo Amigo), que têm envidado diversos e continuados esforços e cujos resultados se têm evidenciado de forma bastante satisfatória, fruto de um acompanhamento atento e empenhado, no sentido de vir a

melhorar, cada vez mais, a situação de todos aqueles que têm sido abrangidos pelo fenómeno da deportação.

Que o deportado não seja visto como um incapaz, como um falhado, como um subsídio-dependente (a juntar a todas as outras dependências que constam, genericamente, da forma como é delineado o seu perfil), mas com capacidades de lutar pela sua subsistência de uma forma digna, um cidadão que tem sonhos e que, como qualquer outro, aspira a realizá-los. Para que a sua viagem, cheia de escolhos, não acabe num naufrágio, mas que chegue a porto seguro. Em nome de uma cidadania plural.

A nossa comunicação insere-se no âmbito do percurso de um deportado (nomeadamente do deportado açoriano), visando os aspetos negativos e positivos que delineam o seu perfil e o modo como poderão articular-se, tendo em conta três itens que consideramos fundamentais – o indivíduo, o meio e a(s) estratégia(s).

Esta nossa comunicação é fruto do conhecimento adquirido no trabalho de Mestrado, em 2010 e algumas considerações sumárias decorrentes do nosso trabalho de investigação inserida numa tese de Doutoramento sobre a temática da Inserção dos repatriados açorianos, que poderão servir de ponto de partida para um desenvolvimento mais profundo sobre esta temática.

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FOTOS
DO EVENTO

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CAPÍTULO III

APOIO COMUNITÁRIO

SERVIÇOS DE INTEGRAÇÃO PARA AÇORIANOS E OUTROS IMIGRANTES FALANTES DA LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA EM MASSACHUSETTS

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O que é a MAPS

A MAPS é uma agência privada e sem fins lucrativos que tem oferecido uma ampla variedade de serviços educacionais, sociais e de saúde linguística e culturalmente adequados para falantes de língua portuguesa e outros moradores do estado de Massachusetts desde 1970.

• ONG desde 1970

• Organização para a Comunidade

• Linguisticamente e culturalmente competente prestando serviços sociais, educacionais e de saúde

• Conselho Diretivo representando a comunidade

• 35 empregados profissionais e mais de 60 voluntários regulares que falam diversas línguas servindo diversos grupos étcnicos

• 6 escritórios localizados no coração das nossas comunidades

• Mais de 20 programas para ajudar os nossos clientes imigrantes a se integrarem com sucesso na nova comunidade e construir uma vida melhor para eles e suas famílias

A MAPS atendeu a mais de 9,000 pessoas no Ano Fiscal de 2011, incluindo atendimentos diretos e contatos com a comunidade. Entre os programas oferecidos atualmente estão Serviços Sociais para Imigrantes; Assistência para Cidadania; Aulas de Português, Preparação para o Teste de Cidadania e Inglês para Falantes de Outra Língua (ESOL); Serviços para a Terceira Idade; Serviços de Apoio à Família; Serviços de Combate à Violência Doméstica; Intervenção de Agressores; Educação e Prevenção de HIV/AIDS (SIDA); Acompanhamento de Casos de HIV/AIDS (SIDA); Aconselhamento e Testes de HIV; Projeto de Saúde Mental e HIV; Programas para Jovens; Educação sobre Álcool para Motoristas; Prevenção ao Câncer (Cancro) de Mama; Soluções de Eficiência Energética para Pequenas Empresas na região de Boston; Serviços de Tradução e Autenticação.

A MAPS é gerida por um Diretor Executivo e uma Diretoria de 15 voluntários, incluindo imigrantes e descendentes de imigrantes de Portugal, Brasil e Cabo Verde com uma ampla variedade de experiências profissionais. O Diretor Executivo e os outros 35 funcionários da MAPS são membros bilíngues e biculturais das comunidades de língua portuguesa e crioula de Cabo Verde. A MAPS também mantém um núcleo de voluntários das comunidades assistidas que ajudam com planeamento, implementação e avaliação de programas. O orçamento da MAPS é de mais de $2 milhões de dólares por ano.

A Missão da MAPS

A missão da MAPS é melhorar as vidas das pessoas e famílias de Massachusetts que falam português e ajudá-los a tornarem-se participantes ativos e contribuintes na sociedade americana, ao mesmo tempo em que mantenham uma

forte identidade étnica e um senso de comunidade. Em seus escritórios em Cambridge, Somerville, Allston, Dorchester, Lowell e Framingham, a MAPS trabalha com e para brasileiros, cabo-verdianos, portugueses e outras comunidades de língua portuguesa para remover as barreiras no acesso a serviços de saúde, educação e sociais por meio de atendimento direto, ativismo, liderança e desenvolvimento comunitário.

Os Falantes da língua Portuguesa em Massachusetts

A população atendida pela MAPS inclui imigrantes de oito países de língua portuguesa. A maioria dos clientes na região de Boston e no nordeste de Massachusetts vem do Brasil, Cabo Verde ou Portugal. A MAPS também atende clientes que não falam português em alguns de seus programas.

• Na Área Metropolitana de Boston – 200.000

• Em Massachusetts – 1 milhão, Inclui imigrantes e seus descendentes. Estimativa da Diocese de Boston, dos Consulados de Brasil, Cabo Verde e Portugal, e diversas organizações que prestam serviços á nossa comunidade e dados estatísticos.

Os Serviços da MAPS

Os serviços da MAPS são divididos em três departamentos: Serviços de Prevenção e Educação sobre Doenças; Serviços de Família; e Serviços Clínicos e de Apoio. A variedade de serviços aumentou e modificou-se com o passar dos anos para refletir as mudanças nas necessidades e desejos da comunidade. A nossa foi a primeira organização no estado a oferecer serviços de apoio a dependentes químicos e/ou de álcool de língua portuguesa sem internamento, incluindo o primeiro programa autorizado pelo estado de Massachusetts para oferecer acupuntura no processo de desintoxicação. Os programas de educação sobre

AIDS da MAPS continuam como os únicos do tipo oferecidos em Português e Crioulo de Cabo Verde na região.

Os serviços de saúde da agência também cresceram ao passer do tempo para incluir doenças crónicas e prevenção ao cancer. Cortes de fundos obrigaram a MAPS a cancelar alguns de seus serviços, incluindo tratamento de dependentes entre 2003 e 2005, e parar de oferecer um bem-sucedido programa de saúde física e mental para adultos com risco de diabetes, doenças cardiovasculares e outras condições crónicas. Os serviços sociais foram ampliados para além dos Serviços Sociais para Imigrantes, Serviços de Proteção à Crianças, aulas de inglês e cidadania e programas para a terceira idade, passando a incluir também intervenção de agressores de violência doméstica, prevenção à violência doméstica, serviços de apoio á família com casos de crianças abusadas e neglenciadas. Além disso, a MAPS continuou a ampliar suas atividades em áreas como cidadania e imigração, educação e sobre HIV e dependência de drogas e álcool, serviços para a terceira idade e prevenção à violência doméstica.

Lista de Programas:

Programa de Intervenção de Agressores - *Um programa de 40 semanas que ensina homens como controlar seus comportamentos abusivos em relação a parceiras e esposas.*

Programa de preparação e assistência para a obtenção da Cidadania Americana - *Aulas de preparação para cidadania e assuntos correlacionados, incluindo o conhecimento, da História e Inglês necessários para a entrevista, bem como assitência para preenchimento do pedido.*

Serviços de combate á violência doméstica & abuso sexual - *Abordagem, educação preventiva, defesa, assistência individual, tradução/interpretação, encaminhamentos guiados e serviços afins para sobreviventes de violência doméstica e agressão sexual.*

Educação sobre álcool para motoristas - *Um programa de 17 semanas para motoristas flagrados pela primeira vez dirigindo embriagados, encaminhados pela Justiça.*

Serviços para Idosos - *Assistência especializada , almoços nutritivos, atividades sociais, recreativas e educativas, assistência individual e conexões para serviços para a terceira idade no Centro da Terceira Idade da MAPS em Cambridge quatro vezes por semana.*

Cursos de Inglês para falantes de outra língua(ESOL) - *Aulas ocorrem duas vezes por semana durante 12 semanas e são oferecidas para os níveis I e II, de acordo com a demanda de alunos.*

Serviços de Apoio á Família *- Vários serviços de apoio para estabilizar, fortalecer e unir crianças e famílias encaminhadas para a MAPS pelo Departamento de Crianças e Famílias de Massachusetts (DCF) devido a abuso infantil, negligência ou outros riscos.*

Serviços sociais para imigrantes - *Informação, assistência individual, serviço de intérprete/tradução e encaminhamentos para pessoas de língua portuguesa sobre moradia, emprego, benefícios do governo e outros assuntos do dia a dia.*

Acompanhamento e Testes de Sida - *Acompanhamento de casos, encaminhamentos e assistência para indivíduos vivendo com a SIDA (HIV/AIDS) na comunidade.*

Aconselhamento e Teste de Sida - *Testes confidenciais e aconselhamento sobre SIDA/HIV para pessoas com comportamento de risco.*

Prevenção e educação sobre a SIDA - *Abordagens, educação, redução de riscos e encaminhamentos para testes de HIV/ Doenças Sexualmente Transmissíveis, aconselhamento e outros serviços para falantes de Português em alto risco.*

Cursos da lingua Portuguesa - *12 semanas de aulas de Português para americanos ou Luso-descendentes.*

Traduções/Autenticações - *As pessoas de língua portuguesa que vivem nos Estados Unidos precisam com frequência de apresentar documentos de seus países de origem que provem sua identidade, estado civil, grau de educação e outros fatores da vida em sociedade. Da mesma maneira, é comum terem que levar para sua terra natal documentos emitidos neste país, em inglês. MAPS os ajuda a superar a barreira entre os textos desses documentos e as pessoas que os vão ler, com traduções rápidas e autenticadas de português para inglês e de inglês para português, a preços módicos, realizadas no escritório central da agência em Cambridge.*

Campanha para informação e recenseamento para as eleições nos Estados Unidos - A comunidade de língua portuguesa é a maior minoria étnica do estado, mas somos

constantemente sub-representados. Nossas comunidades precisam ser reconhecidas, ouvidas e ter um impacto muito maior no processo político em todos os níveis. Esta campanha promove o recenseamento e participação nas eleições, além de treinamentos para construir uma liderança de língua portuguesa capaz de um dia concorrer a um cargo público.

Recursos da comunidade que apoiam a Integração
• Clubes culturais e sociais
• Instituições Religiosas
• Pequenos negócios na Comunidade, incluido lojas, bancos, etc.
• Meios de comunicação étnicos (Jornais, Rádio, TV e Internet)
• Organizações comunitárias sem fins lucrativos prestando serviços sociais e de saúde (como a MAPS)
• Compromisso de algumas agências governamentais oferecendo recursos ás comunidades desprotegidas.

Desafios na Integração das Comunidades Imigrantes
• Ambiente Nacional não favorável ao imigrante
• Falta de recursos do Estado para apoiar serviços críticos
• Falta de apoio dos países de origem
• Pobre participação política
• Apoio limitado das comunidades ás organizações como MAPS que servem imigrantes e desenvolve capacidade de comunidade.

Outros Desafios
• Diferenças culturais entre imigrantes e as comunidades de acolhimento
• Falta de cursos de Inglês e naturalização a baixo preço

- Baixa-renda, e falta de acesso a ensino superior e um bom trabalho para o sustento da família

As recomendações para fortalecer Serviços de Integração para imigrantes

• Financiamento de serviços para populações de imigrantes pelos países de origem

• Financiamento para instituições educacionais para promover pesquisa ás populações de imigrantes

• Incentivo de imigrantes na Diáspora para se tornarem cidadãos envolvidos no seu novo país

Por que a Integração dos imigrantes é tão Importante?

• Promove uma comunidade saudável/produtiva

• Previne violência

• Garante uma comunidade independente

• Imigrantes enviam dinheiro às suas famílias e viajam a seus países de origem, fazendo grandes contribuições nesses países

• Contribuir para a economia local

• **UMA VIDA MELHOR**

Cada comunidade de imigrantes no mundo necessita de uma organização como a MAPS que os ajude a integrarem-se com sucesso na sua nova comunidade e país.

SUSTAINABILITY OF PROGRAMS THAT ADDRESS THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF PORTUGUESE ELDERS: A CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE

Maria Pereira

Catholic Social Services, MA – USA

Catholic Social Services of Fall River, Inc. is a multi-service, multi-sited, not-for-profit organization serving Southeastern Massachusetts. The central office is located in Fall River, with offices in New Bedford, and Hyannis on Cape Cod. Catholic Social Services (CSS) has proudly served the community since 1924. Originating as a primarily adoption and welfare agency, CSS' service scope has broadened to serve the many needs in our area. CSS operates within the physical boundaries of the Diocese of Fall River providing over 30 unique programs and services. Those programs are designed to improve the quality of life for the poor and those in need; to strengthen individuals, families and the elderly; and to advocate for social justice.

Catholic Social Services is committed to improving the quality of life for those in need by providing comprehensive social and human services. those include: basic and emergency needs, homelessness, immigration and deportation issues, housing and residential services, service for people with disabilities, adoption, mental health counseling, services, foreclosure help, English for speakers of other languages, citizenship services among others. CSS works with persons of all faiths and cultures. We are

sponsored by the diocese of Fall River but we approach our work with the Spirit of God's universal love to advance human dignity and promote social justice, and solidarity in our community. Our diverse programming model embodies its mission, "to help those in need," with services designed to reach out to those facing socioeconomic, cultural and racial barriers that preclude their engagement in mainstream services.

The mission of Catholic Social Services also responds to those who face various forms of oppression and injustice. CSS employs linguistically proficient, culturally diverse/sensitive staff that demonstrates a unique capacity to advocate and to strengthen the clients with whom we work. CSS is currently the largest provider of social and human services to immigrants in the southeast region. CSS is also the largest provider of food outside of Boston, and the largest provider of beds for the homeless outside of the Greater Boston region. Our programs provide services to individuals and target systemic discrepancies, thereby fulfilling our mission to address immediate and structural problems encountered by the disadvantaged. Inspired by the words of Pope Paul VI "if you want peace, work for justice", we respond to the needs of the most vulnerable populations.

Catholic Social Services has extended our experience responding to the needs of immigrant elderly and their caregivers in our area. We have run two elderly support group for Portuguese speaking elders. This weekly group provides respite for caregivers as well as providing educational and social activities for the elders who attend as well as connecting them with services in the communities of Fall River and New Bedford. CSS formally links and collaborates with local parishes, agencies

and systems to create and to strengthen community services, especially the needs of this population. One of the entities that we are grateful for their support is the Azorean government and the Direção Regional das Comunidades. Past directors and presently, Dra. Graça Castanho, has encouraged and motivated us to address the needs of the less fortunate Portuguese immigrant in our community.

COASTLINE ELDERLY SERVICES' MISSION

Theresa Larson

Coastline Elderly Services, Inc. – USA

Coastline Elderly Services' mission is to "Enhance the lives of seniors, caregivers and those with similar needs by assisting them to remain independent through a range of quality services." In other words, Coastline provides services and programs to elders age 60 and older, individuals with disabilities of any age, and their caregivers that allow them to continue living in their own homes with feelings of safety, comfort, and independence.

Coastline's two largest programs are the Home Care Program and the Elderly Nutrition Program. Through the Home Care Program, case managers work with clients in their homes to create a Care Plan, giving the elder access to dozens of programs and services that allow them to continue living independently. Case managers continue to monitor the elder's care on a regular basis to ensure quality.

The Elderly Nutrition Program provides meals to 1,100 elders a day, five days a week. All drivers are trained to provide wellness checks on a daily basis. We also provide meals to hundreds of elders through the congregate lunch program where elders can meet and enjoy a hot lunch together. Through the Elderly

Nutrition Program we also provide nutritional supplements, wellness education and workshops, and outreach.

Through our Community Mainstream Program, our outreach worker and health benefits counselor screen hundreds of elders for eligibility in public programs. We screen for a multitude of programs, including (but not limited to): prescription drug assistance, MassHealth, legal services, housing assistance, property tax programs, financial assistance, and food stamps.

The Family Caregiver Support Program provides assistance and support to caregivers of elder or persons with disabilities. Oftentimes caring for a loved one becomes a full time job, and the Caregiver Program provides resources, education, and support groups to caregivers in need. The program also provides financial assistance to six families a month.

The Money Management Program helps elders avoid identity theft and financial abuse from relatives. This program enlists volunteers to help elders sort through their mail, build a budget, pay their bills, and organize their financial statements.

Other programs at Coastline include: the Personal Care Attendant (PCA) program, Senior Care Options, the Foster Grandparent Program, Senior Community Service Employment Program, the Nursing Home Ombudsman program, Options Counseling, and Congregate & Supportive Housing.

SENIORS LAW PROJECTS OF SCCLS

Rosa Farizo

South Coastal Counties Legal Services, Inc. – USA

The Mission of SCCLS is to achieve justice for the poor and disadvantaged through community-based advocacy. The Seniors Law Projects are funded in part by subsidies received from the Aging Services Access Points (ASAP), Massachusetts Executive Office of Elder Affairs, the Massachusetts Bar Foundation and SCCLS.

SLP receives subsidies from the following ASAP: Bristol Elder Services, Inc., Coastline Elderly Services, Inc., Elder Services of Cape and Islands, and Old Colony Elder Services. Bristol Elder Services, Inc. covers the greater Fall River area including Attleboro and Taunton; Coastline Elderly Services Inc., covers the greater New Bedford area including Gosnold; Elder Services of Cape and Islands covers the greater Hyannis area including the Islands; and Old Colony Elder Services covers the greater Brockton area.

In accordance with the Older Americans Act, SLP direct its services to those elders with the greatest economic and social need. To receive free legal services, an elder must be 60 and over and reside in the ASAP area.

SCCLS is the principal provider of free civil (non-criminal) legal services in Southeastern Massachusetts including Cape Cod and the Islands. With all issues the local agencies are presently facing, particularly with the budget crisis and elders living longer, due to the lack of funds, it is becoming more difficult to assist elders.

We are now assisting the "baby boomers", who are elders born between 1946 and 1964. This group of elders are facing much more extensive, complex and difficult legal problems, such as: foreclosures, lack of affordable housing, lack of employment, lack of health insurance, lack of transportation, lack of finances, bankruptcy, taking care of grandchildren, being caregivers, etc, than their predecessors.

SLP, besides providing free legal assistance, continues their efforts to assist elders by networking with local agencies, such as BES, CESI, CSS, IAC, etc, to ascertain that elders continue to safely reside in the community, independently and with dignity.

SLP advocates are participating members of local coalitions, advisory boards and legal groups. SLP, upon request, will present community education to local social agencies and to the community. SLP conducts monthly Legal Clinics at the Councils on Aging. SLP will visit homebound elders who reside in the community, local nursing facilities and hospitals.

SLP also works with the ASAP and receives referrals from the Council on Aging, hospitals, public housing agencies, the Massachusetts Bar Association, the Elder Services Hotline, & other social agencies. SLP does not assist elders with criminal

cases or any fee generating cases. In such cases, elder will be referred to the private bar.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 13.6% (890,447.5) of the Massachusetts population are elderly. Bristol County is at 13.9% (76,211.65). As of December 2010, Bristol Counties residents were receiving benefits from the Social Security Administration (SSA): Between 9/1/10 and 8/31/11, the SCCLS served 1, 556.00 clients. 1, 529.00 were elders. In Attleboro: 32, 230 residents were receiving benefits. 21,225 in retirement benefits & 4,995 in disability benefits; In Fall River: 33,435 residents. 19,480 in retirement benefits & 7,670 in disability benefits; In New Bedford 41,480 residents. 26,040 in retirement benefits & 7,755 in disability benefits; & In Taunton: 32,230 residents. 14,870 in retirement benefits & 4,995 in disability benefits.

It is important that social and legal agencies network with one another to maximize services to better assist the needs of our elders and to assure that they continue to be a vital and productive component of our society. Elders continue to face legal issues with health insurance, denial of Medicare coverage, lack of transportation, language barriers, financial exploitation, physical and verbal abuse, foreclosures, and lack of financial support to assist in with their daily necessities.

AS MULHERES E OS DIREITOS HUMANOS

Felicidade Rodrigues

Working Women Community Centre – Canada

Durante os últimos 39 anos, os meus dias têm sido preenchidos com histórias de vida de mulheres imigrantes lutando pelo sucesso no Canadá. Os testemunhos que elas me têm transmitido, os caminhos que têm percorrido para vingar, têm enriquecido a minha própria experiência de vida, em termos pessoais e profissionais. Escuto atentamente as suas histórias, muitas camufladas pelos dissabores, pelas perplexidades e realidades da discriminação, do racismo, xenofobia, de preconceitos e juízos de valor.

É neste contexto que me dirijo a vós, pois os muitos constrangimentos morais que afetam estas mulheres não têm de ser determinantes nas suas vidas. Desde que a visão dos trabalhadores sociais seja a de advogar para que possamos ter uma sociedade mais justa, equitativa e não discriminatória.

É urgente concentramo-nos no fortalecimento económico, cívico político, social, cultural e educacional das mulheres independentemente do seu estatuto marital e social.

Temos de nos unir em Lobby, construindo redes de apoio de modo a termos uma sociedade mais justa que respeite e que

estipule medidas, não só de proteção, mas que ofereça novas oportunidades de desenvolvimento e inclusão social.

Não é suficiente apenas apoiar as mulheres garantindo-lhe uma habitação segura ou um rendimento mínimo ao fim do mês. É preciso dar a estas mulheres a oportunidade de adquirirem competências pessoais e profissionais, para alcançarem assim estabilidade económica e social.

Para exemplificar o retrocesso

O movimento ativista social começou tardio, sobretudo em Portugal, comparativamente ao Canada. Contudo, o retrocesso está evidente, e é urgente uma atenção redobrada de todos/as porque a igualdade começa com garantias legais, mas para as conquistar e mantê-las teremos de trabalhar unidos/as como fizeram as mulheres ativistas do passado.

Uma das minhas preocupações prende-se com o facto de que o primeiro-ministro do Canadá Steven Harper se propôs a abolir os direitos alcançados pelas mulheres nas últimas décadas, cujas mudanças coloca a igualdade das mulheres trinta anos atrás.

Porquê?

• Começou por cancelar os acordos provinciais e federais sobre os cuidados das crianças - afetando 70% das mulheres com filhos com idades inferiores a 5 anos -, prejudicando sobretudo mulheres trabalhadoras imigrantes com rendimentos baixos.

• Aboliram a possibilidade de Court Challenge, ou seja, aboliram a oportunidade às mulheres de, legalmente,

reivindicar pelos direitos básicos. Sendo este o único corpo diretivo que tinham à sua disposição.

• Reduziu em 40 % o financiamento ao STATUS OF WOMEN CANADA STATUS OF WOMEN CANADA responsável pela defesa da equidade.

• Fecharam 12, dos 16 centros regionais existentes no país eliminando assim 61, das 131, posições de trabalho.

• Incluíram ainda a eliminação de propostas de pesquisa ao mudarem os regulamentos, impossibilitando mulheres e grupos de comunitários a se candidatarem.

Uma área que necessita de Lobby

• A da barreira linguística e a transferência de qualificações adquiridas no estrangeiro que são os desafios que mais frequentemente dificultam a procura de emprego por parte da imigrante ou do imigrante.

• A mulher imigrante tem especial dificuldade no acesso aos serviços que promovem o emprego e formação.

Por exemplo, para poder aceder aos programas de formação do "Service Canada", exige-se que uma pessoa tenha tido emprego préviamente e que receba o subsídio de desemprego.

A pessoa recém-chegada não poderá candidatar-se.

Outra área preocupante:

• A falta de creches é uma barreira para a mulher imigrante que tenta conseguir emprego ou ganhar experiência no Canadá através do voluntariado.

• O cuidado dos filhos é um enorme desafio para mulheres com empregos sazonais ou com turnos variáveis.

• Uma relação entre discriminação racial e emprego. Pode-se observar nas estatísticas que os novos imigrantes mesmo

possuindo uma educação superior sofrem discriminação, sobretudo as mulheres.

• 73% dos imigrantes chegados à província do Ontário têm formação superior.

• Neste contexto, 18% das mulheres imigrantes possui diploma universitário, comparado com 14% das mulheres nascidas no Canadá. Para além disto, é mais provável que as jovens imigrantes estejam matriculadas e frequentem a escola do que os jovens de origem canadiana.

• 75% dos recém-chegados que são qualificados como cônjuges e dependentes tenciona prosseguir com o estudo e formação e são na generalidade mulheres. Todavia seis meses depois, apenas 32% de mulheres conseguiu emprego comparado com 54% dos homens.

Homens qualificados como cônjuges ou dependentes têm 80% mais probabilidade de estarem empregados do que as mulheres, dois terços das quais estão desempregadas.

Outro assunto a apontar

• Care Givers vs Tráfico humano

Existe uma preocupação sobre as leis de imigração neste programa que, no momento, são injustas em relação a outras profissões executadas tradicionalmente por homens.

Ou seja:

Quando um homem submete um contrato a esposa e filhos podem trabalhar, estudar, e tem OHIP para a família.

Ao contrário, as Care givers/cuidadoras têm de ser solteiras. Caso sejam despedidas têm apenas um tempo

limitado para arranjar outro contrato. Se por via natural do ser humano ficam grávidas não tem acesso a cuidados médicos.

Perante esta nova problemática, o Working Women embarcou num novo programa (CareGivers) com duas finalidades, uma dirigida às entidades empregadoras para que os contratos de trabalho destas mulheres sejam seguidos de modo a respeitar os direitos humanos. E a outra, a de intervir junto dos governos provinciais e federais, para que estas mulheres tenham acesso aos serviços de saúde e à residência permanente depois de 1 ano, em vez dos 4 do presente.

Departamento de emigração
Este é um programa novo em que o Working Women tem a liderança.

• Trabalho em "cash": esta é a solução de sobrevivência de muitas mulheres no presente, com consequências graves para o futuro.
• Justiça na Segurança Social para mulheres solteiras, separadas, divorciadas (homens são afetados mas um mínimo).

Enquanto que uma mulher casada ou viúva sem rendimentos tem direito a uma *Pensão de Abono* do esposo ao atingir os 60 anos de idade, podendo auferir um montante máximo de $965.98, dependendo do rendimento anual, a mulher que nunca casou, ou que esteja separada ou divorciada, não tem direito. Incrível, o Canadá é um país que exalta

autonomia e direitos humanos! Que quer isto dizer? Que todas as mulheres tenham de se casar se não querem ser excluídas?

• A última preocupação, e a maior de todas, são a pobreza e o isolamento dos seniores que na sua maioria são mulheres, mas este assunto será abordado noutro painel.

PESSOAS IDOSAS: INSEGURANÇA, CRIME E VIOLÊNCIA

José Félix Duque e Maria de Oliveira

Associação Portuguesa de Apoio à Vítima (APAV) – Portugal

RESUMO

O envelhecimento e as problemáticas da insegurança e vitimação das pessoas idosas são um desafio atual, que se põe aos profissionais das instituições e serviços da comunidade, em particular aos profissionais de saúde. Implica que se conheça minimamente os seus contornos e que se empenhem em detetar a vitimação, pondo-a como possibilidade ao atenderem qualquer pessoa idosa que se apresente ou seja contactada no âmbito das suas funções.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Envelhecimento, Pessoas Idosas, Insegurança, Crime, Violência, Vitimação, Profissionais de Saúde.

INTRODUÇÃO

Ao envelhecimento está associado o fenómeno do crime e da violência praticados contra as pessoas idosas. O reconhecimento de que os mais velhos eram vitimados foi lento, mas é hoje um fenómeno cada vez mais evidente dentro do processo de envelhecimento populacional mundial.

Na verdade, se demorou uns anos mais a ser tomado e debatido em relação a outros temas relacionados com a

violência e a vitimação, terá sido porque as atenções, durante muito tempo, estiveram sobretudo voltadas para as mulheres e para as crianças. Nos anos 60 e 70, foram vários os movimentos e grupos de pressão, sobretudo feministas, que despertaram a sociedade para assuntos até então ausentes da vida pública, como a violência doméstica ou a violência sexual.

Em Portugal, a consciência social sobre fenómenos como a violência doméstica contra as mulheres desenvolveu-se num período de cerca dez anos – do final dos anos 80 aos inícios do século XXI. Apesar de, nos anos 80, muitos problemas sociais já se encontrarem assumidos pela sociedade civil e pelo Estado, esse era um problema sobre o qual ainda pesava o véu (aqui numa imagem perversa) da intimidade familiar e da privacidade pessoal, na qual se reconheceu serem vitimadas sobretudo mulheres e crianças. Alheias a esta emergência não estiveram algumas organizações da sociedade civil, que, se não se adiantaram ao próprio Estado, o ultrapassaram em matéria de prevenção e combate à violência doméstica. Com efeito, essas organizações foram as pioneiras na maior das expressões desta dupla dimensão de prevenção e combate – o apoio direto às vítimas e seus familiares e amigos.

Denunciador de que estava já admitido pela sociedade e pelo Estado, de que era intolerável e de que devia ser prevenido e combatido, o fenómeno, já antes existente, passou a ser chamado na generalidade pela inequívoca designação de *violência doméstica*. Expressava-se assim o conceito de que numa família, num domicílio, podia realmente haver uma forma grave e criminosa de violência. O Código Penal tratou de impor esta mesma denominação como título de um artigo já existente

– o Artigo 152.º -, agora reelaborado, onde os maus tratos físicos e psíquicos passaram a encontrar-se a par de outras condutas criminosas, como privações da liberdade ou ofensas sexuais; e foram ampliadas as relações entre autores dos crimes e vítimas, podendo estes ser cônjuges, ex-cônjuges, e pessoas do mesmo sexo com quem o autor mantenha ou tenha mantido uma relação análoga à dos cônjuges, ainda que sem habitação. Na alínea d) deste artigo há uma referência às pessoas idosas, ou melhor, à idade da vítima de violência doméstica, ou mesmo à sua dependência, outro sinal de que o conceito de violência doméstica em Portugal, tal como em muitos outros Estados, abandonou o caráter restritivo que tinha nos anos 60 e 70, quando os movimentos feministas lhe imprimiam uma certa *exclusividade feminina*. Entender-se-ia, então, que só as mulheres e as crianças eram as principais vítimas, se não mesmo as únicas. A experiência profissional na área do apoio à vítima e os abundantes estudos e relatórios científicos demonstram hoje que não o são. Começámos também a saber que numerosas pessoas idosas, mulheres e homens, são vitimadas no seio da sua vida familiar.

Como a violência doméstica contra as mulheres, hoje muito presente na consciência social, o reconhecimento político do fenómeno da violência contra as pessoas idosas desenvolveu-se em Portugal no período de uma década. Isto é, foram necessários dez anos de constante alerta por parte de profissionais e instituições para que este fenómeno começasse a emergir do silêncio e da ignorância em que se mantinha.

É uma realidade multicausal, não implicando somente fatores sociais como fatores culturais, familiares e individuais. Estudos realizados em diferentes culturas e estudos comparativos

entre países têm demonstrado que qualquer pessoa idosa pode ser vítima, independentemente do seu nível sociocultural, etnia ou religião [52].

ALGUMAS DEFINIÇÕES

Existem várias definições de «Violência», no geral; e de «Violência Contra as Pessoas Idosas», no particular. As diferentes definições espelham diferentes entendimentos conceptuais, ideológicos, culturais ou científicos sobre fenómenos tão complexos e multidimensionais.

Há ainda diferentes nomenclaturas para o mesmo fenómeno: «Maus Tratos», «Mau Trato», «Abuso», etc. Preferimos as definições de «Violência» e «Violência Contra as Pessoas Idosas» pela sua maior abrangência e por se tornarem mais claras para o Senso Comum e, naturalmente, também para o meios profissionais implicados no tema.

Refiramos as definições propostas pela Organização Mundial de Saúde (OMS). Por «Violência» (no geral), a OMS entende ser:

O uso intencional da força física ou do poder, real ou em ameaça, contra si próprio, contra outra pessoa, ou contra um grupo ou uma comunidade, que resulte ou tenha grande probabilidade de resultar em lesão, morte, dano psicológico, deficiência de desenvolvimento ou privação[53].

Por «Violência Contra as Pessoas Idosas», a OMS, na sua «Declaração de Toronto Para a Prevenção Global do Mau Trato a Pessoas Idosas», entende ser:

O mau trato de pessoas idosas define-se como a ação

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[52]   Veja-se MINAYO, M. C., 2003, *Violência Contra Idosos: Relevância Para Um Velho Problema*, CAD Saúde Pública, 2003, Maio-Junho, 19 (3): 783-91.

[53]   Veja-se ORGANIZAÇÃO MUNDIAL DE SAÚDE (OMS), 2002, *Relatório Mundial Sobre Violência e Saúde*, págs. 1-42.

única ou repetida, ou a falta de resposta apropriada, que causa dano ou angústia a uma pessoa idosa e que ocorre dentro de qualquer relação onde exista uma expectativa de confiança[54].

Refiramos ainda a definição proposta pela International Network for the Prevention of Elder Abuse (INPEA), em 1995, semelhante à da OMS:

A violência contra a pessoa idosa é um ato (único ou repetido) ou omissão que lhe cause dano ou aflição e que se produz em qualquer relação na qual exista expectativa de confiança.

DIFERENTES TIPOS

Internacionalmente, a violência contra as pessoas idosas tem sido classificada em diferentes tipos.

No entanto, é preciso ter em conta que quase nunca estes tipos surgem isoladamente. Isto é, uma pessoa idosa quando é vitimada nunca o é apenas num dos tipos de violência, mas na combinação de um, dois, três ou todos os tipos de violência.

Ei-los:

1) Violência Física. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que implique agressão física, através, por exemplo, de queimaduras, fraturas, feridas, entre outras. Apesar de se tratar de uma violência física, pode não deixar marcas visíveis no corpo das vítimas.

2) Violência Psicológica. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que implique agressão psicológica, através, por exemplo, atos de intimidação, de humilhação, de chantagem emocional, de desprezo, de privação do poder de decisão, entre outras.

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[54] Cfr. MOYA BERNAL, A. & BARBERO GUTIÉRREZ, J. (coord.), 2005, *Malos tratos a personas mayores. Guía de actuación*, Madrid, Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Secretaría de Estado de Servicios Sociales, Familias y Discapacidad, pág. 24.

3) Violência Sexual. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que implique a ofensa da autodeterminação sexual das pessoas idosas e/ou que ofenda o seu pudor, através, por exemplo, da prática de violação, coação sexual, exibicionismo, realização de fotografias e/ou filmes pornográficos, entre outras.

4) Negligência. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que implique a não satisfação de necessidades básicas, por exemplo, negação de alimentos, de cuidados higiénicos, de condições de habitabilidade, de segurança e de tratamentos médicos ou de enfermagem, bem como a administração inadequada ou irregular de medicação.

São também apontados outros tipos de violência contra as pessoas idosas:

a) Violência Económica ou Financeira. Trata-se de qual-quer tipo de comportamento que vise o impedimento do contro-lo, por parte da pessoa idosa, do seu próprio dinheiro e/ou dos seus bens; e/ou que visem a sua exploração danosa.

b) Abandono. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que implique o abandono das pessoas idosas pelos seus familiares a situações de dificuldade e de solidão. É uma realidade cada vez mais conhecida o abandono a que algumas famílias sujeitam os seus mais velhos após um internamento hospitalar. Apesar de terem já alta médica, ficam indefinidamente internados, pois os familiares ora se recusam a acolhê-los em suas casas, ora difi-cultam a comunicação com os serviços hospitalares, atrasando ao máximo o acolhimento em suas casas. Estas situações, se-gundo indica a experiência das organizações não governamen-tais e de alguns centros hospitalares, acontecerão sobretudo

nas proximidades e nos finais de grandes festas/férias, como o Natal ou o Ano Novo. Faltam ainda estudos que no-lo demonstrem com segurança.

A INPEA identifica, ainda, dois tipos de violência contra as pessoas idosas que podemos indicar como sendo de nível *macro*, isto é, que perspetivam uma atitude geral que atualmente as sociedades manifestam quanto ao envelhecimento e às pessoas idosas:

1) Violência Estrutural e Social. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento político praticado por partidos, governos ou outras instituições que promova ou facilite a discriminação negativa dos mais velhos na vida social, cultural, religiosa, política e económica, por exemplo, quando a falta de recursos para apoiar as pessoas idosas, a falta de rendimentos; de acolhimento está na origem de marginalização *instituída* das pessoas idosas numa determinada sociedade.

2) Falta de Respeito e Preconceito contra as Pessoas Idosas. Trata-se de qualquer comportamento que signifique desrespeito e discriminação negativa em relação aos mais velhos. De entre várias formas, temos a veiculação de certas mensagens na Publicidade e na Comunicação Social, mas também por instituições, e que tendam a ser *miserabilistas* ou ridicularizantes. Por outro lado, certas imagens das pessoas idosas, sobretudo veiculadas pela Publicidade, podem ser preconceituosas ao tentar escapar a estes *miserabilismo* e ridicularização – ao apresentarem figurantes mais novos ou muito maquilhados para disfarçar as marcas naturais do envelhecimento estão promover uma visão idealizada dos mais velhos, sobretudo dos que consomem determinados produtos de estética ou de lazer. No fundo, manifestam um preconceito em relação à própria natureza e, logo, à maioria das pessoas

idosas, que estão marcadas, naturalmente, pelos seus processos de envelhecimento. Ser velho passa, assim, a ser pouco estético e pouco atrativo.

ALGUNS FATORES DE INSEGURANÇA

A violência contra as pessoas idosas praticada pelos seus próprios prestadores de cuidados ocorre, também, em contextos socioculturais que a favorecem. Ou seja, em contextos em que as pessoas idosas podem estar em perigo, pois a sua segurança não está garantida ou está diretamente ameaçada.

Vários estudos têm vindo a apontá-los:

1) Contextos economicamente desfavorecidos. Muitos prestadores de cuidados não têm condições económicas sufi-cientes para prestar cuidados a um familiar idoso. As acresci-das e sucessivas – por vezes, cada vez maiores – dificuldades financeiras por que vão passando podem levá-los a um maior *stress* e, logo, a uma maior propensão para a violência. Alguns filhos, por exemplo, são obrigados pelas circunstâncias a deixar os seus empregos para se dedicarem inteiramente aos seus pais idosos e doentes, o que lhes acarreta um desequilíbrio ao nível do orçamento familiar[55]. E daqui podem resultar difíceis relações de dependência mútua, que são também propiciadoras do apa-recimento da violência, particularmente no seu tipo «Violência Económica ou Financeira», quando o agressor procura compen-sar-se, ao furtar, roubar ou exigir honorários indevidos ou ex-cessivos à pessoa idosa pela prestação de cuidados.

2) Contextos de violência doméstica. A violência domésti-ca contra as pessoas idosas pode ser, em muitos casos, um fe-

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[55] Veja-se o estudo de LAU & KOSBERG, 1979, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, 1996, *Abuse, Neglect, and Exploitation of Older Persons: Strategies for Assessment and Intervention*, Jessica Kingsley Publishers, pág. 41.

nómeno de continuidade em determinadas famílias. As relações entre pais e filhos poderão ter estado marcadas, desde sempre, pela violência, ao ponto de esta estar internalizada nas relações quotidianas como um padrão relativamente normal. Tratar-se-á, nestes casos, de uma transmissão de modelo: os pais são violentos, os filhos tenderão a ser violentos e, quando os pais forem idosos, tenderão a vitimá-los [56].

3) Contextos com carência de apoio externo. O isolamento social é um fator de risco e também uma característica de vítimas e de agressores, sempre associado à falta de apoio por parte de outros familiares, de vizinhos e de profissionais de instituições. É também, e por excelência, um contexto sociocultural favorável ao surgimento de situações de violência, quer seja nas zonas urbanas, quer seja nas zonas rurais. Em ambas, pode produzir-se um cenário bastante propício [57].

4) Contextos de tensão ou conflito familiar. Alguns estudos apontam para a associação entre tensões e conflitos familiares e o aparecimento do fenómeno da violência contra as pessoas idosas, que são, em muitos casos, o *motivo* de tais problemas. Ou seja, frequentemente, vários membros da família discutem entre si as responsabilidades da prestação de cuidados ou criticam negativamente aquele que é considerado o prestador principal[58]. Noutros casos, os familiares da pessoa idosa têm opiniões divergentes quanto ao *destino a dar-lhe*, sem sequer consultá-la sobre o mesmo. Por exemplo, vários irmãos têm opiniões dife-

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[56] Veja-se os estudos de PILLEMER & WOLF, 1993, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 41.

[57] Vejam-se os estudos de ZANIT, REEVER & BACH-PETERSON, 1990; e de KOSBERG, 1990, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 42.

[58] Veja-se o estudo de FIORE, BECKER & COPPEL, 1983, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 43.

rentes sobre a mãe: uns querem enviá-la para uma instituição; outros querem contratar os serviços de uma equipa de apoio domiciliário; outros preferem a rotatividade da mãe pelas casas dos filhos; mas nenhum lhe pergunta o que ela própria quer fazer da sua vida e todos discutem entre si à sua frente. Não raras vezes há ruturas de relação e mesmo recurso à violência física entre irmãos, cunhados e sobrinhos. Facilmente, este contexto familiar, que desvaloriza a pessoa idosa na sua autonomia, liberdade e poder de decisão, propiciará a sua vitimação em qualquer dos destinos a que é involuntariamente remetida.

5) Contextos de perda de autonomia e de privacidade. Estudos têm demonstrado que a coabitação das pessoas idosas – e a consequente perda da sua privacidade – com as suas famílias está a associada ao aparecimento de conflitos intrafamiliares e, logo, pode propiciar a violência[59]. Há a ideia generalizada de que as pessoas idosas devem deixar as suas próprias casas e passar a viver em casa dos seus filhos, por vezes em regime de rotatividade. Outros estudos indicam, pelo contrário, que, mesmo quando estão doentes, as pessoas idosas, na sua maioria, preferirão a sua própria casa[60]. A sua autonomia ficaria mais limitada, por estarem a viver num espaço suja intimidade não lhes pertence inteiramente.

Alguns valores e atitudes culturais podem influenciar as pessoas culturalmente e levá-las a praticar algum tipo de violência contra os mais velhos.

Eis dois exemplos:

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[59] Veja-se o estudo de PILLEMER, 1985, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 43.
[60] Veja-se o estudo de ANETZBERGER, 1987, in BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 43.

a) Preconceito em relação às pessoas idosas – *Ageism*. É um preconceito bastante comum nas culturas contemporâneas, que desprezam as pessoas em função da sua idade avançada. Se estas são desvalorizadas na generalidade, mais facilmente as sociedades tenderão a nem sequer percecionar a violência a que estão sujeitas, uma vez que as pessoas idosas estão nas margens dos interesses e das preocupações sociais[61].

b) Preconceito em relação às mulheres idosas - *Sexismo*. Estudos internacionais têm apontado para as mulheres como as principais vítimas de violência contra as pessoas idosas, resultado, em parte, da desvalorização cultural e social das mulheres em função do género[62].

São certamente muitos os *lugares* em que uma pessoa idosa pode ser vítima. Concretamente, indicamos aqui quatro, que podem ser mais comuns:

1) Na rua. A pessoa idosa pode ser vitimada quando está numa rua, tornando-se alvo fácil para diversos agressores – não só assaltantes, mas também aqueles que agem contra si com preconceito em função da sua idade (por exemplo, ir na rua e ouvir um grupo de adolescentes gritar: *Olha a velha, já nem sabe andar e ainda tem a mania de vir à loja!*).

2) Em casa, morando sozinha. Estando a pessoa idosa a morar sozinha, pode ser vitimada, quer seja por familiares que a visitam (por exemplo, por um neto toxicodependente que visita a avó apenas quando precisa de dinheiro e opta por roubá-la), quer seja por estranhos (por exemplo, burlões ou assaltantes).

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[61]   Cfr. BAUMHOVER, L. & COLLEEN BEALL, ob. cit., pág. 43.
[62]   Idem.

3) Em situação de incapacidade. A pessoa idosa pode estar em situação de não poder gerir autonomamente a sua pessoa e os seus bens, e sem representante legal que o faça. Está, assim, sujeita à intervenção não legitimada de familiares e/ou amigos, de prestadores de cuidados (designadamente no domínio da saúde), que podem determinar (sem legitimidade, repetimos) o seu internamento, a alienação dos seus bens; ou podem cometer abusos de ordem material e financeira.

4) Em família/violência doméstica. A pessoa idosa é um dos membros mais fragilizados de uma família, a par das crianças e das mulheres. Ou desde sempre, ou a partir de um determinado momento, passa a viver com os filhos e/ou netos. Na hierarquia familiar, apesar de serem as mais velhas, raramente ocupam o lugar de topo, onde se concentram poderes tão determinantes como financeiro, organizativo, de liderança, de influência e de decisão. Como as crianças, se não mesmo abaixo das crianças, as pessoas idosas estão cada vez mais desprovidas de intervenção na vida da família, sendo remetidas para a base da pirâmide familiar. Neste lugar, torna-se alvo frágil de violência doméstica.

5) Em instituições. Quando internada, ou *acolhida*, numa instituição (por exemplo, um centro hospital), a pessoa idosa pode ser vítima. Referimos especialmente dois exemplos: quando é abandonada num hospital pelos seus familiares, mesmo tendo alta médica para sair; ou quando está num *lar*, onde é vítima de uma deficiente prestação de cuidados, bem como de crimes de maus-tratos físicos e psíquicos, ameaça, injúria, etc.

A maioria dos estudos internacionais considera muito frequente a violência contra as pessoas idosas praticada pelas suas próprias famílias cerca de 90% dos casos acima dos 60

anos de idade ocorrem em ambiente doméstico. Demonstram também que cerca de dois terços dos agressores são filhos e cônjuges das vítimas[63].

Os episódios tendem a ser repetitivos e, na maioria dos casos, as próprias vítimas recusam ajuda, por receio de sofrer represálias – sobretudo de serem obrigadas a deixar a sua casa, ou a casa da sua família, para irem para um *lar de idosos*[64].

As vítimas sofrem o peso dos sentimentos de culpa e grandes baixas de autoestima, bem como sentem muita vergonha. Com dificuldade pedem apoio a outros familiares, a amigos ou vizinhos; ou pedem apoio externo e/ou tomam medidas legais, uma vez que os seus agressores são seus familiares que, apesar de tudo, não querem prejudicar, nem com quem querem cortar laços. A ambiguidade emocional é uma das características mais frequentes nas vítimas de violência doméstica.

CONCLUSÃO

Os profissionais de saúde têm um papel fundamental na identificação de casos de pessoas idosas vítimas de crime e de violência. Aos hospitais ou aos centros de saúde chegam diariamente muitas pessoas idosas, com as mais variadas motivações. Outras recebem a visita de profissionais de saúde em suas próprias casas ou nas instituições onde estão acolhidas. Os profissionais de saúde têm, pois, um acesso privilegiado às pessoas idosas e podem fazer, em muitos casos, uma identificação bastante eficaz.

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[63] Vejam-se os estudos de MINAYO, ob. cit; e de KLEINSCHMIDT, K. D., 1997, *Elder Abuse: a Review*, Ann Emerg Med 1997 Oct; 30 (4): 463-72.

[64] Veja-se PATTERSON, C., 1994, «Secondary Prevention of Elder Abuse», Canadian Task Force on the Periodic Health Examination, Ottawa, Health Canada, págs. 922-929.

A utilização destes instrumentos pode significar, no entanto, diversos riscos e é preciso tê-los em conta na sua aplicação. Um deles é o da culpabilização das pessoas idosas e dos seus familiares. É preciso que o profissional que os aplica tenha especial cuidado em não ferir suscetibilidades.

Por outro lado, é preciso que saiba usar o tempo com razoabilidade, uma vez que alguns instrumentos requerem uma aplicação morosa.

Há que ter em consideração que não existem instrumentos válidos, suficientemente específicos, para a identificação da vitimação de pessoas idosas, tão-pouco evidências científicas que permitam aconselhar ou rejeitar a sua aplicação em consultas médicas ou em outros contextos de acompanhamento clínico. Diferentes escolas científicas chamam a atenção dos profissionais para a necessidade de se fazerem, precocemente, entrevista e observação à pessoa idosa, dando prioridade a fatores de risco, situações de maior dependência e de vulnerabilidade[65].

Sobretudo, é importante estarem sempre atentos e colocarem a pergunta a si mesmos: *Estarei diante de uma pessoa idosa vítima?* A partir desta pergunta poderão apoiar a pessoa idosa, pois estarão disponíveis para ajudá-la a romper o silêncio. Igualmente é importante estarem na disposição de trabalhar com empenho e dedicação com os outros profissionais, em especial com os serviços de apoio à vítima. Não menos importante é interessarem-se por ter mais e melhor formação sobre este problema, para poder apoiar mais e melhor as vítimas.

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[65]   Cfr. MOYA BERNAL & BARBERO GUTIÉRREZ (coord.), ob. cit., pág. 102.

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SEM-ABRIGO: CONDIÇÕES INTERSUBJETIVAS DE RECONHECIMENTO

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Este artigo resulta do convite da Direção Regional das Comunidades para apresentar uma comunicação no Simpósio Internacional sobre Direitos Humanos e Qualidade de Vida nas Comunidades Falantes de Português nos Estados Unidos da América e Canadá. Insere-se numa investigação mais ampla, no âmbito do mestrado de sociologia da Universidade dos Açores em articulação com a experiência de intervenção com as pessoas sem-abrigo de Ponta Delgada.

O texto divide-se em duas partes: a primeira pretende caracterizar sociologicamente, embora de uma forma genérica, a problemática das pessoas sem-abrigo e a segunda ambiciona desenvolver uma linha teórica que contribua para a melhor compreensão do ser humano e do seu funcionamento intersubjetivo.

As várias características dos sem-abrigo têm em comum a quebra dos laços que ligam as pessoas estáveis a um conjunto de estruturas sociais inter-relacionadas (Bento & Barreto, 2002). O que reforça a importância do conceito de desafiliação, visto como o enfraquecimento ou ausência de afiliações, em detrimento do conceito de exclusão que nos parece ambíguo e difícil de operacionalizar.

O que é a desafiliação? Para Howard Bahr (1973), é um reflexo do poder. Entendendo o poder como capacidade de utilizar recursos e serviços, ou de influenciar um processo de decisão, ou ainda a capacidade para a ação efetiva. Assim, os sem-abrigo são os sem-poder, na medida em que são pessoas sem relações com outras pessoas ou pessoas sem lugar dentro de um sistema. A atividade e a afiliação geram poder e estima, como por exemplo: as pessoas mais poderosas numa comunidade tendem a ser as mais ativas nas organizações. A inatividade e desafiliação geram não só um estatuto baixo como até negativo. Falando da mobilidade, embora os sem-abrigo tenham alguma mobilidade, mas sendo esta sem objetivos definidos, é uma mobilidade expressiva de uma errância e não instrumental. Ou seja, a mobilidade com destino é um processo afiliativo, a mobilidade sem destino é um processo desafiliativo.

Assim, as afiliações são fundamentais para a vida social porque veiculam poder. Os sem-abrigo vivem uma condição de falta de poder para influenciar outros ou para moldar o seu futuro porque lhes falta afiliações com várias esferas sociais: a família, o mercado de trabalho e outras.

Mas porquê a desafiliação? Para alguns autores e autoras as causas são exclusivamente sociais. As pessoas sem-abrigo têm vários estatutos estigmatizantes em simultâneo e são definidas em termos sociais em função dos seus "defeitos": são percecionadas como sendo defeituosas fisicamente (deficientes, idosas, doentes), mentalmente (psicóticas ou débeis), moralmente (pervertidas, criminosas, adictas), psicologicamente (baixa autoestima, elevada autoagressão), socialmente (desafiliadas), legalmente (perseguidas pela polícia) e ecologicamente (não vivem em sítios decentes). Este processo de estigmatização é externo mas acaba por ser interiorizado. Assim, para Bahr, a

reabilitação dos/das sem-abrigo passa menos pela estabilização no alojamento, no trabalho ou no tratamento psiquiátrico, do que "na mudança da definição da situação". Bahr acredita que a pessoa sem-abrigo é um "sapo que pode ser transformado em príncipe", nomeadamente se ela adquirir afiliações humanas, comunicar e for recebida como uma humana e não algo a descartar.

No entanto, reconhecendo a importância dos fatores estruturais como as barreiras no acesso ao mercado de habitação e ao mercado de trabalho, os processos de estigmatização e de exclusão social, não devemos pensar os problemas individuais unicamente como reflexo das estruturas. Como Thomas Main (1998) fez notar, as pessoas sem-abrigo requerem ambas as perspetivas, pois não é um problema nem inteiramente estrutural nem inteiramente individual.

Os sem-abrigo e doença mental

Desafiliados, tendo perdido família, amigos e apoios institucionais, a condição de sem-abrigo pode funcionar como uma defesa psicótica contra o envolvimento humano no caso dos sem-abrigo psicóticos (Katz *et al*., 1993). As ruas das cidades são lugares desritualizados, o outro é percebido mas não se interage com ele, sendo o melhor sítio para um esquizofrénico com tantas dificuldades de socialização tornar-se invisível.

A associação entre o consumo excessivo de álcool e os sem-abrigo há muito que é reconhecida. Alguns autores atribuem-lhe uma funcionalidade própria no modo de vida de sem-abrigo, como seja a pertença ao grupo, modo de aquecer nos meses mais frios ou uma maneira peculiar de acalmar certos sintomas psiquiátricos na ausência de medicação. Por outro lado, também se observam casos com uma história de consumos longa, que começa na adolescência.

Atendendo aos resultados do estudo sobre a patologia psiquiátrica realizado pela Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa a uma amostra de 511 sem-abrigo de Lisboa no ano de 1999 (Bento & Barreto, 2002):

Alcoolismo	32 %
Toxicodependência	17 %
Esquizofrenia	10 %
Perturbações de personalidade	10 %
Total	69 %

Verifica-se uma grande incidência de patologia psiquiátrica nesta população. Estes dados, segundo a revisão de literatura de Bento (2001), coincidem com os resultados obtidos noutros países como em Espanha, nos EUA, na Dinamarca e na Irlanda.

O trabalho

A norma do trabalho tem sido na época moderna o principal critério para a definição do que é a integração social. O trabalho é o grande organizador social, a partir do qual o indivíduo afirma a sua pertença a uma comunidade, e garante a sua subsistência e alojamento. O ócio é visto como fonte de vícios e um ato antissocial.

Apesar das alterações do mundo do trabalho, com o desemprego, a generalização do trabalho precário e outras formas de trabalho como programas ocupacionais, estágios, etc., a ética do trabalho continua a determinar as atitudes em relação aos sem-abrigo, podendo a ajuda aos sem-abrigo ser entendida como encorajando a não participação no mercado de trabalho.

Tendo em conta a importância do acesso ao trabalho no

processo de autonomização, não podemos descurar um problema raramente reconhecido na literatura, mas evidente a quantos trabalham com esta problemática: o problema da dependência a longo prazo dos indivíduos sem-abrigo, estimando-se que ¼ destes necessitem de uma intervenção intensiva e a longo prazo, com cuidados contínuos na comunidade (Bento & Barreto, 2002).

Habitação

A evolução da terminologia para "sem-abrigo", coloca no centro do debate a questão do alojamento. Maryse Bresson (1997) afirma que a par da norma do trabalho, a norma do alojamento também é imperativa para que se possa ser considerado como pertencente a uma comunidade. O trabalho e o alojamento são questões distintas, principalmente a partir do momento em que os rendimentos do trabalho ou das prestações sociais não garantem o acesso à habitação.

A par de outros fatores estruturais e individuais, a habitação permanece como um fator distinto e importante. Justificando-se a criação de uma variedade de opções de alojamento apoiado para aqueles que precisam e de outras condições habitacionais adequadas ao nível funcional dos indivíduos.

O acesso a uma casa é um elemento fundamental para o estabelecimento de um sentimento ontológico de segurança. O lar (*home*) é o local privado onde as pessoas restauram os seus sistemas de segurança. Ora, isto é tudo o que as pessoas sem-abrigo não têm, razão pela qual se pode dizer que ser sem-abrigo, mais do que um modo de vida, é um modo de sobreviver.

A vida em albergue centra-se numa política de deslocação e de impermanência, sendo explícito que o albergue não é uma casa e que é um sítio transitório. A vivência do espaço é

fundamentalmente a de um espaço público, sem privacidade, com preocupações constantes sobre o que acontece à sua volta, o que afeta necessariamente o sentido de individualidade pessoal, como algo único e interior, pela ausência de um espaço de privacidade em que o indivíduo possa habitar o seu mundo próprio por algum tempo.

Robert Desjarlais (1994) conclui que a pobreza, a transitoriedade e a contingência põe em causa as mais fundamentais constelações de tempo, espaço e pessoa. Ser sem-abrigo, mais do que um modo de viver, é um modo de sobreviver. Sendo sublinhada por vários autores e autoras a condição traumática de ser sem-abrigo. A desafiliação social é então um dos elementos da experiência traumática, com a erosão dos laços afiliativos de segurança e de confiança a afetar a autonomia e a autoestima.

Teoria do reconhecimento

De forma a contribuir para uma melhor perceção deste fenómeno, propomos a teoria do reconhecimento de Axel Honneth, distinto pensador da 3ª geração da Escola de Frankfurt e diretor do Centro de Pesquisa Social da mesma cidade.

Honneth (2003) formula uma conceção intersubjetiva da auto consciência humana, uma vez que ela é obtida na medida em que o sujeito "aprende a perceber a sua própria ação da perspetiva, simbolicamente representada, de uma segunda pessoa". O ponto de partida teórico assume que "a reprodução da vida social realiza-se sob o imperativo de um reconhecimento recíproco, porque os sujeitos só podem alcançar uma autorrelação prática, quando aprenderem a compreender-se a partir da perspetiva normativa dos seus parceiros de interação como seus destinatários sociais". Esta tese representa

a primeira etapa na fundamentação naturalista da teoria do reconhecimento de Hegel, em que G. Mead inverte a relação do "Eu" e "mundo social", afirmando a "precedência da perceção do outro sobre o desenvolvimento da auto consciência". Ao conceito de reconhecimento interessa essencialmente "as formas de confirmação prática mediante as quais o sujeito adquire uma compreensão normativa de si mesmo como um determinado género de pessoa" (Honneth, 2003). O interesse essencial é revelado na tentativa de compreender as condições intersubjetivas da autorrelação prática do sujeito com seu semelhante, pretendendo encontrar a génese normativa do social como condicionadora da ação dos indivíduos. O sujeito adquire assim a capacidade de participação nas interações normativas do seu meio e ao adotar como suas as normas sociais de ação do "outro generalizado", desenvolve a identidade de um sujeito aceite na sua comunidade. Neste processo de socialização, operado na relação intersubjetiva, Honneth salienta a importância da utilização do conceito de reconhecimento, ao desdobrá-lo em três esferas: Amor, Direito e Estima Social. Estas esferas de interação, através da aquisição cumulativa de autoconfiança, auto respeito e autoestima, criam não só as condições sociais para que os indivíduos possam chegar a uma atitude positiva para com eles mesmos, como também originam o indivíduo autónomo.

A esfera do amor constitui as relações afetivas primárias de reconhecimento mútuo que estruturam o indivíduo desde o nascimento. E que se encontram dependentes de um balanço frágil entre autonomia e vinculação. Segundo Honneth, o vínculo alimentado simbioticamente, que se forma por uma delimitação reciprocamente desejada inicialmente entre a mãe e filho, "cria a medida de autoconfiança individual que é uma base

indispensável para a participação autónoma na vida pública". A partir da perspetiva normativa do "outro generalizado" que nos ensina a reconhecer os outros enquanto titulares de direitos é que também nos poderemos compreender a nós próprios enquanto pessoas jurídicas. A esfera do Direito, a do respeito pela dignidade de cada um e a afirmação da igualdade de direitos e diferença de cada um, ao ser atropelada a diversos níveis, tão evidente nos fortes estigmas que persistem nas nossas comunidades, constituem causa de revoltas e de "lutas pelo reconhecimento".

Para se poder atingir um autorrelacionamento ininterrupto, os sujeitos humanos também necessitam sempre, para além da experiência da dedicação afetiva e do reconhecimento jurídico, de uma valorização social que lhes permita relacionarem-se positivamente com as suas propriedades e capacidades concretas. Estamos na esfera da Estima Social, de uma terceira relação do reconhecimento recíproco, desenvolvida na escola e depois no mundo do trabalho que permite a valorização pessoal em função das propriedades particulares de uma forma assimétrica, ao contrário do reconhecimento jurídico que exprime as propriedades gerais dos indivíduos de uma forma simétrica.

Na sucessão das três formas de reconhecimento, o grau da relação positiva da pessoa consigo mesma aumenta progressivamente. Com cada nível da consideração mútua cresce também a autonomia subjetiva do indivíduo. De igual forma, às correspondentes formas de reconhecimento mútuo, poder-se-á atribuir experiências paralelas de desrespeito social.

Como breve conclusão, podemos salientar, com o contributo da teoria do reconhecimento, que os indivíduos só são constituídos como pessoas quando aprendem a relacionar-

se consigo mesmos, a partir da perspetiva concordante ou encorajante de outros. As pessoas têm de se saber reconhecidas nas suas capacidades e propriedades singulares para estarem em condições de se autorrealizarem. Quando as relações intersubjetivas de reconhecimento não são consistentes nem positivas, desde o nosso nascimento, verificam-se percursos de vida que não conduzem à inclusão e à autorrealização.

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OS DIREITOS HUMANOS EM TEMPOS DE CRISE(S): REFORÇAR O TRABALHO EM REDE NUMA LÓGICA DE PROXIMIDADE

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Enquadramento da comunicação/tema:

Manter um acompanhamento e atenção permanente às novas dificuldades que enfrentam as comunidades de língua portuguesa face ao contexto sócio-económico global por via do reforço de redes internacionais, compostas por instituições governamentais, ONGs, organizações de serviço social que, devido à proximidade dos cidadãos e ao reconhecimento das suas necessidades específicas, melhores condições reúnem para responder adequadamente aos desafios que se vão manifestando.

Resumo da comunicação:

A atual crise económica e financeira global tem como origem uma outra crise: uma fortíssima crise de valores. E como consequência uma total desorientação humana face às dificuldades que enfrentam e à forma como poderão ultrapassá-las mudando de paradigma comportamental e de orientação em termos de prioridades de vida.

O que fazer? Bom, antes de mais nada arriscar não perder a esperança. Claramente, o desafio que temos pela frente é o de

uma nova governação. Devemos, coletivamente, trabalhando em parceria e em rede, pôr cada vez mais a tónica na questão da solidariedade social e proporcionar e incentivar uma mais ativa e eficaz participação da sociedade civil nas suas mais diversas formas de organização.

Inverter as tendências individualistas modernas e a indisposição para a participação ativa dos cidadãos é, talvez, a mais importante tarefa que é preciso levar a cabo e com a maior urgência. Os indivíduos não podem continuar a alhear-se (ou ser alheados) dos processos coletivos de participação.

No fundo, e para sermos capazes de desfazer os *nós* que fomos criando e que impedem o cumprimento do nosso desígnio original, e (re)construirmos os laços - ainda que novos laços – temos que regressar à sociedade. Não se trata de saudosismos, de conservadorismo ou de qualquer outro tipo de reminiscência ideológica ou política. Trata-se de reconhecer o que de mais básico o ser humano é e busca: a felicidade. Uma felicidade que não se concretiza sozinho; uma felicidade que só pode nascer e desenvolver-se da relação; uma felicidade que exige o amor pelo próximo sem pré-condições e sem pré-interesses. Trata-se no fundo de defender as mais básicas condições para o ser humano poder ser isso mesmo: humano.

Desenvolvimento da comunicação:
A pobreza não é um problema novo; é hoje um problema diferente do que era no passado e não poderemos continuar a procurar fazer face a este problema da mesma forma que fizemos no passado.

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Devemos encarar a pobreza como um fenómeno estrutural e que só poderá ser erradicado quando trabalharmos a este nível. Medidas de assistencialismo e de emergência – atualmente de novo muito em voga –, são muito importantes, mas devemos pensar com mais convicção em medidas de caráter estrutural agindo em conformidade com a natureza deste fenómeno. Assistir por si só (e como a própria palavra indica) não significa intervir e mudar, ou seja, nunca poderá resolver o problema a não ser, talvez e falsamente, o das nossas consciências.

Devemos, coletivamente, pôr cada vez mais a tónica na questão dos direitos e proporcionar e incentivar uma mais ativa e eficaz participação da sociedade civil na resolução dos problemas. Este envolvimento deve ser apartidário e sem procura de protagonismos individuais. A solidariedade é importante mas se for para concretizar direitos. De outra forma, o mais vulgar é apenas conseguirmos por em prática ações de caráter exclusivamente paliativo.

Assim, o papel da sociedade civil, nomeadamente através das Organizações Não Governamentais (o chamado Terceiro Setor), parece-me poder constituir um caminho mais viável para a atenuação dos problemas e para uma mais clara e evidente intervenção estruturada sobre os mesmos.

Inverter as tendências individualistas modernas e a indisposição para a participação ativa dos cidadãos é, talvez, a mais importante tarefa que é preciso levar a cabo e com a maior urgência. Os indivíduos não podem continuar a alhear-se (ou ser alheados) dos processos coletivos de participação.

No entanto, esta participação deve ser concretizada de uma forma consciente e integrada. Devemos fazer assistência mas tendo sempre como fim último uma intervenção concreta ao nível da mudança estrutural deste tipo de fenómenos. Assistir exclusivamente não mais será possível quando toda a sociedade estiver já afetada pelo fenómeno. E não é isso que poderá acontecer a breve prazo quando uma parte substancial dos cidadãos se encontra em risco de pobreza?

É por este motivo que o mais importante é mudar mentalidades e estruturas sociais, por muito árdua que seja esta tarefa.

Tanto, ou mais urgente do que reordenar e tornar mais eficazes as políticas, é preciso que o Homem se reconheça como Homem – na sua própria dignidade e liberdade – e os outros como seus semelhantes.

Como afirma Riccardo Petrella, estamos em vias de perder o sentido do "existir e fazer em conjunto", o sentido do "bem comum". Foi dada prioridade aos itinerários individuais (a minha formação, o meu emprego, o meu computador pessoal) e considerados como expressão fundamental e insubstituível da liberdade.

A liberdade fundamental primordial nas nossas sociedades tornou-se a liberdade de mercado – todas as outras liberdades derivam e dependem dela. Tudo deve ser posto ao serviço de "Deus mercado" ou da sua tríade: liberalização, desregulamentação e privatização...

Precisamos de nos convencer que os obstáculos interpostos no desenvolvimento integral não são apenas de ordem económica, mas dependem de atitudes mais profundas que para o ser humano se configuram em valores absolutos.

Focando-me no tema que escolhi para esta palestra - **reforçar o trabalho em rede numa lógica de proximidade –** pretendo centrar a minha reflexão sobre a forma de intervenção que considero mais adequada para dar corpo à forma de estar que defendo e em que acredito: a intervenção comunitária.

O que caracteriza em definitivo uma Intervenção Comunitária? Na minha opinião é a **Participação**. E o que é hoje a Participação? É a capacidade que uma determinada comunidade possui para resolver os seus problemas. E como é que isto se pode fazer nas atuais sociedades? **Em Rede!**

Muitos falam de trabalho em rede e da constituição de redes mas poucos sabem exatamente do que se trata ou o que semelhante tipo de estratégia implica e comporta.

Este trabalho consiste em procurar passar de um conceito abstrato, académico (até mesmo cibernético) para o plano concreto da atuação das organizações de base.

Esta nova cultura – sim, porque é disso que se trata e é por isso mesmo que é tão difícil concretizá-la – é a busca de uma nova cultura social. Esta nova cultura deve servir para mudar mentalidades e gerar novas formas de estar e de agir (uma nova cultura, portanto) num mundo moderno e em profundas e velozes transformações. Poderemos mesmo falar

de uma mudança societal e de uma inevitável ultrapassagem do individualismo. As mudanças económicas e estruturais que estão a ocorrer deverão operar também no sentido de influenciar novas respostas, assentes em novos valores que deverão definitivamente influenciar uma nova cultura que apelido de rede porque em rede deverão ser dadas as novas respostas e deverão ser definidos os posicionamentos e as intervenções nos diferentes domínios.

Quais as condições que propiciam e indicam que é necessária e inevitável esta mudança? Desde logo a manifesta insuficiência das respostas dadas atualmente pelas organizações que trabalham no terreno e que, isoladamente e sem enquadramentos estratégicos de atuação bem estruturados, não conseguem obter os resultados previstos. Esta constatação, hoje dificilmente posta em causa, constitui a condição prévia essencial para a tentativa de estabelecer e encontrar novas regras e influenciar alterações e novos posicionamentos ao nível do trabalho social dos indivíduos, direta ou indiretamente, envolvidos.

Do ponto de vista metodológico, a desmontagem de conceitos e de representações para alcançar novas práticas e novas conceções do trabalho social é um dos pontos de partida básicos de todo este processo. Um primeiro passo é o de confrontação dos indivíduos com o trabalho que tem sido desenvolvido ate ao momento e os resultados alcançados, procurando verificar que as respostas se mostram manifestamente inadequadas para a dimensão e complexidade dos problemas contemporâneos. É necessário igualmente operar no sentido de desmistificar e desmontar alguns estereótipos sobre os problemas procurando produzir uma mudança de mentalidades e uma maior abertura

a uma nova cultura de trabalho, com novos modelos de atuação. Este processo mostra-se moroso e difícil porque implica a destruição e rejeição de grande parte do que se tem feito em termos de intervenção social nos últimos anos. Desmontar o mito da experiência, "mãe" da sabedoria e que tem constantemente favorecido a reprodução de estereótipos sobre os modos de agir (sobretudo na área da pobreza e da exclusão social).

No fundo, poderíamos sintetizar este trabalho como sendo uma busca para a construção e implementação de uma nova forma de estar em rede e em solidariedade.

De uma forma sintética, e em termos metodológicos uma cultura de rede é estabelecer e pôr em marcha diferentes lógicas:

LÓGICAS
- Partenariado e da participação.
- Abertura institucional para estratégias de cooperação.
- Mudança de atuação face aos problemas e às respostas tradicionais.
- Formação e informação contínua e alargada.
- Troca de serviços, de saberes e de experiências.
- Complementaridade interinstitucional ao invés de uma lógica de competição interinstitucional.

Que condições devem existir:
Entrar num sistema de trabalho de rede supõe ao menos mudar uma série de atitudes que habitualmente têm as organizações e estabelecer um processo que intervenha sobre uma série de pontos a modificar.

Entre as atitudes a modificar podemos assinalar:

- romper posições corporativas e pessoais;
- substituição da competição pela cooperação entre institui-
ções;
- ter uma pré-disposição para a abertura para procurar novos
valores e uma nova cultura de trabalho;
- mudar a representação sobre os problemas sociais (também
os profissionais devem fazer um esforço para eliminar
preconceitos...);
- desmontar a convicção que somos os melhores e reconhecer
as nossas limitações;
- gerir as diferenças de modo maduro (diferença não é sinónimo
de divergência; não procurar homologação: todos iguais...);
- estabelecer códigos de reciprocidade e de harmonia;

Alguns elementos-chave deste processo têm a ver com:
- rutura com os modos de trabalhar tradicionais (e que em nada
favorecem a participação)
- negociação das diferenças;
- entrar numa cultura de mediação dos conflitos;
- mudar a representação da realidade em dois sentidos:
a) basear-se na pessoa não como um problema mas com o
pressuposto de que o outro é necessário; isto implica superar a
divisão entre técnicos e beneficiários e reconhecer a necessidade
do outro e criar o espaço onde todos possam ser de facto iguais;
b) conceber o território como cenário fundamental o que implica
que a intervenção deve fazer-se no espaço onde estão os
problemas e as soluções devem surgir no âmbito do próprio
território;
- a questão da diferença tem de ser assimilada de uma forma

madura partindo dessa mesma diferença para trabalharmos em conjunto. Neste processo de assumir a diferença é fundamental a ótica da mediação e da relação de intercâmbio como meio para chegar à integração das diferenças;

- é importante então refletir sobre a criação de códigos de reciprocidade. As organizações tem de acolher a dissensão, lidar com a diferença e trabalhar sobre a resistência à mudança (dentro e fora das próprias instituições);

- a rede tem que ser entendida como espaço de harmonização e mais do que trabalhar em rede, o desafio é incentivar uma cultura de rede que sirva de suporte a todo o modelo de trabalho.

Algumas estratégias a utilizar são:

- o já velho (mas cada vez mais verdadeiro) "ir do global ao local" ou "glocalizar" (expressão do Rogério Roque Amaro);

- intervir sobre problemas que são compartilhados e procurar espaços compartilhados para o fazer;

- projetar sobre o que é comum e desvalorizar as diferenças;

- confrontar os indivíduos com o trabalho que desenvolveram até ao momento e com os resultados alcançados, procurando verificar que os resultados e as respostas foram ou têm sido inadequadas para os problemas contemporâneos;

- desmistificar e desmontar alguns estereótipos sobre os problemas para produzir uma mudança de mentalidades e uma maior abertura a uma nova cultura de trabalho com novos modelos de atuação;

- ter uma perceção objetiva da situação e uma correta contextualização dos fenómenos.

Para que serve finalmente uma Cultura de Rede?

Vários são os resultados que pode ter este trabalho em rede e a diferentes níveis:

Ao nível de cada uma das nossa organizações, trabalhar como rede pode servir para:
- para avançar em novos modos de fazer;
- intercâmbio de saberes, serviços e experiências;
- dar resposta a problemas complexos;
- rentabilizar recursos.

Do ponto de vista de uma incidência mais global favorece:

- a tentativa de incentivar esta nova cultura de trabalho é também uma tentativa de abrir uma discussão e reflexão profunda sobre o trabalho social;
- esta nova cultura deve servir para mudar mentalidades e gerar novas formas de estar e fazer num mundo moderno em profundas e constantes transformações;
- podemos falar ainda de uma mudança social e de uma inevitável negação do individualismo.

Penso que concretizar esta nova forma de estar é o grande desafio que temos pela frente e que poderá contribuir para um novo paradigma mundial capaz de voltar a colocar o ser humano no centro das decisões.

É de esperar que todos aqueles que são responsáveis em relação aos seus semelhantes, de uma maneira ou de outra, por uma "vida mais humana" se deem plenamente conta da urgente

necessidade de uma mudança de atitudes, que determinam o comportamento de cada Homem naquilo que diz respeito a si próprio e nas relações com os outros, com as comunidades e com a natureza, e isto em virtude de valores superiores, como o bem comum, o pleno desenvolvimento do Homem todo e de todos os Homens.

CAPÍTULO IV

LIDERANÇA

FROM POSTCOLONIAL AFRICA TO CANADA: SETTLEMENT EXPERIENCES IN TORONTO, CANADA*

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1. Introduction

One of the defining characteristics of recent immigration to Canada is cultural and racial heterogeneity. The Black community in Toronto is a case in point. While the mass media routinely tends to portray the Black community as a cohesive group, it is actually a very diverse population, including Black Canadians and Americans, Black South Americans, Black Africans, and Blacks from the Caribbean (Opoku-Dapaah, 2006). Immigration has contributed to the growth of this population in recent years, with about half of Canada's Black population (52%) consisting of immigrants, most of whom have arrived since the early 1980s (Mensah, 2005). Statistics Canada records that, in 2001, Canada's Black population was 622,210, making it the third-largest visible minority group in the country after Chinese and South Asians. Most members of this group have settled in Canada's two largest urban centres: 46.8% live in Toronto and 21% in Montreal.

Black immigration from Africa to Canada is a relatively recent phenomenon. Today, even with the liberalization of immigration policy calling for the adoption of more objective criteria in the selection of immigrants to Canada, immigration

from Africa tends to be very low relative to other so-called "non-traditional" Canadian immigration sources. Currently, Africa as a whole contributes merely 5 to 7.5% of all immigration to Canada, although this number has been increasing over the last 10 to 15 years. (Danso and Grant, 2000; Mensah, 2005). Moreover, despite the liberalization of immigration policy, African immigrants to Canada encounter longer delays and reduced prospects in comparison to immigrants from Europe or East Asia. As a result of these blocked immigration channels, most Africans in Canada come as refugee claimants (Opoku-Dapaah, 2006).

While Toronto is Canada's traditional main "port of entry" for new immigrants as well as the country's largest and most culturally diverse city, it is also one of the most expensive housing markets in Canada. Studies have found that new immigrants to Canada are likely to face the greatest affordability problems in this housing market (Hulchanski, 2001; Murdie, 2003). As a consequence, the settlement of immigrants in Toronto, and the corresponding transformation of the city's ethnocultural mosaic, has been marked by increases in segregation and poverty levels in certain areas of the city, as well as by high levels of residential mobility (sometimes including "forced" relocation) and suburbanization. In this context, the settlement patterns (choices made by groups of people/immigrants regarding the type of residence, neighbourhood and city in which to live) of new immigrants have become increasingly diverse. Recent evidence suggests that new immigrant groups and visible minorities, including Black Africans, are more likely than non-immigrants to live in poor-quality housing and in neighbourhoods with high rates of poverty (Kazemipur and Halli, 2000; Opoku-Dapaah, 2006). Indeed, in the early 21st century, extreme poverty among

some immigrant groups is becoming a troubling reality. Recent research shows that "immigrants and refugees are increasingly falling under the category of absolute homelessness," and that these groups are "now part of the new face of homelessness" in Toronto (Ballay and Bulthuis, 2004, p. 119).

Many factors conspire to limit recent immigrant groups' access to housing. For example, the lack of federal commitment to new affordable housing in the 1990s and reductions in the commitments of many provincial governments during this same period (with the notable exception of Quebec, which actively supported non-profit housing), has resulted in Canada having the smallest non-market housing sector of any major Western nation except for the U.S. today. As well, relatively few new rental units have been built in Toronto since the mid-1990s, and rents have increased at approximately twice the rate of inflation. For many new immigrants and visible minorities, these economic factors are aggravated by barriers such as discriminatory practices in the private rental market (Dion, 2001; Novac et al., 2004). Scholars have observed that race remains an important barrier to equal treatment in Canada's housing market (Danso and Grant, 2000; Murdie 2003, 2002; Darden, 2004; Hulchanski and Shapcott, 2004). Some warn that because of economic and discriminatory barriers, new immigrants and visible minorities may be directed into low-cost housing that, when clustered, can turn into urban or suburban "ghettoes" (Pruegger, Cook, and Hawskworth, 2004).

Greater understanding of the housing experiences of new immigrants and visible minorities, such as Black immigrants in Toronto, is necessary as the housing search strategies and adaptations adopted by these immigrants in Toronto's housing market have great significance for the future social well-being

and economic growth of the city (Murdie, 2003). Moreover, as the constraints noted above may be contributing to the creation and maintenance of racial and ethnic segregation in urban housing (Qadeer, 2004; Preston and Murnaghan, 2005), the study of these constraints, and the outcomes for these groups, has direct policy implications for government, business, and community leaders.

This study examines the settlement and housing experiences of three relatively recent African immigrant groups from former Portuguese African colonies: Angolans, Mozambicans, and Cape Verdeans, in Toronto's rental housing market.

1.1 Research Design

The main source of data for this study was a questionnaire that was administered in Toronto in the summer of 2006. To be eligible for the survey, respondents had to have been born in Angola, Mozambique, or Cape Verde Islands (all are first-generation immigrants), be Portuguese-speaking (mother tongue), have arrived in Canada between 1990 and 2006, currently live in rental accommodation in the city of Toronto, and have moved at least twice since arriving in the city. Given the exploratory nature of the study, which focused on understanding housing experiences rather than generalizing about the entire population in each study group, the decision was made to collect 60 questionnaires per group from respondents from Angola and Mozambique (the two largest groups in Toronto), and 30 questionnaires from the Cape Verde Islander group, for a total of 150 questionnaires (Figure 1).

2. Settling in Multicultural Toronto

Black Africans from Angola, Mozambique, and Cape Verde Islands—three former Portuguese colonies in Africa—comprise

three largely unknown and unstudied immigrant groups in Canada. According to the 2001 Census, about 2,500 members of these communities are living in the country, of which the Angolan group comprises 60.8%, the Mozambican group 33.2%, and the Cape Verde Islands group 6.0%. The province of Ontario is home to the largest concentration of Angolans (904), Mozambicans (535) and Cape Verdeans (114); the majority of whom live in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area. It should be noted, however, that these numbers may be inaccurate, as conversations with key members of these groups suggest that the actual sizes of these communities are much larger. Given the substantial number of illegal immigrants/refugees from these communities residing in Toronto, a more accurate estimate of the total population of the three groups would be between 4,000 and 5,000 people.

With regard to the respondents of this study, most of the Cape Verdeans (76.7%) and Mozambicans (65%) arrived in Toronto in the early 1990s (1990–1995), while most Angolans (60.0%) arrived in the late 1990s (1995–2000). More than two-thirds (88.3% of the Angolans and 78.3% of the Mozambicans) came from urban areas ("big cities") compared to only 16.7% for the Cape Verde Islanders. Most of the respondents emigrated to Canada in search of "better living environment/economic opportunities" (80.0% for Cape Verde Islanders, 50.0% for Angolans, and 75.0% for Mozambicans) and in search of "physical safety or political freedom" (68.3% for Angolans, 43.3% for Mozambicans, but only 1.8% for Cape Verdean immigrants). In contrast to Cape Verdeans, both Angolans and Mozambicans cited the political instability in their countries following independence from Portugal (which both
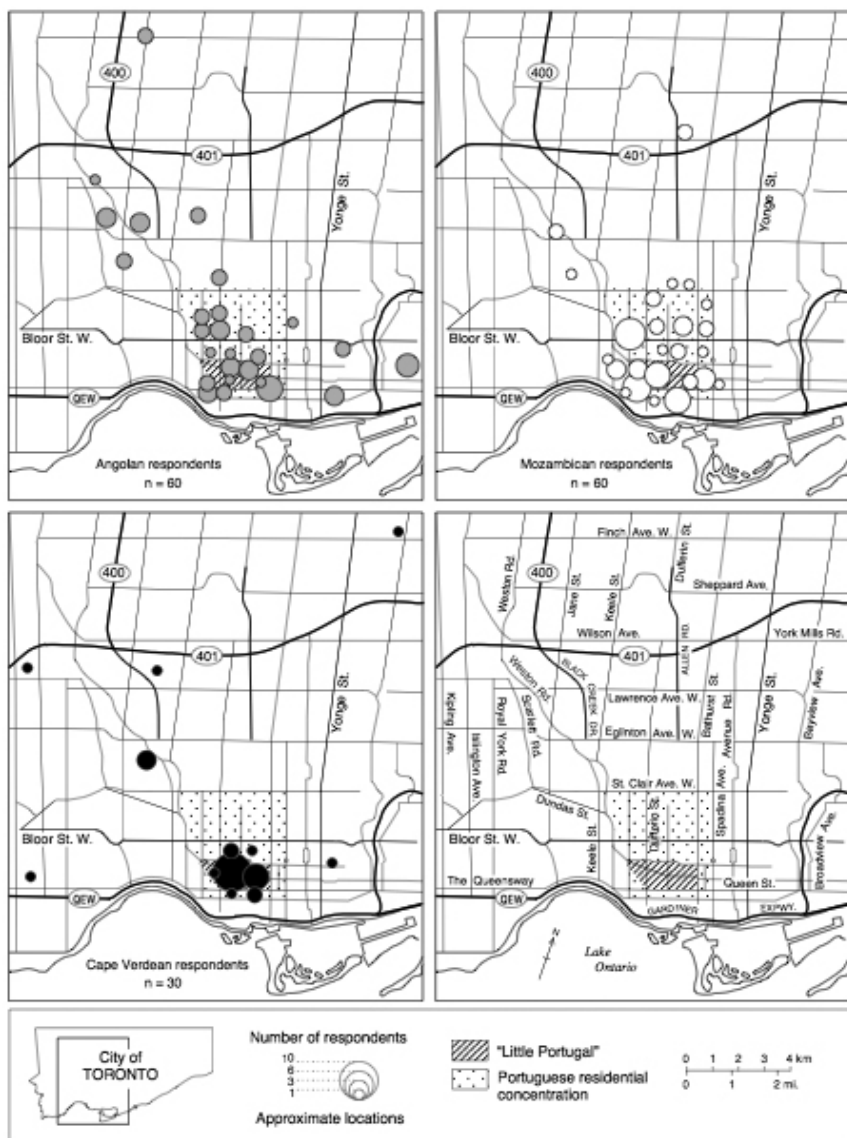
Figure 3. Angolan, Mozambican and Cape Verdean respondents in the City of Toronto, 2006

countries achieved in 1975) was a major "push" factor in their migration to Canada.

The three groups of respondents differed with regard to their immigration status and average age upon arrival in Canada. While most Angolans (85%) arrived in Canada as refugee claimants, most Cape Verde Islanders (70%), and Mozambicans (65%) arrived as temporary visa holders. The average Angolan respondent was 27 years old, while the average Mozambican and Cape Verde Islander were 31 and 30 years old respectively. Based upon this, we can speculate that Angolans (most of whom arrived as refugees and at a younger age) might take longer than Mozambicans and Cape Verde Islanders to adjust to the new environment and thus might face more barriers in their search for adequate and affordable housing. Differences in immigration status and average age upon arrival may therefore have implications for these immigrants' housing experiences in Toronto's rental market.

In general, Angolan, Mozambican, and Cape Verde Islander migration to Canada is characterized by household fragmentation, with many family members getting left behind in Africa—or in Portugal, where important Black African communities from the former Portuguese colonies migrated and continue to reside—where they wait for an opportunity to join their families in Canada. Almost half of the respondents from the three groups arrived in Canada alone (46.7% for Cape Verdeans, 45.0% for Angolans, 41.7% for Mozambicans). In the study groups, immigration status upon arrival, the fragmentation of the household and extended family, and the lack of an existing community in Toronto, all influenced where the respondents looked first for help in finding housing. Most of the Angolans arrived in Canada as refugee claimants, and accordingly showed

a greater reliance on non-ethnic organizations and government programs (60.0%) than the Mozambicans (26.7%) and Cape Verde Islanders (23.3%).

A prior acquaintance with people already established in the host country or city— especially people from the same ethnic background—is of particular importance to an immigrant's initial search for housing. Many more Cape Verdeans (76.7%) and Mozambicans (70.0%) knew someone in the Toronto area before arriving in the city than Angolans (31.7%). The Angolans, most of whom arrived in Toronto as refugees, lacked social networks and ethnic sources of housing information, and thus had fewer housing choices and may have faced more barriers in securing housing. Not surprisingly, some 47 out of 60 of Angolan respondents (78.3%) stayed temporarily in shelters upon their arrival in Toronto. In contrast, only nine Mozambicans (15%) and two Cape Verdeans (6.7%) stayed in shelters. Pre-existing social networks for Cape Verde Islander and Mozambican immigrants seem to have helped the respondents from these groups in their initial settlement.

Most respondents from the three study groups seem to have experienced some form of disappointment and/or "culture shock" on arrival in Toronto with respect to finding affordable and good quality rental housing. The fact that a majority of the three groups of respondents—Angolan (66.7%), Mozambican (85%), and Cape Verde Islander (70%)—had owned an apartment/ townhouse or single family dwelling in their home countries may explain their frustration during the initial settlement period. When respondents were asked about their housing expectations before coming to Canada, they described a wide gap between their expectations and the reality they found. Many Angolans

(40.7%) and Cape Verdeans (50%) thought it would be relatively easy to find affordable housing in Canada's largest and most multicultural city. Similarly, half of Mozambicans (50%) were expecting better housing conditions/quality. Moreover, the three groups seem to have expected that Canada, as one of the richest countries in the world, would have better quality housing stock/supply as well as better government programs to accommodate new immigrants' and refugees' housing needs/preferences.

3. Toronto's "Little Portugal": Reception and Settlement Area

While none of the three groups had a well-established co-ethnic community within which to settle upon arrival in Toronto, all three had close links with another long-established immigrant group in Canada, the Portuguese, Portugal having once colonized their home countries in Africa. In the last five decades, the Portuguese have built a thriving and institutionally complete community in Toronto known as "Little Portugal" which includes civic organizations, businesses, religious organizations and services offered in their own language. The Portuguese in Toronto are also known for their high levels of homeownership. Many of these homes possess rooms/flats and sometimes a finished basement used for "informal renting" (ie., illegal/renting without papers).

All respondents were fluent in Portuguese (their mother tongue) and had cultural connections with Portugal, given Portugal's long colonial rule of their countries. The respondents were asked about the role and impact of the Portuguese community on their housing search and settlement. When respondents were asked if on their initial arrival in Toronto they had settled in the Portuguese community, only 43.3% of

the Angolans and 16.7% of the Mozambicans answered yes. In contrast, the majority of the Cape Verdeans (70%) settled in and/or around the Portuguese community upon their arrival. Those respondents who initially settled in the Portuguese community received help on arrival from different sources, including Portuguese civic organizations, social agencies, and churches.

The Angolans, in particular, relied heavily on the Portuguese Catholic Churches in Toronto. Some of the Portuguese priests serving in these Churches had served as priests during the colonial wars in Africa, and thus were highly sensitive to the needs of Black Africans from the former Portuguese colonies living in Toronto. Given this background, it is not surprising that several respondents from the Angolan community had high praise for the work of Portuguese priests and the church in helping them get adjusted to their new environment (e.g., providing food, money, and space in the church hall to meet and socialize, etc.). Since the independence of the former Portuguese colonies, the Portuguese Church in Toronto has been very active in fund-raising to support causes in Africa and Toronto's Portuguese community has always responded generously to these appeals in terms of donations.

The three study groups—but particularly the Angolans and Cape Verdeans—also relied extensively on Portuguese organizations/social agencies. In general they found these organizations very helpful. However, some complained about the lack of Black Africans working for them.

When asked how they would rate the importance of the Portuguese community in helping them adjust to their new environment, only 41.7% of respondents from Angola and 11.7% from Mozambique said the Portuguese community was "very

important" or "important." Cape Verde Islanders had a different opinion, giving more credit to the Portuguese community (60%) in helping them adjust to their new milieu. It seems that the Portuguese community established in Toronto had a stronger and a more positive impact on the Cape Verdeans' settlement/adjustment to a new life in Toronto. Some of the Cape Verdean responses indicated that they experienced a much easier integration/adjustment due to their cultural connection to the Portuguese community in the early stages of settlement in Toronto.

It should be noted that Cape Verdeans are the oldest and most important immigrant group from Portugal's former African colonies (Fonseca, 2005). Thus, it is not surprising that in Toronto, according to key informants, between 65 to 75% of all Cape Verdeans living in the city reside in "Little Portugal" and/or in neighbourhoods close to it. Among the three study groups, the Cape Verdeans seem to have the greatest "social/cultural" proximity to the Portuguese community.

The Cape Verdeans' strong network of contacts (e.g., friends—Portuguese and Non-Portuguese—and relatives already established in Toronto) in Toronto may also explain their settlement experiences and social proximity to the Portuguese community. This group of newcomers cited these ethnic networks as important in providing them with accommodation on arrival, sometimes on a temporary basis, as well as in helping them find jobs. In contrast, Angolans, and to a large degree Mozambicans, see their relationship with the Portuguese community differently than the Cape Verdeans do.

Aside from the relationship the Angolans, Mozambicans, and Cape Verde Islanders have with the Portuguese community, a number of other factors may explain the search behaviour

and housing choices of the three study groups on their arrival in Toronto. For example, the generally high education levels of respondents from Angola (50%) and Mozambique (75%) before emigration to Canada (went to and/or completed college or university), as well as their ability to speak and read English upon their arrival (70% of the Angolans and 80% of the Mozambicans could speak English "a little" or "very well") may help explain their autonomy in their initial housing search and choices. In contrast, most Cape Verdeans attained only primary school level and/or high school (70%), and thus had a lower knowledge of the English language (speak/read 30%). The closer geographical proximity of the Cape Verde Island Archipelago to Portugal may also explain the close "social/cultural proximity" of the Cape Verdeans to the Portuguese community in Toronto. In this context, one question that deserves further research is whether this "social/cultural" proximity—or lack of same—between groups translates into greater acceptance by Portuguese landlords in terms of facilitating access to rental housing in "Little Portugal." Given the differences between the three groups on this score, it is clear that this complex question requires more study.

With regard to other characteristics of our study groups, most respondents were working full time (68.3% for Angolans, 86.7% for Mozambicans, and 93.3% for Cape Verde Islanders) at the time of the interviews. While none of the Cape Verdean respondents claimed to have received any income from social assistance, only a few Angolans (23.3%) and very few Mozambicans (13.3%) were receiving an income from social assistance. Also, the majority of the respondents had already attained landed immigrant status or Canadian citizenship (78.3% for Angolans, 90% for Mozambicans, and 96.7% for Cape Verde Islanders). Both Angolans and Mozambicans also

had plans to retire in Africa (50% versus 88.3%). In contrast, Cape Verdeans came to stay in Canada, with only 30% of the respondents showing an interest in returning to their country of origin one day. These findings indicate that members of these groups were working hard to integrate quickly into mainstream Canadian society, rather than establishing their own institutionally complete immigrant communities. Ultimately, the individual and household characteristics highlighted here have implications for immigrants' settlement location choices, housing experiences in Toronto's housing market, and their adaptation/integration into Canadian society.

4. Residential Mobility and Housing Conditions

Recent immigrant and refugee settlement patterns in Toronto are characterized by high levels of mobility caused partly by the necessity for frequent moves in order to find more affordable and better housing conditions in Toronto's expensive private rental market. The study results indicate that both Angolans and Mozambicans sought better housing conditions after a short period (less than three months) of living on a temporary basis in a shelter (78.3% versus 15%) or sharing space with friends or relatives (13.3% for Angolans and 68.3% for Mozambicans). In contrast to the other two groups, Cape Verdeans' initial housing experiences (temporary) were mainly with relatives and/or friends (93.3%), with very few of them looking for shelter upon arrival. For all three groups, the primary goal was to rent on their own accommodation in the private sector.

In contrast to Mozambicans and Cape Verdeans, who made considerable improvements in their housing conditions by renting their own places after their initial move, most Angolans

continued to share apartments with other members of the group even after a few moves. Overcrowding (four or five people living in the same apartment) was thus much more common among the Angolans than among the Mozambicans and Cape Verdeans. For Angolans, group housing seems to have become a common practice: a survival strategy in Toronto's expensive rental market. In part, the Angolans' refugee status on arrival as well as their relative youth – the median age of Angolan respondents being 27 years, while that of the Mozambicans and Cape Verde Islanders was 31 and 30 years, respectively - may explain their reliance on sharing apartments with co-ethnics in order to pay the rent. In "Little Portugal" and surrounding neighbourhoods, some apartment complexes have become "magnets" for young Angolans. There, overcrowded conditions have become the norm for many Angolans, with poor quality housing being a frequent source of complaint. As well, several rental housing complexes located along the "immigrant corridor" have become major "meeting points" where African newcomers settle. It should be noted that this experience of sharing a room or flat/apartment is often not a positive one. One Angolan, who first arrived in Canada as a refugee, comments:

> The rents [have] increased considerably in 'Little Portugal'. Ten years ago [1996] housing rents were between $275 and $350…today [Summer 2006] one room costs around $450 to $500. Yes one room…the kitchen, bathroom has to be shared with others…sometimes 5, 6, 7…up to 10 people there…if you want the basement with bathroom you pay $700 to $900… In the last few years we Angolans started looking elsewhere [outside "Little Portugal"] where

housing is cheaper. I know an Angolan who started first by renting a house and after that he started renting rooms to other Angolans to make money and help pay the rent and the bills…thus, overcrowding becomes part of our lives in Toronto.

At the same time, the frequency of overcrowding among Black Africans in Toronto, particularly among the Angolan group, seems to have become a source of friction with their landlords. For example, 14 Angolan respondents (23.3%) said that they were forced to move at least once from an apartment because of "problems with the landlords" who wanted to raise the rents because of "overcrowding." In contrast, only six Mozambicans (10%) and one Cape Verdean (3.3%) moved for the same reason – an "involuntary move." These results echo previous research in Canada showing that overcrowding is commonplace among some new immigrant groups, especially refugees, in expensive urban rental markets. In the case of the Angolan group, overcrowding is related more to high rents than to a preference for group living as an extended family (see, Mendez, Hiebert and Wyly, 2006).

Respondents were also asked for the main "push" and "pull" factors behind their decision to move. Responses for two moves only were recorded: the move from the respondents' first permanent residence in Toronto, and the move from their last residence and to their current residence. For the Angolan group, "rents too expensive" (50%) and "overcrowding" (40%) were by far the most important reasons given for moving from their first permanent residence in Toronto. For the Mozambican group, "housing conditions/facilities" (40%) and "size/number-rooms" (30%) were the most important factors in their decision

to relocate. In contrast, "overcrowding" (sharing with relatives) (63.3%) and the desire to live in their own place ("privacy") were by far the most important reasons given by Cape Verdeans for moving from their first permanent residence. Thus, in general the respondents' reasons for moving reflect the reality of Toronto's rental housing market: a lack of affordable rental housing/high rents, low vacancy rates, and poor-quality housing in certain areas of the City of Toronto.

* This study is a "summary" of a larger study published in the academic journal - "Journal of Housing and the Built Environment." Carlos Teixeira (2008). Barriers and Outcomes in the Housing Searches of New Immigrants and Refugees: A Case Study of "Black" Africans in Toronto's Rental Market. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23: 253-276.

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BREAKING STEREOTYPES: FORGING NEW IDENTITIES AMONGST PIONEER AZOREAN-CANADIAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Nisa Remígio

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Hello everyone,

So here is the multimedia producer and artist who won't even use Powerpoint. *Em casa de ferreiro espeto de pau.* I believe I can still take you on a voyage using only words. Just let your imagination do the rest.

Before I begin, I would like to thank the Direção Regional das Comunidades dos Açores, the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers and Lesley College for putting together such a wonderful event and giving me the opportunity to share my work with all of you. I would also like to extend my gratitude to my esteemed colleagues on the panel and the others, who have spoken already or will do so later on today, for their contributions to the subjects at hand and in particular, I would like to give a very personal and public thank you to Margaret Serpa, who has taken me under her wing, thank you for believing in me and my work.

So now onto my presentation.

Eu sou a Francelina Laura. Sou dos Açores. Eu vim duma daquelas famílias com 7 e mais filhos, daquelas que a Gilberta Rocha estava ontem a falar. O que eu mais me lembro da casa dos meus pais era o barulho. Logo de manhã começava o galo a cantar, as galinhas a cacarejar, os porquinhos a roncar, os homens para dentro e para fora com as sacas e as alfaias da terra, os sinos da igreja a bater trindades. Aquilo havia sempre gente em casa: os meus avós dos dois lados, meu pai, minha mãe, meus irmãos e irmãs, tios e tias, sobrinhos e sobrinhas às corridas pela casa dentro, "*Vavô sa bense, Vavó sa bense.*" E a minha mãe que gritava,"*É rapá, com'é agora isse, sempre p'ra lá? E o mê beije?*" Mas não era só o barulho, eram também os cheiros, aquela sopa de feijão e couves a ferver na panela ao lume, o pão de casa, o pão de milho quentinho a sair do forno… aquilo consolava…

E chegou-se o dia da partida para vir ter com o meu marido para o Canadá. Foi como se fosse uma morte na freguesia. Foi choros e gritos e abraços e beijos porque a gente não sabia quando é que se voltava a ver… "*M'nha rica filha, ai minha filha, q'ê môrre!*" E lá fui eu, para a cidade apanhar um avião para Santa Maria, a SATA, um avião pequenino, tanto barulho que aquilo fazia, e tremia! Era cada safanão que a gente pensava todos que íamos acabar no mar. Depois, foi outro avião para Toronto. Quando eu cheguei lá, eu não vi o meu marido. Eu sem saber falar! Foi seguir aquela gente como porcos para dentro dum curral. Larga para outro avião! 20 horas a andar de avião.

À saída, eu vi o meu marido e fiquei relouca e eu disse cá para mim, "*Já cheguê, Senhor, obrigada.*" Mas cá nada! O meu marido levou-me para um *trem*, um comboio. Aquilo é que foi

andar, horas e horas. Só árvores dos dois lados. Árvores e mais árvores e mais árvores, eu disse assim, "P*ond'é qu'esse home me 'tá levando*?" De repente, o *trem* parou e o meu marido disse-me que era aqui que a gente descia. Olhei para um lado, olhei para o outro. Árvores de um lado, árvores do outro. Uma clareira à frente com uma retrete no meio e uma casa de dois andares à esquerda. E uma placa que dizia "*JCT*", e pensei que era o nome da freguesia. Só mais tarde é que eu descobri que queria dizer *junction*, uma paragem de comboio no meio de nada.

O meu marido levou-me para dentro da casa. No andar de debaixo, uma cozinha com uma mesa e cinco cadeiras. No andar de cima, dois quartos, um para mim e o meu marido, o outro para os outros trabalhadores. Eu perguntei ao meu marido quem é que vivia ali e onde ficava a cidade. Ele respondeu-me que só viviam ali a gente, o *bossa*, o velhinho que ia para o *retirement* e o rapazinho novinho que ia para o lugar do velhinho que ia para o *retirement*. De resto, não havia mais ninguém.

No dia seguinte, o meu marido foi trabalhar com os outros homens e eu fiquei ali sozinha naquele silêncio. Eles partiam 12, 13, 14, 16 horas de cada vez. E eu, ficava ali, sentada à porta, sempre ali sozinha naquele silêncio. Eu e a minha retrete. Dia após dia, ano após ano, até a gente ter dinheiro suficiente para ir para a cidade e comprar uma casinha.

*****

Eu sou a Almerinda. Eu trabalhava longe de casa. E o pior é que a camioneta só passava de meia em meia hora. Se eu

perdesse a camioneta, eu chegava tarde ao serviço. Eu disse ao meu marido e ao meu cunhado, que morava na mesma casa que a gente, "*Eu já não quero saber mais de andar de camioneta, sempre numa aflição terrível. Eu vou mas é tirar o "driving permit" e arranjar um carro.*" O meu cunhado e o meu marido desataram a rir, "*Olha-me só p'ra essa, chegou à dias e acha que é capaz de tirar a carta!*" Mas eu não quis saber. Fui para a escola fazer o exame. Eu fiz um *mistake*, é, um *mistake* pequenino. Eu cheguei ao *stop* e não parei como devia de ser, fui só mais devagarinho e olhei para os dois lados, não vi ninguém e alabote para a frente é que é caminho. Eu devia ter parado e não parei. O examinador chamou-me à atenção, mas ele foi boa pessoa, ele deixou-me passar. E eu vim para casa com a carteira na mão e mostrei ao meu marido e ao meu cunhado, "*Olhem só o que eu tenho aqui… E vocês diziam que eu não era capaz!*"

Ah! Aquilo agora é que foi um consolo. Já não tinha que esperar pela camioneta. Mas aquele *driving permit* não me serviu só para ir para o trabalho. Eu agora podia ir às compras sozinha, ir à missa, ver as minhas amigas. Eu já não tinha que esperar pelo meu marido para ele me conduzir aos lugares e isso só quando ele podia. Aquela carta deu-me *independence, I was independent*.

*****

Eu sou a Lídia. Eu queria ajudar o meu marido para a gente comprar uma casa. Ele ganhava bem, mas para comprar uma casinha mais depressa não dava. Eu disse a ele que eu queria ir trabalhar na fábrica, para ganhar uns dinheirinhos e assim ajudar. Ele não queria nem por sombras. A gente tinha

duas crianças, o meu filho de seis anos que já ia para a escola e a pequenina. O meu marido queria que eu ficasse em casa a tomar conta deles. Mas eu insisti. Eu nunca tido trabalhado em Portugal, mas eu queria tanto ajudar ao meu marido. O pior sabe o que foi? Até nem foi ir trabalhar, estar fora de casa todo o dia e ainda vir para casa fazer os termínios da casa. Não foi. Foi ter de deixar os meus filhos: o mais velhinho ia para a escola com a chave ao pescoço, um *latch key*, e vinha para casa almoçar e no fim da escola, e a mais novinha, ainda era muito bébé, eu tive de deixá-la a guardar com uma senhora que nem sequer era portuguesa. Isso foi o que me custou mais.

*****

Eu sou a Urânia e tinha 16 anos quando vim para o Canadá. Vim para o pé da minha irmã que já estava cá há dois anos mais a sua família. Eu conheci logo o meu noivo, ele era lá da terra, e a gente casou-se pouco tempo depois. A gente teve dois ricos filhos de seguida. Eles ainda eram pequeninos, um com 5 e o outro com 3, quando o meu marido largou-me, deixou-me sozinha com os meus filhos e foi viver com outra mulher. Eu nunca mais soube dele.

Eu agora tinha que arranjar o sustento para a gente. Eu já trabalhava num restaurante, mas arranjei mais umas horas a trabalhar em limpezas à noite. A minha irmã e o meu cunhado, Deus lhes abençoe, ajudavam-me no que podiam. Mas mesmo assim, sem marido ao meu lado, eu consegui comprar uma casinha para a gente e pôr os meus dois filhos na universidade.

*****

O meu nome é Maria da Conceição. Quando o meu marido se reformou e as crianças cresceram e saíram de casa e foram viver as suas vidas, eu fiquei com imenso tempo livre nas minhas mãos. E eu pensei assim, "*O que é que eu vou fazer agora? Já não tenho ninguém para tomar conta.*"

Foi então que me lembrei que eu sempre quis aprender a falar inglês como deve de ser e matemática. Eu fui-me inscrever numa daquelas escolas para adultos. Eu tenho aulas duas vezes por semana. Estou aprendendo frações. Ah! Eu não percebo nada daquilo! Ponho-me doida! Mas eu não me importo o trabalho que dá, porque eu estou fazendo isso para mim, *I am doing it for myself*.

*****

Eu sou a filha da Maria Paula. Como a Maria da Conceição e a Urânia, eu também casei-me cedo. Fiquei em casa a cuidar dos meus 4 lindos filhos e dos afazeres. O meu marido é que trabalhava para sustentar a família. A gente conseguiu que os nossos filhos todos tirassem cursos na universidade. Quando eles terminaram a escola e estavam encaminhados nas suas vidas, eu decidi ir estudar. Aos 51 anos, eu fui para a universidade para ser enfermeira.

*****

Eu sou a Maria Furtado. Uma vez, eu fui pedir aqui na rua por causa do coração, para o *Heart Foundation*, e coisas assim, *yeah*. E é então para dar, a gente também sempre gosta muito de ajudar. O meu marido então para *cancers* e ali no *Covenant*

House em Vancouver, que é uma casa que aceita as crianças que têm dificuldades, a mocidade. A gente sempre davam. E agora, que o meu marido faleceu, eu continuo a fazer as minhas… como eu posso, *yeah*.

*****

O meu nome é Maria Madalena. Eu casei-me por procuração. A gente dava-se bem por cartas. Mas eu só soube o homem que ele era quando cá cheguei. Ele ficava-me com o dinheiro todo que ele ganhava e com o meu também. Ele bebia-o todo. Ele nunca ia às compras. A gente nunca tinha comida em casa. Eu tinha que pegar dinheiro às escondidas, senão aquelas crianças, os meus filhinhos, não comiam. Ele batia-me, chamava-me nomes em frente a toda a gente. Eu penei. Mas eu fiquei com ele, eu sacrifiquei-me pelos meus filhos, para que eles tivessem o pai sempre por perto.

Os meus filhos cresceram, casaram-se e tiveram filhos seus. E eu disse, "*Eu vou continuar aqui em casa pelos meus netos.*" Mas eu já não podia com mais humilhação. Falei com a minha filha, que ao princípio não compreendia como é que eu queria me separar do pai e deixá-lo sozinho. Foram 50 anos que eu fiquei com ele, 50 anos de dor, de medo, terror.

Eu disse, "*Não, eu tenho 71 anos. Eu vou arranjar um divórcio porque eu quero viver o resto da minha vida com dignidade.*"

*****

You must be wondering by now how these examples tie into the topic, Women and Leadership. Well, all the characters in these stories are Women, so the first part of the title is covered. Now let's talk leadership.

What is leadership? Who is a leader? I did some research and I found this most simple and elegant definition:

A LEADER IS A PERSON LOOKED TO BY OTHERS AS AN EXAMPLE TO BE IMITATED.

What are some of the qualities of a leader? There are numerous qualities but here are a few I selected.

Courage. Purposefulness. Adaptability. Commitment. Positivity. Service to others. Confidence. Determination. Humility.

Now, I propose to you the following. My ladies, these pioneer immigrant women, who most of them had less than a fourth grade education, did they not display these characteristics? Were they not leaders in their own right? I say yes they are and I will prove it to you.

They had the **courage** to take risks. Whether it was their choice or not to come, they left what was most familiar to them and embarked in an adventure into the unknown.

They had a **purpose**: to better their family's economic situation and secure a future for their children.

They **adapted** to their new environment. Whether they assimilated, integrated the society or lived in a ghetto, they still came into contact with other cultures and other realities and had to make choices of how they were going to live in this new reality and accomplish their goals.

They did not pack up and leave at the first sign of adversity. They **committed** themselves to attaining the goals they set.

They believed whole-heartedly that they could make it happen, *"Com a ajuda do Espírito Santo e a graça de Deus que é grande, a gente há-de lá chegar*." They kept **positive** through all the trials and tribulations, all the while crying themselves to sleep.

They **self-sacrificed** for the common good, to service their children, to guarantee them a better life than back home.

They **believed** in themselves, that they would be able, through their work ethics and commitment, to assure the outcome.

As scared as they may have been of everything that was new to them: language, food, climate, social values, social structure, being isolated, they were **determined** to see it through.

And finally, when asked about the courage it took to overcome all the adversities to realize their goals, they all replied, "*A gente fez o que tinha que fazer*." How **humble** is that?

Is all this not a lesson in empowerment? In leadership? A leader inspires through example. Leadership is about behaviour first, skills second.

Taking into account the historical context that these pioneer women came from, that was so eloquently explained by Ana Nava yesterday, it is no surprise that these women's goals, their needs and aspirations were the security of a home, of bread on the table, of a better future for their children, an education for them, or at least for them to learn how to read and write, which was more than most of these women had.

Let us emphasize the human qualities of these women, not their specific goals. Goals, like social and cultural values change. Culture is dynamic. "*Mudam-se os tempos, mudam-se as vontades*." But the qualities that get you there remain the same.

In 2002, Lainie Kazan and her team wrote into the script of *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, "*Don't let the past dictate who you are, but let it be part of who you become*." It is up to each individual to set his or her own goals. But the human qualities that are needed to achieve those goals, those lessons in life, in humanity, can and must be passed on from one generation to the next.

And in 1993, Manuela Marujo and Domingos Marques wrote in their book *With Hardened Hands, A pictorial history of Portuguese immigration to Canada in the 1950s*, "*The women's contribution to (…) the overall survival and eventual success of the Portuguese settlement has never been fully recognized*."

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Let us do everything in our power to make sure this statement does not celebrate its 20th anniversary. We have 2 years to accomplish this. We have the template that our pioneer immigrant women forged, our quiet leaders.

Just look around you, there is no lack of Women in Leadership in this room. And for that matter there is no lack of women in leadership out there in the community. Women with vision, engaged, passionate. Let us keep doing what we are doing. Making our voices be heard.

On behalf of my ladies, whom I'm very fondly possessive of, my ladies, who I'm willing to share with you as well, on behalf of my ladies and myself, thank you for continuing their legacy.

Thank you.

N.B.: While the testimonials are based on real facts, the characters themselves are created from various women's interviews.

A LINGUAGEM NÃO SEXISTA

Caetano Valadão Serpa

University of Massachusetts at Boston – EUA

*(Apresentação dedicada a uma menina
de 4 anos, Layla, minha neta)*

A linguagem, como veículo primário de comunicação entre seres racionais, na sua expressão oral ou escrita, recai sob a alçada da igualdade de direitos, por isso, não poderá continuar a ignorar, omitir, e simplesmente subentender ou apenas implicitamente reconhecer a mulher na sua dignidade primordial de mãe, esposa, irmã, etc. e profissional de qualquer ocupação liberal na desculpa de que fazê-lo é apenas *privilégio* da cultura portuguesa. *Argumenta-se que a linguagem sexista em Portugal é uma questão cultural.*

É tempo de levantar a burka da linguagem sexista, permitindo apreciar o rosto límpido da língua sem os privilégios sociais do uso do género masculino de preferência ao feminino e acabar com as fictícias boas intenções e desculpas culturais, reconhecendo, clara, inequívoca e distintamente a presença da mulher em tudo o que ela é e faz, a todos os níveis da atividade humana! Por outras palavras, é injusto que a língua portuguesa continue a referir-se à mulher quase só implicitamente. *Pais*

para designar *pais e mães*, *professores* para indicar *professores e professoras*, etc. é o arcaísmo mais incoerente que os e as falantes de português continuam a usar.

Ao falarmos honestamente, o que dizemos por palavras é o reflexo do que acreditamos, professamos e aspiramos. A linguagem é a arma mais poderosa do relacionamento humano. Toda a gente alberga na bagagem das recordações imagens de felicidade ou infortúnio que as palavras produziram. O nosso subconsciente está povoado de preconceitos, complexos, injustiças, desejos, aspirações, medos e apreensões que a palavra gerou e manteve. A violência quase sempre começa por palavras.

A cultura não é algo estático, um passado cristalizado; cultura é algo dinâmico que se transforma em cada momento ao encontro de novas circunstâncias e realidades, obrigando-nos à participação nesta dinâmica existencial, de contrário ficaremos relegados para o arcaísmo estéril e às portas da nostalgia do que já não existe.

Afinal a linguagem sexista/machista é o uso abusivo do género masculino das palavras na perspetiva do homem em detrimento da mulher. É, na realidade, ignorar ou desconhecer, inconsciente ou conscientemente, a presença e participação da mulher em tudo o que acontece e atravessa a humanidade vinte e quatro horas por dia, todos os dias.

Apetece dizer, quem não vê a sua presença indispensável ao progresso e sucesso da humanidade é porque não quer, sem ela não há solução possível para qualquer problema e não

são poucas as dificuldades que diariamente enfrentamos em qualquer parte do planeta Terra, onde habitamos.

Porque será, então, que a língua portuguesa, rudemente, ignora a mulher na sua expressão falada e escrita? E porque será que, sobretudo, a maioria das mulheres aceita passivamente esta situação de injustiça e não toma uma atitude defensiva? Talvez com receio de ser acusada de feminista, labelo ainda depreciativo na sociedade portuguesa?!

Vejamos algumas das expressões mais comuns de linguagem sexista:

Deus Pai e Deus Filho
A relação do Homem com Deus
O Homem
O Cartão do cidadão
A Loja do Cidadão
(Ou simplesmente) *O cidadão, os portugueses*
Os direitos do Homem
O progresso do Homem
O sindicato dos professores e dos trabalhadores
A ordem dos médicos e advogados
A associação dos pais
Os pais e os tios
Os professores e os alunos
Os filhos e os irmãos
Os primos e os amigos,
O meu médico é uma mulher! …

(Nos voos Estados Unidos – Portugal ou de Boston – Ponta Delgada, na TAP ou SATA Internacional, todos os anúncios feitos

em português pelo pessoal de bordo, são, com raras exceções dignas de registo, feitos sempre em linguagem sexista: "*Senhores passageiros*"... Contudo, na versão inglesa: "*Ladies and Gentlemen*"... Qual será o bloco mental em dizer **senhoras e senhores passageiros***?)*

Onde estão as mulheres nestas designações e expressões de linguagem sexista?

Estão cobertas com a burka da linguagem machista, quanto muito, a linguagem *do implícito, do faz de contas, do quer dizer, da boa intenção!* Cultura sexista, pois não?!

Este arcaísmo linguístico, o mais absurdo da língua portuguesa da atualidade, tem de mudar se quisermos usar uma linguagem abrangente e justa, com tratamento igualitário para homens e mulheres. Torna-se necessária uma tomada de consciência de como o sexismo linguístico reflete um mundo ultrapassado que já não existe, a não ser nas mentalidades retrógradas que estagnaram no tempo e não conseguem ultrapassar a linguagem do véu, da burka!

O caso **Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo** é dos mais elucidativos e flagrantes da linguagem sexista, mesmo na altura em que Portugal acabava de libertar-se da ditadura do Estado Novo e de reconhecer importantes direitos à mulher, que em Portugal nunca lhe tinham sido atribuídos. Todavia, até hoje, ainda muita gente não consegue libertar-se do arcaísmo da linguagem machista!

Quando Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo foi designada para exercer o cargo de 'primeiro ministro', era a primeira mulher

a receber tal honrosa tarefa, mas o problema foi que a arcaica sociedade portuguesa não estava preparada para ultrapassar o pequeno/grande obstáculo, alterando o uso do *artigo*, *numeral ordinário* e *substantivo* do género masculino para o feminino, tratando-se dum cargo que nunca antes fora exercido por uma mulher. Algo inédito. Mesmo os mais sábios da altura ficaram aparentemente gagos. Espantoso!

O país reuniu de urgência os linguistas das universidades e os gramáticos das academias de ciências à procura de uma solução, como se este fosse um problema sério para a língua portuguesa! Como deveria ser designada uma mulher no cargo de primeiro ministro?

E após vários dias e inúmeras reuniões, a montanha da sabedoria portuguesa deu à luz um murganho! Alterava unicamente o artigo. A senhora no cargo até então exercido exclusivamente pelo homem designar-se-ia por ***a primeiro ministro***! Mudando apenas o artigo de masculino para feminino, assim, respeitar-se-ia a dignidade do cargo masculino!

Só com mais alguns dias de ridículas reflexões e inúteis discussões , convencionou-se apelidar a primeira e a última mulher portuguesa, até hoje, na cadeira da governação do país por ***A Senhora Primeira Ministra***!

Assim, pela primeira vez, não sem grandes dificuldades para remover opiniões anacrónicas da mentalidade cultural portuguesa, ultrapassava-se, a barreira da linguagem sexista no Portugal moderno do após 25 de Abril de 1974, quando a mulher portuguesa, também pela primeira vez, começava a exercer o

direito ao voto sem restrições. No entanto, passados mais de trinta anos, os políticos da democracia portuguesa, no dia das eleições, continuam a agradecer exclusivamente o voto ***dos portugueses,*** na obediência cega e respeito obsessivo pelo arcaísmo cultural, embora saibam muito bem que a mulher também vota.

Apesar dos preconceitos que ainda perduram contra as mulheres, algumas têm ultrapassado a barreira do sexismo aquém e além fronteiras, mesmo na politica.
- **Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo**, Portugal
- **Assunção Esteves, Presidente da Assembleia da República** Portuguesa
- **Dilma Rousseff**, Brasil
- **Michelle Bachelet,** Chile
- **Portia Simpson-Miller,** Jamaica
- **Khaleda Zia,** Bangladesh
- **Gloria Aroyo,** Filipinas
- **Ângela Merkel,** Alemanha
- **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf,** Libéria
- **Júlia Gillard,** Austrália**...**

E há já quem, sem receios e convicção, fala *dos direitos humanos; do progresso da humanidade; da relação das pessoas com Deus; da associação de pais e mães; dos professores e das professoras; dos alunos e das alunas; dos filhos e das filhas; dos irmãos e das irmãs; dos amigos e das amigas, e refere-se à sua médica com orgulho e estima, sem necessidade de recorrer ao género masculino ...*

Todavia, são ainda honrosas e corajosas exceções à maioria inconsciente. A linguagem sexista é campo fértil para complexos, preconceitos e injustiças.

Na família é causadora de desigualdades e criadora de condicionalismos de abuso.

Aqui, dão-se os piores abusos físicos, psicológicos e morais contra a mulher em todas as fases do seu desenvolvimento psíquico e de relação, como mãe, esposa, filha, irmã, …

Em conclusão, não há solução para coisa alguma sem primeiro se reconhecer o problema. A linguagem sexista tem sido um abuso de poder através dos tempos quando a mulher vivia subestimada e submetida ao homem, sem acesso às oportunidades que a educação oferecia por razões culturais e religiosas, e conveniências politicas e sociais.

Aperceber-se deste abuso de poder através dos tempos quanto ao uso da linguagem sexista como mensagem cultural que ignora metade da população do nosso planeta não é difícil e é necessário. Temos de repensar a _palavra_ de uma maneira abrangente que inclua a mulher.

Não há desculpa cultural para esta situação. Cultura é uma aquisição tradicional, que funciona quase sempre à maneira de reflexos espontâneos e inconscientes. Mas, cultura é também um fenómeno grandemente dinâmico e evolutivo, oscilando à mercê de fenómenos de vária ordem, diferentes ideologias, tendências e hábitos.

A linguagem sexista é, com certeza, o arcaísmo mais incoerente da língua portuguesa da atualidade. Um mau gosto na boca de todos os países falantes da língua lusa, e embora seja responsabilidade de todos aqueles e aquelas que

a falam e cultivam, libertá-la deste paladar de mau gosto é tarefa primordial do povo que a deu ao mundo, portuguesas e portugueses depositários primários desta herança. Portugal foi o seu berço, ali, nasceu a língua portuguesa, que ao sabor da aventura das caravelas chegou a todos os continentes. Agora, ninguém pode eximir-se à responsabilidade de a libertar da injustiça da linguagem machista/sexista.

Mãos à obra, na família, nas escolas, nas assembleias cívicas e, especialmente, nos poderosos meios de comunicação social, televisão e rádio, fatores indispensáveis para a libertação do arcaísmo da linguagem sexista.

NÃO À LINGUAGEM SEXISTA!!!

Uma viagem longa
começa sempre
com o primeiro passo.
Lao-tzu, Filósofo chinês, (604 BC)

CAPÍTULO V

EDUCAÇÃO

CRIME, EDUCATION, AND IDENTITY: REFLECTIONS ON PORTUGUESE YOUTH AT RISK

Noémia Couto

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INTRODUCTION

At present I am engaged in exploring the impact of globalization on the rights of youth. A youth is not an atomized or isolated being but is surrounded by an intricate web of linkages that are necessary in rearing active citizens that are concerned about rights and making change. Children are brought into life via a family. Therefore, like concentric rings, the family forms the first encasement of a child's social-psychological adjustment to the society they live in. The family provides the context of healthy growth that is necessary in making children's rights a reality and binds the individual to appropriate values. *Social bond theory* as adapted from Hirshci and others informs this stage of my work.

The family is not isolated to the nuclear model prevalent in the affluent West but to the unit struggling to survive in a hostile environment; I call this the *survival unit*. Social conservatives talk about the decline of traditional family values and seem to ignore the more important issue of how units, whether nuclear or otherwise, survive in these contexts. Here my research has taken me to examining young Portuguese males in Toronto, Canada who are viewed at risk in terms of lack of education

and/or confrontations with the law. My research question raises this under-explored issue in the hopes that governments as well as non-governmental agencies may recognize the significance of this situation and adapt to it. We must look at the context and nature of education within Canadian society. This is important because the definition of human rights, in the *United Nations Charter*, clearly alludes to the importance of education. In fact, it is my claim that rights cannot be considered without the context of education—especially and foremost in the case of the young.. My question here is simple: How do we deliver education to those who need it the most? And, relatedly, what impedes the implementation of universal policies? My preliminary research indicates that education must be adaptive to the conditions of many of our young Portuguese youth who feel that to be "successful" is to make money. For many without critical thinking skills, and/or a solid education base, this may mean becoming involved in illegal activity in order to have some access to their definition (and the society's around them) definition of *success.*

This is no easy task but it can be done at the level of social attitudes changing towards what makes our kids successful and in turn, a re-thinking of our youth who end up on the wrong side of the law. It is here that policies around deportation would be best served. To re-think, and come to understand how these people end up on the wrong side of the law can offer a more humane and we hope, less dogmatic stance on 'sending them back to where they came from'. Therefore, *social attitudes* must and can change once we come to understand the plight of those on the verge of deportation for not much more than wanting what the rest of us have or take for granted. The social ignorance around deportation and the crimes (or lack of) committed by

these people is a major impediment to eliminating this most basic form of oppression.

My research will be conducted in various inter-related phases. The first phase, which I am involved in now, involves a theoretical and historical review of some of the main issues in the area of youth and rights. The second phase, involves an ethnographic encounter with the real dilemmas on the ground. I have made sufficient contacts with many Portuguese youth that identify as 'at risk' and I am in the process of awaiting news of funding. The final phase, involves a summation of ethnographic material with the context of a global political economy and a consideration of the lives damaged due to inattention to this issue. In other words, how do we bring the local to the global and the global to the local? This will involve a sustained critique of the global economic order and its inequities combined with a micro-level analysis of the lives of marginalized youth. It will be shown, for example, that austerity measures imposed by government agencies have resulted in critical cuts to social programs. These cuts have affected children and youth most severely because they are most reliant on the delivery of governmental services such as health care and education.

My research also reflects the issues and concerns reflected in the Canadian criminal justice system. With the passing *the Youth Criminal Justice Act*, greater emphasis has been placed on finding alternative forms of rehabilitation and justice; criminal justice policies must look towards diversionary forms of treatment. My focus here will be on examining the ways in which *restorative justice* programs may have a positive impact on the delivery of rights to children. Punishment has been a guiding

principle of our criminal justice system for many years and this is further mirrored in the attitudes of media outlets and public opinion for a harsh form of control. These attitudes are shown to be detrimental to the rights of children because they place emphasis on treating youth as *signs of trouble* and not as victims of a system. The *labeling process* as outlined by theorists such as Lemert, Becker, Matza, as well as other criminologists, exemplifies the circular recrudescence and engraining of negative attitudes that are not conducive for the positive integration of youth within Canadian society. It is definitely the case that negative attitudes can become strong signifiers in an identity formation process that social psychologically disables youth towards a future criminal career. In contrast, forms of reintegrative shaming, found in the work of Braithwaite and others, will be shown to be much more effective forces of conformity and commitment.

This research involves an examination of certain pilot programs initiated within first nation's communities as well as some smaller urban-centered actions. I will conduct a series of interviews with youth, their families, and extended communities. The questions will be focused on how the respondents feel that services and opportunities are being delivered to them—in a word; I will focus on revealing attitudes that correspond to the delivery of rights. My preliminary hypothesis is that restorative justice programs offer alternatively effective ways of bringing rights to children; that is, restorative justice is most consistent with an agenda of human rights. In contrast, it will be shown how punitive forms of justice, reflected in the previously mentioned social attitudes and public opinion, are contrary to the agenda of human rights. I would describe this as criminology *of human rights*. My task is to use this information as well as the success

stories of restorative justice to change public attitudes and inspire renewed energy on the part of government for the initiatives of diversion. Clearly, the benefits of restorative justice are often overshadowed by political and social exploitations of the passions of fear and vengeance. I believe that one of the positive research agendas of social science is to question these abuses and point towards positive and progressive alternatives.

The Purpose Of This Study

Education is a moral issue that must engage our attention and deserves our critical energies. How we understand education plays a part in the fore or the arguments designed to persuade us toward moral commitment or action. This study will focus upon the important task of formulating clear moral premises around education policies. I make the claim that the market-approach to education will deaden and threaten critical thinking skills that are essential to discussions on freedom and justice in a democratic society. I will argue that promoting the moral and ethical dimensions of the education process, is a responsibility we have to our selves, our communities and our society.

My use of "ethos" as a central concept is meant to ground us in a thought and a feeling that is not as readily explained, but understood, as Mason's use of "ethics". Mason writes,

> that the ethics of integrity, conceptualized as *respect for the dignity of our and each other's being, and the acceptance of responsibility for the consequences of our moral choices*, developed from post-modern ethics, offer moral resources for education in late modernity of more parturient

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worth than those offered by postmodern ethical formulations. [66]

Ethos in my work will develop a specific relationship to the state of education in the modern world today. That is, it will concern itself with the nature and purpose of public education as an ethos of Canadian culture and how it perceives itself in the realms of past and present narratives. Tensions between education as "functional" and education as "critical thinking", will inform our discussions on what vision animates education: both sides of the debate arguing that they produce a desirable kind of person/society.

My aim in this study is a critique of the logic inherent in functional models of education. Here, I will sketch out a phenomenology of critical thinking, which will help account for both the enthusiastic support of critical thinking course and the determined opposition to them by certain political and market-place forces. I will argue that education should be more than just learning a skill, or fitting people into an economy.

In more detailed work to follow an analysis of alienation in our contemporary Canadian education process will guide our investigation of a general loss of self-determination, which produces false consciousness and low self-esteem. These reified states of mind will be analyzed through Marxian and phenomenological categories. I will ask, 'what is the nature of the relationship between thinking, language and education' (as a humanizing process)? This question receives its classical

66 Mason, Mark. *The Ethics of Integrity: A Defence of Core Ethical Principles for Educa-tion in Late Modernity*. 1-2

analysis in the "Allegory of the Cave" (Plato's *Republic*). More recently, it has been re-stated and re-examined in the writings of Martin Heidegger (*Existential phenomenology*) and Paulo Freire (*Critical Pedagogy*). Each of these thinkers, from the perspective of his conceptual framework, is clarifying the inter-related meanings of thinking, language, and education, in the context of what it means to be a 'Human Being'. This leads to an exploration of the socializing and humanizing dimension of the educational process.

Theoretical Orientation and Methodology

My analysis of education as a moral issue has been informed by both the functional perspective and critical pedagogy within the tradition of the sociological discipline. I have also gone outside these orientations in order to strengthen and develop arguments. Marxist, as well as, a type of Weberian interpretative theory have aided in a more fully rounded account o the capabilities of a critical pedagogy that understands its roots. In addition to these, while immersing myself in educational studies, the work of Mark Mason on education, ethics, and integrity had a large impact on my thinking and challenged me to adopt a more phenomenological approach to key concepts such as ethics, the good individual/society, and education itself, in order to ask focused questions on the nature and purpose of public education. Mason vividly offers his thesis as,

> constituted dialectically, the ethos of integrity nurtures moral judgment and action that avoid both the fundamentalism and colonialism of righteous foundationalism, and the abdication of moral responsibility consequent on strong relativism. As

such, educators would be better able to address the moral challenges facing them in late modernity by recourse to the ethos of integrity than to the scant resources of postmodern ethics. [67]

Like Mason, an understanding of education within its philosophical setting also infuses much of my work. Arguments around dialogues of education as exemplary (lived and represented) or as instrumental ('truth' seeking), play themselves out as I continue to reflect and write in this area. I will attempt to write from this collective achievement of theoretical interpretations. For better or worse, we all have background texts that we draw on, and we continue to pursue matters, such as education, that hold some sort to value and complexity for us.

My research on the breaking down of modern and post-modern rationalities in order to grasp the kinds of educating we are doing, is essential to understanding the unhappiness, that is, the cost to personhood that we all face and feel at the national level of social membership and citizenship. Hence the methodology used is a natural extension of my theoretical orientation. Here, using textual or content interpretation, I will reflect on and illustrate the substance of the arguments in these texts, as well as, how these arguments get constructed. Text analysis is a type of dialogue between thee authors as created and extended by how well I can interpret and ask the right sorts of questions. My aim is to sketch out a phenomenology of critical thinking which will help make visible my own assumptions and biases. How I am reading these authors is essential to how my arguments will be understood and developed logically.

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67 *Ibid*, 4

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Review of the Literature

The Economy of Education, will consider models of education (market place and functional) that serve and cater to the goals of a capitalist economy. If education is about the exchange-ability of labour and people as commodities, then "educating" only requires he reproduction of this system. Here, there is no room or need for disciplined minds that can think creatively and alternatively. The works of Barlow and Robertson, Mason, Witte and others will be used as an implementation of critical pedagogy verses the need of the market place for skilled labour. An attempt will be made to demonstrate the disparities between the whole notion of critical thinking and professional accreditation requirements. While there appears to be a common goal on paper, in reality the accreditations of many professional disciplines are moving further away from notions of critical thinkers.

Research such as Barlow and Robertson's, *Class Warfare: the Assault on Canada's Schools*, Witte's *The Market Approach to Education*, as well as, Mason on *the ethics of integrity*, will make applicable the arguments stated for a case against the market place education model. I will compare and contrast how giant communications corporations have limited the intellectual freedom to inquire, express ideas, and debate:

Down from hundreds only a few decades ago, six corporations today control most newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and publishing houses. Of 29 chief executive offices currently deciding what we find out, almost all have conservative political leanings.[683]

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68   Witte, John. *The Market Approach to Education: an analysis of America's first voucher program*. 6

And ask do we want our education system in this same predicament? Will corporations in schools develop minds receptive to market mentality? Will "student" and "product" become inter-changeable terms?

I consider Barlow and Robertson's *Class Warfare*, where they argue that corporations are bullying their way into our classrooms by sending the erroneous message that an overwhelming proportion of our nations' students are not being taught to *think* at school. This functional model of what education should be, how "thinking" means receptive to market mentality and the need for a pool of "appropriate" labour, is exactly the kind of educational *reform* that hurts and at times destroys critical and creative inquiry. In this chapter, I aim for a historical trace of how our public schools have moved from teaching industrial skills (pre W.W. II) to the need for service work or information skills post World War II. Today, more than ever, the need for information skills is critical. If Canada wants to remain competitive, we need to teach skills of creativity: namely, communication skills. These skills cannot be taught functionally. Language, reading and writing are learned through a whole experience of interaction and practice, not through rules of "x, y, and z". An exploration of John Dewey and Nel Noddings' work on this topic will be used to argue for the importance of teaching language well. Reflexive language is the key for a critical thinker but, under a functional model of education, it is merely a reflection of a market place lexicon.

As the world becomes more complex, more inter-related, and more based on communication, teaching critical thinking skills

becomes paramount. Using Michael Fullan's *The New Meaning of Educational Change* and Hans W. Baade's *Academic Freedom*, I argue that an education based on a model of critical thinking skills, is best suited to the care of those parts of our private and public spaces that nurture the capacity for action and free critique. Teaching ethically means sustaining social and political freedom. It is from our overarching ethos that such teaching can even be possible. As a nation we must locate this at all levels of society. Schools are not meant to replace community; education as amoral issue is education as lived everyday, not bound to any one classroom or sphere of social life.

In the area *On Family and Becoming Social Members,* I consider the family as historically being located as the place for learning and experiencing the fundamental relationships of caring; learning that there is an "other". Family begins as the moral place, or as the first appearance of morality, but its close connection to the economy (today, more than ever, I will argue), means that we can't leave moral teachings simply up to that one dimension of social life. Moral education must play a comprehensive role in a world that is no longer neatly divided into private and public spheres of action. Here, G.W.F Hegel's work will prove illuminating in this area. A study into the ancient laws and the roles of the family as a social institution, will lead us into questions around the responsibilities of the family in the educating of its members today. More recent works, such as, Erving Goffman's *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, and his use of Georg Simmel and Max Weber's ideas, will contribute towards an investigation on the dangers and ill fate of teaching "propositional morality" as suited to the model of functional education.

Time spent on the role of the family in the educational process, will identify early childhood experiences and parental socialization practices that are associated with self-esteem, competence, moral behaviour, and critical thinking skills. The value of the family under a framework of education as a moral issue, starts as a place in society; the socio-economic, political, cultural, and historical context of our everyday lives (improved qualities of thinking do not remain in critical consciousness alone). Knowledge evolves from the interaction of reflection and action (praxis) and occurs when people participate in action that seeks to gain control over their lies. Central concepts like soci-politic context, praxis, critical consciousness, transformation, and empowerment are the foundation for a radically different conception of home economics (family studies) that focuses on practical problems of the family. This includes deciding and acting upon what should be done under competing values and points of view around the types of education needed in a pluralistic and democratic society.

This will nicely tie into the previous work (economy) by promoting the moral and ethical dimensions of the educational process as our responsibility to our democratic communities. One aspect of education is to strengthen students' perceptions of themselves and of each other as persons. In brief, this chapter will review how these authors understand the relationships between critical thinking, self-esteem and educational achievement. Moral integrity is shown to be as important to self-esteem as the more commonly studied components of competence and achievement. Critical thinking is shown to be crucial for self-esteem because it largely determines the competence and moral domains of self-esteem. This type of

social ethos allows for autonomous, rational self-evaluation and it is the mechanism through individuals can change them selves, their lives, and thus their self-esteem.

In committing to a vision of community that is grounded in the unified or shared concern for a morally responsible educated populace, I take of from the work of Mark Mason in *Ethics of Integrity*, and Christopher Lasch in *The Culture of Narcissism* as they illustrate the flip side of not recognizing education as the forming of who we are as human beings. Here I tie into the arguments made in previous work; that language learning is more than memorization of rules and definitions. Language learners must compare what they are learning with what they already know in order to acquire new rules and concepts. In turn, us learners, us teachers, are all memes of a politico-cultural education that is not, and cannot, be limited to the professionals and their classrooms. *Communal responsibility is grounded in a political education: an active participation in the ethos of our society.* This type of discussion will take us into the follow up research on a 'democratic' model of community.

Community And The Democratic Model of Education, illustrates that the purpose of new educational reforms or polices should be towards an education system that teaches responsibility to self and community. This asks about the role that education has in our community. Does it allow people to make decisions? Does it allow them to question their leaders? To interpret what is important or not important? Does it inform them as voters? Or is this all simply a matter left for the experts? In other words, does the education system serve them as political actors or only as economic actors? Using the works

of Henry Giroux and Emile Durkheim, I will argue that education based on a model of critical thinking is in the best interest of the community as a whole. Is it not, for example, "good" that people are informed about toxic-waste in their community: If it's good to be informed, than it's good not to be misled. This involves and educated and critically aware public.

An Argument for Critical Liberal Education: A Synthesis of Ancient and Modern Thought: this area of future work deals with ideals behind a democratic commitment to educational excellence (individual freedom, pluralism, equality) and we ask if these ideas are being thoughtfully addressed in our society. Is the functional model of education winning in popularity due to its stress on "efficient" learners: 'the student as a future investment' slogan? Here I argue that educating in instrumental terms (in the name of war and industry) and using the humanities to serve the interest of commerce has created its own type of community (self-indulgence and egotisms, indifference, and mediocrity).

This research focuses on Marx, Plato and Aristotle's thoughts on what makes for a free and well-balanced society. I argue that the goal for modern society is 'educating people to be free'. I include a look at the political and social uses of the function and form of education, as well as, the connection between education and ethics (education as forming habits of good citizenship). I make the claim that what is missing in contemporary discussions of education is the *experience* of learning. Namely that education has been taken out of life as a whole (social ethos) and functionally placed within the boundaries of classroom life.

The claim that education is a moral and social issue is modeled on the Socratic dialogue: a community of inquiry. Through Plato's dialogues, it is the process of education that is valuable. The form of the dialogue (in some there is no positive conclusion) is an open conversation about ideas. Socrates assumes a seriousness when it comes to learning about the "good" in the name of the whole (ethos: there is no distinction between my good or your good). If I'm not concerned with the whole then I'm a diluted person; the good of the soul and the good of the polis are the same. Here the place of honour that "egoism" has come to occupy in our modern day is reflected upon as we consider the claims to modern and post-modern representations of ourselves.

In concluding thoughts on *Us Moderns – "Our Backs to the Future"*, the ethos of our modern day "egocentrism" that urges the "individual" as the focus of education, falls in perfect partnership with our modern world of consumption. With a functional model of education, what you have is a social-psychological correlate of "ego". We "egos" have a conception of our self-interest in connection to the market place. These demands of "what I want" are reflected in the education system. Treating the education system as we do the banking system means I can withdraw what I need.

Using Vico's ideas on social commitment, I attempt an analysis of concepts such as alienation and reification that speak to this modern obsession with the "individual' that modern narratives easily fall prey to. Re-thinking modern and post-modern accounts of life lived will link up the chapters on economy, family, schools, ethics, and democracy. What will

make itself most felt here, is the concern with how education means forming identity and what types of "identities" participate in political freedom or political indifference. Vico as an example of the *intellectual in society* will aid in my concluding discussion of 'how to educate the everyday' as couched in an ethos of a free thinking society (recognition of a shared fate is worth the struggle). This serves as a means to bring to a close this one brief study on education as a moral issue. In attempting to come full circle in my dissertation, I ask the reader to link back to Mark Mason's work as he articulates:

> This type of educator empowerment, is only half of the tale. It is essential that teacher feel and see their reasonability to their students as future active and aware citizens (not as this year's student numbers), before they can full participate and as the need arises, be empowered enough to be critical of the types of networks that set-up these frames for knowledge consturcton.[69]

Along these same lines of concern, I commit to my research by insisting that education as a collective concern must remain a creative process that must be continuously revised since all types of pedagogy are variations on consciousness and society.

Conclusion

This analysis hopes to provide insight into the possibly dangerous long-term effects of policy implications modeled on a functional treatment of education. By insisting that critical and creative inquiry is a distinctly human endeavor, I hope to

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69 Mason, Mark. *The Ethics of Integrity*. 42

keep the approaches to education policy open and free to public expression. Education as a moral issue is my way of thinking on how, practical problems in our everyday lives cannot be satisfactorily addressed by market place mentality. Arguing for education as a moral concern for all of society, is an approach that I believe can be used by all people interested in relating sound thinking to better ways of acting in a democratic society.

Educating our social membership, our citizens, our people, is a humanizing process. The authors I use in this study all have ideas on or assume what it mans to be a 'Human Being'; we need to keep this type of debate alive and well. I will make the claim that the market approach to education will threaten critical thinking skills namely, a type of human existence that is essential to our notion of democracy; the rule of the people. Promoting the moral and ethical dimension of the education process is one of the responsibilities we take on as "free" human beings. Educating continues to hold a necessary ideal that although re-shaped and interpreted differently from generation to generation, continues to persist as a place where solutions can be worked out. This in brief, is my intention – to continue the conversation.

THE EDUCATION OF LUSO-DESCENDANTS: THEORY, DATA, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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INTRODUCTION

In this paper, based on existing sociological and educational theories, I interpret data related to the educational experience of Portuguese Americans across generations. I analyze American Community Survey cross-sectional data, comparing the educational achievement of Portuguese-Americans to that of other selected majority and minority American ethnic groups and across states in the United States. I also utilize data from an online survey of 1531 Luso-descendants, 1201 from the United States and 330 from Canada, conducted in 2010-11. The survey will permit us to discern educational trends across generations, among the respondents. Subsequently, I utilize excerpts from in-depth interviews with Luso-descendants, conducted in the summer and fall of 2010 in California, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, which permit us to glimpse changes in attitudes towards education among the ancestors of those who were interviewed. Based on the analysis, I conclude this paper with recommendations for social intervention for the promotion of education among Portuguese Americans.

CLASSICAL ASSIMILATION THEORY

The educational attainment of the children of immigrants occupies a central conceptual space in classical assimilation theory, which emerged in the 1920's to interpret the experience of integration into American society of turn to the 20th century immigrants from Europe and their descendants. Overtime, this theory came to view assimilation as a three-generation straight-line process (cf. Warner and Strole 1945), characterized by increasing levels of education and decreasing levels of attachment to the ancestral culture and language across the generations. Educational attainment provided the means through which the children of immigrants rose out of working class occupations and into the ranks of America´s professional and middle classes.

Currently, in aggregate terms, the levels of educational attainment of Portuguese Americans are considerably lower than those attained by the descendants of other European immigrants (see Tables in the following sections). From a classical assimilation perspective, the educational data for the Portuguese would be viewed as an indicator of low levels of integration and assimilation into American society. Yet, such interpretations often fail to take into account that the second generation, that is, the American born children, of Southern and Eastern European immigrants of the turn of the century, made only modest progress educationally, and that it was not until the third and fourth generations that education began to make a difference (cf. Gans 1992: 176-177). A large percentage of Portuguese Americans are descendants of third wave immigrants who began arriving in the United States at the end of the 1950's, and destined to the manual labor market of the American economy. The Portuguese in the Northeast settled in industrial states, which may have followed a policy of not

promoting education among the children of immigrants in order to maintain an ample supply of manual labor for their factories.

SEGMENTED ASSIMILATION THEORY

Today, in an age of globalization and cosmopolitanism, the American economy no longer provides stable industrial employment for manual immigrants and their children. As such, there is concern among sociologists that the second generations of today, in an increasingly bifurcated economy, will not be able to experience socioeconomic upward mobility. To experience successful economic integration into American society, today's children of manual immigrants would have to attain in one generation the levels of education achieved by the descendants of the older immigrants in three to four generations (cf. Gans 1992).

Globalization has brought about changes in the nature of international migration. While in the past most immigrants arrived in the United States with low levels of education and occupational skills, currently international migration has become "bipolar." On the one hand, there are highly skilled and educated immigrants who upon arrival become integrated into the stable, salaried sector of the economy. On the other hand, there is a continuation of high levels of manual labor immigration, some of which illegal, destined to the unstable, lower services and seasonal agricultural sectors of the American economy. According to segmented assimilation theory, the path of integration into American society of the children of both types of immigrants will necessarily be different. As Portes (2006: 502) writes, the increasingly bifurcated economy creates the fundamental structural context for segmented assimilation. How could it be otherwise? Offspring of well-paid, well-informed professionals

and entrepreneurs, properly supported by co-ethnic networks that deliver multiple resources, have opportunities that are immensely superior to those of labor migrants with barely an elementary education and no papers.

For segmented assimilation theory, then, the educational attainment of immigrants and their children is dependent on the path of integration they undertake in American society. Scholars within this academic paradigm initially conceptualized three potential integration trajectories for immigrants and their descendants (cf. Portes 2006; Portes et al. 2005; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; among others). One trajectory consists of increasing acculturation, similar to that experienced by the descendants of the old immigrants, with a correspondent rise to middle class status. Another path associates a process of rapid economic integration with a deliberate preservation of ethnic values and solidarity within the immigrant communities (partial pluralism, selective or additive acculturation). According to segmented assimilation theory, the children of professional immigrants will follow the first or the second paths of integration, that is, either the classical assimilation or the selective acculturation paths.

A third trajectory, downward assimilation, leads in an opposite direction, to that of permanent poverty. In a paper published in 2009, taking into consideration criticisms of segmented assimilation theory, Portes and his associates added a fourth path to segmented assimilation theory, that of "stagnation," whereby the children of some of America's manual immigrants replicate the socioeconomic position of their parents and are unable to move beyond subordinate labor occupations.

The children of manual immigrants are more likely to undergo downward assimilation or to experience "stagnation."

Downward assimilation is most likely to occur when immigrants face a negative context of reception in the United States characterized by hostility and discrimination, combined with weak family and social structures, that is, low levels of organizational density and thus social capital within the immigrant communities. Nevertheless, stagnation and downward assimilation tendencies may be mitigated in manual immigrant communities that are able to maintain strong family and social structures, which enable them to protect the second generation from the negative effects of America´s inner city oppositional culture.

Critics of segmented assimilation theory question the notion of downward assimilation among the descendants of manual immigrants, arguing instead that the second generation of today, like the children of the old immigrants, are experiencing a gradual socioeconomic progression in relation to their parents, but within the ambit of the working and lower middle classes (see Alba et al. 2011; Kasinitz et al 2008; Waldinger 2007; Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Waters et al. 2010.)

I will return below to the assumptions of segmented assimilation theory, after taking a look, in the next section, at the data concerning educational achievement among Luso-Americans.

THE DATA

American Community Survey data, presented in Table 1, compares the educational levels of those born in Portugal to the data for the entire ancestral group (which includes both the immigrant generation and those of their descendants who identify

as having Portuguese ancestry). Although Portuguese Americans as a whole are still below the national educational attainment levels, the differences between those born in Portugal and the entire ancestry group do show significant levels of educational progress among Luso-descendants. For example, for the population born in Portugal, only 9.7 percent attained a bachelor's degree, whereas for the entire population of Luso-Americans, the rate is 23 percent. The data thus reveals that over 218,426 people of Portuguese descent, who are 25 years of age and over, have achieved at least four years of education at the university level. Given that a large percent of people of Portuguese ancestry are second generation, that is, are the children of the post 1958 Portuguese immigrants, the educational progress of the Portuguese does not seem to be occurring at a lower rate from that exhibited by the children of earlier manual immigrants of European origin.

When the third wave Portuguese immigrants began arriving at the end of the 1950's, there was still plenty of stable employment in America's industrial sector of the economy. How were the children of Portuguese immigrants affected by the transition to a postindustrial economy and the closing of most factories after the 1980's in their areas of settlement? Did the children of the Portuguese experience downward assimilation? The educational data provided by the American Community Survey and the results of my online survey suggest that a considerable number did not. Occupational data, which I have presented elsewhere, also confirms this assumption (Scott 2009). Many who did not pursue a higher education were able to find stable employment in the services and remaining industrial sectors of the economy, and in self-employment or family owned businesses. Some Luso-descendants experienced rapid upward

mobility, others experienced a modest progression in relation to their parents, and others experienced downward assimilation.

Table 1. Educational Attainment of Portuguese Americans

	Total Population	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher
United States	306,738,433	85.3%	28.0%
Portuguese ancestry (foreign born and American born)	1,425,115		
Population 25 years and over	949,681	82.6%	23.0%
Portuguese (born in Portugal only)	188,268		
Population 25 years and over	180,855	52.5%	9.7%

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

The educational progress of Luso-descendants across generations was also evident in the data I collected through an online survey in 2010 and beginning of 2011. After entering the data and eliminating ineligible and incomplete responses, I was able to attain viable results from 1531 respondents, 1201 from the United States and 330 from Canada. An online survey has limitations. It is not based on a probability sample of the entire population, which limits its generalizability, and it is likely to capture population segments with higher levels of education. The results nevertheless provide us with insights into the cross-generational educational path taken by those who took the survey.[70]

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[70] In sociological terms, the first generation refers to those who immigrated into the United States as adults, the minors they brought with them are the one and a half generation, the American born children are the second the generation, the grandchil-

Table 2. Educational attainment of respondents and parents by generation

Generation	Respondent		Mother		Father	
	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher
One and a half	454 92.5%	165 33.6%	91 18.5	12 2.4%	91 18.6%	13 2.7%
Second	693 97.9%	347 49.0%	269 38.0%	51 7.2%	211 29.9%	43 6.1%
Third	207 97.6%	92 43.4%	144 68.2%	26 12.3%	112 52.8%	29 13.7%
Fourth and beyond	116 98.3%	58 49.2%	106 89.8%	20 16.9%	105 89.7%	35 29.9%

Source: Online survey, Scott 2010-11.

Table 2 reveals that the high school and university graduation rates are indeed quite high among those who participated in the survey. However, a fact that immediately stands out in the Table is that the respondents' parents had very low levels of educational attainment. While the level of education of the parents increased gradually from generation to generation, it is not until the parents of the fourth generation (the third generation) that the parental high school graduation rate for both mothers and fathers and the college graduation rate for fathers reached levels above the national averages for the United States as a whole. These results conform to those observed for the old European manual immigrant groups, whereby it was only by the third and fourth generations that substantial numbers of the ethnic population availed themselves of higher educational opportunities in the United States.

dren are the third, and the great grandchildren are the fourth.

The American community data presented in Table 3 show that the Portuguese ancestral group's high school and university completion rates are significantly lower than those of other European ancestry groups. It is, however, higher than the rates achieved by minority racial groups, such as Cape Verdean and Mexican Americans. Brazilian immigrants, although arriving in the United States at a later date than the Portuguese, have high levels of educational attainment. This is perhaps a reflection of bipolar immigration trends, with a high number of educated immigrants arriving from Brazil (cf. Scott 2010).

Table 3. Educational attainment of Portuguese-Americans compared to otherselected ancestry groups (for 25 years or older)

	Total Population	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher
United States	**306,738,433**	**85.3%**	**28.0%**
Portuguese	**1,425,115**	**82.6%**	**23.0%**
Brazilian	354,452	85.0%	31.0%
Cape Verdean	90,828	72.4%	15.5%
Greek	1,328,801	90.2%	39.7%
Italian	17,486,056	92.1%	34.0%
Irish	35,663,950	92.2%	32.3%
Mexican	32,037,849	55.7%	9.2%
African American	41,370,676	81.5%	18.1%

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates

The level of educational attainment among Luso-Americans is not uniform throughout the United States. It is lower in Hawaii

and the old industrial Northeastern states of original settlement: Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Jersey (see Table 4). In California, another state of original settlement, the level of educational attainment is higher than in the Northeastern states, but it is still slightly below the national averages for the entire United States population.

On the other hand, in the states that have been gaining Portuguese American population, particularly Texas, Washington, and Pennsylvania, the level of education of people of Portuguese ancestry is considerably higher than the averages for the nation and is on par with the national averages for the older European ancestries, such as the Irish and Italians.

A possible explanation for the differential rates might be that Luso-descendants, who have completed a university education, are moving away from the economically depressed Northeastern states to Southern and Western states. Census data (cf. Scott 2009) show that most states of traditional settlement (e.g., California, Hawaii, Massachusetts, Rhode Island) are losing population of Portuguese descent. It is also possible that in a context of globalization and global migration, new highly educated and skilled immigrants, who are now part of what I call a fourth wave of immigration from Portugal, are moving into non-traditional states of Portuguese settlement, which offer better employment opportunities in the United States.

Table 4. Portuguese educational achievement in states of high population concentration

	Total Population	High school graduate or higher	Bachelor´s degree or higher	Percent foreign born
Entire U.S	**306,738,433**	**85.3**	**28.0**	**12.8**
U.S. Portuguese	**1,425,115**	**82.6**	**23.0**	**18.1**
California	367,578	87.1	22.4	10.0
Massachusetts	**315,492**	**75.0**	**19.6**	**22.0**
Rhode Island	**100,627**	**74.4**	**16.9**	**18.0**
New Jersey	**81,125**	**66.8**	**18.2**	**49.0**
Florida	71,375	86.2	23.8	29.0
Hawaii	57,364	87.7	13.2	1.0
Connecticut	55,786	77.2	22.0	30.0
New York	**51,379**	**79.0**	**30.9**	**36.0**
Texas	**28,220**	**93.1**	**34.4**	**17.0**
Washington	**22,890**	**94.7**	**31.6**	**7.0**
Oregon	21,072	91.1	24.0	2.0
Pennsylvania*	**20,410**	**83.8**	**32.2**	**26.6**
New Hampshire*	20, 025	86.3	27.7	7.9

Source: 2008-2010 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates.

*The data for Pennsylvania and New Hampshire were from the 2007-2009 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates.

In the section below, I return to the assumptions of assimilation theory and an analysis of online and in-depth interview data collected in 2010-11.

THE EFFECT OF INDIVIDUAL CAPITAL, CONTEXT OF RECEPTION, ACCULTURATION PATH, SCHOOL STRUCTURE, AND SOCIAL CAPITAL ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Segmented assimilation theory argues that the educational achievement of immigrants and their descendants in American

society is influenced by several factors, and interactions among them, including: the mode of incorporation, which, among other variables, is related to the context of reception, the type of acculturation, and the individual and social capital found in immigrant communities (cf., Portes and MacLeod 1999 and 1996).

Generally immigrants with higher levels of individual capital, that is, with high levels of education and professional skills, are more likely to be well-received and accepted in American society and are less likely to experience housing and employment discrimination. Their children are able from the beginning to attend suburban and private schools in America. Consonant acculturation occurs when parents and children integrate into the host society's culture simultaneously or, as in the case of selective acculturation, retain a similar level of attachment to the ancestral culture as they undergo the process of acculturation into American society (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Parents with high levels of individual capital are more likely to experience consonant assimilation with their children, being thus able to orient them in the navigation of the institutions of the new society, including the school system. Upward assimilation is more likely to occur when consonant acculturation of parents and children occurs.

Immigrants, who arrive in America with lower levels of individual capital, are more likely to experience negative contexts of reception, characterized by discrimination and hostility on the part of the dominant and other groups in society. They are likely to remain less acculturated and less integrated into American society. In these situations, dissonant acculturation is likely to occur. Dissonant acculturation occurs when the children become detached from the parental culture, while the parents remain

steeped in the old country's traditions and language. The child is left to his/her own devices in the process of acculturation and integration into the host society's institutions.

In situations of dissonant acculturation, children run the risk of becoming alienated from both the dominant and the immigrant culture and adopt instead the oppositional values of American inner city culture. Children of manual immigrants are more likely to attend inner-city schools and acculturate not to the culture of mainstream America, which values socioeconomic attainment through educational achievement, but to the oppositional, anti-achievement culture, which is prevalent among inner city minority populations. Downward assimilation, whereby the children are unable to make a successful transition into adulthood, is more likely to occur in situations of dissonant acculturation.

Strong manual immigrant communities, however, can shield their children from the more negative influences of American oppositional culture (Zhou 1997: 995) through the development of school and afterschool supplemental cultural and educational programs and the promotion and valorization of the ancestral culture within the immigrant communities.

Dissonant acculturation in a negative context of reception may produce the worst outcomes for children. In negative contexts of reception immigrant communities may remain weak and thus unable to develop the organizational density and levels of social capital that would enable them to protect their children from downward assimilation. Policies such as automatic penal deportation lead to the weakening of family ties and communities,

and thus result in lower levels of educational advancement and economic integration among immigrants.

In the next subsections, I begin by reviewing the impact of the level of individual capital among Portuguese Americans on educational outcomes, followed by a discussion of the impact of structural and relational characteristics of schools, and a consideration of the development of community resources and social capital conducive to educational achievement within Portuguese American communities.

Individual capital, dissonant acculturation and parental involvement in education among Portuguese Americans

Parental involvement in education refers to the ways in which parents attempt to support and manage their children's educational experiences. Starting with preschool, parents may coordinate with teachers, help children with lessons, and participate in school activities. Thus, parental involvement encompasses direct contact with schools and indirect support of the pedagogical mission of schools (Epstein et al. 2002, cited in Crosnoe 2010).

At home, parents may establish cognitively stimulating environments by providing books and other learning materials, set up learning activities (e.g., reading), and stimulate language through conversation. In the community, they may expose their children to programs, events, and public institutions (e.g., libraries and museums) and connect to other parents to tap into channels of information about schools and services.

In situations of dissonant acculturation, parents who do not speak English or speak it at a low level of proficiency are less capable of being involved in their children's education (cf. Crosnoe 2010).

Table 5: Consonant and dissonant acculturation and parental involvement in school

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree
When I was growing up I often had to serve as translator for my parents.	446 29.1	245 16.0	68 4.4	317 20.7	455 29.7
When I was growing up I was able to talk to my mother and/or father about school work or grades or other things I was doing in school.	178 11.6	367 24.0	153 10.0	599 39.1	234 15.3
When I was growing up my parents participated in my school life (talked to my teachers attended sporting events, etc.)	247 16.1	424 27.7	141 9.2	480 31.4	239 15.6

Source: Online survey, Scott 2010-11.

The data presented in Table 5 show that about half of those who took the online survey experienced dissonant acculturation and lack of parental involvement in their school life. This fact is not surprising given that most third wave Portuguese immigrants arrived in the United States with low levels of individual capital and destined to the manual labor market. Half of the respondents became translators for their parents while they were growing up. Unable to speak English, their parents would not have been able to guide them through the school system, help them with homework, or parent them properly as they came into contact

with the wider American culture. Nevertheless, the fact that the Portuguese arrived in the United States as legal immigrants at a time when the economy still provided stable employment in the industrial sector, the strength of the Portuguese family, and the tendency to place children in Catholic parochial schools may have protected many Portuguese children, not all, from falling into a path of downward assimilation. Many who did not pursue a university education were able to find stable employment in the services and industrial sectors of the economy, self-employment and family-owned businesses.

Studies have demonstrated that the level of educational achievement of children is positively related to the socioeconomic status of their parents. Yet, Szalacha et al. (2005) found that Portuguese children, given the high levels of their parents' economic status and stable family structure, should have been attaining higher levels of educational achievement than they actually were. What explains this unexpected finding?

Highly educated parents are more likely to understand what is needed for their children to succeed in school. The Portuguese, as I have written elsewhere (Scott 2009), have attained income levels comparable to those of other European ethnic groups in America. However, in terms of educational attainment, they remain at levels lower than the average rates for the nation. Many, despite having achieved stable incomes, never had the experience of attending higher educational institutions. Thus, children of Portuguese immigrants, although overall more educated than their parents' generation, in the aggregate are not yet fully equipped to engage in the aggressive promotion of their own children's education, as is normally practiced among the majority population's middle class.

Nevertheless, the attitudes of Portuguese Americans overtime have become more favorable towards the pursuit of education.

Attitudes towards education

Pertinent to this paper are also theoretical explications concerning differences in socioeconomic achievement among the early immigrant groups, such as Jewish Americans, who were able to attain high levels of education within one generation and Italian Americans who achieved correspondent levels of education only by the third and fourth generations (cf. Sombart 2001; Gordon 1964; Petersen 1971). Cultural explanations argued that while Jewish American culture valued educational attainment, Italian parents failed to understand the value of an education, thus not encouraging or promoting it among their children. Portuguese culture has likewise been viewed as unfavorable to educational attainment, with Portuguese parents often not only failing to promote education among their children, but also of thwarting their educational aspirations by taking them out of school at the age of sixteen in favor of factory or farming jobs.[71]

The following excerpts, from in-depth interviews with Luso-descendants, illustrate Portuguese attitudes towards education overtime. While it is true that some Portuguese parents did not encourage the educational advancement of their children, it is also true that the children were often failed by a school system that did not understand their culture nor was adequately prepared to meet their needs. I speculate that currently the overwhelming majority of Portuguese American parents comprehends the value of an education in America, particularly at a time when

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[71] Cultural explanations have been challenged by scholars who argue that structural rather than cultural factors account for differences in the socioeconomic status achieved by varying ethnic groups (e.g., Steinberg 1989).

the economy provides fewer stable employment opportunities for people with low levels of education and occupational skills. However, many Portuguese parents, including those who, although successful economically, did not pursue an education beyond high school, may still lack skills and information on how to help their children achieve the best educational outcomes.

The following excerpt from an interview conducted with a third generation Luso-descendant, whose grandparents arrived in California early in the 20th century, illustrates attitudes towards education early in the century:

> *My father wanted to stay in school and play football. When he went home, very excited to tell his father (my grandfather) about being recruited to the football team, the old man´s reply was: 'That´s great my son. You can do it, as long as you're home by three o´clock to milk the cows!' …*

> *My father insisted, but the response was the same… Knowing that he would not be able to play football and milk the cows at the same time, my father decided to quit school.*

Another grandchild of late 19th-early 20th century immigrants, the first in his immediate family to attain a higher education, stated the following:

> *I used to be ridiculed at family gatherings because I was pursuing an education rather than getting a job and getting married.*

The following excerpts, from an interview with a child of immigrants who arrived in Rhode Island in 1969 when he was a toddler, illustrate how the education of some Portuguese children was mishandled by the school system. Portuguese children might have also been undermined by a negative context of reception, which devalued Portuguese ethnicity.

> *They did not have the bilingual programs that they do now back then… The teachers would stick you in the back with a piece of paper and crayons … because they really did not know how to communicate with you… The other kids would resent that they were doing math and reading and the Portuguese kids were in the back coloring… A few years later, they started the bilingual programs and we were bused to schools that had bilingual programs…*
>
> *It was very tough just walking to school back then… There was a commercial for a powder that said: "a sprinkle a day helps keep the odor away." The Irish and French kids would sing: "a sprinkle a day helps keep the Portuguese away.*
>
> *When I turned 16, I wanted to work … and I gave my parents a hard time… because they wanted me to stay in school... but I had had enough. I really had never enjoyed school… I'd rather work. I worked two jobs since the age of sixteen.*

Current attitudes towards education are illustrated by excerpts of interviews conducted with younger Luso-descendants. The following excerpt is from a young woman in her late 20's, born to immigrant parents in Rhode Island. It

illustrates a situation where the parents understood the value of an education but lacked the skills and knowledge about the functioning of the educational system, which would have permitted them to fully orient and guide their child in the pursuit of a higher education.

My parents always said you should go to school and go to college, but I think that the realm of understanding of what that is and how to go about doing it, they did not have. So they could not orient me on how to go about it. They helped with school work, but it came to a point that they couldn't help, as far as math skills, and what not…

The following excerpt, from an interview with a highly successful young woman in the medical field, and who was born to Azorean parents in California, illustrates a situation of full commitment of parents to their children's education.

My mom was in the PTA and attended all the school functions when I was in grade school... When my oldest sister went into Catholic school for junior high, my mom started working in the bakery to help pay the tuition…

Structural and relational attributes of schools

The structural and relational attributes of schools impact student outcomes, (cf. Hao and Pong 2008). In smaller parochial and private schools, students may benefit from small classes, close teacher-student interactions, college-bound programs, among other features. In large public schools, there is less interaction between students, teachers and counselors, and immigrant children are more likely to be placed in lower academic tracks, where college bound classes are not offered.

Schools need to be sensitive to cultural differences between parents and school personnel (cf. Crosnoe 2010). Several cultures, including the culture brought by Portuguese immigrants to the United States, are characterized by respect for authority figures, with parents being reluctant to question the authority of teachers, counselors and school administrators. Schools also need to be sensitive to the work schedules of many manual immigrants, which may not permit them to attend school events and meet with teachers at certain times of the day.

Table 6 shows data collected on the type of school attended by survey respondents by country and educational achievement. [72]

Table 6. Educational achievement by school type and by country

	United States		Canada	
	High school or higher	Bachelor or higher	High school or higher	Bachelor or higher
Public Inner city	93%	34%	90%	29%
Public close to suburbs	98%	37%	90%	19%
Suburbs	99%	51%	92%	19%
Mixed public and parochial*	97%	55%	89%	52%
Parochial and private	98%	55%	97%	40%
Rural	96%	38%	--	--

Source: Online survey, Scott 2010-11.

*Students attended both types of school. For example, they might have completed their elementary education at a public school and their secondary education at a parochial school or vice-versa.

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[72]   Given that parochial and public schools in the United States and Canada are not equivalent entities, and the sample from Canada is smaller, I will comment only on the responses from the United States.

Although the majority of survey respondents achieved high levels of education, we are able to discern, in the case of the United States, that those who attended suburban, parochial and private schools completed a university education at the bachelors' level at a considerably higher rate than those who attended urban public schools.

Community and social capital

The organizational density of a community and the level of social capital enjoyed by its members also have an impact on the educational achievement of children. Studies have demonstrated that some children living in the inner city are able to succeed, despite oppositional conditions. "A key difference is the availability and accessibility of community-based resources, such as after-school tutoring and other educationally oriented programs, that serve children," (Zhou 2002; see also Pong and Hao 2007). Zhou and Kim (2006) describe the example of Korean Americans in Los Angeles, where children are able to attend after-school supplementary education programs created within the community.[73]

To what extent have the Portuguese employed community resources in the promotion of the education of their children? The Portuguese community nowadays is in a good position socioeconomically to mobilize resources for the creation of cultural and educational programs for its children. An example was provided to me by a local businessman in Fall River, who spoke of the contributions that he, in conjunction with other individuals and entities in the Portuguese American community of Fall River, makes to promote knowledge of ancestry and ethnic pride among children. As he stated in a personal interview:

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[73] Recent research has found that the impact of the community is positive when individual capital and social capital are strong, but acculturation to the dominant culture is better where these are weak (Kroneberg 2008).

The Portuguese built the economy of this area, with many sacrifices, a lot of sweat, and many times with a lack of respect extended to us, working like slaves in these factories … and the child of today needs to know and respect what their parents and grandparents did ...

This is why we are making an effort not only to mount the Portuguese museum, but also a school, the Azorean bookstore … to show the children that they ought not be ashamed of being Portuguese and speaking Portuguese…

Children have to know that the Portuguese world is not just this world that existed here with the factories, that as a people we have discovered and done many things…that they should be proud of the glorious history of the Portuguese language, Portugal and our culture.

A 2005 study conducted in Rhode Island determined that Portuguese children who were involved in ethnic cultural activities had higher levels of school attainment than those who did not participate in such activities (Szalacha et al. 2005). It beckons, then, the Portuguese communities to continue to create cultural and educational programs which promote and value Portuguese cultural heritage in America and supplement the education of Luso-descendants.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOCIAL INTERVENTION

I end this paper with a few recommendations, inspired in the analysis presented above, for social activists and organizations involved in the promotion of education within the

Portuguese communities of the United States. Table 7 at the end of this section provides a description of programs that have been developed in the United States to encourage immigrant parental involvement in the education of children and to improve teacher quality. Although currently the Portuguese school age population in the United States to a large extent has non-immigrant parents, some of the programs listed in Table 7 might be adapted by social activists and others to a parental population which has been raised in the United States. The following websites provide links to programs listed in the Table 7, which provide information that may be of great utility to those involved in the promotion of education among Portuguese Americans:

http://www.avance.org/why-avance/impact/carnegie-corporation-study
http://www.familiesinschools.org/
http://www.hippyusa.org/memanage/pdf/research-summary-09.pdf
http://www.piqe.org/prog_parentengage.php
http://www.uic.edu/educ/flame/flameobjectives.html
http://www.ed.gov/programs/evenstartformula/index.html

Parental contributions(individual capital)
• Encourage those who are able to afford it to send their children to private or parochial schools.
• Work with those of lower SES to combat the negative effects of attending inner city schools, with home visitation programs and mentoring programs.
• Work with parents to encourage their involvement in the education of their children, at home, at school, and within the community.

- Work with parents to engage their children in cognitively stimulating environments at home and in the community.
- Educate parents about the benefits of attaining a higher education and about the educational opportunities available in the United States for their children.
- Provide opportunities for parents to come together to express their concerns and learn from each other information on how to improve the educational attainment of their children and the community.

Structural and relational characteristics of the school
- Sensitize teachers to the value Portuguese culture, language, and history.
- Work with school counselors to provide proper mentoring to Portuguese kids, combat stereotypes against the Portuguese, make certain that the Portuguese are not tracked into lower levels and out of college-bound tracks.
- Demand that Portuguese and Portuguese history be taught in schools located in areas of Portuguese concentration, as a way of valuing Portuguese culture and contributions of this population group to the world and the creation of the United States.
- Make readily available to students materials about Portugal and Luso-Americans so that students might work on academic projects related to their ancestry.
- Create within the schools after-school programs of Portuguese language enrichment, in addition to offering regular Portuguese classes.

Ethnic community and cultural resources (social capital)
- Work with community organizations and businesses to mobilize community resources in support of education and increase

efforts to supplement the education of children with after-school cultural and educational community programs.

- Implement a mentoring program, where children may have the opportunity to shadow successful professionals (Portuguese American and of other ethnicities), such as doctors, nurses, lawyers, business leaders, teachers, among others.
- Create summer learning opportunities, such as summer camps, which involve students in high expectation and high-achieving activities.
- Engage in a collective effort to raise money to make sure that every high school age student has the opportunity to visit Portugal and remain there for at least a month.
- Create student-exchange programs, which permit high school students to study in Portugal.
- Update and provide to community groups and organizations on a yearly basis the statistical information contained in this paper, as well as data gathered at the individual school level, so that progress in education may be tracked.

The Portuguese are making progress educationally in the United States. However, particularly in the states of traditional settlement in the Northeast, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey, individuals and community organizations could engage in a more concerted effort to promote education among Luso-descendants and their families. In a globalized economy, where stable and high paying employment increasingly requires high levels of education, Luso-descendants will benefit from parents who are informed about the educational opportunities available in the United States and a community that mobilizes its resources in support of the cultural and educational activities for its children.

Table 7. Programs Targeting Parental Involvement and Schools

Program	Location	Target	Primary activity	Evaluation
Abriendo Puertas	Primarily CA	Latino/a parents of children age 0-5	Instruction in support group settings on how to be child's teacher and create a home learning environment	Mixed methods, non-experimental. Evidence of greater parent knowledge and efficacy but weak effects on actual parent participation at school
AVANCE	TX, CA, NM	Low income Latino/a parents of children 3-8	Early childhood education and parenting education in home and on site	At least one randomized control and matched control experiment. Evidence of increased parent knowledge, skills, efficacy, and use of services as well as improvements in home learning environment.
Lee y Seras	Multiple States	Latino/a parents of children 0-8	Literacy workshops for parents as well as workshops for teachers and care providers serving the community, both with emphasis on Latin American culture	Pre/post-test comparisons of program participants. Evidence of improvements in parent knowledge, efficacy, and home literacy activities.
Home Instruction for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY)	Multiple states and international	Low-income parents of children 3-5	Series of home visits and support group meetings to enhance parents' knowledge of child development, teaching behavior, and home literacy	At least one randomized control experiment. Evidence of effects on children's school adjustment and parents' expectations and short-term effects on parents' construction of home learning environment.

Parent Engagement Education Program (PEEP)	Multiple states	English language parents of school age children	Literacy and teaching workshops for parents, teacher workshops for engaging parents	Pre/post-test comparisons of program participants. Evidence of increases in children's test scores, parent knowledge, and parent efficacy.
Project FLAME	Multiple states	Low-income Latino/a parents of children age 3-8	Parent workshops to help parents serve as literacy models, connect to schools, and use community services	Pre/post-test comparisons of program participants. Evidence of improvements in home literacy activities and environment and in parent efficacy.

Source: Crosnoe, 2010.

Table derived from the following sources: Bridges et al. (2009); AVANCE, Inc., "The Carnegie Corporation Evaluation of the Parent-Child Education Program," http://www.avance.org/whyavance/impact/carnegie-corporation-study/; Goldenberg and Light (2009); HIPPY (2010); Baker, Piortkowski, and Brooks-Gunn (1999); Parent Institute for Quality Education, "Parent Engagement Education Program," http://www.piqe.org/ prog_parentengage.php; and University of Illinois-Chicago, "Project FLAME," http://www.uic.edu/educ/flame/flameobjectives.html.

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CONCLUSÃO

A DRC AO SERVIÇO DA QUALIDADE DE VIDA DOS MIGRANTES

Esta parte da conclusão, organizada em dois momentos distintos, serve para (1) explicar os motivos que levaram o Governo dos Açores a organizar o simpósio em apreço nos EUA e (2) apresentar as atividades que a DRC promove em prol das comunidades alvo da nossa atenção no referido Simpósio.

Da conceção à realização do Simpósio

Fruto do trabalho desenvolvido nos Açores pela DRC, em prol das comunidades açorianas emigradas ou regressadas, bem como das comunidades estrangeiras, radicadas nos Açores, provenientes dos países de língua portuguesa (especialmente do Brasil e Cabo Verde), surgiu a necessidade de compreender em profundidade as dificuldades por que passam as populações migrantes, unidas cultural e linguisticamente pelo idioma luso, a fim de, em conjunto, encontrarmos soluções consentâneas com os desafios da atualidade.

Tendo por base a necessidade de explorarmos questões pragmáticas das populações que servimos – emigrantes, imigrantes e regressadas – propusemos aos palestrantes a discussão dos direitos humanos e qualidade de vida, traduzidos

em questões práticas como a deportação, saúde, educação, apoio comunitário e liderança, nos Estados Unidos da América e Canadá, uma vez que todas essas áreas têm uma relação estreita com a nossa atuação nas ilhas dos Açores.

Para além das apresentações feitas, o Simpósio integrou momentos de visita a instituições, ligadas às comunidades falantes do Português radicadas nos EUA, momentos de convívio e troca de experiências e a assinatura de protocolos com instituições que passaram a pertencer à Rede Internacional de Organizações de Serviço Social, a qual visa garantir a qualidade de vida dos emigrantes regressados aos Açores e dos açorianos ou açordescendentes a viver nos referidos países de acolhimento. Contemplado no programa esteve ainda o lançamento e apresentação dos livros: " À procura da grande estratégia – de Rooselvet a Obama", de Mário Mesquita e "A Violência Doméstica na Região Autónoma dos Açores – Estudo Sócio-criminal", de Gilberta Rocha

Porque os nossos problemas são comuns às restantes comunidades de língua portuguesa, que se veem igualmente confrontadas com problemas de integração nos EUA e Canadá, chamamos a participar no Simpósio as comunidades brasileiras, cabo-verdianas e angolanas, em grande número nos EUA e Canadá, que prontamente se juntaram a nós, dando força à nossa discussão e reivindicações comuns.

Atividades desenvolvidas pela DRC
Para além dos apoios concedidos às associações que trabalham com os emigrantes, regressados e imigrantes, na diáspora e nos Açores, a DRC tem um plano de ação muito vasto, do qual destacamos apenas algumas atividades.

1. A DRC dispõe de um **serviço de atendimento ao público**, que cobre as nove ilhas dos Açores, com o objetivo de apoiar, encaminhar e orientar os cidadãos que desejam emigrar, emigrantes regressados por vontade própria, deportados e imigrantes, pretendendo, igualmente, minimizar as dificuldades que resultam da chegada destas pessoas aos Açores. O número de atendimentos por ano ronda um média de 15.000. Porque esta é uma área prioritária da DRC, com regularidade, oferecemos ações de atualização de conhecimentos dos nossos funcionárias para que ajudem com a qualidade e eficácia desejada os nossos utentes. Este ano já foi oferecido uma açao sobre preenchimento e vias de encaminhamento da documentação exigida pelo Canadá. Em parceria com o Catholic Social Services - EUA, será oferecida uma ação relativa a este último país.

2. Celebramos todos os anos, numa ilha diferente, o **Dia Internacional dos Migrantes,** iniciativa que junta a população local aos migrantes, proporcionando o convívio, partilha de vivências e experiências entre imigrantes de diversas nacionalidades e emigrantes que, após residirem em diferentes destinos, optaram por regressar e/ou viver nos Açores.

3. A DRC, nos últimos anos, tem vindo a intensificar a sua atuação na área da **imigração,** tendo em conta o número de cidadãos/ãs que vieram de várias partes do mundo para trabalhar e residir nos Açores. Face a este novo quadro migratório, a DRC tem apoiado festivais de cinema, projetos contra o racismo, mostras gastronómicas, espetáculos de dança, música, folclore, etc. sempre com o intuito de sensibilizar as comunidades locais para as questões dos direitos humanos e da multiculturalidade.

4. **Cursos Livres para Imigrantes** com o objetivo de dotar, desenvolver e reforçar competências, não só no domínio do português, como também noutras áreas do conhecimento, como a informática, o empreendedorismo e o inglês, permitindo aos cidadãos um maior leque de possibilidades no mercado de trabalho.

5. Porque surgiu a necessidade de obter mais informação sobre os indivíduos deportados para a Região, bem como adequar os respetivos planos de acolhimento e integração, desde 2006 que temos em execução o **Programa Regressos** que estabelece um circuito de informação entre as entidades no exterior, a DRC e outras entidades e instituições regionais que acolhem e acompanham o processo de integração destes indivíduos.

6. Também para uma melhor compreensão e conhecimento mais aprofundado das deportações, a DRC estabeleceu um protocolo com a Universidade dos Açores para um estudo que visa analisar o fenómeno da deportação dos EUA, Canadá e Bermuda.

7. Dois outros estudos, já publicados, foram solicitados pela DRC à Universidade: um sobre os imigrantes e o outro sobre os regressados.

8. A DRC criou o progama **LEGAL** (Legalization *Effort of the Government of the Azores and Logistics)*, que pretende alertar a comunidade açoriana, nos EUA e Canadá, para o problema da deportação e para a necessidade dos indivíduos se naturalizarem, única forma de evitar o regresso compulsivo.

9. Criação de uma **Rede Alargada de Voluntariado** à qual cabe fazer a divulgação do LEGAL nos espaços de convergência e convívio de açorianos, quer nos EUA, quer no Canadá.

10. A DRC lançou recentemente um **Programa de Sensibilização de Leis de Imigração para viajantes com destino aos Estados Unidos da América e Canadá**, com o objetivo de informar os viajantes sobre as regras e critérios a cumprir, de acordo com as leis de imigração daqueles países, antes da partida e durante permanência dos mesmos.

11. Celebração do **Thanksgiving** (Dia de ação de Graças), que juntou, num ambiente de festa, regressados e respetivas famílias, instituições de S. Miguel, entidades governamentais e representantes dos Estados Unidos da América e Canadá.

12. **Between Two Languages** é um projeto, desenvolvido em parceria com o Detention Center of Bristol County, Massachusetts, EUA, que permite apetrechar os espaços que apoiam os deportados com material escrito em língua inglesa para os indivíduos que têm problemas em comunicar em Português.

13. Porque o conhecimento de línguas estrangeiras é extremamente importante para as novas gerações de emigrantes, a DRC tem vindo a trabalhar neste sentido. Assim celebrou um MOU para implementação do programa **Universal Design for Learning and Teaching of Portuguese Worldwide** que consiste na criação de uma plataforma online para o ensino do Português no mundo. Este programa, resultante de uma parceria entre a DRC, o Center for Applied Special Technology, a Lesley University e a Universidade dos Açores, conta com a

participação de mais de uma dezena de escolas e universidades dos Açores, Brasil e EUA.

14. **Protocolo com a George Washington University**, que prevê o ensino de conteúdos sobre os Açores e a açorianidade, integrados nas unidades curriculares ministradas naquela universidade de reconhecido prestígio mundial.

15. Para as gerações mais novas foi criada a **Bolsa de Estudo Dias de Melo,** destinada a estudantes açorianos ou de ascendência açoriana, com residência fixa nos Estados Unidos da América ou no Canadá, com o objetivo de elevar o nível educacional das nossas comunidades e ajudar alunos com dificuldades financeiras.

16. Concurso**"Açores: Passado e Presente",** destinado a estudantes radicados nos Açores que têm a oportunidade de visitar as comunidades emigrantes, perante a apresentação de trabalhos, sujeitos à seleção de um júri.

17. Para as crianças açordescendentes, a DRC lançou o programa **Ao colo da Língua Portuguesa,** que consiste no envio de um Kit com livros e material didático para as famílias com crianças até 5 anos de idade e instituições detentoras de berçários/creches, infantários e jardins educativos, sediadas nas comunidades açorianas. O objetivo é incentivar, em contexto ecológico e familiar, a aprendizagem do 3º idioma europeu mais falado no mundo – o português.

18. Não esquecendo a classe docente, foi criado o **Curso de verão nos Açores para docentes dos EUA,** da responsabilidade

da FLAD, em parceria com a DRC e outras instituições, que visa corresponder às necessidades de atualização da classe docente nas áreas da língua, cultura e literatura portuguesas.

19. No âmbito da educação, emigração e imigração, a DRC tem disponíveis portarias que concedem apoios para intercâmbios escolares e projetos que promovam as populações migrantes, mediante apresentação de candidatura.

20. No âmbito da herança e da manutenção da identidade e património cultural açoriano, promovemos iniciativas com vista ao resgate da herança Judaica nos Açores. Neste contexto, realizamos a **Conferência Internacional sobre a Herança judaica nos Açores,** com o objetivo de dar a conhecer as comunidades judaicas sefarditas que partiram dos Açores para outros destinos do mundo. Procedemos também ao lançamento do **Roteiro Comunidades-Herança Judaica nos Açores.**

21. **Celebração da Presença Açoriana na América do Norte**, a propósito das Comemorações dos 500 anos de Dighton Rock, Massachusetts, cujas inscrições na pedra atestam a presença de um navegador açoriano, Miguel Corte Real, naquelas paragens do mundo em 1511.

22. **V Congresso Internacional sobre as Festas do Divino Espiríto Santo** que tem como objetivo refletir e aprofundar conhecimentos sobre o Culto do Divino Espírito Santo nos Açores e na diáspora açoriana. O congresso decorreu de 31 de maio a 03 de junho de 2012.

23. Destinado aos mais jovens, promovemos anualmente o **Campo de Férias Intercultural** com objetivo de alertar as gerações mais novas para o respeito pela diversidade cultural e pela sua riqueza, através da promoção do convívio e da troca de ideias e de experiências entre jovens de diferentes nacionalidades.

24. Projeto **Crianças Unidas com os Açores/Children Together with the Azores**, uma iniciativa da DRC, em colaboração com as escolas da Região, que consiste na construção de prendinhas alusivas aos Açores que são enviadas para crianças que se encontram hospitalizadas nas comunidades açorianas. Até à data, cinco crianças dos EUA, Brasil e Canadá já receberam a respetiva encomenda.

25. Destinado a cidadãos de origem açoriana, portadores de deficiência, que se encontram radicados nos EUA e Canadá, o programa **De mãos dadas com os Açores** foi criado com vista a proporcionar aos seus participantes uma visita aos Açores, possibilitando-lhes o conhecimento da realidade açoriana atual e o reencontro com familiares e amigos.

26. A DRC tem promovido um contacto direto e profícuo com **o Xerife do Detention Center of Bristol County, Massachusetts, EUA**, cujo apoio aos deportados, provenientes dos EUA, é muito apreciado pelos próprios e suas famílias. O trabalho realizado em parceria foi alvo de assinatura de um protocolo com o Detention Center para maior cooperação entre as partes.

27. Um outro programa de muita afluência é o **Saudades dos Açores**, concebido especificamente para os mais idosos. Destina-se a indivíduos que nasceram nos Açores, que se

encontram emigrados no Brasil, Canadá e EUA e que vivem numa situação económica mais frágil, o que em condições normais não lhes permite realizar uma viagem aos Açores.

28. **Prémio de Jornalismo Comunidades,** destinado a premiar trabalhos jornalísticos publicados, na região, no país e no estrangeiro, sobre as nossas comunidades emigradas, regressadas e imigrantes.

29. **Congresso Internacional de órgãos de Comunicação Social,** a decorrer em Toronto, entre 12 a 14 de junho de 2012, que permitiu reforçar o intercâmbio e relacionamento entre os Órgãos de Comunicação Social de Língua Portuguesa das Comunidades Emigradas com os radicados nos Açores e sensibilizar para a necessidade de os media dignificarem e fazerem justiça às comunidades açorianas espalhadas pelo mundo.

30. Um outro programa muito interessante realizado pela DRC com o objetivo de conhecer novos destinos de acolhimento onde se encontram radicados os açorianos/as e açordescendentes foi o passatempo no facebook, **"Açorianos no Mundo: Onde Estamos? /Azoreans in the World: Where are we?"**, destinado aos emigrantes açorianos e açordescendentes residentes fora do território português.

31. Sob o tema "O Futuro das Migrações: Perspetivas em mudanças globais", a DRC organizou nos Açores a **16ª Conferência Internacional Metropolis** que reuniu, entre workshops e sessões plenárias, a participação de mais de 700 especialistas, oriundos de cerca de 70 países, para debater e unir pesquisas, políticas e práticas sobre as migrações e a diversidade.

32. **Turismo Sénior**, um programa dirigido às populações idosas emigrantes dos EUA e Canadá, organizado em parceria com a Secretaria da Economia e SATA, o que permitirá às comunidades visitar aos Açores por preços mais reduzidos.

33. **Rede Internacional de Organizações de Serviço Social.** A DRC criou uma rede internacional que integra mais de 30 organizações, sedeadas nos Açores, nos EUA e Canadá, que são apoiadas por nós, com o propósito de ajudarem as nossas comunidades a integrarem-se com qualidade e harmonia e de ajudarem no processo da deportação.

34. **Conselho Mundial das Casas dos Açores.** Com realização anual, e com o apoio da DRC, este conselho reúne os representantes das nossas comunidades espalhadas pelo mundo, com o intuito de discutir temas de interesse comum e preparar o futuro, envolvendo cada vez mais os jovens.

35. **Périplo pelas ilhas dos Açores (2011 e 2012).** A DRC organizou sessões de esclarecimento e manteve reuniões com um conjunto alargado de instituições com o intuito de dar a conhecer à sociedade civil os apoios que a DRC concede para a promoção das comunidades emigrantes, regressadas e imigrantes, fazer o levantamento da situação das populações migrantes radicadas nos Açores e avaliar os apoios concedidos.

36. A DRC, para além dos apoios e dos projetos que promove, tem tido a preocupação de dar a conhecer o seu trabalho e de promover as comunidades junto de públicos alargados. Para o efeito, mantém páginas regulares nos jornais **Açoriano Oriental e Mundo Português e na Revista Spirit da**

Sata. É responsável pela elaboração de uma newsletter mensal e por uma revista, intitulada Comunidades com periodicidade trimestral.

37. **Cabaz de Natal Açoriano**. A DRC providenciou centenas de Cabazes de Natal com produtos açorianos que foram distribuídos por famílias com problemas e em dificuldades nas comunidades da diáspora.

38. **Projeto Açores no Brasil**, cujos pontos altos foram: (1) a Exposição sobre os Açores, num dos maiores shoppings de São Paulo, exposição visitada por mais de meio milhão de visitantes. Esta exposição será, no decorrer de 2012, replicada no Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro e Santa Catarina e (2) celebração dos 260 anos de povoamento açoriano no Rio Grande do Sul.

39. **Contos de Lá**, um projeto que visa dar a conhecer a diversidade cultural que caracteriza os Açores. Os Contos de Lá, que já conhecem uma versão em formato livro, vão agora ser divulgados pela RTP – Açores.

40. **Cais da Cidadania**, um projeto que serviu todas as ilhas dos Açores, ligadas por um barco que atracou nos portos principais de todas as ilhas, divulgando a multiculturalidade dos Açores, bem como outros aspetos da cidadania, trabalhados por um conjunto alargado de instituições parceiras.

41. A DRC visita regularmente, nos Açores e em Lisboa, em reuniões de trabalho, os consulados e Embaixadas correspondentes às populações migrantes radicadas nos Açores e na diáspora.

42. Em resultado das deslocações ao estrangeiro, a DRC visita centenas de instituições ligadas às comunidades açorianas, a saber jornais, rádios, canais de televisão, associações, clubes, igrejas, paróquias, irmandades, escolas, universidades, etc.

43.**Workshop para imigrantes** na área da criação de micro-empresas de artesanato, com vista à capacitação de indivíduos estrangeiros desempregados ou em situação precária de emprego e criação de micro-empresas como forma de sustentabilidade pessoal e familiar.

44. **Encontro de desportistas estrangeiros e imigrantes**, ao serviço do desporto nas diferentes ilhas dos Açores, para uma justa homenagem ao contributo destes profissionais na promoção de um vasto leque de práticas e modalidades desportivas que enriquecem o panorama desportivo do arquipélago e diversificam o tecido social.

E porque é impossível falar de todos os projetos promovidos pela DRC, ou apoiados por nós, quer nos Açores quer nas comunidades dos EUA e Canadá, aqui fica o registo que vos apresentamos, certa de que não restarão dúvidas sobre o empenhamento e esforço de toda a equipa da DRC, no sentido de ajudarmos as nossas comunidades emigrantes, regressadas e imigrantes nos Açores e na diáspora a viverem com mais qualidade e sob a égide da integração sustentável.

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CONCLUSION

THE REGIONAL DEPARTMENT FOR THE COMMUNITIES AT THE SERVICE OF MIGRANTS AND THEIR QUALITY OF LIFE

This conclusion, organized in two different sections, aims (1) to explain how the idea of a theme emerged to give way to the International Symposium and (2) to present the activities promoted by the DRC in support of the communities targeted by the Symposium.

From the conception to the completion of the Symposium

From the work accomplished in the Azores by the Regional Department for the Communities (DRC) on behalf of the Azorean emigrant and returnee communities, as well as, the foreign communities arriving from Portuguese-speaking countries (especially from Brazil and Cape Verde) and now rooted in the Azores, emerged the need to gain an in-depth understanding of the difficulties experienced by migrant populations - culturally and linguistically united by the Portuguese language – and to jointly find solutions consistent with today's challenges.

Based on the need to explore the pragmatic issues of the people reached by the DRC - emigrants, immigrants and

returnees – we suggested to the presenters that they discussed the subject of human rights and quality of life as they relate to practical issues such as deportation, health, education, community support and leadership both in the United States of America and Canada, since these countries have a close relationship with the DRC's activities in the Azores.

In addition to the presentations and lectures, the Symposium integrated moments of visits to institutions linked to the Portuguese-speaking communities rooted in the U.S. and Canada, moments of social gathering and exchange of experiences, and the signing of protocols with institutions that now belong to the International Network for Social Services Organizations, which aims to ensure the quality of life of migrants returning to the Azores and of Azoreans or Azorean-descendants living in those host countries. Yet included in the program was the presentation and release of the following books: "Searching for the Great Strategy – From Roosevelt to Obama", by Mário Mesquita, and "Domestic Violence in The Autonomous Region of the Azores – A Socio-criminal Research Study", by Gilberta Rocha.

Because our problems are shared by other Portuguese-speaking communities, who are also confronted with integration problems in the U.S. and Canada, we invited the Brazilian, Cape Verdean and Angolan communities (who are also significantly large in the U.S. and Canada) to participate in the Symposium, thus, strengthening our discussion and common demands.

Activities developed by the Regional Department for the Communities

Beyond the support given to associations that work with migrants, returnees and immigrants in the Diaspora and in

the Azores, the DRC has a wide plan of action, from which we highlight only a few activities.

1. The DRC has a **service working directly with the general population**. It is available in all the nine islands of the Azores and aims to support, direct and guide citizens wishing to emigrate, emigrants who returned by their own will, and deported immigrants. The goal is to minimize the difficulties experienced by these people upon their arrival in the Azores. Annually, the average number of visitors is around 15,000. Because this is a priority area of the DRC, we regularly offer trainings to our employees in order to update their knowledge and ensure the quality and effectiveness desired by ours clients. This year the DRC has already developed a training course on filling out and forwarding the documentation required by Canada. In partnership with the Catholic Social Service, New BedFord, MA, will be making available a similar course regarding the same process in the U.S.

2. Every year, the DRC celebrates in a different island, the **International Migrants Day.** This is an initiative that brings together the local population and migrants, and creates the opportunity for social contact, and sharing of experiences among immigrants of different nationalities and emigrants who, after residing in different locations, chose to visit or return to live in the Azores.

3. The DRC, in recent years has intensified its activities in **the immigration subject,** by taking into account the number of citizens who come from all over the world to work and reside in the Azores. Upon this new migration phenomenon, the DRC

has sponsored several film festivals, projects against racism, gastronomic exhibitions, and dance, music and "folclore" shows to raise awareness about the issues of human rights and multiculturalism among local communities.

4. **Free Courses for Immigrants**. A project that provides, develops and enhances skills, not only in the Portuguese Language, but also in other areas of knowledge such as information technology, entrepreneurship and English, and allows citizens a wider range of possibilities in the labor market.

5. Upon the need for more information on the individuals deported to the Region, as well as, on how to adjust welcoming and integration plans, since 2006 the DRC has run the **Return Program** which establishes a feedback loop between the entities abroad, the DRC and other organizations and regional institutions which welcome and accompany the integration process of returnees.

6. Also to gain a better understanding and deeper knowledge on deportation, the DRC has established a **protocol with the University of the Azores to conduct a research study to analyze the deportation phenomenon from the U.S., Canada and Bermuda**.

7. Two other research studies, which have already published, were also requested by the DRC to the University of the Azores: **one investigation about immigrants and the other on the return phenomenon.**

8. The DRC created the **LEGAL Program** *(Legalization Effort of the Government of the Azores and Logistics),* which is intended to alert the Azorean communities in the U.S. and Canada, about the issue of deportation and the need for individuals to complete their naturalization processes - the only way to prevent a compulsory return.

9. Organization of an **Extended Volunteer Network,** which is responsible for the dissemination of the LEGAL Program and to spread the program in the areas of convergence and interaction of the Azores and in the U.S. and Canada.

10. The DRC has recently launched an **Awareness Program for Immigration Law for travelers bound for the United States and Canada,** which aims to inform travelers about the set of emigration rules and criteria before departure and during residence according to the immigration laws of each country.

11. Celebration of **Thanksgiving Day**, which joined, in Ponta Delgada, returnees and their families, institutions from the island of S. Miguel, governmental agencies and representatives of the United States and Canada in a festive environment.

12. **Between Two Languages** is a project developed in partnership with the Detention Center of Bristol County, Massachusetts, USA, which allows centers whose purpose is to aid deportees to be equipped with written material in English - for those individuals who have problems communicating in Portuguese.

13. Because knowledge of foreign languages is extremely important for the new generations of immigrants, the DRC has been working in this issue. Hence, the DRC celebrated a MOU for the implementation of the **Universal Design for Learning and Teaching of Portuguese Worldwide Program**, which consists in creating an online platform for the teaching of Portuguese around the world. This program, results from a partnership between the DRC, the Center for Applied Special Technology, Lesley University and the University of the Azores, also has the participation of more than a dozen schools and universities in the Azores, in Brazil and in the U.S.

14. **Protocol with the George Washington University,** which contends for teaching material on the Azores and Azoreanity to be integrated into courses taught at this internationally renowned university.

15. For the younger generations, the DRC created the **Dias de Melo Scholarship**, which is directed at Azorean or Azorean descendant students with fixed residence in the United States of America or Canada, and has the goal of raising the educational level of our communities and helping students with financial difficulties.

16. Competition: **"Azores: Past and Present",** aimed at students who have settled in the Azores, to gain the opportunity to visit the emigrant communities - upon the presentation of projects and after a jury selection.

17. For Azorean-descendant children, the DRC launched the project **On the Lap of the Portuguese Language,** which

consists of sending a kit with books and informational materials on the Azores to both families with children under 5 years of age, and to organizations with nurseries, day care centers and kindergartens located in Azorean communities. The goal is to encourage, in an ecological and family context, the learning of the third most spoken European language in the world - Portuguese.

18. Directed at teachers/professors, the **Summer Course in the Azores for teachers from the U.S.,** of the responsibility of FLAD, was created in partnership with the DRC and other institutions. This project aims at meeting the update requirements for teachers in the areas of language, culture and Portuguese literature.

19. In education, emigration and immigration, the DRC has created **ordinances to aid student exchanges and projects that promote migrant populations**.

20. As part of the inheritance and maintenance of the Azorean identity and cultural heritage, the DRC develops initiatives aimed at rescuing the Jewish Heritage in the Azores. In this context, the DRC organized the **International Conference on Jewish Heritage in the Azores,** in order to divulge the history of the Sephardic Jewish communities in the Azores and their departure for other destinations worldwide. We also proceed to the release of the **Communities Itinerary - Jewish Heritage in the Azores.**

21. **Celebration of Azorean Presence in North America,** in association with the Celebration of the 500 years of

Dighton Rock, Massachusetts, whose inscriptions in stone attest to the presence of an Azorean discoverer, Miguel Corte Real, in those parts of the world in 1511.

22. **5th International Congress on the Feast of the Divine Holy Spirit**, aims at discussing and deepening the knowledge about the Cult of the Holy Spirit in the Azores and in the Azorean Diaspora. It has held in Terceira island, from May 31 to June 3, 2012.

23. Aimed at youngsters, the DRC promotes the annual **Intercultural Summer Camp** in order to teach younger generations the respect for cultural diversity and its richness by promoting interaction and exchange of ideas and experiences among young people of different nationalities.

24. The project **Children Together with the Azores** is an initiative of the DRC in collaboration with schools in the Azores and consists of the construction of gifts allusive to the Azores that are sent to children in the Azorean communities who are hospitalized. To date, five children in the U.S., Brazil and Canada have received such gifts.

25. Aimed at disabled individuals of Azorean origin, who are residing in the U.S. and Canada, the program **Holding Hands with the Azores** was established to provide its participants with a visit to the Azores, thus, enabling them to get to know the current Azorean reality and to reunite with relatives and friends.

26. The DRC has promoted a direct and productive collaboration with **the Sheriff of the Detention Center of**

Bristol County, Massachusetts, U.S., whose support given to the deportees from the U.S., is greatly appreciated by these individuals and their families. The collaborative work was the target of signed a protocol which intends to further improve the cooperation between the two parties.

27. Another program with a great turnout is the **Missing the Azores.** This project is specifically intended for elderly individuals who were born in the Azores and are emigrants in Brazil, Canada and in the U.S. and are living under a fragile economic situation, which does not allow them to travel and visit the Azores.

28. **Award for Journalism in the Communities,** to reward journalistic work published in the Azores, in Portugal and abroad about our emigrant, returnee and immigrant communities.

29. **International Congress of Social Media**. Held in Toronto, from June 12 to 14, 2012, it aims to strengthen the relationship and the exchange between the Media in the Emigrant Portuguese-speaking communities and those based in the Azores in order to raise awareness on the need for the media to dignify and do justice to the Azorean communities around the world.

30. Another very interesting program conducted by DRC through the Facebook page and in order to publicize the new host destinations where Azoreans and Azorean-descendants are residing is the project **"Azoreans in the World: Where are we?",** aimed at Azorean and Azorean-descendant emigrants living outside the Portuguese territory.

31. Under the theme **"The Future of Migration: Perspectives on global change"**, the DRC organized the **16th International Metropolis**, in the Azores, which was joined, within workshops and plenary sessions, by over 700 experts from around 70 countries, to discuss and unite research, policies and best practices on migration and diversity.

32. **Senior Tourism**, a program aimed at elderly emigrant populations in the U.S. and Canada, organized in partnership with the Department of Economy and SATA, to allow members in the communities to travel to the Azores for lower prices.

33. **International Network of Social Services Organizations.** The DRC has created an international network of more than 30 organizations based in the Azores, in the U.S. and Canada, which are sponsored by the DRC. This Network is intended to help Azorean communities to integrate the host countries with a high degree of quality and harmony, and to provide assistance to individuals during the deportation process.

34. **World Council of Houses of the Azores**. Held annually, and with the support of the DRC, the council consists of gathering the representatives of our communities around the world to discuss issues of common interest and to prepare for the future by increasingly involving young people.

35. **Tour through the islands of the Azores** (2011 and 2012). The DRC organized informational sessions and held meetings with a wide range of institutions in order to: present to society the activities sponsored by the DRC on behalf of the emigrant, returnee and immigrant communities; to survey the

situation of immigrants residing in the Azores; and to evaluate the efficacy of the support provided thus far by the DRC.

36. In addition to the several fully-developed or sponsored projects, the DRC has been concerned about disseminating its work and promoting the communities along the general public. For this purpose, the DRC **maintains regular pages in the newspapers *Açoriano Oriental* and *Mundo Português*, and in SATA's *Spirit Magazine*.** The DRC is also responsible for preparing a monthly newsletter and a magazine entitled *Communities*, which is published quarterly**.**

37. **Azorean Christmas Food Basket**. The DRC has offered hundreds of Christmas food baskets with Azorean products which were distributed along families experiencing socio-economic problems and difficulties in the communities of the Diaspora.

38. **Azores in Brazil**. The highlights of this project were (1) the exhibition on the Azores, in one of the largest shopping malls in São Paulo, Brazil. The exhibition was visited by more than half a million visitors. This exhibition will also take place, in 2012, in Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro and Santa Catarina, and (2) The celebration of 260 Years of Azorean Settlement in Rio Grande do Sul.

39. **Tales from Another Place** is a project that aims at raising awareness about the cultural diversity that characterizes the Azores. Tales from Another Place has already been released in a book version, and will now be available in television format by RTP - Azores.

40. **Citizenship Dock** is a project that reached every island of the Azores connecting them by a ship that docked in the main ports of all the islands, and promoted multiculturalism, as well as other aspects of citizenship in the Azores.

41. Either in the Azores or in the mainland, the DRC also makes regular visits to conduct **work meetings with the Consulates and Embassies** of the migrant communities residing in the Azores and in the Diaspora.

42. As a result of the trips abroad, the DRC has remained closed to the people and organizations by **visiting hundreds of institutions in the Azorean communities across the world**, namely newspapers, radio and television stations, local associations, churches, parishes, brotherhoods, schools, universities, etc…

43. **A workshop for immigrants** with the theme of creation of small companies of traditional craftwork and directed at building competencies and job training for foreign individuals who are either unemployed or have an unstable job situation was offered.

44. **We also organized a meeting of foreign and immigrant athletes** integrated in different sports across the islands for a fair homage of the contribution of these athletes in the promotion of the different sports which enrich our context and diversify our social fabric.

Though it is impossible to discuss all the projects developed, or sponsored thus far by the DRC in the Azores and in the communities in the U.S. and in Canada, we present to you this brief registry certain that no doubts will remain on the commitment and effort of all the DRC's team in the objective of helping our emigrant, returnee and immigrant communities, in the Azores and in the Diaspora, live with better quality of life and under the aegis of sustainable integration.

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