

# Immigration and staying in the dream<sup>1</sup>

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#### **Abstract**

It proposes to analyze the immigration process of Latin American recently settled in Brazil, from the theoretical-methodological perspective of Abdelmalek Sayad about the meaning of being an immigrant and analysis of the speech printed in the national media about the migrant population. The aim is to evaluate whether this speech gets the experience of immigration and presents the dream of keeping the project of undergo any extreme condition of difficulty to overcome the poverty in the country he left. Concludes that the newspaper story carried ignores this process, and can't, in general, understand this desire that goes beyond the line of centuries - in which they interchange the characters, but never the belief of a better life.

Keywords: Immigration, social representation, Latin America.

## 1. The being and the wanting

As a fact of two dimensions, individual and collective (Sayad, 1998), the complexity of the process of emigration-immigration is told from Classical Antiquity through the adventures of Ulysses. Over the past two centuries, given the intensity of this phenomenon, theories, economic, demographic and sociological attempt to explain the motivations of those who leave their country, their city, their home, their friends and their family to settle temporarily or permanently in another location.

According to Gibney (2009), which moves people in their shift to other countries, and internally in their own birthplace, is the pursuit of more and better economic opportunities for themselves and their families. Or, as with the refugees, to look for a country where they can enjoy basic rights and security. Meanwhile, one should note that the inequality between states and regions is one of the main factors boosting the migration.

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Gibney draws attention to the fact that migration is not purely a consequence of inequality, but also a cause for that - since, in general, includes people who have spent most of their lives in a poorer country. Thus, with little opportunity to accumulate capital or resources commonly performed by residents settled in the country of destination. But some of the most important inequalities generated by contemporary migration is not economic, but rather politics. The movement of people between sovereign jurisdictions usually (with the exception of dual citizenship) involves those who move from a country where they have full rights to another in which they do not have any.

Therefore, the migratory movement can give rise to contingents of individuals that have their right of citizenship denied, since they live in places in which they are not considered as effective members and so remain cut off from the rights reserved to the natives. However, it is worth remembering that in any country - from the richest to the poorest, the most democratic to the most authoritarian - society is composed of individuals that are citizens and noncitizens.

According to Sayad (2000), the migration phenomenon is always associated with a need-absence: work. It is because of the lack of it that thousands of people leave the place in which it is constructed their sense of being and belonging to the world. Necessity that becomes an illusion of creative possibility of social mobility, supposedly to be found in another city, in another country.

Thus, when trying to establish a discussion on these highlighted aspects, it should be taken as a fundamental point a common principle: the duality of the dimension emigrant-immigrant. Be present in space, as an immigrant, means being absent from the other, as an emigrant. Be in a relationship of cohabitation with a group, as an immigrant, requires not to share the daily life of your original group.

Established this duality, one can analyze its complexity in relation to time and space: the geographical, social, anthropological, political, economic, psychological, and the historical. In short, in all the dimensions in which the human being is a social being. Moreover, the ambivalence of this duality emigrant-immigrant creates traits, many of



them indelible; since both, the absence (emigration) and the presence (immigration), bring up effects in the short, medium and long term.

The implications of this process are presented, to the immigrant, as signs in dreamy evocation of the everyday life in faraway places that belong to past time; in other words, an existence that is a lot of times unreal and based on a ghostly presence-absence, which develops simultaneously to life present. Meanwhile, this fact refers not only to be an emigrant-immigrant: it is shared to the society of emigration and immigration.

But if there is so much pain, why does the man all over the History continues to seek exile to supply the lack of work? In this case, the answers are the conviction that this is just a trial (Sayad, 1998), and, for many, the absolute certainty that there will be a substantial improvement in their quality of life. Even though in this supposed improvement is certainly implied a workload and physical exertion higher than they have to face in their home country. The work, highlights Sayad, is the reason for the immigrant, and this reason dominates it throughout their way of act.

In this direction, this article intends to reflect on the process of migration experienced by Latinos and reported in the Brazilian media, supported by a collection of newspaper articles on the subject reproduced in Boletim Mobilidade Humana, developed by Centro Scalabriano de Estudos Migratórios (CSEM).<sup>3</sup>

It aims to come to an outline, through discourse analysis of the articles published between the months of June 2009 and July 2010, of the social representation on these immigrants pictured by the national media. It is assumed here that the published materials require an understanding of socio-historical and cultural of the immigrant's constitution, as proposed by Sayad (2000). It is used, for the purpose of the study, the methodological framework of Social Representations Theory.

It is considered that the approach of Social Representations Theory as a multidisciplinary phenomenon, enables an understanding to reflect on how the groups and or individuals struggle to give meaning to the everyday world, how they can understand it and find their place in the conformation of a social and individual identity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Available at www.csem.org.br



According to Junqueira (2005), this means that social representations are necessarily rooted in the public arena and in the processes by which the human being develops an identity, creates symbols and opens himself to the diversity of the world of others.

### 1. The representations

Reflect on certain group of individuals involves understanding a given interpretive community of people who usually makes representations of a particular type to another and also use them in daily life for standardized goals (Becker, 2009).

In this way, the representations are conveyed in everyday life. Among its supporters are the speeches and also the behaviors and social practices in which these manifest themselves. They are, moreover, documents and stories that are institutionally set and encrypted. And, it is in the development social relationships that representations are constructed, maintained and transformed by groups or classes in your daily existence.

From this perspective, this article aims to analyze the correlation between immigration of Latin Americans and the production on the subject held by the national media. Social representations are developed amid processes of social practices, interactions and exchanges, so they take form in the middle between the individual and the social. Although the initial anchor, these representations have the characteristic of being in permanent construction. They share a common object and, by sharing, actualize specific divisions that provide independence to the individual.

Since they are complex phenomena and so connected to the action in social life, they have many elements in informational, cognitive, ideological and normative dimensions, setting beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions and images. And, it is in this approach that the immigrant's experiences are revealed in the way, mapped here, of day-by-day life of individuals and groups that pursue the anxieties of a collective dream built throughout human history.

By sharing conceptions, through daily dialogue, complex knowledges are activated. Thus, it allows one to considers that the gaps from which individuals can



stand up and speak are built from speeches and representation systems (WOODWARD, 2000). In that case, we consider that the identification - given by the action, and subsequently by assigning relevant meanings to such action - is determined by the social context in which it is inserted.

It is through the meanings, produced by that representations, that the individual gives sense to his/her experience and to what he/she is. Therefore, establishing a cultural process in which individual and collective identities configured in symbolic systems provide possible answers to the numerous questions that arise routinely.

According Charaudeau (2003), every speech act is an act of communication. In this sense, he asserts that communication is the social phenomenon whereby individuals living in community develop their relationships. And, wrapped in interaction, they define rules and norms of living in society, and create ways of thinking that will enable them to recognize themselves as participants in a common cultural identity.

Based on this principle, the instance of the language is presented as an act of communication by which a man represents the world to himself and to his fellow man. And, more than that, it defines the man himself to the others, and even to himself, since it enables one to understand the relationship between the individuals composing the social group. Language is the phenomenon that is able to establish the socio-cultural place. It is inferred, therefore, the concept of speech; that for Orlandi (2007, p.15) is "the word in motion, language practice."

This observation leads to the conceptualization of sense, ideology, individual and interpretation. Moreover, it turns out that there is no meaning other than ideological. And it is in this direction that is valid to think the concept of interpretation that is, we have to make explicit the meaning-making processes that are configured within speech, or the mechanisms of production of meaning that are running at the moment of utterance.

The perspective of this work argues that the media operates in the construction of social reality, since it will rule the symbolic field in which rules of conduct, values and behaviors are institutionalized to produce speech. In this sense, the representations of individuals, groups or communities are re-signified by the receiver, according to



some basic aspects - namely, how news stories are set, the context and knowledge they have about a fact, the language, and others.

According to Cádima et al. (2003, p.5) "As a represented system and specifically serving its social function, the fact is the media rarely claim with desirable clarity and rigor to that responsibility." Thus,

"The gutter press discourse, the freak show's language, the tragic days we are living and its disasters, the fait-divers, the curiosity and the monstrous, etc..., such things are going to fill the media's narrative field, leaving little room indeed, to the contextualization and, finally, to the human (Cádima et al., 2003, p.5).

It is understood, therefore, that the media is as a source of information and representation to immigrants. It is presented, so, as a legitimizing field of perception, of the collective feeling and of the myths built, as well as, of the production of practices that are established in national and local public sphere about those individuals, groups or communities. As a consequence, it contributes to the development of an imagery that can feed the social sense of media content produced and re-interpreted on the subject and on this population.

According to Veron (1998) all production of social sense is discursive, And, It is, therefore, within the social sense that speech reveals their social orientations and resulting phenomena from this process empower its significant dimension, Thus, Steinberger (2005 apud Frege, 1978) ensures that the speeches - including journalistic ones - do not reflect social reality: they are production of meaning.

Steinberger (2005, p.75), supported by studies on theories of communication and journalism conducted by Teasing (2004), Souza (2004) and Wolf (2001), highlights that "In journalistic discourse, the production of meaning results, in first instance, in cuttings that the professional makes in the substance of the news and in his own decisions in formal composition of the text (sound, visual, etc.)."

In this direction, according to Orlandi (2007), the object of discourse analysis is not the language itself, but the relationship among language, meaning and social place,



covering here the ways language materiality, formal marks and social sense articulate themselves through the analysis of what is meant by social imaginaries. What is discussed, then, is the conversational instance that, for Manhães (2006), determines the intelligible character of a message.

Discourse analysis makes use of the social imaginary as well as of the marks that indicate a individual. There is, always, to considers that the way in which a discourse is constructed allows us to identify the presence and the way the statement was built by the issuer.

Thus, the analysis that is aimed to be done about the corpus of this research relies on the materiality of the text, its linguistic-historical context, and on the conditions of its production. It is also going to be considered in this paper the speech as an ongoing process, as a discursive practice that constitutes society in history. In this way, this paper relates the Social Representations Theory to the discourse about immigration and immigrants produced by the national media.

#### 2. The media discourse

Brazil is a multicultural country whose identity is rooted in ethnic diversity, which is the outcome of an intense migratory process. The greater flow was held mainly between the third quarter of the 19th Century and the first of the 20th Century. However, economic growth in Europe in the post-war would reduce this migratory movement to minimum levels. In general, since the 1960s, the global migration would be from developing countries to developed countries.

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), in 1960 Brazil had about 2% of its population formed by foreigners, mostly from developed countries. In 2000, this rate came down at least two-thirds. According to information from the UNDP, in majority of the world immigration flows are stabilized, except the Persian Gulf countries.

However, in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean it was verified more significant decreases in international migration, actually, a significant decreasing -



to less than half. With regard specifically to Brazil, the current period is the one that registers the lowest number of immigrants living in the country: about 1 million people, representing approximately 0.4% of the population (JUNGMANN, 2009).

An interview of Ministry of Justice's Executive Secretary, Luiz Paulo Barreto, published in Brazil Agency (JUNGMANN, 2009) clarifies that the profile of the immigrant who moved to the country since the 1990s has changed. From post-war to the last decade of the 20th Century, mainly Chinese, Korean, and Lebanese settled down here, or in other words, those who were seeking to implement small business and had a more entrepreneurial characteristic.

Nowadays, meanwhile, there are two different configurations of those who settle living in Brazil, that, paradoxically, represent two extremes: on the one hand, skilled workers, who stay here on average up to two years and, on the other hand, south American migrants, especially Bolivians, crossing the border in search of jobs and better living conditions.

An analysis of the data published by the Federal Government of Brazil, after completing the procedures to regularize the new amnesty law, from December 30, 2009, reveals that the majority of the nearly 42,000 illegal immigrants living in Brazil who applied for temporary residence visa is composed of 16,881 by Bolivians, followed by 5,492 Chinese, 4,642 Peruvians, 4,135 Paraguayans, and 1,129 Koreans. It is noteworthy that according to estimates by the Serviço Pastoral dos Migrantes, an organization linked to the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil, the country is home to about 600,000 foreigners without legal documentation (PYL, 2009).

In this balance, published by the Federal Government of Brazil, a fact that draws attention - in contrast to the imaginary of immigration in Brazil, which always refers to images of waves of newcomers, sat in a history of the immigration process in the late 19th century - was the small number of Europeans who requested the benefit: 2,390. A number close to the total of Africans, 2,700, living in the country illegally. São Paulo Rio de Janeiro, and the Northeast, are the preferential places for settlement of this population (RIZZO, 2010).



There is, in these data, information to help set the socioeconomic and cultural scene of a significant part of the South American continent, that sees in Brazil a safe settlement space. "Latin America is not complete in Latin America. Its image is returned by mirrors scattered archipelago of migration", says Canclini (2008, p. 25).

What does Néstor Garcia Canclini want to trigger with this opinion, but the absence of critical discussion, knowledge, the Latin American weakening on Latin Americans? What do we know, as Brazilians, about the South American migratory flow? In this direction, how does the Brazilian media represent an immigrant? And specifically Bolivians who had, until the end of 2009, the largest number of illegal residents in the country. What is understood, explained, revealed or exposed about their everyday socio-cultural relationships? Do such authors, media producers, have access to information and material and immaterial goods that enable knowledge of individual migrant's context of life?

In the purpose of this paper, which aims to discuss the representation of Latin American immigrant in national media - both to raise and examine the context of these characters in the material produced and to identify whether the journalistic narratives demonstrate that understand the meaning of being an immigrant - 18 articles published in the Boletim Mobilidade Urbana were selected. The bulletin is an electronic newsletter that provides updates to the main headlines of the month on international migration published by CSEM.

The selection and analysis of materials occurred in two stages: first, 18 articles were elected because they were directly connected to the migratory flow in Brazil. Later on, the ones that talked specifically about migration of Latin Americans in Brazil were separated selectively, which caused the exclusion of nine articles.

It must be clarified on these articles three central aspects: 1) They approach the amnesty law to illegal foreigners, 2) Bolivians are identified as the main immigrant group in the country today, 3) There is a report on slave labor of Bolivian immigrants. The nine headlines selected for analysis are:



Headline	Boletim / Month of publication
Amnesty to illegal immigrants may be sanctioned until July 6	Boletim 53 – Year VI – June 2009
Lula signs law that amnesties 50,000 illegal foreigners	Boletim 53 – Year VI – June 2009
Lula: immigration does not mean crime	Boletim 54 – Year VI – July 2009
The number of foreigners in Brazil is the lowest in history	Boletim 57 – Year VI – October 2009
Agreement on residence strengthens equal rights for immigrants	Boletim 58 – Year VI – November 2009
More than 16,000 of the 41,800 foreigners who received concession of temporary residence in Brazil are from Bolivia	Boletim 59 – Year VII – January 2010
Immigrants' slavery is caught in an atelier related to Marisa store	Boletim 61 – Year VII – March 2010
Latin America receives increasingly more immigrants	Boletim 62 – Year VII – April 2010
Labor importation is record	Boletim 65 – Year VII – July 2010

The first three articles selected - "Amnesty to illegal immigrants may be sanctioned until July 6", "Lula signs law that amnesties 50,000 illegal foreigners" and "Lula: immigration does not mean crime" - deal with the amnesty process allowed by Brazilian government to undocumented immigrants residing in the country. None of



them produces a contextualized text about the current phenomenon of immigration in Brazil or about the meaning of being an individual in an irregular situation.

In the first article, the opinions of CSEM's members are expressed on the proposition of the law and its possible repercussions. The speech presented by interviewees from CSEM's members refers to the concerns and difficulties of illegals, noting that they are afraid even of looking up health centers when sick. The reporter, however, does not go deeper on the issue of undocumented immigrants' daily lives.

It is clarified, however, that Brazil was the last country of Mercosur to sign the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families - negotiated within the United Nations (UN). According Pyl (2009), "The Brazilian adhesion was only confirmed on 8 December of last year, following a unanimous decision taken by the Conselho Nacional de Imigração (CNIg), headed by Ministério do Trabalho e do Emprego (MTE)."

It should be noted, nevertheless, that this information is presented without explaining rationally why Brazilian Government take so long to sign the convention, in terms of South America. In the next paragraph to that information, the article is finished praising the Government's attitude:

During the 98th International Labour Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, an event that celebrated the 90th anniversary of the International Labour Organization (ILO), President Lula mentioned the approval of amnesty, "while the rich world keeps putting the blame on immigrants". (PYL, 2009)

The other two articles have wording that seems to be a reproduction from news produced by press offices, merely repeating phrases from the speech of President Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva during a ceremony of signing the law. In journalistic discourse, the narrative is optimistic, containing data and highlighting the political action of the Brazilian government, which is presented humanely, in opposition to the restrictions imposed by European countries and some U.S. states.



To confirm it, there is a reproduction of President Lula's speech when signing the amnesty: "These actions mean that Brazil is increasingly in a position to the contemporary migration logic. We are a nation of immigrants and it proves that cultural differences can live in harmony "(Borges, 2009). Despite the signed law's relevance, there is, however, in any of the published material, no interview with undocumented immigrants, even without disclosing the source.<sup>4</sup>

Just as there is no historical or world context or about this current phenomenon, which has been a source of international debates especially after the economic crisis of 2008, the articles keep the singularity of the fact, without go deep in the theme or foster discussion presenting the human impact's possibilities at both diachronic as synchronic. In other words, the articles reproduce information relayed by public agencies aseptically, avoiding any possibility to propose to the reader understanding the process.

Thus, the journalistic discourse does not contribute to the understanding of the illegals' daily lives. It does not express their difficulties. When it comes close to such a context, is through the voice of institutions' representatives - whether they are from programmes to support the migrant, or governmental institutions. The data, presented only as information, without a humanitarian or argumentative narrative, do not allow readers to understand the meaning of being an undocumented.

The following four articles - "The number of foreigners in Brazil is the lowest in history", "Agreement on residence strengthens equal rights for immigrants", and "More than 16,000 of the 41,800 foreigners who received concession of temporary residence in Brazil are from Bolivia" - are focused on surveys conducted by the government based on the request of regularity to undocumented migrants stay in the country.

The first, the most comprehensive, contextualize sand brings more generalized information on irregular migrants. It remains, however, restricted to reports of representatives of public agencies responsible for the matter. The other report data and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The purpose here is not to analyze the material produced by the press offices, its goals in publishing or its media impact. It is not the case, therefore, to judge its discursive quality.



information from the Ministry of Justice, reproducing journalistic discourse promoted by press agencies..

The final block of selected headlines includes issues related to the immigration process and work. They are:"Immigrants' slavery is caught in an atelier related to Marisa store", "Latin America receives increasingly more immigrants", and "Labor importation is record". It is remarkable the fact that one of them deals with the slavery issue, revealing a little-known aspect of the Brazilian business - the enslavement of workers in general is reduced in terms of the metropolis, and more accustomed to the countryside.

"Immigrants' slavery is caught in an atelier related to Marisa store" talks about a complaint ascertained by the Superintendência Regional do Trabalho e Emprego de São Paulo (SRTE-SP), and had follow-up of a team of journalists at the time of assessment. The article is drawn up focusing on the company, on the controllers who were responsible for the action and reality faced by immigrants in the workplace.

To accomplish this work, the reporter interviewed workers who sewed in the company - the majority coming from El Alto, Bolivia, in the Andean highlands - which have said that they were attracted by reports of relatives who migrated to Brazil earlier. One interviewee, a young degree in Physical Education, swore that one day will come back to his homeland in order to "teach to small and small community." Another gentleman, who has lived in Brazil for three years, says he always thinks on seeing his family in Bolivia, but never managed to materialize the intent. However, he says: "But this year I'll be back" (Hashizume, 2009).

This article, rich in detail, has a narrative that seeks to contextualize the everyday process of those who live irregularly. In it is expressed the full meaning of being an immigrant, as evaluates Sayad (2000). In the speeches of undocumented migrants remains the desire to return to the homeland, to help those who were there to build a new lease of life. The dreams are overlapped and it reinforces the certainty that the testing of the current time will be overcomed when they return and meet friends and relatives who did not emigrate.



Analysing the article "Latin America receives increasingly more immigrants" we can see that it just makes recording of information related to the annual growth in the number of migrants arriving in Latin America from Africa and Asia. However, it does not show more consistent data nor makes no reflection on the subject. As well as the news "Labor importation is record", that, in turn, does not explore or deepen information. It merely clarifies that the number of skilled foreigners has increased and, with the growth of the national economy, they came to work in Brazil.

On the other articles, that were not elected to the analysis, their headlines indicate that they may approach the following issues: refugees, celebration of German immigration in Brazil, internal migratory movements in the country, supporting to migratory restrictions imposed by the United States and Europe to Brazilians and also about the economic crisis and its repercussions on employment and remittance of funds.

It must be emphasized, among these nine articles, in terms of reflection intended in this work, the one that contextualizes and debate the proposition desired by the paper is dealing with the celebration of German immigration, in which the sociocultural and economic improvements that German immigrants brought to the country are described.

This commemorative article enables us to carry out reflections on the representation of immigration in the past and nowadays. The discourse on the Germans refers to the conception of a migrant people that carries a way of thought from the developed world. They settled here poor but had an offspring who built a successful history - and that today rub shoulders with important journalists, or either are professional of writing or businessmen.

This immigration was crucial for country's development and was registered in the memory of descendants by the stories of privations and difficulties experienced by several generations who undertook dedication, time and labor to help build the cities, and, logically, to produce development. From them, the new generations enjoy the results - but also make efforts in maintaining the representation of his epic narrative alive.

In contrast, the new poor immigrants from Latin America - often undocumented and devoid of any sense of European vision of the world - are now considered intruders,



foreigners. They are forgotten: either because they are not Europeans, or because journalism has become somewhat disconnected from reporting contextualized narrative of the human adventure. A superficial checking of the facts leads to a sterile text, and nurture a relation of data, official numbers, and information that, in full harmony with the ordinary purpose of official surveys, are reported in press agencies' versions and replicated in the national media.

#### 3. Conclusion

The selection of materials for this article reinforces what was exposed by Cádima: the way in which journalism is being done nowadays, based in a speech that leaves little room for context, for the human. It demonstrates, indeed, a nonsense relation if we consider Brazilian society's history, composed by a vast multiethnic mosaic. Many or most of immigrants, came poor in search of work, in pursuit of the realization of an utopian dream in the country of the future, built in across the Atlantic in prose and verse.

That fact also contrasts with this kind of banishing the horrors experienced by great-grandparents, grandparents and parents of many descendants - which on arrival in Brazil lived humiliating situations and even slave labor. In other words, circumstances that many contemporary immigrants are exposed, and are strangely ignored by the press spokesmen, who are children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the immigrants of the past.

There are, however, some differences from the past to present that require boundaries to better understanding of the process: immigration, in the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, was encouraged by the government. In São Paulo, for example, there was the purpose of provide hand labor to businessmen, while in the South and in the Espírito Santo, the intention was to promote the colonization of not-inhabited areas.

The immigration in that period consisted of people from Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Poland, in resume, from Europe. Poor european, but white, which would



help in the sociopolitical design whitening Brazilian population. The current migratory process consists of Latin Americans, in the great majority, Bolivian Indians, non-whites, that are similar to the Europeans of yore only in their equal poverty.

The immigrants are poor Bolivian indians who come to work in textile factories but that do not carry a vision from the developed world and not even have professional qualification that serves the appeal of economics speech of adding value to the work. In this way, it can portray the representation of today immigrants - whether for governmental consultancy, or for journalists - that is the one that subliminally dissociates them from historical and sociocultural context and binds to the condition of a worthless intruder, according to the economic rational view shown in journalistic narrative.

The subtle evidences of that narrative are consolidated by the presentations of surveys produced by public institutions and reproduced in newspaper articles. However there is no reflection in them about being an immigrant, or about the meaning of their work. In this sense one may wonder: what is the representation of journalists on the Latin Americans? And as a consequence, would not this representation be prejudiced? The articles produced and analyzed do not indicate prejudice but it clearly showed a constant firmly grounded in ignorance and indifference.

The articles also indicate an excessive concern in passing information from government agencies and indifference in contextualize, in humanizing the daily lives of undocumented citizens. They, like alert Gibney, are usually people who have spent most of their lives in a poorer country, and now have little opportunity to accumulate capital in Brazil - but they dream of doing so, to return to their homeland with a minimum of dignity.

After all, they want to build a better future for themselves and their relatives, as imagined and conquered by thousands of immigrants who have settled here before. We are all, therefore, heroes of a long human adventure, that mythically, teaches that the victorious return home is the prize to expatriates.

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