CULTURAL ADAPTATION AND BARRIERS
AMONG BRAZILIAN GRADUATE STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

By

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1980
To my parents

José and Amelia Sá

and to my wife

Elisa V. Sá--

they stimulate my interest

and appreciation in human beings
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The subject of this study is the experience of Brazilian graduate students in the United States. Field data were drawn from various college campuses in the United States, but the bulk of this research was carried out in Hopewood, a married student apartment complex in Gainesville, Florida, which has a group of Brazilian graduate students in residence.

It is argued that group life in Hopewood and other communities in which Brazilian students reside resembles communitas which are formed to ease the stress encountered in cross-cultural liminality. It is concluded that the student's liminal experience in the United States enhances his sensitivity to ethnocentric values concerning the cultures of his host and native country. On the other hand, this experience of cross-cultural liminality does not create a group of social innovators. Rather, the students' academic experience abroad tends to reinforce traditional, elitist values.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

Problem and Theory

Does graduate education of Brazilians in the United States (or in another country) result in the creation of a group of innovators within the Brazilian educational system or does it merely confirm and reinforce elitist careers of such individuals? The question is important both practically and theoretically. In practical terms, the answer would be of immense help to Brazilian agencies in evaluating their progress in sending Brazilian students abroad. It is also important to Brazilian graduate students studying abroad who are becoming increasingly aware of the practical difficulties of their situation, which does not seem to be fully understood by either Brazilian educational authorities or by the professors and administrators of the North American universities where they are studying. This becomes increasingly important as the number of students from Brazil in the United States grows. Recent data from Brazilian agencies indicate that the number is appreciable and tends to grow. In 1976, CAPES (Brazilian Agency for Improvement of Graduate Education) reported that it was providing financial support for 800 graduate students studying abroad of whom over 200 were in the United States (dos Santos 1979:9); in 1977, EMBRAPA (Brazilian Corporation for Agricultural Research) had 189 graduate students abroad
of whom 169 were in the United States; and FAPESP (Foundation for Support of Research in the State of São Paulo) increased its awards for study abroad from fourteen in 1961 to 120 in 1971. It is doubtful that anyone knows exactly just how many Brazilian graduate students are studying in the United States in 1979 since many Brazilian, North American and even international agencies are involved, but the costs obviously run into millions of dollars.

Research made by Brazilians on the theme of Brazilian students in the U.S. has been intermittent. Researchers on this topic are from Rio Grande do Sul (two) and from Minas Gerais (one). One study deals with the influence of American aid on Brazilian elementary school teachers (Esteves 1965), a second one studies change in political orientation of graduate students (Melo 1973), and a third focuses on TOEFL examinations among other predictors of achievement of Brazilian graduate students (dos Santos 1979). Yet there has not been, to the author's knowledge, an evaluation of the cultural adaptation and barriers of the Brazilian graduate student in the United States nor of their careers upon their return to Brazil.

Brazilian graduate students in the United States themselves would like to have their experience evaluated. In the summer of 1978, EMBRAPA officials called a meeting of the fellows supported by this organization at the University of Wisconsin. At this meeting, the students voiced their concerns about their situation in the United States and their fate as returnees to Brazil. In the winter of 1979, a paper was written by international students which was entitled
"Foreign Students and Graduate Education at the University of Wisconsin: A Document for Discussion." In this paper, they discussed what they had hoped to achieve in graduate school education, and their frustrations at the University of Wisconsin and elsewhere. They cited the unreal and rosy picture of American universities which they had heard from former fellows upon their return to their nations. They also discussed an article written by a professor from the University of Florida, written for the 168th National Meeting of the American Animal Science Association (Conrad 1977:903) in which he coined the phrase "an adviser's dilemma." By this phrase, the author meant the dilemma of the professor in a state-supported university who feels an obligation to orient his research toward problems and subjects that are of local interest, and yet is called upon to compromise in orienting foreign students to do research on problems in their own country. Even more serious was the fact that some educational administrators seem to think that the presence of foreign students actually lowers graduate school standards.

Thus, a practical contribution of this dissertation is to present a picture of the situation of Brazilian graduate students in American universities. It is hoped that it will be of some help to Brazilian educational agencies and institutions which support graduate fellows in the United States and perhaps also to those American universities which receive them.

It must be said at once that this study focuses upon the Brazilian students as they perceive their own problems and the American
universities at which they study. It does not attempt to analyze how American peers nor university authorities in the United States perceive Brazilian graduate students. The role and place of foreign students in the large universities of the United States is a complex problem. The Brazilians in the United States are but one group of several foreign nationals who are studying in the United States and they are not by any means the largest in number. Nor does this study attempt to cover the problem of returnees, that is, of former students who have returned to Brazil and face the problem of reintegration into Brazilian society. That is a problem of fundamental importance to which the author hopes to turn his attention to in the future. Yet by focusing upon the situation as they perceive it during their period of residence in the United States and their problems vis-a-vis the American university system, the author hopes to provide information that will help administrators to improve their programs for study abroad for Brazilians.

Theoretically, the situation of this group of foreign students on the graduate level in the United States offers an excellent opportunity to study cross-cultural contact, especially to study the relationship, the understanding and misunderstanding, and the manner of adaptation of Brazilian graduate students to the subculture of a major American institution, namely the large North American university. In analyzing the situation of Brazilians vis-a-vis the American university system and the subculture of American university students, the concept of "liminality," as used by sociocultural anthropologists, seems to provide a useful point of departure and a useful instrument for analysis.
The concept of liminality derives from the work of Arnold van Gennep and was formulated in his well-known book *Rites of Passage* (1960). By liminality, van Gennep meant the situation of an individual or group during a transitory phase, or a period in the life cycle, between stable phases or periods. He applied the concept to simple tribal or preliterate societies in which youths (sometimes young women) are separated and often isolated from their families and the society for a period in their life cycle as they approach maturity. Then after a transitory and unstable liminal period when neither the rules of childhood nor adulthood apply to them, they are returned to society as adults. Thus, the individual or the group passes through preliminal, liminal, and postliminal stages which are marked by "transitional rites," "liminal rites" and "threshold rites" (van Gennep 1960: 11).

Since the publication of that book several authors have extended and refined the concept of liminality. Chapple and Coon (1942) related the concept of liminality and rites of passage to their interactional approach to cultural anthropology. They add the concept of "rites of intensification" to van Gennep's theory. These rites of intensification occur during the unstable period of liminality as a solution to the disturbance in relationships during a "crisis" and increase the "rates of interaction of members of the group" (Chapple and Coon 1942:398). Later, Victor Turner (1977a, 1974) added to the concept. In the liminal period, according to Turner (1977a:96) there is an "unstructured or rudimentarily structured or relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals"
who submit together to the general authority of the ritual elders."
In these periods of liminality or "gaps between ordered worlds"
(Turner 1974:13), relationships between individuals and groups which
otherwise would be fragmented in time and space become compacted and
intensified, especially as they are revealed in ritual. During
liminality, societies do not only stress preparation for stability
but also for innovation. During this period, individuals and groups
are creative. In fact, Moore (1975:233) stresses "indeterminacy" as
a crucial aspect of liminality. "The negotiable part of many real
situations," she writes, "lies not only in the imperfect fit between
the symbolic and formal level of contact, but also in the multiplicity
of alternatives and meanings within each, which may accommodate a range
of manipulation, interpretation and choice. Individuals or groups may
exaggerate the degree of order or the quality of indeterminancy in
their situations for myriads of reasons." Finally, Matta (1977) sees
liminality characterized by the existence of contrasting traits,
such as egalitarianism versus elitehood, structure versus communitas,
and public versus sequestered rites. These traits are not exclusive
of one another but coexist temporarily between the ordered worlds.

In this dissertation, it is suggested that during their
period of residence and study in the United States, Brazilian graduate
students are experiencing liminality. As will be seen, they are
predominantly adult men and women who are removed from the ordered
world of their professional careers when they assume the roles of
students in a foreign and, for them, an unstable and uncertain situation.
However, for them, this period of liminality takes place in another culture and is not a normal part of the life cycle in their own society. During their residence abroad, the normal rules of their own society are suspended after which they are expected to return to their own society with higher status as innovators and leaders. In their temporary status of liminality as graduate students (yet set off from native graduate students), they pass through various rites of passage which are public, such as qualifying and comprehensive Ph.D. examinations and graduation and they create among themselves rites of intensification: birthday parties, celebration of Carnival, soccer games, welcome and farewell parties for new arrivals and for those returning to Brazil after completing their studies, and so forth. Furthermore, they create a kind of communitas, or a gathering together of those of equal status, which somewhat isolates them from the world around them. It is noteworthy that they tend to reside near one another in the same apartment complexes whenever possible and they tend to associate with each other frequently. Both these rites of intensification and the communitas seem to help them maintain their identity during a period when their identity is threatened. They also feel insecure about their return to the ordered world of their own culture. Does this period of liminality during which they study and do research outside their own society prepare them for integration into their society on return? Or will their own society and their own situation have changed during their period of suspension from normal activities? The concept of liminality as it was set forth by van Gennep and
developed by others, thus, provides an excellent instrument for studying the attitudes and behavior of Brazilian students in the United States.

**Background**

Although the shared temporary situation of liminality tends to erase differences of preliminal social and cultural status in Brazil, certain crucial subcultural variables must be considered in order to understand Brazilian graduate students as they react to American university life. Despite the remarkable unity of Brazilian culture, two important points of diversity must be discussed, namely, subcultural differences determined by socioeconomic class and regionalism. These two factors will help us identify the actors in our study in their preliminal Brazilian setting.

Since its very inception as a colony of Portugal and later as an independent nation, Brazilian society has always been divided by caste and class differences. After 1500, the Portuguese newcomers extended their hegemony over the Brazilian Indians and later over the millions of African slaves who were imported to people the sugar plantations and the mines during the colonial period. After abolition of slavery (1888) and a decimation of the Indian in the inhabited areas, a small upper class made up of plantation owners, city merchants, and highly paid professionals dominated the lower class, that is, the masses of freed blacks, assimilated Indians, mulattoes and mestizos of mixed racial descent.

Despite this rigid system of socioeconomic classes, Brazil has always been proud of its "racial democracy." To a certain extent,
this ideal of the lack of discrimination, segregation, and even racial prejudice has been realized. Yet the effects of old prejudices—even covert discrimination—exist in Brazil as remnants of the old slaveocratic society, during which the society was divided into caste-like groups. Social and economic mobility has been slow until recently. Thus, the old adage "the lighter the skin, the higher the class and the darker the skin, the lower the class" still holds true. Phenotypical "racial" traits as well as level of education, income, family origin, and behavior have functioned as indicators of social class.

Socioeconomic class is still an important factor in Brazilian society, but in recent decades it has changed under the impact of industrialization and the extension of educational facilities. The old landed aristocracy has not entirely disappeared but has generally been displaced by a new upper class of entrepreneurs, wealthy heads of industry, high-level technocrats, and even the higher echelons of the military. They represent perhaps 5 percent of the whole population. Likewise, the lower class, the povo, still exists and forms perhaps 30 percent of the Brazilian population. They are the industrial proletariat, the inhabitants of favelas (shanty towns), the peasantry, the sharecroppers, boia frias (literally, "cold lunch," but meaning day laborers), the squatters on public and private lands, and in fact, most of those people who work with their hands. Such people make a living on marginal incomes and represent by far the majority of those Brazilians who were illiterate in 1975. Since the 1950s, the most significant change in Brazilian society has been the development of a new middle
class. The middle class is represented by about 15 percent of the Brazilian people. As will be seen, the middle class is most numerous in southern Brazil (i.e., São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná, Santa Catarina, and Rio Grande do Sul) where urban and rural industrialization is best developed; but the middle class has grown also in the cities and towns of the less developed north. The rapid growth of the middle class results from an increased availability of white-collar and professional jobs in the expanding private and public sectors of modern Brazilian society.

The rapid growth of the Brazilian middle class is reflected in the rising demand for television sets, automobiles, refrigerators, telephones, washing machines, and other artifacts of modern life. It is reflected in the growth of, and the demand for, secondary schools and universities (see Chapter Two). The Brazilian middle class lives in a world of radio, television, and cinema and reads local as well as national newspapers and magazines such as Visão, Veja, Manchete, and Isto É, each with circulations in the hundreds of thousands. Their children know all about Disney World and aspire to pay it a visit. Their older sons and daughters wear blue-jeans and T-shirts like their North American contemporaries. This new middle class, along with the upper class, has benefited from the "Brazilian miracle" (i.e., the period from about 1966 to 1976, when the Brazilian economy expanded almost 10 percent per year). But because of inflation (30-50 percent per year) and because of the perpetual shortage of consumer goods and public services, the middle class is always hard put to maintain their standard of living and to provide education for their children.
All of the individuals with whom the present study is concerned belong to the Brazilian middle class, for they are university professors, technicians, middle-level administrators and the like, who, almost by definition, are middle class. However, they may not be middle class by birth. Their parents may well have been of the lower class, for many members of the middle class have achieved that position through upward social mobility. And, rarely one will find among the middle-class graduate students descendants of the old landed aristocracy. Education and further training, especially as it is symbolized by diplomas and degrees, are important to these career-minded people to maintain and further their precarious social and economic position.

Another subcultural factor which must be considered in our study of Brazilian graduate students in the United States is their regional origin. Brazil, since colonial times, has been characterized by its regional differences in physical environment, in basic economic activities, in the racial origins of the people, and in regional culture patterns. During the colonial period and even throughout the 19th century, there were few roads or railroads that connected the various regions from north to south. Railroads and roads penetrated (when they existed) inland from a port city to the hinterland, but they did not connect one port city with another. It was not until the 1960s that one could travel overland (except by horseback) from the extreme northern city of Belém to Porto Alegre, the capital of the most southern state. Before then, transportation was by ocean-going
boats—or of late, by airplane. Thus, historically, Brazil was made up of a collection of semi-isolated regions, each with its metropolitan city or cities and its hinterland.

Scholars differ in their classification of Brazilian regions. For example, Wagley (1971:23-90) divides Brazil into six cultural regions and Diegues (1960) lists ten cultural regions. Despite these differences, both authors are essentially in agreement for some of Diegues's regions are subregions for Wagley. However, both authors, because they consider environmental and cultural criteria, disregard political boundaries. According to Wagley (1971), Bahia, for example, contains areas which fall into at least two cultural regions. For statistical purposes, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) divides Brazil into only five regions, respecting political boundaries (see Figure 1). Since all statistics, including the number of students in secondary schools and universities, are provided in terms of these five regions, the IBGE regions will be used in this dissertation.

The southeast is Brazil's most traditional region. It contains the states of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, and São Paulo. In this region Brazil's former capital, Rio de Janeiro, is located. The region is generally mountainous with a narrow coastline hitherto covered by semi-deciduous forest. It was in this region that two of Brazil's so-called economic cycles or "booms and busts" were born. In the mid-16th century, sugarcane was first planted and flourished in the area around Salvador, Bahia. By
Figure 1. Brazil: regional division
the end of the 17th century, Brazil's domination of the world sugar market was over and sugar exports declined. The economic scene shifted to the mines of Minas Gerais where gold was discovered. For more than a century, mining dominated Brazil's economy. In Minas Gerais, colonial cities were built and Rio de Janeiro gained in importance as the port where gold was taxed and shipped to Portugal. Finally, in the 19th century, the coffee cycle was born in the Paraíba Valley of Rio de Janeiro, but moved as it grew in the late 19th and 20th century to São Paulo state and beyond.

Today, the southeast is one of Brazil's most developed regions. The beautiful city of Rio de Janeiro, with approximately seven million inhabitants, with its fun-loving people who call themselves "cariocas," is also the hub of an industrial area, second only to São Paulo to the south. Today, the city of São Paulo, with over ten million people, is by far Brazil's commercial and industrial capital and São Paulo state is the richest in the nation. Minas Gerais is now a region of mixed agriculture, but mining (especially iron) continues to be important. Its new capital, Belo Horizonte, has grown to well over one million inhabitants. The people of Minas Gerais, known as "mineiros" are, by stereotype, astute politicians and, in fact, have furnished Brazil with many political leaders. Today, with but 10.9 percent of the national territory, the southeast has 42.4 percent of the total population.

The south of Brazil, which comprises the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, and Santa Catarina, is second only to the southeast as
the most developed region of the country. Historically, the south was poor and differed strikingly from the rest of Brazil. In the 19th century it received masses of German, Polish, and Italian immigrants who were established as small-farm operators on their own land. In Rio Grande do Sul, these European immigrants coexisted with the cattle-raising gaúchos (south Brazilian cowboys). Even today the people of Rio Grande do Sul are called gaúchos and are stereotyped as aggressive, daring, and combative people. In this region of European farmers and gaúchos, slavery was of little importance and the aristocratic tradition characteristic of the northerly regions was little developed.

Coffee farming has spread south and west through Paraná and beyond into Paraguay. Large, modern farms are to be found throughout the south. Soy and wheat have become major crops, and, farther south, a wine industry has developed. Porto Alegre, in Rio Grande do Sul, and Curitiba in Paraná, have become the hubs for large cattle ranches, wheat and soy farms, and a growing industrial sector. The south extends over 6.8 percent of the national territory, but it contains 17.9 percent of Brazil's total population.

The northeast is known as Brazil's "problem region" because of its poverty and high population density. The states of Maranhão, Piauí, Ceará, Rio Grande do Norte, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, and Bahia are all included in the northeast. With only 18.2 percent of the total area of the country, the northeast contains 30.0 percent of its population. On the basis of physical environment and cultural features, there are, in fact, two distinct zones of the
northeast: the littoral, where a plantation economy flourished in the past, and the arid sertão, which lies inland from the coast and is marked by cattle raising and small farms. The littoral is known for its aristocratic tradition and likewise for its tradition of African slavery. The colonial past of this coastal region is described vividly by the well-known Brazilian social historian Gilberto Freyre (1946) in his masterpiece *The Masters and the Slaves*. Since it was the region which received the largest number of slaves, the culture of the coastal zone of the northeast is strongly influenced by Africa.

Inland, in the arid sertão, lies the real problem area. There droughts occur each ten to twelve years and the area is defined by law as the polígono das sècas (drought area)—a special disaster area which receives federal assistance. During droughts that may last from one to three years, people driven by famine migrate to the coastal cities, the industrial areas in the south, to the west, and to the Amazon looking for land. In the past, this arid zone was known for its bandits (cangaceiros), such as Lampião, who was finally killed in 1938; and for religious fanatics such as Anthony the Counselor, whose followers battled federal troops at the end of the 19th century (see Cunha 1944). These bandits and fanatics were without doubt reactions to the frustrations and misery in the arid sertão in the same way as were the rebellious peasant leagues which grew so rapidly in the 1960s.

The entire region has been the focus in the last 20 years or so of a special development effort by the federal government. A special development agency called SUDENE (Superintendency for the
Development of the Northeast) was created and granted special powers and funds. Laws have been passed granting tax relief to industry which moves to the northeast where labor is plentiful and cheaper than in the southern states. A gigantic hydroelectric plant was built at the Paulo Afonso Falls on the lower course of the São Francisco River which provides power to the cities on the coast such as Recife (population approximately one million), and the old traditional city of Salvador in Bahia which has witnessed a surge of industrialization in the last decade. Roads have been built connecting one part of the region with another and connecting the northeast with other regions of Brazil. These special efforts have been partially successful but "nordestinos" (northeasterners) continue to migrate to the industrial centers of the south each year.

The north is comprised of the states of Pará, Amazonas, and Acre and by the federally controlled territories of Amapá, Roraima, and Rondônia. This region is almost synonymous with the drainage system of the Amazon river system, with its humid tropical climate and extensive rain forests. It is the least densely inhabited region of Brazil. The region has 42 percent of the national territory, but has only 3.9 percent of the national population--less than two people per square kilometer. In the colonial period, the region was poor, thus few African slaves were imported. Labor was furnished by assimilated Indians and it is characterized even today by the genetic influence of the Indians in its population and by strong Amerindian influence in its
popular culture. Since 1500, this region has lived from the extraction of raw products (such as spices, hard woods and rubber) for export. From about 1890 to 1912, the north experienced a rubber boom, during which fortunes were won and then lost. During the rubber boom, hundreds of thousands of nordestinos came to the Amazon and the accumulated wealth created a local aristocracy who built palaces in the cities of Manaus and Belém, and the famous opera house which still stands in Manaus.

With the end of the rubber boom in 1912, the north entered into a deep depression relieved only for a short time by renewed demands for rubber during World War II. Far from the centers of decision-making in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Brasilia, the north suffered from neglect. But Brazil has always had a desire to "populate and conquer" Amazonia. Thus, in the 1970s, there has been a new effort to develop the region. A development agency called SUDAM (Superintendence for Amazon Development) which is patterned after the Tennessee Valley Authority, has been created. The isolation of the region was partially broken in 1965 when the highway connecting Belém with the national capital at Brasília was completed. In 1974, the pioneer Amazon road was completed cutting 3,000 kilometers east and west across the southern interfluxes of Amazonia. Roads connecting the city of Santarem with Cuiabá in Mato Grosso, and Manaus with Porto Velho on the headwaters of the Madeira River add to this highway system. The federal government undertook an ambitious settlement scheme along the Transamazon highway which was planned for 100,000 families, mainly
from the northeast, but by 1974, only some 5,700 families had been settled (Smith 1976:130). However, many thousands of voluntary migrants attracted by the opening of new roads have rushed into the area. The entire region has been mapped by radar satellite which has shown the location of mineral deposits such as the enormous iron reserves of the Serra dos Carajás. Brazilian and foreign corporations are opening vast cattle ranches and tree farms (for wood pulp) throughout the region. It would seem that finally the isolation of the north has been broken.

Finally, there is the central west made up of the states of Goiás, Mato Grosso do Sul and Mato Grosso. This region is a plateau of open plains and brush country for the most part. Somewhat similar to Amazonas, it is a frontier and sparsely inhabited; with 22.16 percent of the national territory, it has but 5.6 percent of the national population. It is on the plateau of Goiás that the new capital of Brazil, Brasília, is located. In the headwaters of the Xingú River, in what is now Mato Grosso, is the large Indian reservation known as the National Indian Park. Except for Brasília, there are no large cities, and the economic exploitation of the region depends heavily on the airplane. Minerals and even meat from the extensive ranches of Goiás and southern Mato Grosso do Sul are flown to markets. In fact, cattle ranching is its major industry (Diegues 1960:301).

It is important to keep these regions in mind as we study Brazilian graduate students in the United States. Each brings to the
United States the special problems of his or her region. The disciplines they study are more often than not related to regional development policies and plans. The peculiarities of this regional culture should help us understand their reaction to and adaptation to the United States. And, a regional imbalance will be noted with a large number of graduate students coming from the more highly populated, industrial, and agriculturally modern regions of the south and southeast. The more industrialized south and southeast are the regions where the middle class has become more numerous and which have created the largest number of institutions of higher education. Thus, it will be no surprise to find so many students from these regions studying abroad. Yet the northeast and the north, now eager for social and economic changes, seem to be neglected, reinforcing their "internal colonial" dependency on southern and eastern Brazil. Yet one must warn again that in a foreign country during a state of liminality, both differences in socio-economic class and regionalism are subdued. Brazilians reach out to other Brazilians no matter of what region or class for support and for group identity.

**Scope and Methodology**

Finally, something must be said about the scope of, and the methodology used in, the research upon which this dissertation is based. The core of the data was gathered in Gainesville, Florida, at the University of Florida where the author has been a graduate student since 1976. Observation was made easy by the fact that the
author and his family (wife and three children) lived in a married-student housing apartment block called Hopewood (fictitious name) where foreign graduate students and their families tend to congregate (see Chapter Six). In 1976, there were 30 Brazilian students and their families living in Hopewood Apartments and in September of 1978, the number had dropped to 24 families. As an integral member of this Brazilian community, the author was able, on an informal basis, to observe their behavior, share in their problems and to listen to their point of view regarding their experiences in the United States and their hopes for the future in Brazil. The author fully participated in Brazilian social life at Hopewood, attending birthday parties, welcome parties for new arrivals, farewell parties for those departing, informal dinners and visits, picnics and barbecues, and Carnival dances. He attended soccer matches, but did not play.

In 1977, the author began more formal research among the Brazilian graduate students living at Hopewood and elsewhere in Gainesville. He carried out formal interviews (many of which were recorded on tape) with 30 Brazilian graduate students at the University of Florida regarding their family background, their professional careers in Brazil, their reasons for studying in the United States, their problems and success in their studies, their problems in adapting to life in the United States, and their hopes for the future in Brazil. In addition, the author was able to interview the foreign student advisor at the University of Florida and was given access to those data in his files which were not confidential.
In some ways, the data presented in this dissertation are also the result of what has been called "auto-ethnography" (Hayano 1979:99). The author was a full member, not an outsider, of the group being studied. He, and his family, experienced the process of liminality and the linguistic and cultural barriers in adapting to American culture and society. The author's wife, a Brazilian physician and public health officer, took an M.A. degree in medical anthropology; and the author's children attended public schools for the entire period. There are certain advantages and disadvantages to auto-ethnography. On the one hand, the insider has no trouble gaining the confidence of the people being studied. There is no linguistic barrier, and an understanding of their problems by shared experience comes easily. On the other hand, the insider lacks the perspective of the outside observer and tends not to be aware of the importance of common-place behavior and values. The author tends to agree with Hall (1973:30) who wrote: "Years of study have convinced me [as an anthropologist] that the real job is not to understand foreign culture but to understand our own." All one can say is that cultural anthropology attempts to train one to look at all cultures, including one's own, in an objective and comparative way. The author also has the advantage of being a native of north Brazil which is rather distinctive in its regional culture and perspective from that of the southern regions from which most graduates come. Furthermore, the author looks on his own Brazilian cultural background from a perspective of diaspora--far from its own culture boundaries.
Not all of the material on which this dissertation was based
is derived from graduate students at the University of Florida or from
auto-ethnography. In order to collect information and data, the author
attended a meeting during the summer of 1978 of graduate students from
Brazil called by EMBRAPA at the University of Wisconsin. Sixty graduate
students studying at a variety of American universities attended, along
with Brazilian officials from EMBRAPA, North American professors
connected with the EMBRAPA program, and several guest lecturers. During
the five days of these meetings, the author not only listened to the
public meetings and discussions, but was able to gather data informally
during meals and social hours with the Brazilian students. The formal
and informal discussions at these meetings provided many insights.

Then, in September of 1979, the author visited three universities in the northern Mid-west known to have a relatively large number
of Brazilian graduate students, namely the University of Wisconsin,
Michigan State University, and the University of Iowa. Figure 2 indicates the places where the author found Brazilian students referred
to in this research. During a rather short stay at these universities,
the author was able to attend classes, dissertation defenses, examinations, musical concerts, movies, soccer games and meals with Brazilian
graduate students. He was also able to extend his open-ended
interviews to a total of 60 (i.e., 30 at the University of Florida, 7
at the University of Iowa, 10 at the University of Wisconsin, and 13
at Michigan State University). In addition, the author was allowed
access to the nonconfidential data on Brazilian students from the
Figure 2. Research universities in the United States
files of the International Agricultural Program at the University of Wisconsin. These visits to other universities extend his observations beyond the University of Florida so that his study does not run the risk of being entirely local in its scope and circumstances.

The organization of this dissertation follows the following plan. In Chapter Two, following this introduction, the author provides the background and the educational setting from which Brazilian graduate students come to the United States. In his terms, this might be considered, in part, their preliminal period. Chapters Three and Four deal with the adjustments, barriers, and problems of study in the United States. Chapter Five treats matters of leisure and sustenance of graduate students as ritual and adaptive mechanisms during a period of liminality. Chapter Six focuses on conflicts of value in a liminal cross-cultural situation. It complements Chapter Five, but instead of cohesive forces, it points to conflicting ones. In Chapter Six, ten brief life histories of Brazilian graduate students are presented. The individuals chosen as cases were selected for the regions of Brazil from which they come. The cases include male and female students, single and married, and one black student. And, finally, Chapter Eight presents the conclusions.

Notes

1This opinion was expressed by a dean at the University of Florida in an interview with Dianne Julin of the student newspaper, The Independent Florida Alligator, on August 2, 1979. It was also reported by Beverly T. Watkins in The Chronicle of Higher Education (Vol. XVII, 15:6).
Charles Wagley has pointed out the comparative unity in the culture of this immense nation of over 130 million people (1971:4-12). There is unity in Brazilian Portuguese, in religion (mainly Roman Catholic), in formal political and administrative organization, in popular celebrations and rituals such as Independence Day (September 7), Carnival, and The Saints Days of June (St. Peter, St. John, St. Anthony, and St. Paul); and in "common ideals, common tastes, common problems, common heroes, common past, and a common sense of humor" (Wagley 1971:5).

For studies of race relations in Brazil, see Fernandes 1969, Azevedo 1955, Harris 1964a and 1964b, and Ianni 1966.

Salaries are corrected each year but they are always slow to catch up with inflation.

The gaúchos are also known in Brazil for their love of beef prepared in barbecue styles called churrasco and for their habit of drinking mate tea--traits they share with Uruguayans and Argentines.

Both Wagley (1971:29-47) and Diegues (1960:109-191) distinguish these two zones as distinct cultural regions of Brazil.

Anthony Leeds (1964) in his study of Brazilian careers uses life histories in order to discover "networks of mutual obligation" or panelinhas. Through these networks one person's influence becomes geographically broader in scope--in other words, regional and national ties are established. What Leeds has to say about local and national careers may be applied to the cross cultural and international networks of Brazilian graduate students except that these graduate students are individuals with considerable formal training. They are not "opportunistic" and "autodidatas" (self-trained) as were many of the cases analyzed by Leeds.
CHAPTER TWO
HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the Brazilian educational system so that we may better understand the role it played in shaping the careers of Brazilian graduate students in the United States. First, the past role of higher education in Brazil is analyzed so that we may better understand to what extent the current situation represents a continuation of an older heritage. Then, two dominant features of Brazilian education are examined: the strong foreign influences on the Brazilian educational system, and, the minimal popular participation in it. It is argued that the fundamental question in the growth and development of an educational system, in Brazil or elsewhere, is whether the role of education is essentially a passive one of reflecting society or whether it assumes an active role in shaping society.

The Past Role of Higher Education

During the colonial period, high-status positions in the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies of Brazil were filled by the Portuguese who obtained an education in the mother country. Formal education developed slowly in Brazil because the establishment of an educational system would have entailed expenditure of considerable sums of money which the Portuguese crown was unwilling to invest in Brazil. The colony existed to generate wealth for Portugal, not to consume such
wealth. In most instances, Brazilians seeking an education were expected to rely upon their own resources. Only on rare occasions did authorities support studies abroad.

A typical example is the case of Gregorio de Matos (1633-1692), the son of a wealthy sugar planter from Bahia. De Matos was sent by his father to study at the University of Coimbra in Portugal in 1650. He graduated in 1661 and worked for a time in Portugal. By 1672, he had returned to assume an important position as a lawyer in Salvador, Bahia. In addition to pursuing his law career, de Matos wrote prose and poetry which satirized the ruling classes (Fernando Rocha Peres 1969 and Alceu Amoroso Lima 1971). De Matos and others like him were among the first to give Brazil a sense of its own identity as distinct from that of Portugal. Later, other educated Brazilians, or bachereis, drew inspiration from the United States and France in their struggles to win independence from Portugal (which they did in 1822) and to transform the Monarchy into a Republican Regime (which they did in 1889).

Compared to other New World colonies, educational facilities were sadly lacking in colonial Brazil. What elementary and secondary schools existed were largely in the hands of the Jesuits and other religious orders. In the 18th century, with the reforms of the Marquis de Pombal (1771-1779), the involvement of secular authorities in education increased, but there were few elementary and secondary schools and not a single university. During the Empire (1822-1890), secondary schools and a few independent facilities of higher education
such as colleges of medicine, law, and engineering were established, but no university was founded. In fact, according to Campos (1940) there were 30 unsuccessful attempts to establish universities in Brazil from 1583 to 1920. In the colonial period, the Portuguese crown gave no support to such efforts. All of these efforts came from the clergy, merchants, and politicians, but one attempt to form a university is credited to the emperor Dom Pedro II. All of these efforts failed because of an elitist view concerning the role of the university and its complete lack of relation to the elementary and secondary levels of education. Without adequate facilities for secondary education, there was no large population from which such institutions might attract students. Throughout the colonial period, the Empire, and into the first decades of the 20th century, the hallmark of education in Brazil was elitism and, except for the small number of professional faculties, Brazilians seeking higher degrees in basic sciences, humanities, and letters were forced to study abroad.

In 1934, the first full-fledged Brazilian university was formed in the city of São Paulo (Azevedo 1971:521). Many claim the short-lived University of Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1922, to be the first true Brazilian university. However, it seems to have been only a loosely organized collection of independent faculties soon disbanded by Getulio Vargas in the 1930s. The State University of São Paulo, supported by this richest of all Brazilian states, established a Faculty of Philosophy (corresponding to the liberal arts
and science faculty of North American universities). It incorporated already existing faculties of law, medicine, and engineering. At that time, there was no overwhelming demand for higher education in the nation. According to Wagley (1971:195), no more than 417 schools offered regular academic secondary education and less than 67,000 students were regularly enrolled in them. Although higher education hardly prospered during the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas (1930-1945), a few universities were formed mainly in the metropolitan areas of southern Brazil. But, secondary schools expanded rapidly, particularly after 1945, until, in 1967, there were twenty times as many secondary school and 2,800,000 students.

This rapidly expanding secondary school enrollment created the clientele for higher education. Thus, there has been in the last 20 years a veritable explosion of universities and faculties of higher education. There are now 57 universities in Brazil of which 30 are federal, 6 state-supported, and 21 private (Haussman and Haar 1978:80). In addition, there are now hundreds of independent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, economics, journalism, library science, business, public administration, and agronomy with a total enrollment of approximately 1,500,000 students.

At the same time Brazilian institutions were stimulated to improve the quality of their staffs through foreign graduate study. Federal, state, and private universities set out to increase the number of faculty members with advanced degrees. This is in accordance with the recent university reforms which have defined M.A. and Ph.D.
level faculty as basic to university development. As promulgated in 1978, the National Plan for Graduate Studies projected an increase of 1,400 Ph.D.s on university faculties primarily through graduate study abroad. However, when one looks at this increase in terms of the defined needs of the universities, half of those 1,400 Ph.D.s could be absorbed by the University of Minas Gerais alone. Of its 804 assistant professors, 713 had not yet earned their Ph.D. (Santos 1978). The plan to drastically increase the number of advanced degree holders in Brazilian universities is not without opponents. Brandão (1975), for example, questions the wisdom of such an approach. She argues that the long-term result would be simply to implant an American model of graduate studies in Brazil. This, she feels, would mean a continued dependence upon American personnel and institutions.

This increase in the number of universities and faculties with advanced degrees would seem to be a veritable revolution in Brazilian higher education, but one must remember that the population of Brazil has grown from forty-two million in 1940 to an estimated one-hundred-and-twenty million in 1978. This rapid population growth and the simultaneous expansion of Brazilian industry created a need for people with specialized university training.

Pang (1979:2) sees the century between 1850 and 1950 as a period in which Brazil made the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society. Political power during this period was controlled by a landed aristocracy whose resource base was rural but whose residence was generally urban. This was largely an under-educated
aristocracy, many of whose members, either through military service, by government award or purchase, acquired the title of coronel. These coroneis played a role that was not dissimilar to that of the "Kentucky Colonel," so often associated with the southern United States. They monopolized political power in a measure that was, above all, determined by their charisma.

The coroneis often sent their children abroad for an education. Upon returning home, they came to occupy key positions in the government and church through which they were able to further the interests of their families. One aspect of the monopoly on political power held by the coroneis was a monopoly on education. Education did not aim to change society and thus it was treated as a tool for helping coroneis maintain their positions in the society.

Pang (1979) sees the demise of coronelismo as one aspect of the emergence of a "modern" Brazil. However, the emphasis placed upon close personal relationships and one's own family runs deep in Latin American societies. Queiroz (1975) makes this point with reference to the extended family or parentela in Brazil. In her description, individuals from outside the parentela pose a potential threat, competing for a finite quantity of resources and advantages, and thus are not likely to receive favored treatment. This behavior is not unlike that associated with the "image of limited good" in peasant societies (see Foster 1965).

Today, funding for Brazilian students pursuing graduate studies in the United States is generally provided by impersonal
bureaucratic agencies on the basis of the students' intellectual merits. The assumption is that academic training in the United States will be employed to further the growth and development of Brazilian society. Whether this will happen or whether traditional patterns will assert themselves in the formation of a new elite remains an open question.

The upper-class custom of sending children abroad, primarily to Europe, was indicative of its high esteem of all things European. This high esteem was no doubt reinforced by exposure to European education, especially when Brazilian students compared European educational systems to that of their own country. Brazil thus offered fertile ground for the adoption of European ideas into its educational system. The most dramatic example is the tremendous influence of Comte's positivism in Brazil.

Foreign influence in Brazilian education is still evidenced in the number of internationally recognized Brazilian scientists who worked abroad. Well-known examples are the Brazilian physicists, Marcelo Dami and Mario Schenberg. Both received degrees from the University of São Paulo, studying under Gleb Wataghin, who was a nationalized Italian born in Russia. In 1937, Dami won the Wanderly Prize in physics and a fellowship to study at Cambridge University in Great Britain. Schenberg worked at Cambridge with Dirac and in Rome with Fermi, both Nobel Prize winners (Azevedo 1971:518). It should be noted that Gleb Wataghin was only one of many foreign scholars
who taught in Brazil. Claude Levi-Strauss, Rober Bastide, Pierre Monbeig, Emilio Willems, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, and others, all taught at the University of São Paulo in the 1930s.

Brazil also followed the lead of foreigners in the definition of its scholarship. It followed the foreign trends of increasing specialization and narrowing the scope of academic disciplines. Centers dedicated to the conduct of research outside of the universities were established early in the 20th century. These included the Institute Manguinhos, which was founded in Rio de Janeiro by Oswaldo Cruz (1872-1916) and the Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. The latter institution helped to support the ethnographic research of Roquette Pinto among the Parecis and Nambicuara peoples of Mato Grosso. This established a precedent for the institutional support of anthropological research in Brazil (Azevedo 1971; Wagley n.d.).

This foreign-inspired educational activity which occurred in the early 20th century was typical of Brazil as a whole. Mostly, it was limited to the southern part of the country. State university systems, for example, did not spread beyond the south until the 1950s. Given the pressing educational needs of the majority of the country and the social and political conditions surrounding the dictatorship of Getulio Vargas, one cannot escape feeling that self-aggrandizement rather than public interest was the motivating factor.

During the early years of the 20th century, many European nations, as well as the United States, maintained influential cultural missions in Brazil. After World War II, however, a variety
of organizations began to intervene much more directly in the growth and development of Brazilian educational institutions. These included the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, AID, the World Bank and UNESCO, among others. In time, these foreign institutions came to dominate the formulation of educational policy in Brazil. This situation was, in part, brought about by Brazilian politicians who used education as a bargaining chip for other forms of aid (Dalland 1967:212). On the other hand, foreign institutions extended their influence beyond the educational sphere by making their cooperation contingent upon Brazil's acquiescence on certain issues such as birth control. Furthermore, institutions generally selected the areas in which they would work. Under these circumstances, programs of educational development often have not reflected the best interests of Brazil.

Since World War II, the United States has had a particularly strong influence on the educational development of Brazil. Organizations, such as the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, have provided aid to help Brazil move closer to the American model of education (Arnove 1973:100; Renner 1973:3,5). One reason that American education is chosen as a model is that is supposedly affected a decrease in the national illiteracy rate from 11.3 percent in 1900 to 1.2 percent in 1970 (United States 1979:20). Such success results from broader social reforms rather than from policies exclusively aimed at illiteracy campaigns.

The impact of the United States upon institutions of higher education in Brazil has already been enormous. The University of
Viçosa, for example, has been self-consciously modeled after land-grant colleges in the United States. Founded in 1922 as a school of agriculture and veterinary medicine, it began to offer courses at the secondary school level in 1927. College-level courses began to be offered in agriculture, in 1928, and in veterinary medicine in 1932. In 1948, it became a rural university of the state of Minas Gerais, and, in 1959, the University of Viçosa was incorporated as part of the Federal University System.

Since becoming part of the Federal University System, the University of Viçosa has grown rapidly, from 1,500 students in 1973 to 5,000 by 1978. During the same period, the number of graduate students increased from 300 to 600. The University of Viçosa has relied heavily on its ties to American universities in achieving this growth. Many of its faculty members have come to the United States for graduate studies. Particularly close ties have been maintained with Purdue University, which has supplied the University of Viçosa with a steady stream of American personnel. The influence of this American university has been such that one of the classroom buildings at the University of Viçosa is named "Purdue." Whether or not the expansion of the University of Viçosa has enabled it to better serve the needs of Brazil remains an open question. However, the low number of graduates from its programs would indicate that in the short run the University of Viçosa has not provided a significant number of trained people.

Another example of American influence on Brazilian efforts at educational reform is the "Atcon Report." Written by Rudolf P.
Atcon (1971), an American employed by the Brazilian government, this report on the reform of Latin American universities favors the improvement of post-secondary education at the expense of primary and secondary education. Atcon makes recommendations regarding the organization of Latin American universities which are based purely upon Atcon's experiences in the United States. The report even goes so far as to favor the areas of engineering and philosophy, the very disciplines Atkins had studied himself. The Atcon Report provoked strong critical reactions from Brazilian educators; however, Atcon's influence proved so great that this protest was ineffective. From 1966 through 1968, Atcon served as Executive Secretary for the Brazilian National Council of University Presidents, a body that was established on the basis of the suggestions contained in his report.

There is a tendency among people, when they work on development projects in foreign countries, to act as though nothing has been done in the field before their arrival. That is, they do not take advantage of existing structures or institutions, nor do they bother to learn from the experience of natives. This is, in fact, what happened in the reform of Brazilian education sponsored by UNESCO in 1971. A tremendous amount of money and effort went into trying to develop vocational and technical training in the secondary and post-secondary levels. Vocational and technical education was an area in which Brazil already had considerable experience. The University of Viçosa in Minas Gerais, for example, had for some time maintained a secondary-level school of agriculture. The federal
technical schools provided technical training in industry, while merchant associations sponsored technical schools of commerce. The people in charge of the UNESCO reform completely ignored all of this previous experience. They also ignored the suggestion from experts in human resource formation that technical and vocational programs should include internships, or estágios, in addition to formal classroom training (Warde 1977:168). Wagley (1971:199-201) implies that the UNESCO reform also ignored the efforts of industrial and merchant groups who tried to foment human resource development through non-formal courses such as Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial (SENAI) and Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (SENAC).

In this case, UNESCO has been cited as the culprit. But, in fact, similar mistakes have been made repeatedly by a wide range of foreign organizations functioning in Brazil. The UNESCO experience in 1971 was in many respects simply a repeat of that of AID, which, in 1969, loaned sixty-four million dollars to Brazil for the purpose of establishing a system of vocational training (Haussman and Haar 1978:141).

In a discussion of foreign influences in Brazilian education, one cannot ignore the role of the military. Between 1920 and 1974, 500 Brazilians received Ph.D.s in the United States; however, between 1950 and 1973, 7,000 military officers participated in the Military Assistance Program. This indicates that in spite of the massive amounts of money that have been spent in efforts to develop an educational system in Brazil, expenditures for the military have received
decisive priority (Chronicle of Higher Education 1978:10:14; Lefever 1976:85-95). The Brazilian War College (Escola Superior de Guerra) was established in 1949 and one of its fundamental principles since that time has been that national security is integrally linked to economic development. Thus, in addition to courses in military science, officers have studied such subjects as public administration and the application of technology to problems of development. Barros (1977) has completed a study in which he emphasizes the homogeneity of military elites as compared to civilian elites in Brazil. Given their shared sense of purpose and their monopoly over armed police powers, the military has made its influence felt in every facet of Brazilian life.

Expansion and Participation

Implicit in the recommendations of foreign organizations concerning the reform of Brazilian education is the question of public access to educational institutions. Universal education has never existed in Brazil. As was noted earlier, education has traditionally been a prerogative of the privileged classes and it has been used by them as an instrument to help them maintain their privileged positions. However, Brazil's drive toward modernization has created a need for a more educated populace. Ironically, this increased demand for education does not manifest itself in attempts at increased involvement in the formulation of educational policy. This is, in part, due to the persistence in many circles of the belief that upward social mobility and education are not for everyone. Hence, participation is
not encouraged by the government. At the same time, Brazil is country which conforms to the observation, "There is little action but government action" (d'Aguiar 1978). Even if public participation in educational development were encouraged there would be, at present, no mechanism for its realization.

Different approaches have been attempted at different educational levels. Basic literacy campaigns have primarily been carried out through efforts at non-formal education. The first efforts in this direction began in the early 1960s under the leadership of anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro. One of the pioneering efforts of this period was made by Paulo Freire, who developed a method for teaching basic literacy (Collins 1977). Since the 1960s, there has been a nationwide institutional effort at teaching basic literacy by MOBRAL, which was dedicated to non-formal literacy education. MOBRAL, whatever its overall success in reducing the national illiteracy rate of Brazil (see Buschman 1977), has touched the lives of millions of Brazilians who have attended the program's evening classes. Literacy meant new opportunities for large segments of the population, and with new opportunities came new aspirations, so again new demands were placed upon institutions of formal education.

Paradoxically, the response of many state school systems of formal education to this increased demand has been to increase the number of teachers with little formal training. Of the 15,873 teachers in the state of Pará in 1973, for example, 9,969 had not received enough formal training, while 5,105 had been formally trained (Pará
1975:136). Theoretically, enough teachers in this state receive elementary training to meet the demand; however, there are not enough positions for trained teachers at a salary that they consider commensurate with their training. In addition, the fact of having received basic teacher training has raised the aspirations of trained teachers to the point that they find the location of job openings unsuitable. The shortage of trained teachers resulting from this situation is felt most acutely in the rural areas of the northern states (Haussman and Haar 1978), and less so in southern Brazil.

This is but one indication of the uneven distribution of educational facilities throughout Brazil. Students from rural areas have less access to educational facilities than do students from urban areas. Haussman and Haar (1978:1) found that worldwide, the search for schools provided a significant impetus to rural-urban migration. Regional differences in the availability of education is reflected in the literacy rates, the number of children and youths of school age attending school, and all other indices of educational level. For example, let us compare the state of Pará in the extreme north with the state of Rio Grande do Sul in the extreme south. In 1974, with a total population of 7,296,500, Rio Grande do Sul had 15,811 elementary schools with a total enrollment of 1,501,104 and 1,169 secondary schools (combining the middle and upper levels) with an enrollment of 127,956 students. The state of Pará, with a total population of 2,464,500, had 4,561 elementary schools with an enrollment of 476,201 students and only 99 secondary schools with 27,192 enrolled students (Brasil 1976).
Different regions of Brazil also have unequal access to higher education. It was in the southeast, the region generally considered the most dynamic economically, that the first universities were established. The continued dominance of the southeast is apparent in the current distribution of graduate level programs in Brazil. As of 1976, there were two graduate programs in the north and 47 in the northeast. In the southeast and central regions of Brazil there were 490 master's level programs alone, plus 183 programs at the doctoral level (Brasil 1976). The unequal regional access to higher education is also demonstrated by Abu-Merhy (1975). Of 44 public and private universities in Brazil, only two were in the north, eight in the northeast, 15 in the east, 16 in the south, and three in the midwest.

The Brazilian government has attempted to improve access to educational facilities. In 1970, it announced the First National Plan, a four-year plan with the goal of increasing enrollments at all educational levels. It hoped to increase elementary school enrollment from 16,600,000 to 22,000,000 students, secondary school enrollment from 1,100,000 to 2,200,000 students, and higher education enrollments from 430,000 to 820,000 (Pará 1975). There are no data available for checking on attainment of these goals.

However, we should not accept these enrollment figures as indicative of basic changes in the Brazilian education and social system. Haussman and Haar (1978), for example, have noted that simple quantitative growth may indicate essentially conservative change. The
entire population may become better educated, but the position of the various classes vis-à-vis one another may remain the same. In fact, there is reason to suspect that the government's increased enrollment figures reflected change of this sort.

It will be noted that the greatest percentage increases in enrollment have occurred in secondary and post-secondary education. This indicates that the greatest growth in these levels occurred mostly on the basis of already existing facilities. That is, the greatest improvement came in areas that had better facilities to begin with. The growth did not necessarily indicate a relative redistribution of or an equalization of access to facilities for the entire population. This perception is strengthened if one remembers that there was a reform of secondary schools in 1961 (under civilian rule) and a reform of higher education in 1971 (under military rule). As yet, there has been no structural reform of elementary education, or of the educational system as a whole.

The Brazilian government has demonstrated an interest in free, that is state-supported, secular, and co-educational development. That is not the same thing as a commitment to universal education. Too often decisions regarding educational growth have been made on the basis of national administrative convenience with no regard to equitable regional development or to regional cultural differences, not to the effectiveness of the educational system for the different socioeconomic levels of the population.

Teixeira (1971) makes this last point very forcefully in his analysis of the rates of completion of the various levels of
education in Brazil. Teixeira states that from a given population, 60 percent will begin elementary school and approximately 12 percent will complete the course at this level. Of this 12 percent, which then begins secondary school, 2.76 percent will complete the junior high school level and only about 1.8 percent will complete the senior high school level. Of the original population, only 0.72 percent will enter an institution of higher education and 0.54 percent will actually complete their programs. On the other hand, in 1975, there were 897,022 candidates for admission to institutions of higher education in Brazil. At that time, there were only 940,000 students registered in institutions of higher education (Haussman and Haar 1978:189, Souza Machado 1978:103). Over two-thirds of the students who seek higher education in Brazil are turned away.

High drop-out rates combined with large numbers of students who seek, but are denied, admission to institutions of higher education are symptomatic of an educational system which both reflects and helps to reinforce a highly class-stratified society (see Teixeira 1971). Simply stated, elementary education is for the middle class, and post-secondary education is for the elites. This amounts to a system of educational rationing with socioeconomic class as the unstated selection factor. Interestingly enough, a document published by the World Bank (1974:22) proposed that rationing of secondary and higher education may be a means of helping to solve the problem of high unemployment. The presumption seems to be to keep people from acquiring the educational background allowing them to aspire to unavailable or
nonexistent positions beyond their social class. This paradox is confounded by the fact that, except for the relatively few private universities, higher education is free (i.e., no tuition). The families of most middle-class students who do reach the university level have paid tuition for elementary school (public schools are overcrowded) and for secondary school (unavailable or overcrowded) only to have higher education free.

In addition to Teixeira, Fernandes (1966), Gouveia (1967), Willems (1975), Havighurst and Moreira (1965), Havighurst and Gouveia (1969), and Haussman and Haar (1978) have written on the selectivity of the educational system in Brazil. They have noted that this selectivity is closely related to issues of social and economic status, although the relationship is more complex than it may first appear. Obviously, all social strata are not represented equally in the different levels of education. In addition, the expansion that has occurred in the Brazilian university system has tended to favor the social sciences and humanities. Indeed, of the 897 courses which were approved as of 1972, only 9.11 percent were in the fields of chemistry, biology, physics and mathematics. This is in large part due to the much larger expense involved in equipping and staffing facilities in these fields. The matter of cost has been considered by Rios (1971), Hunter (1971), and Mendes (1972). Mendes (1972), for example, has noted that in 1966 it would have cost about 2,560 cruzeiros to establish a four-year curriculum in economics, law, philosophy, social service or theology. At the same time, a four-year curriculum in
medicine or one of the so-called "hard sciences" would cost about 21,500 cruzeiros. This may have serious implications. Using data from Colombia, Soares (1967) has concluded that the higher investment required for expansion of "hard science" disciplines, in an educational system where access is closely related to socioeconomic class, may effectively limit access in this area of upper-class students who are better able to bear the additional expense. The factor of additional cost is not isolated from a perception of how worthy they are or for which roles they will select. Among others, cost, perception and roles are part of a social and individual process of selection for courses.

However, there are other factors to be considered while looking at the relationship between socioeconomic class and access to education. First, while education has been, and continues to be, closely linked to economic success, it is certainly not a prerequisite for it. Leeds and Leeds (1978), for example, found large numbers of economically successful autodidatas (i.e., self-taught men and women). Solari (1967:482) points out that "important elites" of Latin America have never completed secondary or higher education. Cardoso (1967:108) conducted a study of industrial elites in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, France, Spain, England, and the United States. He found that education at the primary or secondary level was most common for this group of elites.

In addition, different social classes have different educational aspirations. Working class students, for example, tend to
favor commercial, industrial and agricultural schools over academic ones (Havighurst and Gouveia 1969:58-59). Thus, it is not clear whether or not all social classes would be equally represented in Brazilian educational institutions even if access to them were truly equal. All of this returns us to a question posed earlier in this chapter, a question without an answer: Does education, by its nature, simply serve (a) to transmit the dominant institutions and values of its own culture, (b) to receive values from outside cultures (from the colonial past, or from the neo-colonial present), or (c) may it be employed as an instrument of creative and self-sustaining social change?

In summary, several factors have conspired to make education a very passive entity in Brazil. For most of Brazil's history, while universal education has been an official ideal, in fact, education beyond elementary school has been elitist. As has been noted, education was a tool of the rich and powerful to help them stay rich and powerful. This elitist ideology was reinforced by Brazil's status as a Portuguese colony. Its role in the colonial economy as a supplier of agricultural goods made it an inappropriate place to expend funds for education. This meant that those who wished to be educated had to go abroad, giving rise to a long and continuing tradition of foreign influence in Brazilian education.

The rapid modernization of Brazil in the second half of the 20th century has created a need for a more highly educated population and stimulated efforts to develop a Brazilian educational system.
With these efforts came a large and direct foreign influence in the form of foreign money and foreign education experts. This seems to have often worked at cross-purposes with Brazilian national interests, either by design or because of a simple lack of knowledge of the Brazilian situation. Combined with the elitist, autocratic traditions of Brazilian education, this has resulted in policies of growth which have affected different levels of education without taking into consideration the state of the educational system either as a whole or in the strategic details of its facilities, teachers, students, and the taxpayers. An example of this is the reforming of the secondary and higher education sectors while paying little attention to elementary education. Certainly there has been little popular participation in efforts to develop education and one can legitimately question if those in charge of educational development have popular interests in mind. However, one must also admit that the recent expansion of Brazilian education, both in terms of simple numbers of students and in the strata of society they represent, is without precedent in the nation's history. What it portends for Brazilian education and Brazilian society as a whole is a question still to be answered.
CHAPTER THREE
COPING WITH A NEW LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

This chapter will discuss the adaptation of Brazilian students to their lives as graduate students in the United States. It will focus upon the linguistic, cultural and institutional barriers to successful adaptation to this new environment, and it will describe the ways in which Brazilians attempt to overcome these barriers.

The single biggest obstacle facing Brazilian graduate students in the United States is language. From new arrivals to people nearing the completion of advanced degree programs, the problem of speaking and writing a second language takes priority over nearly all other problems. Adapting to new foods, to new concepts of time, to new sorts of interpersonal relations, to the limitations of money, to the shock of moving itself, and to the lack of an extended family are all secondary to acquiring the skills of communication.

In Brazil, the middle class grants considerable prestige to those individuals who are able to speak a second language. For example, Ruy Barbosa, the famous intellectual and politician of 19th-century Brazil, was highly renowned because he was capable of teaching English in London. Likewise, his personal library of 40,000 titles, which included works in English, German, French, Italian, Spanish, and Greek, was the object of considerable esteem (Dunstan 1967). In general, foreign products and people were considered superior to their Brazilian
counterparts. In the 19th century, and even during the first decades of this century, the language of most Brazilian intellectuals and of the aristocracy was French. It was supposedly in France that one found superior literature, theatre, philosophy, and art—not to speak of wines and women. This attitude has been satirized well by Moog (1964:108), the well-known Brazilian novelist and essayist, when he commented:

Culture? Only France had that, and wisdom, and patriotism, and finesse, and savoir faire. In the world, Europe; in Europe, France, Paris, Montmartre. Decidedly, without a trip to Paris no cultural education worthy of the name could be complete.

Thus, most elite families saw to it that their children studied French early, either in school or at home with tutors.

But also the British had their admirers and British influence was such that by the end of the 19th century, there was a popular joke which stated that there was an "English Heaven" in addition to a "Black Heaven" and a "White Heaven" (see Morley 1966). During World War II, the American influence in Brazil made opportunities for contact with North Americans almost commonplace. In addition to interpersonal relationships, Brazilians were exposed to English through newspapers, movies and war propaganda. Currently, Brazil, like most Latin American nations, requires English as part of the secondary school curriculum (Pan American Union 1957).

The position of English as a high prestige language has been enhanced as a result of these contacts. Students feel that English has practical as well as literary value. Thus, Pereira (1969)
asked students of an urban secondary school to rank the academic disciplines according to their importance. Portuguese and mathematics ranked first, while drawing and arts and crafts ranked last. Ranked second were foreign languages—"especially English"—and only then came history and geography (Pereira 1969:65-66). One should not attempt to generalize Pereira's findings. However, they are indicative of the esteem in which Brazilians hold things foreign and for the growing importance of English as a second language. As Genesee (1976) has pointed out, English plays a preponderent role in much of the developing world because of its role as the language of business and finance. Developing nations are not able to use a native language to conduct international business and hence must anglicize that sphere of their society. The domination of first Portugal and then Brazil by Great Britain as well as the more recent presence of the United States has much to do with the particular importance of English in Brazil.

The demand for English in Brazil was strong enough that by the 1950s, bicultural centers such as the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos (IBEU) had spread throughout the country. While financed primarily by Brazilian money, these private institutions received considerable support through the American embassy and the United States Information Agency.

The status of English in modern Brazil is described by Wagley (1971:292):

Now I speak English and so does my wife; we studied your language at the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos for four years and before that, we had English as a foreign
language in school, beginning with the first year of ginásio. We have a heavy accent, but we can speak and understand except when someone from Brooklyn or from the Deep South speaks rapidly. You North Americans speak English, which waiters, taxi drivers, tourist agents, and many other people speak around the world. In our country, hotel employees are hired just because they speak English. We study your language eagerly. In all our big cities there are binational centers called Brazil-United States Institutes, Centers or Associations, which are supported mainly by Brazilian funds with some United States help, and where thousands of Brazilians are learning English. While a small, early twentieth-century elite knew French, now a veritable mass of Brazilians know at least some English.

One might get the impression that this interest in English is only a middle-class phenomenon. However, it is also characteristic of the lower class which often sees it as a means of upward mobility. Bates (1892), for example, encountered illiterate people who were so fascinated with the language that they kept an English newspaper as a valued display on their walls. A female graduate student at the University of Viçosa, now studying in the United States, related that she and her sister worked to earn money in their small rural town in order to travel to the English Cultural Center for language study. In another case, the lower class parents of one graduate student from the north earned 13 cruzeiros a week but paid 50 cruzeiros a month to a black teacher from Guyana so that the child would be sure not to fail English in secondary school.

Brazilians who have the opportunity to study in the United States tend to be people who have had a greater exposure to English than what one normally receives in Brazilian secondary schools or in day-to-day living. One may obtain a job in which a knowledge of
English is especially useful, or one might have an English-speaking friend, for example. Such occasions provide many people with sufficient stimulus to take an extra English class. Friends might form a study group and hire an English teacher. They may also enroll in one of the numerous private English language schools. However, it is the firm prospect of actually studying in the United States that motivates Brazilians to make a concentrated effort to learn English well.

Barriers

Once a student has been selected for graduate study in the United States, there are various ways of improving English skills. The institution awarding the grant may sponsor a student in English classes in Brazil. EMBRAPA, for example, sends all of its students for three months of intensive training to Sete Lagoas in the state of Minas Gerais. The course is taught by American and Brazilian teachers and is intended to be very rigorous. Students are separated from their families for most of the study period. Despite the hard work required of the students, results vary widely. Some graduates still arrive in the United States without adequate English skills.

Many students, after arriving in the United States, participate in programs of English as a second language as, for instance, those at the Michigan State University in Lansing, at the University of Florida in Gainesville, and at the University of Colorado in Boulder. There are several difficulties with studying English in these programs. First, there is the stressful situation of trying to
learn a language while trying to adjust to life in the United States. Also, these programs represent for many Brazilians the last chance to acquire the English skills necessary to carry out their graduate programs. An additional frustration is that, although administered by universities, these programs are very marginal to the mainstream of university life. Essentially, they consist of foreign students getting together to learn English. There is little social or intellectual contact with American peers. There is also no contact with academic departments related to the students' areas of specialization, and little or no attention is given to such skills as being able to understand and take notes from a lecture. Students feel that the English teachers' approach is often very impersonal and that their attitude toward foreign students is often condescending. My informants theorized that this supposed lack of empathy with foreign students stems from the fact that some of the teachers have not themselves achieved fluency in a second language nor faced the problems of adjusting to life in a foreign society.

The most basic problem afflicting English courses offered to Brazilians headed for graduate study in the United States, be they offered in Brazil or in the United States, is that they are designed to prepare the students for taking the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) examination rather than giving them the communications skills they need in their roles as students. The TOEFL is the first and, for many, the most difficult hurdle that foreign students must negotiate on the way to becoming successful graduate
students. Successful completion of the TOEFL examination is a prerequisite for admission to any regular university program. Almost all of the Brazilian graduate students whom I interviewed (except those few who had learned English in their childhood) stressed the TOEFL examination as a major, almost emotional, barrier to study in the United States.

The TOEFL tests reading, writing and comprehension skills in English. Its administration comes as something of a shock to someone accustomed to the approach to examinations generally found in Brazil. In fact, it more closely resembles a highly structured and regulated game than an examination. The test arrives in sealed envelopes and the person administering it gives very strict and detailed instructions which must be followed to the letter. Time limits for each section of the examination are highly emphasized and strictly enforced.

The principal problem with the TOEFL exam, however, revolves around two points. First, the formulators of the examination have not appeared to be fully cognizant of the relationship between language and culture. The examination tests not only one's ability to manage English, but it also tests one's knowledge of a version of American culture carried by the examiners. There is an assumption that what is "obvious" or "common knowledge" for those who prepare the TOEFL examinations is, or should be, "obvious" or "common knowledge" for people the world over. In fact, successful achievement on the TOEFL examination requires a knowledge of particular aspects of American culture that one seldom has the opportunity to acquire in language courses, especially when these are taken in a foreign country.
Secondly, the TOEFL often gives the impression of being the bastion of an English literary tradition which, however noble, has little to do with the usage that a student encounters in interactions with colleagues and professors or in the classroom. Many Brazilian students have had the disconcerting experience of going to an American colleague for help in preparing for the TOEFL and finding the American as unsure about the "correct" usage as they were. American colleagues frequently comment that they would have difficulty with parts of the TOEFL examination.

Happily, in addition to these negative aspects of acquiring the requisite linguistic credentials for graduate study in the United States, there are also examples of outstanding teachers and excellent programs. One Brazilian graduate student known for his excellent English credited his secondary school English teacher in Brazil with providing him with the necessary basics in the language. This teacher, a Brazilian, had spent considerable time in the United States so he had a clear idea of the problems a visitor to this country would be likely to encounter. Also, by virtue of being a Brazilian whose native language was Portuguese, he provided "living proof" that proficiency in a foreign language is not an unreasonable goal and, more importantly, he could draw upon his own experience to show his students how to achieve that goal.

At the University of Florida, one former teacher at the language center, Dr. Lucy T. Briggs, was often cited for making the study of English a rewarding experience for Brazilians and other
foreign students. Dr. Briggs brought to her classes a clear understanding of the relationship between language and culture by virtue of her professional training in anthropological linguistics. She was also fluent in several languages other than English and she had considerable foreign experience in a variety of cultural contexts. In addition, her teaching was characterized by a high degree of personal interest in her students. All of this enabled Dr. Briggs to empathize with the difficulties encountered by foreign students and to help them overcome these difficulties. This included providing individual students with language materials related to their professional interests.

Adaptation

Recently, the University of Iowa, at Iowa City, began a special program which brought twenty Brazilian physical education teachers to its campus for graduate study as candidates for the M.A. degree. In this case, the requirement that the TOEFL be passed before a student is permitted to take courses in his or her field was waived. Students participated in physical education seminars directed by a well-known Iowa faculty member, and at the same time, took English courses which were preparatory for the TOEFL. In the physical education seminar, the Brazilians were given ample opportunity to interact with the instructor. There were also field trips to activities such as sporting events which were related to the Brazilians' specialties in physical education. The instructor had spent some time in Brazil and so was able to relate what the students were learning in
the United States to his experience in Brazil. He was able to ask questions about physical education in Brazil which allowed the students to share some of their own knowledge with him. This program provided a more natural, less stressful environment for learning English than is generally the case, and when compared to others, it made the general adjustment to university life in the United States relatively less traumatic.

In summary, there has been a long history of contact between Brazil and the English-speaking peoples of Great Britain and the United States. In general, these contacts have served to place English in a position of high prestige in Brazil. The prestige of the English language is evidenced by the demand for English classes, both in the public school curriculum and in private institutions. In spite of this, most Brazilians do not have a command of English that will allow them to successfully fill the role of graduate student in the United States. Unfortunately, programs of English language instruction designed to prepare them for this role must have as their primary objective the preparation of foreign students to successfully pass the TOEFL examination. The skills one needs to pass the TOEFL examination are not the same skills that are needed to function as a graduate student in the United States. The requirement of the TOEFL as a prerequisite to the entrance of any university program by a foreign student effectively isolates the student from the mainstream of university life, making acquisition of necessary communicative skills more difficult and prolonging the adjustment period that must accompany moving to the United States.
Another factor that must be considered in regard to the adjustment as students in an American university is their already achieved positions in Brazil. They are older than the average American graduate student. Of the 60 students interviewed, their average age was 30 years. Many of them are university teachers with several years' experience on a career level analogous to assistant and associate professors in the United States. Others are researchers with a publication record in their disciplines; or they are executives in government planning agencies. It is not easy for such professionals, already heads of families, and highly respected in their home communities to suddenly assume the role of graduate students. A recent statement by a group of Brazilian graduate students at the University of Wisconsin emphasizes this point:

The foreign graduate student is personally chosen to study abroad and brings with him an experience that justifies this selection. Some of us are university professors, researchers, public administrators, or have held other positions of importance in our nations. We are not here by chance nor simply because we wish to come, but [our presence] constitute an integral part of our nation's plan for future development. (Foreign Student 1979:2)

Such people are easily frustrated by courses which seem not to be relevant to their careers, by "close-ended examinations" which "seldom represent the level of the student with difficulty in English," or with the problem of cultural barriers. They are not eager to fully adapt culturally to the United States. On the contrary, they also wish to retain fully their cultural identity as Brazilians in order to return to Brazil and to continue their careers as soon as possible. Yet all are willing and eager to learn about the United
States and to adjust sufficiently to make their stay in the United States both comfortable and successful.

The problems encountered by Brazilian graduate students in adjusting to life in the United States vary according to their marital status, as do the mechanisms which aid them in solving those problems. For students who are single, or who come to the United States alone, it may be easier for the host institution to take steps to lessen the shock of adjustment. However, in 1978, the University of Iowa found volunteers who were willing to act as hosts or partners for each Brazilian physical education teacher, either single or married, who studied at that institution in their special program. Other programs may attempt to offer this service, but the hosts are seldom very active in their roles. The University of Iowa also sponsored other activities. One Sunday, for example, the Brazilians were invited to visit several farms in the area. Such arrangements also benefited single students and also those who came with their families.

On the other hand, students who come alone to the United States come without an important source of moral and emotional support. Single graduate students whom I interviewed spoke of initial loneliness and isolation from friends and family. It took some time to find other Brazilian students and even longer to feel at ease with their North American colleagues. In time, however, single students seem to adjust easier to the bicultural situation. They acquire American roommates from whom they learn about American culture.
Isolated in daily life from their fellow Brazilians, they must speak English, while married students speak Portuguese at home. Single males often have "dates" with American girls but they profess to be uncomfortable about American sexual morals and sex life is a problem. Single Brazilian females have less of a problem. They state that American men are "respectful"; in fact, one of those who arrived in 1977 has married an American. Finally, there are fewer crises (i.e., serious illness, deep depression, etc.) since they have no family to be concerned with. One's family provides moral support of a kind that an impersonal institution, no matter how receptive it may be to foreigners, cannot. An official at one university who dealt extensively with foreign students commented that the single Brazilians expected her to fill a mother's role. She noted that Brazilians have trouble adjusting because many times they come to study without sufficient preparation in English. She said that students from other countries generally arrive having already passed the TOEFL examination in their home countries, although this was seldom true in the case of Brazilians in her university.

Married students are a majority among Brazilian graduate students at three of the four universities studied. Most married students are men who come with their wives and most have children. Housing facilities for married students are usually located in block units of apartments designated for married students. Usually, American and foreign students live together in these housing complexes. The Brazilian students do not usually live next door to one another, but
they are close enough together that there is a strong sense of community. For new arrivals, finding a friend from one's own city or region of the country is considered an important advantage. They may or may not be greeted upon arrival by officials; however, if veteran Brazilians are informed in advance, newcomers will certainly be greeted upon arrival by members of the Brazilian community who will also help with arrangements such as university registration, making contact with one's academic department, buying insurance and learning about the new city. When classes are in session, a newly arrived graduate student's family plays an important role. In addition to providing emotional support, the family learns about life in the United States and passes this information along to the student who is busy taking classes.

The wife of a male graduate student usually begins studying English soon after the family's arrival. English lessons are often offered by groups outside of the university either free of charge or at a nominal cost. Offered by church groups, volunteer agencies or local community colleges, these courses offer an opportunity for the family to broaden its circle of relations in the new city. Many times the instruction they provide is more useful than that provided by the university-sponsored English language program in preparing Brazilians for dealing with "real life," day-to-day situations. On occasion, after the family is established in its new home, the wife will secure funding from Brazil and embark upon her own courses of advanced study. More than 10 percent of the wives of the Brazilian
graduate students whom I interviewed either took courses at the university or actually worked for an advanced degree with their husbands.

Learning may also take place more informally. Most Brazilian student families in the United States have a television set. Wives, who were accustomed to watching Brazilian telenovelas (i.e., soap operas) at home, often find that they enjoy watching the American equivalent. In addition to providing one more (albeit distorted) view of American life, soap operas may be more specifically instructive. One wife insisted that she learned English primarily by watching soap operas for over two years.

Of all family members, children adapt themselves most smoothly to life in the United States. They learn English more quickly than their parents, and their experiences with playmates and in the public schools provide them very quickly with a knowledge of American culture that the adults are able to acquire only over a long period of time.

Parents will often allow children to correct their English or they will consult children on points of grammar or vocabulary of which they are ignorant. On other occasions, parents will accompany their children to a "kiddie matinee," a special showing of a children's movie by a local theater with a reduced admission charge. Parents learn about the observance of important American holidays from their children, who bring home from school abundant material on Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and the Fourth of July. Children learn
additional information on these matters from their playmates and they demand that their parents observe such American customs. For example, some Brazilian graduate student parents told me of their mystification when their children demanded costumes in which to go out to "Trick or Treat" on Halloween night, and demanded that their parents arm their household with candies to "treat" children who call at their door. In Brazil Halloween does not exist. It is merely the night before the Day of All Saints (November 1st). Likewise, children teach parents the proper way to celebrate other American holidays.

From children, parents also learn vocabulary items such as "bedtime story." They learn about folk epics such as "Grease" and popular heroes such as John Travolta. Also knowledge of American food comes into Brazilian student families by way of their children. Mothers must buy cereals, learn to prepare such favorites as chili beans (red beans cooked with ground beef mixed with catsup), and hear about "Sloppy Joes" (a kind of hamburger) as an item that sometimes is "yuk" and sometimes is "yum." Preferred and nonpreferred types of food are distinguished by the terms "yum" and "yuk," respectively. Children play an important role in shaping what their parents see on American television. Celebrities such as Big Bird provide a familiar face in a strange environment, and they provide information on topics such as speaking English and American manners and morals that is often appreciated by parents as by their children.

By introducing their parents to these and many other diverse aspects of American culture, by involving their parents in community
life through their schools and sports teams, and by introducing their families to American families through their playmates, children act as "culture brokers." They determine many of the contacts their families will have with American culture.

As important as they are, children are not the only "culture brokers" for Brazilians in the United States. Americans who speak some Portuguese or who have had some experience in Brazil may act in that capacity as well. Likewise, adult Brazilians who have a superior command of English and/or more experience in the United States may serve to mediate and interpret cross-cultural contact.

A particularly striking example of an adult Brazilian acting as a culture broker was observed at the University of Iowa. In this case, the cross-cultural contact occurred between several unmarried Brazilians and a group of American students. A party was given by a black American male who was a friend of a black Brazilian female as well as other white Brazilians who had previously invited him to share their home meals. He also, of course, had a number of black American friends. The party was attended by Brazilians from the states of Paraná, Minas Gerais, Maranhão, and Pará, and by black Americans from Pensacola, Florida, and Chicago, Illinois. At this particular party, hosted by the black American, the food and music was American. It is but one example of an on-going exchange of food, music and knowledge of one another's cultures between Brazilians and Americans on American campuses. The focal point of this exchange was the couple composed of the black American male and the black Brazilian female.
Maria Conceição Oliveira, the black student referred to above, was truly a leader and a culture broker between Brazilian students at the University of Iowa and their American peers. She was a "veteran," that is, this was her second period of residence in the United States. Thus, she speaks English fluently. She had previously lived and studied in Washington, D.C., and in Brazil she had been employed by the Department of Education of Maranhão state. She is an open-spirited person with a keen sense of humor. She was observed chatting with friends, Brazilian and American alike. She even cooked Brazilian meals for neighbors. She was equally helpful to her fellow Brazilian students. She knew the bureaucratic system at the university--how to secure a loan if your stipend from Brazil was delayed, how to get medical attention, and other practical bits of information. Maria Conceição was born in the capital city of the state of Maranhão. She became aware of her West African heritage during her sojourn to Washington. As a Brazilian black, interested in black culture in the New World, she moved easily in black and white student society. When she received her M.A. degree, in May of 1979, she attended a graduation ball, a farewell party given in her honor by Brazilian and American students, and she marched in the commencement ceremonies.

Discussion

When Brazilian students come to the United States, the adjustments they must make to this new and different society give a liminal quality to much of their experience. Brazilians who come to the United States are separated from their extended families, which in Brazil
provide moral and material support, and which provide an important reference point for defining one's own status and role. The students are placed in an environment where accustomed Brazilian rules of behavior do not apply. The rules which do apply are either not known or known only partially. And, the student is stripped of his ascribed and achieved Brazilian statuses. The student must go through a process of self-redefinition. Characteristic of the redefinition process are phenomena such as role reversals in which children talk and teach while adults listen and learn. Students are aided in redefining themselves by culture brokers who define, mediate and interpret situations of cross-cultural contact. The process of redefinition has an internal and external side. Internally, each student must make his or her own adjustment to the new way of life. Externally, the new status which results from this experience in the United States will be evaluated by all of the student's friends and family and used in the reintergration of the student in a new, higher position in Brazilian society.
In this chapter, it will be argued that graduate study in the United States by Brazilians may be discussed and analyzed as a rite of passage. Brazilians come to the United States having filled certain statuses and roles, and they return to their country to fill new ones. The period of study in the United States has many qualities of a liminal state in the Brazilians' lives. These are similar to those qualities discussed by Victor Turner (1967, 1974, and 1977a,b,c). For example, Brazilians find that their roles and statuses are very ambiguous or even reversed in the United States. The dynamic processes within the liminal stage which cause phenomena such as role and status ambiguity or reversal are described by Moore (1975). As part of the liminal experience, Brazilians often find themselves in the position of being neophytes before a wide range of instructors or culture brokers. These instructors and/or culture brokers may be other Brazilian students who have accumulated greater experience in the United States, American colleagues who introduce aspects of their own culture, or, university professors. Instructors mediate the liminal experience in diverse ways through interactions with the neophytes. This has been referred to as part of an ecological approach to the educational experience (Cremin, 1976:25-53).
Informational Needs

The transition from life in Brazil to life in the United States is made more dramatic by the lack of reliable information on the American graduate school programs available in Brazil. Fragmentary information was also obtained from booklets such as those obtained by one student from the American embassy in Brasília: "O que o Bolsista Precisa Saber" ("What the Foreign Fellow Should Know"), "Como Estudar nos Estados Unidos--Manual para Brasileiros" ("Studying in the United States--Manual for the Brazilian Student"), both published by the National Association of Foreign Students Affairs in Washington, D.C. Students supported by CAPES, in 1979, brought a mimeographed information booklet entitled "Orientações gerais para bolsistas--Estados Unidos da America" ("General Orientation for Fellows--United States of America"). These publications give detailed information on bureaucratic matters, but they are inadequate in their treatment of what life will be like in the United States.

Other sources of information may include Brazilian students who have recently completed graduate study in the United States, a visiting professor from the United States, or friends who have visited there. Such accounts add some depth to the sketchy information provided in books and pamphlets. However, they are notoriously unreliable. An EMBRAPA official complained that it was impossible to secure sound information from returnees because, once they had succeeded, they see only the good side of everything. Also, students at the University of Wisconsin stated that the information obtained
from returnees was unreliable. Other students note, moreover, that no follow-up study of returnees has ever been made in Brazil.

At the institutional level, more information about life in the United States is not a perceived need. Brazilians who complete graduate study in the United States earn higher salaries and advance more rapidly in their careers than those who do not. Thus, graduate study abroad is linked to success and prestige. This mitigates the sense of risk and dampens the demand for greater information.

**Student Backgrounds**

Brazilians who come to the United States for graduate study generally fall into one of two categories. Some have recently completed their undergraduate degrees and come directly to the United States, without having first acquired some work experience, benefiting from the tremendous expansion of educational opportunities that have recently occurred in Brazil. The second category of students are those who went to work for an institution in Brazil upon receiving their undergraduate degree and were later sponsored by that institution for graduate study in the United States. The students who come to the United States without previous job experience are the exception rather than the rule. They have lower priority among the institutions that award fellowship funds. However, students who have the opportunity to do graduate study in the United States immediately after receiving their undergraduate degree prefer to do so because they feel that it is to their advantage to receive advanced training while they are still
young. These students come primarily from the southern states of São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul, and nearly all are studying either agronomy or agricultural economics (see Figure 3).

Students who have previous employment experience have much more extensive preparation than those who do not. Generally, they have conducted research sponsored either by their own institution or by the Brazil National Research Council (CPNQ). They have a long-standing dedication to scientific research and may have served in an apprenticeship with a senior researcher, which may have also involved some publication experience.

Most students who receive funds to study in the United States are from the southern or southeastern states of Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, or São Paulo. There are also some from Rio de Janeiro. This bias is confirmed by the work of Esteves (1965:12,18), who investigated the regional origins of teachers whose training was sponsored by the Programa de Assistencia Brasileiro Americano ao Ensino Elementar (PABAEE) through its affiliation with the International Cooperation Administration (ICA). Esteves found that of 117 elementary school teachers trained at the University of Indiana (1957-1963), 12 were from the south, 91 from the southeast, 11 from the northeast, 3 from the midwest, while none were from the north. A similar pattern regarding the major weight of the southeast region was found when the returnees from Indiana trained other teachers within Brazil at the University of Minas Gerais. Of 1,245 teachers, 48 were from the south, 936 from the southeast, 80 from the midwest, and 21 were from the north. Figure 4
Figure 3. Brazilian graduate students interviewed; distributed by region of origin
Brazilian teachers trained at University of Indiana 1957-1963. Total: 117

Brazilian teachers trained by returnees from University of Indiana to 1963. At the University of Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte). Total: 1245

Figure 4. Brazilian teachers trained in the United States and in Brazil
gives a graphical view of the overall regional pattern regarding these facts. Such favoritism of one region over the others helps support a regional elitism which has a base in unequal economic opportunity.

Regional differences among the Brazilians living in the United States are quite apparent. First, there are the distinctive regional dialects of Brazilian Portuguese. Also, there are regional food specialities such as the special farinha made from manioc used by people from the Amazon. "Mineiros," or people from Minas Gerais, are known for making bread. There are also food-related rituals. People from Rio Grande do Sul, or gaúchos, drink maté tea from a chimarrão, or gourd, with a metal straw. Drinking maté tea is a group activity for them and the gourd and straw is shared. Brazilian students are often loyal to their regional soccer team, whose colors are sometimes displayed in the living room or in cars, along with a state flag or the Brazilian national flag.

Financial Concerns

There are several institutions which sponsor most of the Brazilians who come to the United States to do graduate study. Some students come from Brazilian universities, either federal, state, or private. The universities sometimes deal directly with universities in the United States or other institutions such as the Institute for International Education; they may also work through intermediary agencies such as CAPES and CNPQ (Brazilian National Research Council).

As pointed out in Chapter One, the largest number of Brazilian graduate students comes to the United States under the
auspices of the Empresa Brasileira para a Pesquisa Agropecuária (Brazilian Corporation for Agricultural and Livestock Research), or EMBRAPA. EMBRAPA was founded in 1972 as an agency of the Ministry of Agriculture. As of 1978, its stated purposes were as follows: (1) to conduct research on agricultural production to satisfy the demands of internal markets while being sensitive to the opportunities offered by external markets; (2) research on animal genetics; (3) research on alcohol production and the economics of energy in agriculture; (4) research in the two large tropical zones, the semi-arid midwestern region and the humid northeastern and Amazon areas.

In order to carry out this tremendous research effort, EMBRAPA initiated a large-scale program of graduate studies for its personnel. As of 1977, EMBRAPA employed 5,589 people. Between 1974 and 1977, EMBRAPA added 1,226 researchers to its staff. Of these, 1,053 earned master's degrees and 173 earned Ph.D. degrees. Eight hundred thirty-seven of these researchers received their training in Brazil while 339 were trained abroad (Brasil 1978b:51).

Students sponsored by EMBRAPA study both in Brazil and in other countries. EMBRAPA students studying abroad may be found in the United States, England, France, Belgium, Australia, Japan, the Philippines, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Scotland, West Germany, Canada, and the Netherlands. In 1978, the largest single group of EMBRAPA students in the United States was found at the University of Florida in Gainesville, where 26 Brazilians were carrying out graduate studies.
EMBRAPA has spent considerable sums of money in its effort to improve its research capability by sponsoring its employees as students in foreign graduate programs. In 1978, the total EMBRAPA budget was 17,729 billion cruzeiros (571,254 million U.S. dollars), of which 153,530 million cruzeiros (4,952 million U.S. dollars) went to graduate studies. This is by far the largest category of expenditure in the EMBRAPA budget, with the next largest expenditure being 34 million cruzeiros (1,096 million U.S. dollars) for the EMBRAPA library system (Brasil 1978c:111,113.)

While it has inspired Brazilian universities to send personnel abroad for graduate study, EMBRAPA has inspired few to imitate the generosity of its fellowships. EMBRAPA fellows receive considerably larger awards than do their university counterparts. The differences between EMBRAPA fellowships and university fellowships are summarized in Table 1.

The features of the different fellowship programs are important for they determine to a large extent the sort of activities a family will be able to take part in during its stay in the United States. As noted previously, most of the Brazilians who come to the United States are married. Usually, the husband is the funded student, although sometimes both spouses have been funded for graduate study, and sometimes the wife has been funded while the husband has not. One of the major concerns for funded students who have spouses that have not received money for study is to find ways for their spouses to use the time in the U.S. to good advantage. Obviously, the options
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EMBRAPA</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pays travel expenses for student and family</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>student only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pays tuition</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pays insurance</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (upon request)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pays travel to a third country</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pays for books</td>
<td>yes ($200/yr)</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pays research expenses</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Up to $500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requires program report</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job placement</td>
<td>All have positions guaranteed, upon return</td>
<td>Most, but not all all, have positions guaranteed upon return</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
open to a spouse depend to a large extent upon the family income. CAPES will occasionally supplement EMBRAPA fellowships by paying the tuition of spouses who qualify for admission to a degree program. This is not generally the case, however, and students at the University of Wisconsin would like to solicit additional funds from EMBRAPA that would permit spouses to go to school. They also planned to ask the university to permit spouses to pay in-state tuition.

After they have learned English, spouses who are not enrolled in degree programs may take courses at the secondary level of at the local community college in areas such as elementary education or computer science, which provide them with skills that may be helpful in their jobs in Brazil. Other spouses have done voluntary service in the public schools attended by their children. Some women take advantage of free time by practicing skills such as sewing. One group of women inherited a sewing machine from students who had returned to Brazil which they used to make and mend clothing. This sewing machine has become another symbol for the continuity in the midst of disruption of accustomed ways of life. Another group of women collectively own a vacuum cleaner previously used by a resident family. As Brazilians come and go, this sewing machine and the vacuum cleaner are passed from one family to another by being sold at a token price. Sewing may, in fact, turn into a lucrative occupation. One woman began trying to improve her skills and soon became so noted for her work as a dressmaker that she had enough orders for jobs to keep her busy as a seamstress for the time she lived in the United States.
A different sort of example of spouses adapting to life in the United States is that of husbands whose wives had received funding to study at the University of Florida while they had not. Since the family did not have sufficient personal resources to allow the husbands to do graduate study, one husband studied English part-time at the English Language Institute, and later, he took both the TOEFL and Graduate Record Examinations. He acted as an assistant while his wife conducted her field research and, when a new restaurant opened, he supplemented the family income by working as a dishwasher. Two other husbands in a similar condition try to keep busy and they study, but not for a degree.

In other cases, wives assist their husbands in field research. One of them helped her husband with field experiments involving a new kind of bean. She recruited a group of women to taste boiled beans and recorded their reactions to it.

Familial Relations and Behavior

Brazilians arriving in the United States must make a wide range of adaptations which have the cumulative effect of creating a new personal sense of identity. This process begins in a very formalized way as they acquire documents such as an American driver's license and Social Security card. To facilitate this process they may change their names so that they conform to American conventions for naming people. João Maria de Souza Gomes in Brazil, for example, may become Joao S. Gomes in the United States. They will use their Brazilian names on their diplomas, but they will be identified by their American names during their period of study.
Furthermore, logistics prevent students from bringing all but a small part of their belongings to the United States. Those things that they do bring, or which they are able to obtain here, often assume a symbolic significance. Students will often go to great lengths to obtain items such as manioc flour or Brazilian coffee, sometimes ordering these items through a specialty store in the United States and sometimes having them sent by their families in Brazil. Small things such as these help the Brazilians to maintain a sense of their former identities in their new environment.

One of the biggest adaptations that Brazilians must make in the United States is to living without a maid. Miller (1976) has noted that the maid is part of the minimal household for middle-class Brazilians. A family's ties with their maid may be strengthened by establishing fictive kind relations of compadrio. The absence of a maid forces major adjustments in a family's lifestyle. In part, the absence of a maid is made up for by the ready availability of household appliances in the United States which reduce the time and labor required to do housework.

The absence of a maid necessitates that the husbands play a larger role in the running of the household than would probably be the case in Brazil. Husbands feel obligated to help with washing dishes, shopping, and even with cooking and preparing cafèzinho (the small, black demitasse coffee typical of Brazil) for company. Husbands often adopt the American practice of having outdoor barbecues or cookouts. Some husbands even do laundry, either helping their
wives with this task or, sometimes, going to the laundryroom alone. The sharing of household responsibilities is reflected in the adaptation by many Brazilians of another American practice, the establishment of joint bank accounts.

One Brazilian family at the University of Florida brought their maid to live with them. After an initial period of adaptation, the maid obtained permission from her employers to baby-sit on the side in order to earn additional income. She became so popular that at the farewell party for her employers, she also received gifts. Another family tried to persuade her to stay in the United States and work for them. She refused, however, citing as reasons her loyalty to her employers and her eagerness to return to Brazil.

Kindred from Brazil sometimes help with tasks that might otherwise be performed by a maid. Usually, these are members of the wife's family who come and visit their relatives studying in the United States. One couple brought an aunt to the United States with them. She lived with the family for the first six months after their arrival to help them adjust to the new way of life. The wife's mother came to spend six months with another family after the birth of their second child. In another case, the wife's mother came to live with a family when her daughter became ill. The parents of a single woman, who is a student at the University of Florida, came to visit and took her on a trip to New York. In yet another family, the wife's brother came to visit while the husband was busy conducting field research outside of Gainesville. While an American friend took
care of their children, the wife and her brother went on a trip, visiting several American cities.

Visits by the husband's relatives are rare, as are trips back to Brazil for students. Seldom is it possible to return to Brazil for a vacation. At the University of Florida, two cases were observed in which a wife of a student returned to Brazil because of a death in the family. On both occasions, the death was of a very close relative, a mother and a sister.

Friendships and Reciprocities

Because they are isolated from their kin and live under similar conditions in a foreign country, Brazilian student families form very close ties with one another. Mutual aid among families is very common and very important. Families borrow from one another and they spend their leisure time together, chatting and sharing information from Brazil. Four variables seem to be very important in drawing the Brazilian families together. First, families from the same region tend to be very close to one another. Regionalism exists in Brazil and the sense of regional loyalty comes with Brazilians to the United States. In fact, it may become stronger as a person's identification with a particular region and its customs helps to preserve a sense of personal identity in an unfamiliar society.

Secondly, Brazilians who are in the same degree program get together to share information about faculty members and courses, or simply to discuss their common interests. Third, most Brazilians are at least
nominal Catholics, and this fact draws many of them together, independent of their regional differences or disciplinary interests. Finally, Brazilian students are drawn together by the simple fact of sharing a national and linguistic heritage while coping with the stress of a second language and a new culture, and residing in a nation that is not their own.

One of the vehicles for interaction among Brazilian families is the borrowing or sharing of material goods. Generally, items of relatively small value are involved, such as automobile booster cables, hand tools or portable ovens. The most frequently exchanged item is food. Only rarely is money or a large item such as a car involved. The borrowing and sharing of minor items forms a context within which a great deal of social interaction takes place. The importance of the exchange behavior is attested to by the fact that adults attend to it themselves. Rarely are children sent to a neighboring household to borrow something. Furthermore, the borrowing or lending of something is almost always an occasion for a cup of coffee and a chat. Exchanges are generally mutual rather than unilateral, though it is recognized that those families who have resided the longest in the United States have more to lend. Table 2 gives an idea of what the most commonly borrowed and shared items are.

**Educational Concerns**

Aside from their families and neighbors, Brazilian students have the most intense social relationships with their academic advisors and the other faculty members involved in their degree
TABLE 2
LIST OF SOME ITEMS BORROWED AND SERVICES EXCHANGES AMONG NEIGHBORS IN HOPEWOOD (DATA RECORDED FROM JANUARY 1976 TO SEPTEMBER 1979)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items borrowed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charcoal (m/m) a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booster cable (m/m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian magazine (m/m, f/f, m/f, or f/m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarette (m/m, f/f, m/f, or f/m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money (m/m, f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table cloth (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol for massage (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomatoes (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing machine (f/f, but male may carry)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra portable mattress (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian novel (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scissors (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water hose (m/m or m/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beer (m/m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potatoes, rice, milk, bread (sliced), beans, greens, oil (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desk chair (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recipes (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine (for colds) (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wire (f/f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enriched farina (f/f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 2--Continued

Items borrowed--continued

- Vacuum cleaner (f/f, but male may carry)
- Thermometer (m/f--American neighbor asks for)

Services exchanged

- Free baby sitter for friends (f/f, m/m)
- Receiving mail while neighbor is on trip (f/f)
- Cutting children's or adults' hair (m/f, f/m)
- Sewing in one another's home (f/f)
- Make-up application (f/f)
- Going to theater with another neighbor's children (f/f)
- Sharing information on sales, local stores (f/f, m/m)
- Watering of plants for absent neighbors (f/f, m/m)
- Giving rides to or from school (f/f, m/f, f/m)
- Giving rides to or from airport (f/f, m/f, f/m)
- Helping in a birthday party (f/f, m/m)
- Helping to pack (f/f, m/m)
- Sharing books (f/f, m/m, f/m, m/f)
- Sharing old school papers (f/f, m/m)
- Sharing Brazilian items (coffee, manioc farina, guava paste (goiabada), corn cake (cůs-cůs)) (f/f, m/m)
- Studying together at home or in the recreation room (f/f/m)

\[a_{m/m} = \text{male to male} \]
\[b_{f/f} = \text{female to female} \]
\[c_{m/f} = \text{male to female} \]
\[d_{f/m} = \text{female to male} \]
programs. In some cases, students choose their advisors on the basis of contacts they have had with them in Brazil. At other times they rely on the advice of peers, or they rely on their own knowledge to select an advisor whose research interests are similar to their own and who, hopefully, has some sensitivity to the problems one faces when studying in a foreign country.

In a large number of cases, Brazilian students were observed to have very close relationships with their advisors. They frequently would work together on a research project and then co-author a paper or an article on that research. In one case, an advisor helped a student reschedule his qualifying examination and obtain an extension on his fellowship from EMBRAPA when the student fell ill and spent most of one quarter in the hospital. The advisor frequently visited the hospital and helped to relieve the student's anxiety about his academic progress. Another advisor provided financial assistance to a student whose fellowship stipend was late arriving from Brazil. Two advisors became well-known among the Brazilian students at one university for their practice of lending a set of cookware to students to help them set up housekeeping in the United States.

Also important are in-class relationships with instructors. With some instructors, Brazilian students feel especially comfortable and their good reputation is general knowledge in the Brazilian community. One of the most popular professors was a Nobel Laureate at the University of Wisconsin who combined scholarly excellence with a genuine concern that his students learn, as was demonstrated by his
willingness to take time to answer all questions and to talk with students outside of class.

Of course, not all instructors achieve this ideal. One of the most frequent reasons for complaints about less popular professors is that they show no concern for the student's previous experience. Students also feel that as culture brokers, professors who attempt to discuss Brazil or use Brazilian examples in their classes are not always as well informed as they should be, or they are mostly rather pessimistic and relatively ethnocentric regarding their own culture (only a few act as culture brokers).

On the whole, Brazilian students enjoy good relationships with their advisors and other faculty members. This is borne out by the low drop-out rate among Brazilians who come to the United States. Between 1976 and 1979 (summer), there have been only three cases of drop-outs and 52 successful returnees at the University of Florida. However, problems do arise and crises do occur (see Figure 5). One student did drop out of school and returned to Brazil because of a poor relationship with his advisor, whereupon the organizations which had sponsored his study sued him in order to recover the money they had spent on him.

Sometimes students have to attend more than one university before they find a program that meets their needs. One student began a Ph.D. program at the University of California at Berkeley only to find that he would not be able to satisfy his research goals there. He attended a summer course at the University of Florida and remained
Figure 5. Distribution of Brazilian students who graduated in Gainesville, from 1976 to summer 1979 by region, sex, degree
to receive a Ph.D. in the Department of Food and Resource Economics. In 1979, after completing his degree program, he received a prize from the American Association of Agricultural Economists.

In another case, a Brazilian student at the University of Florida failed his qualifying examinations. He then made arrangements to transfer to a midwestern university where he subsequently did well. In the meantime, his pregnant wife, who was also pursuing an advanced degree, remained in Gainesville to complete her program.

**Summary**

For Brazilians, graduate study in the United States represents a liminal experience. It is set apart from "normal" life in time and space. Spatial boundaries are crossed in the journeys to and from the United States. Temporal stages are marked by events such as the beginning and ending of school terms, qualifying examinations and, finally, by graduation. There is a formalized process of receiving a new identity as students conform to the American system for naming people and then go about obtaining driver's licenses and Social Security cards. Furthermore, their self-identity is called into question by the experience of living in a society where many Brazilian expectations regarding status and role behavior do not apply. Brazilians must assume the role of neophytes before a wide range of culture brokers. These instructors are not only classroom professors. They may be other Brazilians who have lived for a longer time in the United States, American colleagues, or even children. The instruction
they receive is about topics as diverse as English grammar to cooking
to tropical ecosystems. Finally, the liminal experience itself and
the instruction received during its course means that the students
will return to Brazil with a new identity. They hope to join an elite
which has received training abroad in their professional fields. They
hope to receive incomes higher than they did before coming to the
United States and career advancement should come more rapidly than it
would have otherwise. Social distance will be increased between many
of the Brazilian students and their extended families because of the
students' higher income and accelerated social mobility.
CHAPTER FIVE
LEISURE AND RITES OF LIMINALITY

In the preceding chapters, it has been argued that graduate study in the United States represents a liminal experience for Brazilian students. Turner (1977b:33) distinguishes between two kinds of liminality. In situations of sequestered liminality, the individual undergoing the liminal experience is separated from society. The liminal experience is either solitary or shared only with other initiates. In public liminality, the liminal experience occurs within society at large. Members of society may observe and even participate in the experience being undergone by the initiate.

The experience of Brazilian graduate students in the United States has qualities of both sequestered and public liminality. It resembles sequestered liminality in that the students are physically separated from their society and placed in a context where the accustomed rules of social interaction do not apply. At the same time, the liminal experience is public in that it takes place within American society and it involves the active participation of Americans as well as Brazilians.

Furthermore, it is convenient to think in terms of a third kind of liminality, namely, cross-cultural liminality. In cross-cultural liminality, the liminal experience does accompany a somewhat protracted rite of passage in which initiates enter having one status
and emerge having another. However, while successful students will occupy new statuses in Brazil, the new behavioral rules they must learn are designed to enable them to integrate more fully into American life while they are here. Also, the relationships formed both with Americans acting as instructors and Brazilians who share the role of being novices are usually temporary and only repetitive for those with two or more stays in the United States (see Chapter Seven, cases of Pery, Guarany, Cely, Conceição).

From the liminal state emerges a model for human interaction which sees society as unstructured or rudimentarily structured, consisting of what may even be called "... a communion of equal individuals who submit together to the general authority of ritual elders" (Turner 1977:96). This is the basis of Turner's concept of *communitas*. The state of *communitas* is, by definition, temporary. Within the general description provided by Turner, considerable differences may exist in particular *communitas* states. Myerhoff (1975) differentiates between spontaneous or accidental *communitas* and deliberate *communitas*. In spontaneous *communitas*, the reaching of this state is not a planned result of an experience. Meyerhoff cites as an example the 1969 rock music festival in Woodstock, New York. In deliberate *communitas*, on the other hand, an event takes place with the purpose of creating the conditions which allow the *communitas* state to emerge. For Meyerhoff, an example of deliberate *communitas* is the annual pilgrimage of the Huichol Indians of Mexico to Wirikuta, "The Home of the First People." In this chapter, it will be argued that many of the group
activities engaged in by Brazilian graduate students in the United States are attempts to create a sense of *communitas* in the environment of a complex society.

It should be noted that the concepts of rite of passage, liminality and *communitas* are by no means the only ones that are useful for analyzing empirical observations made of the behavior of Brazilian graduate students in the United States. It should also be noted that the situations and events described in this chapter are not intended as examples of ritual behavior as we generally think of it. Rather, this chapter simply argues that when observing the experience of Brazilian graduate students in cross-cultural perspective, certain activities have aspects of ritualized behavior. It is the whole set of social events that is seen as a protracted ritual. One useful way of discussing this behavior is in terms of *communitas* in the context of a prolonged liminal experience.

The data for this chapter were gathered during three years of residence at Hopewood Apartments, a housing complex for married students at the University of Florida. The housing complex contains 208 apartments in which American and foreign families of many nationalities reside (see Figure 6). As of September 30, 1979, 27 Brazilian families live at Hopewood. During the year 1978, there were 31 Brazilian families in residence at the complex. In addition to Hopewood, observations were made at other married housing complexes at the University of Florida. Brazilians also live in the other complexes, although not as many live in these as live in Hopewood.
Figure 6. Family housing block—1979
Also, observations included unmarried Brazilians who live in a number of locations in the city of Gainesville, but who frequently socialize with the married Brazilians.

It is the purpose of this chapter to examine how Brazilian students in the United States organize their private lives outside the formal educational realm. Graduate degree programs are to a large extent structured for the student by the university, so that behavioral alternatives within that setting are relatively limited. On the other hand, students and their families have considerable freedom in choosing how they organize their leisure time and how and when to organize and participate in social events not related to their professional careers.

In Brazil, married students are usually part of larger extended family groups; however, at Hopewood, they have assumed the nuclear pattern characteristic of much of the United States. The average household size for Brazilians at Hopewood is four. This is close to the average size of 4.9 people found in urban households in Brazil. Most of these families are from the south and southeast of Brazil, with fewer families coming from the center, west, northeast and north, respectively.

As has been discussed earlier, social relations are formed upon the basis of regionalism, academic discipline and/or religion. It was also noted that Brazilian students come together on certain occasions simply by virtue of being from the same country and sharing the same language. The pretext for many of these get-togethers may be a search for leisure, family celebration, a Brazilian holiday, or events linked to stages in the search for a degree.
Soccer as a Rite of Liminality

For males, soccer is one of the principal motives for getting together. Soccer is Brazil's national sport and has tremendous importance in Brazil. People are loyal followers of their state or regional team. They may display their team's colors in their home or car, or they may occasionally wear their team's colors. Brazilians often bring these practices with them to the United States. The fortunes of teams at home are followed with great interest by many of the students at Hopewood. During the World Cup soccer tournament in Buenos Aires, Argentina, in 1978, one Brazilian student put together a special radio receiver so that the Brazilians could listen to live broadcasts of the games during the day.

However, among Brazilian students in Gainesville, soccer assumes an importance even beyond what it has in Brazil. While in Brazil, many people are soccer fans, whereas in Gainesville many of the Brazilian students become soccer players. The fact is that, while soccer is very popular in Brazil, most people are limited to the role of spectators at professional events. In working-class neighborhoods and small towns in the hinterlands, it is not uncommon to see informally organized games on weekends or in the evenings, but very few middle-class males play soccer in Brazil.

The Brazilian men at Hopewood have a coached soccer team, which plays against other teams in Gainesville, and, occasionally, against out-of-town teams. Not all of the men play, of course, but in the summer of 1979, demand was high enough that two teams had to
be formed to insure that everyone who wanted to had a chance to play. A Colombian resident of Hopewood once showed the author his T-shirt, green and yellow, as a sign that he is a player in the Brazilian team headed by his neighbor. This team is one of the six soccer teams for adults in Gainesville. The soccer games provide a much-needed physical release for accumulated nervous energy. Informants, who play soccer regularly in Brazil and in Gainesville, say there is a tendency to engage in jogo forte, or aggressive play, around examination time.

There is currently a rising interest in soccer among Americans. Since 1978, a non-profit organization called Soccer Incorporated has existed in the city of Gainesville. During the spring of 1979, it sponsored a program of 400 games among its teams in the city, and in the fall of 1979, over 1,000 children signed up to participate (Gainesville Sun September 30th, 1979). Many Brazilian children participate in this soccer program and some of the fathers serve as coaches. Other parents get together to arrange for their children to share rides to the soccer games. At the end of the season, Soccer Incorporated sponsored a game for parents who were soccer fans.

Soccer provides a focus around which a large number of social interactions involving Brazilians takes place. Soccer also provides a source of entertainment in the home. On one occasion, the Brazilian men's soccer team asked a friend who owned a movie camera to film them. The movie was later shown in one household along with a short commercially produced film on the famous Brazilian soccer star,
Pelé, in the prime of his career. Additionally, families will often get together for a drink or a meal after a game. Soccer is a good way to open conversations among Brazilians who do not know one another very well. It serves as a basis for opening social relations which then extend to other areas of activity. Most importantly, soccer is a part of life that allows students to reaffirm their identity as Brazilians. It is also a familiar, comfortable context in which one has the opportunity to observe some of the differences between America and Brazil. For example, among Brazilians in Brazil, soccer is exclusively a male activity. In the games among the teams of adults in Gainesville, one is named "UF Women's Soccer Club." In the games sponsored by Soccer Incorporated, moreover, both boys and girls play. This makes a difference for the Brazilians. Now one Brazilian girl from Hopewood also plays on a Soccer Incorporated team coached by her father.

Women and Rites of Liminality

There are also women's activities which serve as counterparts to the male-dominated soccer plays. These are women's birthday parties, baby showers, costume parties, and Tupperware parties. Baby showers and birthday parties are demonstrations of affection and concern which help to build solidarity. Also Tupperware parties help to build solidarity. At such parties, a company representative recruits a housewife to publicize and host a party in which plastic houseware items are displayed. Orders are taken and, later, when the goods arrive, the housewife distributes them to the people who placed orders.
At the parties, refreshments are served, and the Tupperware company provides games to play and plastic houseware souvenirs for the guests to take home.

Costume parties have occurred as well. One was held to celebrate the end of a card tournament among wives. In 1978, a second one was held to celebrate Halloween. But this Halloween was "translated" in Brazilian terms; witches or ghosts were not emphasized. Rather, one could find dolls like "Raggedy Ann," a sailor, or a woman impersonating one of the actors in the Brazilian movie Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos ("Dona Flor and Her Two Husbands") earlier presented in one of Gainesville's theaters. No males were allowed to participate in the party, but some were invited to take pictures.

Holidays and Liminality

At Hopewood, Brazilian graduate students participate, almost by force, in American holiday celebrations and in American social gatherings. In fact, such events and celebrations are brought to their attention by the university calendar and the calendar of their children's schools. Thus, among the first sets of things they become aware of are such American holidays as Memorial Day, the Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving, Veterans' Day, Christmas, and New Year's Day. And, the children bring home from school the norms of celebrating such annual events as Halloween which they have learned from their schoolmates and teachers. Some of these holidays are known in Brazil, such as Christmas and New Year's Eve, whereas others are either unknown
or celebrated at other times and in different ways in Brazil. Brazilians wonder, for example, why Labor Day is celebrated on the first Monday of September rather than on May 1st as it is in Brazil and most other countries, and why Memorial Day takes place in late May in the United States when in Brazil and in other Catholic countries Memorial services take place for the dead on All Souls' Day (November 2). Brazilians learn about Thanksgiving from American families or fellow students who invite them to turkey dinner, but "Why always a turkey?" and "Who in the world were the Pilgrims?"

Some American holidays, of course, never take on any meaning for Brazilians and their families, such as Washington's Birthday or Lincoln's Birthday, although most educated Brazilians have heard of these great American national heroes. Then, unlike Brazil, the American school and business calendar completely ignore religious holidays, some of which are national holidays in Brazil and others of which are celebrated locally, such as the Cirio de Nazareth (second Sunday of October, with a "fiesta" period of two weeks) which is the high point of the festive year in the author's home state of Pará.

Brazilian graduate students in the United States have, thus, created their own festive calendar and their own kinds of social affairs. In the realm of public rituals of liminality,¹ they have adopted the American way of celebrating such ritual events as Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, and Carnival.² But, they have also created in the United States new forms of social events such as the welcome and farewell parties (discussed below) and they have transferred and
modified Brazilian social events such as birthday parties. These events are generally limited to Brazilians, their families, and close friends and conform to sequestered liminal rituals.

Brazilian families in Hopewood Apartments join to celebrate important Brazilian holidays. In Brazil, for example, September 7 is Independence Day. The day is commemorated with military and student parades in every part of the country. A festival atmosphere prevails in the central plaza of towns and cities. Brazilian flags are displayed, homes are decorated, speeches are made, and the celebration is concluded with an evening ball. At Hopewood, Independence Day celebrations have varied in form from year to year. In 1977, a group of students presented a specimen of a Brazilian tree to the Institute of Food and Agricultural Sciences at the University of Florida. The day was also reported by the local newspaper, the Gainesville Sun, which published a photograph of a Brazilian Ph.D. candidate and his advisor with the national flag of Brazil. In 1978, there was a picnic at Lake Wauberg Recreation Area of the University of Florida and the Brazilian flag was displayed. In 1979, a newly arrived student held a celebration in his apartment at Hopewood Apartments and served a meal of feijoada.

One of the important religious holidays for Brazilians living at Hopewood is Christmas. Celebrations usually occur among small groups of families getting together for a meal on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day. Children are active in Christmas festivities and an effort is made to include individuals without families.
In order to have an idea about the urban celebration of Christmas in Brazil, some glimpses of its public and intimate aspects are in order. Its public sphere includes special lighting of business streets; a Christmas tree at the town square; distribution of packages containing toys, food, clothes, hammocks and blankets for the poor; and, publication of Christmas messages authored by local authorities such as the governor, the mayor, the military chief, and the bishop. Public religious events include folk theaters enacting popular versions of the birth of Jesus in a mixture of drama and comedy; midnight Masses or Christmas services for Catholics and for Protestants; and, processions of children on the morning of Christmas Day. The Christmas period coincides with the tropical summer, which is characterized by heavy rains and two months of vacation from school (December-January).

On the intimate side of the Christmas celebration, one has to look to offices and homes. In offices, high, middle and low ranking employees get together at a given time; they share presents and greetings, and they participate in a light meal in an atmosphere that includes Christmas songs, special decorations, and a relaxed mood, with short speeches fitting the occasion. In homes, it is a time when extended families get together. Children and adults receive presents. Absent relatives send Christmas greetings. New clothes are in order. Homemade cakes are served. A small crib is prepared with the image of the infant Jesus. And, a Christmas tree adorns the living room.

How does the above picture compare with Christmas in America? First of all, the public sphere includes aspects that are new to
Brazilians. Merchants start playing Christmas songs in their stores after Thanksgiving and Brazilians notice this change. They also notice that public schools do not celebrate Christmas as a religious event. There are some school festivities to celebrate the "Holiday Season," but such events are carefully secularized. The religious aspect of Christmas is celebrated in church and at home, that is, in a private rather than public setting. On television, there are special programs for children such as Rudolph the Red-Nosed-Reindeer. It is a semi-tropical winter and the temperature has already started to be lower than usual, about 30 to 40 degrees Farenheit. This atmosphere is laced with events encouraging greater intimacy.

I will follow one Brazilian family at Hopewood through three Christmases and describe the way they celebrated Christmas each time. In the first year, they attended a Christmas Eve Mass, and upon their return, had a light meal. On Christmas day, they visited with friends from their home region and had cod-fish with coconut juice for dinner. Afterwards the adults played cards while the children experimented with their toys. In the second year, the family had a visit from a Brazilian relative and they had everything as in the preceding Christmas, with the addition of an evening visit to a couple of American students who had just returned from Brazil. During this visit, there were cookies, soft drinks and, finally, wine warmed with spices. In the third year, a newly arrived Brazilian family joined the veteran family for the unwrapping of presents around the Christmas tree. One adult received a small table crafted in India, another got
books, a third one got a fancy umbrella with the inscription "Singing in the Rain," a fourth one got a record with the "Mass" by Leonard Bernstein. There was music: Christmas hymns sung by the black American singer Mahalia Jackson. Later, two other neighbors joined the families in a dinner in which the main dish was turkey stuffed with farofa (wheat farina), Brazilian style. These gatherings over a period of three years offer a picture of Christmas in Hopewood. These events were shared with Brazilian and American friends. The differences between Brazil and Hopewood are a lingering homesickness, the absence of one's extended family, a "real" Christmas tree (instead of a plastic tree), and the presence of American families.

For middle-class and urban people, Christmas celebrations in Brazil and in Hopewood are complemented by the New Year's Eve celebration. In Brazil, New Year's celebration is held either at home or in clubs. If it is at home, it follows the Christmas pattern: family gatherings, meals, homemade food, greetings, imported fruits. In clubs, the celebration centers around a ball (reveillon) in which midnight marks both the start of the new year and the beginning of the Carnival season which will last until Tuesday before Ash Wednesday. Most usually, lower-middle-class people have celebrations at home, while upper-middle-class people join groups of upper-class people in these gatherings.

In Hopewood, the New Year's Eve celebration includes home gatherings, but a public celebration is the main event. The public celebration occurs in Hopewood's recreation room. Hopewood residents
invite some American or Latin American friends and neighbors to share this occasion. Adults and children alike greet one another, dance, share meals and dance to Brazilian music. This occasion brings to Hopewood some Brazilians who, either single or married, reside in other places in Gainesville. It is a day in which the unwritten rule of a spouse dancing exclusively with his wife or her husband is not observed. Also, this is an occasion in which the responsibility for the event is shared by most people in Hopewood; decorating the recreation room, extending invitations to friends and neighbors, providing music, sharing the costs of meals, and collectively cleaning the recreation room once the event is over.

Other celebrations throughout the year include graduation, farewell, and birthday parties. Graduation and farewell parties are discussed together here because they usually occur close in time. When a Brazilian student graduates, he or she usually sponsors a party to celebrate the occasion. Later, a farewell party will be given by others for this person and any other Brazilians about to return home. In 1978, seven Brazilians graduated and held celebrations. There were also seven farewell parties, one for each person who graduated. Families at Hopewood also sponsor farewell parties for Brazilians who live in other areas of the city. In 1978, there were four such celebrations, two for married people and two for single people.
Other Social Events in Liminality

The most frequent occasion for celebration at Hopewood is a child's birthday party. Adults also celebrate their birthdays, but these are quiet, private affairs, usually involving only a few close friends. Children's parties, on the other hand, are exuberant, uncontrolled events which bring large numbers of people, children and adults, together. The child's parents sponsor the birthday party, which usually takes place in the afternoon. Sometimes the parties are held at the recreation room of Hopewood. However, on most occasions, picnic tables are moved to an area of the yard near the family's apartment. Refreshments, birthday cake, ice cream, and soda pop are carried from the apartment and served on the picnic tables. Usually, the visiting children are provided with favors such as balloons, party horns, candy or small toys to take home with them. Amid the confusion of a child's birthday party, adults also have an opportunity to socialize. Many parents accompany their children to the parties to help supervise the children, or simply to visit with other parents.

Some activities of great importance to the Brazilian community at Hopewood are sponsored by American groups. For example, the Clube Luso Brasileiro of the University of Florida sponsors a Carnival ball every year. Under the leadership of Dr. Alfred Hower, a professor of Portuguese at the university, this Carnival ball has become an annual institution for Brazilian students in Gainesville. It is also attended by other Latin American students, some American students, and even faculty. Usually held on a Saturday night in the recreation room at
Hopewood, the ball features taped Brazilian samba music and a costume competition. Also, in 1978 and 1979, many Brazilian students living at Hopewood were invited to a Carnival ball by the Boonstra family of Gainesville. Mr. Boonstra is a former United States Consul General in Rio de Janeiro. At both balls, Brazilians have an opportunity to socialize with one another as well as with people from Spanish-speaking countries and the United States. The balls provide an opportunity for the students to reaffirm their identity as Brazilians, and to help introduce a custom of their country to others.

Discussion

As one may have already surmised, Brazilian students at Hopewood maintain a very active social calendar (see Figure 7). The breakdown of what may be termed "major" social events at Hopewood for the term 1978 is as follows:

- 59 children's birthday parties
- 7 graduation parties
- 7 farewell parties
- 2 baby showers
- 1 Independence Day celebration
- 1 Christmas celebration
- 1 New Year's celebration
- 1 Carnival Ball
- 79 Total events
Figure 7. Diagram on three stages of liminality, emphasizing stage II
For obvious reasons, these activities are not distributed evenly throughout the year. Nevertheless, the fact is that rarely does a week go by without at least one major celebration. It should be noted that this listing does not include smaller gatherings involving only close friends. Such happenings occur constantly and it would be impossible to obtain an accurate accounting of them.

In spite of the shared experience of being students in a foreign country and the rather intense pace of socializing, social divisions do exist among the Brazilian students living at Hopewood. Some of these divisions are transplanted to the United States from Brazil where others arise while living in Hopewood. For example, Hopewood Apartments are actually composed of two complexes of buildings, a north complex and a south complex. The north complex is newer and the apartments are slightly larger. There is a tendency for new arrivals to be assigned to one of the older apartments in the south complex. People who have resided at Hopewood for some time often request and receive permission to move to the north complex, although they are not always able to do so.

People who reside in Hopewood interact more closely with the people from their own complex than they do with people who live in the other one. Both the north complex and the south complex at Hopewood have their own set of informally recognized leaders among the Brazilian students. To bring all of the Brazilian students together for a social event, the leaders of the two complexes must cooperate with one another and coordinate their efforts. This was not done
on the occasion of preparing a New Year's celebration. As a result, conflicting activities were planned in each of the two complexes. Neither was as well attended as the sponsors hoped. Although short-lived, some hard feelings did result from this incident.

In addition, there are, of course, individual variations in the degree to which Brazilian students participate in the life of the Brazilian community at Hopewood. A newly arrived couple may avoid close relations with other Brazilians. Often this may be because they see integration into the Brazilian community as an obstacle to learning English and adapting quickly to life in the United States. Indeed, many Brazilians have noted that while the Brazilian community at Hopewood offers a tremendous amount of emotional support, it also encourages a self-imposed social and linguistic isolation.

Notes

1 I am using the term "ritual" in the sense used by Barbara Meyerhoff (1977:199). That is, "actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise highly stylized form." In a situation of liminality such "rituals" are less formal and less highly standardized than they might be in a normal state of affairs.

2 In the last generation or so, Christmas has been Americanized in Brazil. People exchange Christmas cards, Santa Claus called "Papai Noel" (Father Christmas) appears wrapped in heavy clothing, and families have Christmas trees, sometimes with artificial snow around the base. It is the height of the southern hemisphere summer and the hottest time of the year.
CHAPTER SIX
LIMINALITY AND CONFLICT

Turner (1967) considers conflict an ingredient of ritual processes. Referring to conflict in rituals of complex societies, he introduces the concept of arena. An arena occurs in "localized areas of social life where there is most social linkage and consensus" (1974:17), and it is a "concrete setting for antagonistic interaction" which includes breach of norms, crisis, redressive action (1974:37, 38, 134). In Chapter One, liminality is analyzed as an arena, in contrast to Chapter Five where intensification of cohesion is looked for as an outcome of ritualized behavior. An arena is then defined as a web of dependence that is also a niche for opposing views, awareness of differences rather than only of similarities, and the discovery of interpersonal barriers among fellow Brazilians. As Matta (1978:21) puts it: in a human setting of rituals, subdued conflict is a remarkable note that emerges between permanence and change.

One basic fact is that the majority of the Brazilian families did not know one another prior to their coming to the United States, although a few students had had some prior contact during scientific meetings or in their jobs. Upon arrival in the United States, individual and family relationships were initiated and they were gradually extended to an intense level of mutual dependence. Some newcomers depend upon information and support from those midway through...
their stay, and these, in turn, depend upon veterans, who in one way or another, also depend upon later arrivals. Newcomers bring information and experience on what has recently happened in Brazil. Those in the middle of their stay are showcases of recent adaptations to and discoveries of the liminal situation. Finally, the veterans are examples of the way success or failure marks the search for a degree. This web of dependence is not automatically established. It is based on felt needs of the students and their families. It results from instant demands: How to buy a used car? Who is who in the neighborhood? What is the solution for loneliness? Why can't one get medicines without a prescription? Where does one find a cheaper shopping center? From these questions and their answers, the web of dependence is built or modified thereafter. As Turner (1974:7) says: "Communitas is the fons et origo of all structure, and at the same time their critique."

This web of dependence leads to group formation. But the main reason for close interdependence among Brazilians comes from the basic fact of being foreigners. As these foreigners meet their native Brazilian friends, there is some relief from the anxiety of isolation. One wife said, "If upon my arrival, I looked to the four corners and didn't find any Brazilian face, I would have died."

Besides the above-mentioned causes for the development of this web of dependence (being a foreigner, meeting one's compatriots), there is an additional factor: It is the middle-class ideology or aggregate of values. Most often, the students belong to what Wagley
(1971) has termed the "new middle class." Among them unanimity exists toward the aspiration for a degree. But division also exists: their aggregate values are not always expressed consistently in liminality.

In contrast to the apparent and fragile cohesion of the rituals discussed in Chapter Five, another level of relationship can be observed. This involves the examination of social life through the factor of division or differences regarding values. The rationale is that a conflict of values turns the perspective from an external conflict to a deeper level of choices or preferences that may be of crucial importance born here and upon return to Brazil. These preferences are related to a core of various world-views that in a situation of risk (such as in liminality) are more intensely and clearly expressed or perceived.

In order to examine conflict of values, this section deals with divisive issues for (1) men in their roles as students, husbands, and peers; (2) women in their roles of wives, mothers, peers, and students; (3) children and their parents.

The factual material was obtained through informal situations and from the observation of concrete behavior. The context of the data differs from the semi-formal rituals discussed in Chapter Five.

**Domestic Conflict**

Husbands and wives find their values shaken in many situations. When the husband is the student, and the wife is not, the latter frequently feels reduced to the role of domestic servant. As one
student wife put it, "Here in Gainesville we become the little maids of our families." Student wives see this as a stressful and demeaning reversal of roles. Not infrequently, this leads to antagonistic domestic conflicts because the husband may consider himself overloaded with his course work and has not time to help at home. This situation is further aggravated by the fact that the males persist in traditional patterns of behavior. Unwilling to adjust to the new realities in the United States, they insist on going to soccer games, whereas the wives sit home to tend the children. And, some of the wives complained that their husbands refuse to take care of the children when the women gather for a chat or a play of cards. These examples illustrate that the old rule of women's concern with children, church and kitchen persists in the United States. But, the previously undisputed "macho" values are now shaken as student wives are exposed to new values and new aspirations.

As an interesting concession, one can see husbands washing dishes or cooking, either indoors or out. But most often, theirs is still the head place at the table. Not all husbands see it their duty to help in the kitchen. Some of them openly assume it, and some criticize the assumption of such tasks by other husbands. For example, during a volley ball game, one husband was asked to prepare a barbecue for his family. Some players remained silent while one of them suggested that he should not go. Others openly recognize that shopping with their wives is all right but insist that cooking or washing dishes is an unmanly task. Nonetheless, in some isolated cases
husbands do cook, take care of the children, and even do the laundry if their wives are otherwise engaged.

In one instance a husband began to help with the dishwashing, but the wife complained that "... he does not wash dishes as well as I do." When he attempted to do the laundry, he was blamed for performing the task inadequately. Finally, when he used the vacuum cleaner, his wife complained that many corners were left dirty. In short, the general complaint was that a husband may help in domestic tasks, but he does not take these tasks as his own. Instead the rationale is that the role is hers while he may be secondary or perhaps even an unwilling helper. To this, the husband replies: "The conflict is that a maid was born between us two and it takes time to reshape our mutual role at home." The conflict is almost unending. Some wives say they will assume their previous habits when they return to Brazil and hire a maid; others say they will hire a maid only if they can pay them the best possible salary after their own experience as "maids."

Domestic conflict is intensified by values regarding extra-domestic situations. The amount of contact between husband and wife is modified in liminality because, if he is at school and the children are at a nursery or in a public school, she has more free time. Most often she would like to study, but frequently she is frustrated in this point. If she has children, she hardly can be a full time student unless she has a maid or enough money to pay for a babysitter. One of the wives says she gained 20 pounds after one year of daring to try trying to study with no success. Another wife says that her husband
cannot do anything by himself and she has to help them. Such help means going with him to a laboratory at 2 a.m. because he is going to take the temperature of a turkey, or going on a field experiment on a Sunday morning to record blossoming and fading flowers.

Three cases of couples in which the husband was not the grantee were observed. In one of them the husband helped, but the wife was the main cook. In the case of Brazilian nisseis (second-generation Japanese Brazilians), the husband was an excellent cook; he was enthusiastic about the progress his wife was making in learning English and in her major studies. In the third case, the couple had a maid and the husband did not study for a degree, but he learned English, passed the TOEFL and GRE, did an internship on continuing education and in the last three months washed dishes in a newly opened restaurant. His wife had traveled to the United States before him. She was very shy in relating to other Brazilians; she had seen unpleasant things among her male peers (gossip, practical jokes) and she was shy and wary. In the last months, her husband changed from playing soccer to playing tennis with a neighbor. Tennis in Brazil is a gran-fino or high-prestige sport. At his departure, he had a tennis racquet on his back. These three cases are examples of role reversal where the husbands assume positions which in most instances are typical of student wives. In other words, they are nominally the head of the family, but the real head is the wife, and this creates conflict.
Conflicts among Men

Conflicts among men are of two sorts. There are conflicts regarding performance and conflicts regarding the breaking of unwritten rules. Value conflicts regarding performance appear (a) in competition for grades, and (b) in competition for sharing special opportunities. Grade point average is a magic phrase that stirs status seekers; even wives proudly refer to their husbands' high grade point average as an affirmation of achievement; high scores in GRE (Aptitude Test: Graduate Record Examination) are another kind of conspicuous production. These marks of success are in opposition to the situation of failure in qualifying examinations, in preliminary examinations or even of occasional lower grades. For example, one black male student, who eventually dropped out of school, was singled out in a conversation. There was much gossip about his unsuccessful relationship with his advisors and about his low grade point average.

Competition for sharing special opportunities occurs as well. Sometimes the special opportunity is shared and sometimes it is not. Thus one student obtained permission to use part of his grant to visit agricultural stations across the country. He offered to share this opportunity with two of his fellow Brazilian students. Yet, at another occasion, a group of students gathered around an important visitor from Brazil without informing other interested people about the event. This was a matter of bitter dissent and led to the complaint that some people have "no concern for others' needs." Thus, as these cases illustrate, individualism competes with a sense of belonging to a group, and in the long run leads to conflict and dissent.
Regarding the breaking of unwritten rules, there are overt and covert conflicts. In one case, during a volley ball game, harsh words were exchanged because two players could not agree on the standard of their performances. The threat of a public fight was resolved by the intervention of other players.

In another instance a Brazilian went to visit a friend's home without calling him in advance. The one visited explained that he prefers the "American way," that is, to be called in advance. These and similar "offenses" against unwritten rules are frequently discussed and offenders are either reformed and henceforth comply or they are socially avoided.

Regional Conflict

Regarding Brazilian regions and classes, the existence of value conflict is observed via surprises or jokes. For instance, during a 1978 meeting at the University of Wisconsin, one student was surprised to see that a majority of graduates overtly favored his region. In another case, comparison was made between the height of tall and short students from different regions. Also, in terms of jokes, one student from one traditionally despised region had some fun by distributing nicknames for newcomers and veterans as well.

Display of Economic Wealth and Conflict

The conflict between regions is kept covert. At the start, it appears mostly in the form of humor. Students rarely have an idea of how many students from his or her own region study abroad.
Awareness of one's own region as opposed to others' regions grows over time. At the level of displaying economic wealth, one student rivaled the other by saying that his stereo sound was excellent but his friend's stereo was a *roncador* or a noisy, snoring noise-maker. The difference in economic status is also evidenced in the difference in the kind of grant and the difference in salary. This aspect is rarely overtly displayed but eventually it becomes a topic of conversation. In case of a need, the discussion of finances becomes a source of help; yet, sometimes it is also a source of frustration.

Conflict of economic values is encouraged by the differences in grants. The Brazilian middle-class pattern of the triangle "car, color TV, and stereo sound system" (*Veja* September 1979) is also true in liminality. Of 27 families in Hopewood in 1979, only two families own two cars each. The access and use of used items here is a pattern, but after the first or second year of study, most students buy a sound system that may cost from $300 to $2,000 (U.S. dollars).

**Conflict among Women**

Conflict among women was observed when the author obtained permission to tape the open conversations of eight wives in two groups of three and five each in two different places. Also, data on this point were gathered from day-to-day observations.

A basic conflict regards those wives who say they are adjusting well to the United States and those who say they are not. Some feel at ease in the United States if they have got something to do
which fulfills their lives. Two of them helped with songs and Brazilian dances in a voluntary program at a kindergarten; another one had given up her profession (with a higher education degree) and since her husband was in the category of those who had previously studied in the United States, she could easily adjust to liminality without too many worries. She could even talk each week to her mother on the telephone and take care of her children (three and five years old). The majority of wives had a job in Brazil, and they would like to study in the United States, but since they have children, they would need either to pay a baby-sitter or to forego study. Grants from Brazil require full-time student status. Those who have no children (a minority in Hopewood; in the summer of 1979 there was one such case; while in 1978 there were two) may succeed in getting a grant. This is also possible for those whose children are in nursery or elementary school full time. The frustration of not being able to study is felt and bitterly expressed as a no-win situation. It was a wife in this situation who perceived herself as reduced to "uma empregadinha" (a little maid).

Other conflicts arise between those women who are experiencing some crisis and those who are onlookers. This points to a lack of solidarity among them. For example, in a crisis situation (sudden illness of a husband) one woman was expected to drop her courses in order to assist her husband and she was blamed by some of the other wives for her lack of care as she refused to do so. Conversely, in another situation when a woman was diagnosed as having cancer and later
underwent surgery, her husband was not criticized for continuing his studies. One wife who knew about both cases was very upset by the fact that wives are censured whereas husbands escape such censure for similar actions.

There are many other occasions leading to conflict among women. Thus, one wife discovered some kind of regional elitism when she heard from other Brazilian women that "Brazilian universities were good only from São Paulo (southeast) to the south." She was from Rio de Janeiro. Her reaction was that such comments discriminate against northeastern universities. She added that after two years in the United States, she noticed that groups were formed around technical disciplines without concern for human needs. In consequence, she split from many groups and reduced her participation to a smaller one that she considered not so short-sighted. Another wife who had a degree and a job in Brazil, but could not study for a degree in the United States, voiced her discontent. Such discontent after one year, was initially ameliorated by chatting with other women. But after two years, she was "fed up." Her main complaint was that Brazilian students stand united in comfortable situations, but that in crisis situations solidarity is lacking.

Another point of conflict among women regards the issue of ideal versus real behavior. The basic issue is that some women opt for behavior outside their traditional roles such as working for a degree, having independent opinions, or traveling without their husbands. When these matters are discussed, there is a tendency to admire
the idea. However, if such behavior actually occurs much criticism ensues.

Another level of conflict was created when wives took a professional stand. Two women continued with their graduate work while their husbands moved to other universities. Subsequently, one of the lone wives was no longer invited to social events. She later interpreted this as discrimination against her. The other woman concentrated on her graduate work and withdrew from her previous social contacts. Thus, professional and non-professional women come in conflict about appropriate behavior.

Some wives see themselves protected and elevated by their husband's status. Since most of the students were born in rural areas, the view of some women is that some of them were promoted from a rural to an urban area. The husbands were the vehicle of social ascension. Later, some women divorced (after 1977 Brazilian law allowed divorce) their husbands, but retained their urbanized social position. This interpretation of husbands as a vehicle for social ascension was once proposed by one woman and was strongly contradicted by another one.

Conflict among Children and Parents

Children are in conflict with each other and with their parents. They compete with each other by alleging that having air conditioning in the car is higher in status than not to have it. To have gone many times to Disneyworld is more prestigious than not to have gone or to have gone only once. To have a birthday party is
more prestigious than not to have one. Moreover, children experience conflict with their parents when the former prefer to listen to *Grease* and the latter to Brazilian music, or when the children do not accept the fact that their parents are "less wealthy" in the United States than in Brazil.

**Religious Conflict**

Religious values are another dimension of conflict. Generally, it is not a much talked about issue since it is a family affair, not an individual one. As in Brazil, the majority are nominal Catholics. A few couples frequent church activities, either Catholic or Protestant, but the majority do not frequent any religious establishment. Jokingly, one newcomer once referred to the richness of the Pope. More seriously, another one proposed prayer during a celebration of New Year's Eve and when his suggestion was not accepted, he left the party. Other couples preferred to go to their church rather than to the secular New Year's Eve celebration. One particular difference is that, while in Brazil more women than men go to church, in the United States single women are seldom seen alone in religious activities. Mostly, it is a family activity: the couple and their children. Even more rarely does the husband go alone to church.

The most notable divergence from Brazilian or Latin American pattern is that a greater number of males now participate in religious activities. In liminality, there are more husbands than wives searching for degrees, and, thus, subject to greater stress. Probably, the
search for religious support by some of these husbands encourages their wives and children to go to church with them.

Discussion

In liminality, value conflicts are an integral part of the foreign students' lives. And, these conflicts are a fertile ground for insights and hypotheses on a segment of the Brazilian middle class living abroad.

While in the United States, students become aware of differences among Brazilian granting institutions. For instance, the grants discussed in Chapter Three differ in the number and kind of provisions. Sometimes there are shifts in institutional policy resulting in the reduction of the amount of money. In addition, most institutions require progress reports from the students at three-month intervals. However, this update is not reciprocal. The Brazilian institutions do not inform the students of their own needs or even about ongoing research projects. Figure 8 summarizes conflicts of value in liminal situations. Students indicated that this feedback is of crucial importance to them, both while they study abroad and after they have returned home. That the institutions fall far short of the students' expectations regarding communication only adds to the students' feelings of anxiety and insecurity. This is a major bone of contention and source of conflict when students and officials meet, as happened in Madison in the summer of 1978. This conflict was also noted in the interviews made with the students.
Figure 8. Diagram on three stages of liminality (state II)
These and other conflicts form an ongoing, rather than an isolated process. Traditional middle-class Brazilian attitudes regarding roles of men and women make such conflicts inevitable in contrast to some of the values inherent in the host culture. For the Brazilians studying abroad, these conflicts bring to the fore values old and new, resulting in an opportunity for change. This awareness of conflicting values is heightened even in people who reject some new values. The fact of coming to the United States is that the students are exposed to different values in a cross-cultural situation.

Brazilian institutions expect certain behaviors and contributions from the students upon their return. Yet institutions which sponsor students do not give them any encouragement. Continued information on projects, needs, and achievements regarding what is in process or what will be asked from them upon return is needed.
CHAPTER SEVEN
CASE HISTORIES

This chapter provides short case histories of Brazilian graduate students who have studied in American universities during the last three years. Ten cases are presented as part of the empirical evidence that formed the basis for this dissertation. The cases are selected from those of the 60 people with whom the author conducted extensive open-ended interviews. The central actors in these case studies represent several regions of Brazil, both sexes, and several academic disciplines. Their studies were financed by several institutions in Brazil. For practical reasons, the author selected students who studied at the University of Florida, except for one black student who studied at the University of Iowa, in Iowa City.

These ten short case histories illustrate the family background, the educational and professional careers, the family situation, and many of the common problems of these young professionals from Brazil who are now studying abroad. In the presentation of these case studies, note will be taken of their Brazilian region of birth since regional sub-culture is even today an important variable in the modern Brazilian way of life. Furthermore, although all of these individuals would now claim middle-class status in Brazil, it is important to note also the socioeconomic class of their parents, in other words, the class of their family of orientation. None of these individuals can
be considered "typical" Brazilian graduate students; but, taken together, they illustrate real-life situations among the people who formed the basis for this study. Tables 3 and 4 present summary data on the 60 students interviewed. Table 5 presents summary data on the ten short life histories selected for this chapter. Tables 6, 7, 8, and 9 present data on a set of 52 students who graduated from the University of Florida (Gainesville, Florida) from 1976 to 1979. Some of these 52 were part of the students who were interviewed.

The names of all individuals in this chapter are fictitious in order to protect the identity of the informants. The author selected fictitious names which reflect the regional and national patterns of Brazil. This pattern of personal names usually includes one, two, or more first names, a middle surname taken from one's mother, and a surname taken from the paternal side of the family. But, in Brazil, unlike the people of Hispanic America, people are rather capricious about their selection of surnames. Some people carry two surnames or another variation. Thus, even brothers may have different surnames. As stated earlier, in the United States, Brazilians are almost forced to shed some of their names. Also, Brazilians tend to refer to people, both close friends and mere acquaintances, by a first name. Thus, President Getulio Dornelles Vargas was just Getulio or, at best, Dr. Getulio.

Pery Iguassu Verissimo da Rota

Life History

Pery Iguassu Verissimo da Rota has two Indian names (Pery and Iguassu) and two Portuguese surnames. He is very proud to bear
### TABLE 3
SUMMARY DATA ON 30 BRAZILIAN GRADUATE STUDENTS INTERVIEWED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA 1978-79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Area of Study</th>
<th>Degree Sought</th>
<th>End of Program</th>
<th>Region of Birth</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1939</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Veterinary Medicine</td>
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<td>Male</td>
</tr>
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<td>1936</td>
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<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1981</td>
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<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>NE</td>
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<td>1979</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>SE</td>
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<td>SE</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>SE</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Male</td>
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<td>Male</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*1 = born in a capital city; 2 = born in an interior city

*2N = north; NE = northeast; S = south; SE = southeast; CN = center west
### TABLE 4
SUMMARY DATA ON 30 BRAZILIAN GRADUATE STUDENTS INTERVIEWED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (MADISON), MICHIGAN STATE (EAST LANSING) AND IOWA (IOWA CITY), 1979

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year of Birth</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
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<th>Region of Origin</th>
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<td>Statistics</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>CW</td>
<td>Male</td>
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</table>

a1 = born in a capital city; 2 = born in an interior area

bN = north; NE = northeast; S = south; SE = southeast; CW = center west
### TABLE 5
SUMMARY DATA ON TEN CASES OF BRAZILIAN GRADUATES IN THE UNITED STATES

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Fictive Name</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Year Born</th>
<th>Region of Birth</th>
<th>Family Status</th>
<th>Degree of interest</th>
<th>Brazilian Institution of Support</th>
<th>University in U.S.</th>
<th>Field of Degree</th>
<th>Stays in U.S.</th>
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<td>Florida</td>
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<tr>
<td>Guarany</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lino</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>IPEA</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Agricultural Economics</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosangela</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Microbiology</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nara</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecy</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Chemistry</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conceição</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cid</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>CAPES</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>One and one visit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>NE</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>EMBRAPA</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>EMBRAPA</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>One</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aN = north; NE = northeast; S = south; SE = southeast; CW = center west

Source: S. Sá and E. V. Sá, 1979
### Table 6
Completion of Degrees: Brazilian Graduates in 1976, University of Florida, According to Data from Commencement Lists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Animal Nutrition</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nematology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plant Pathology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plant Pathology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Botany</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Electrical Engineering</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metallurgical Engineering</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 9

Source: University of Florida Graduate School Commencement Program
Tabulation: S. Sá and E. V. Sá, 1979

### Table 7
Completion of Degrees: Brazilian Graduates in 1977, University of Florida, According to Data from Commencement Lists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chemical Engineering</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit Crops</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 10

Source: University of Florida Graduate School Commencement Program
Tabulation: S. Sá and E. V. Sá, 1979
TABLE 8
COMPLETION OF DEGREES: BRAZILIAN GRADUATES IN 1978, UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA, ACCORDING TO DATA FROM COMMENCEMENT LISTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Entomology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy (Forestry)</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agricultural Economics</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture Economics</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fine Arts (Music)</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agriculture Economics</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entomology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plant Pathology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veterinary Science</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metallurgical Engineering</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soil Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horticultural Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
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</table>

Total: 21

Source: University of Florida Graduate School Commencement Programs
Tabulation: S. Sá and E. V. Sá, 1979
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Agronomy</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Horticulture</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entomology</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soil Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soil Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Veterinary Science</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fruit Crops</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Soil Science</td>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 11

Source: University of Florida Graduate School Commencement Program
Tabulation: S. Sá and E. V. Sá, 1979
names that link him to his great grandparents, whom he claims were Indians from the state of Rio Grande do Sul, in the south of Brazil. Pery was born in 1940, in the town of São Francisco de Assis, in the western part of Rio Grande do Sul, near the border with Uruguay. Thus, the Portuguese he speaks shows Spanish influence.

Pery's family has been a member of the middle class for two generations. His paternal grandparents were small landowners. His grandfather completed secondary school and he owned about three hundred acres of farm land that he worked without hired labor. Pery's grandmother completed elementary school and worked with his grandfather on the farm. On the maternal side, Pery's grandparents lived in town. His grandfather had completed secondary school and his grandmother had completed elementary school. Pery's parents were also middle class. His father obtained the rank of colonel in the state military police.

Pery is a big man, much taller than the average Brazilian. He is very proud of his regional roots, but he has a sense of humor about his own gaúcho world view. His loud voice and the contents of his conversation help to identify him as a southerner. For example, once, when he tried to express his friendship for a child, he said, "Onde deixares o teu rastro eu deixarei meu sangue," or "Wherever I go I will accompany you, even at the expense of losing my own blood."

This is an expression that was often repeated by peasants in the south to their powerful patrons. Pery often uses such regional expressions, and he jokes frequently about Brazilian stereotypes of the brash, crude, aggressive gaúcho.
Pery received his elementary, secondary and university education in public institutions in his home state. His secondary school education was received in a public military academy. Upon graduation from this academy, he embarked upon a career in the state military police. Before he left the military police where he achieved the rank of captain, he studied agronomy in his state university from 1962 through 1965. He came to the United States in 1971 to do graduate study at the University of Illinois. He received his master's degree in 1972. Before returning to Brazil, Pery went to Rome, where he attended an international meeting of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. Upon returning to Brazil, Pery obtained a position at the Federal University of Santa Maria of Rio Grande do Sul. He later became chairman of his department. During this period, he helped his university establish an advanced training center in the lowland Amazon area. He worked as a consultant for the Rondon project, which is modeled on the American Peace Corps and carries out projects in remote areas of Brazil. In this capacity as well, he traveled to the northern, or Amazon area, of the country. At the end of 1977, Pery returned to the United States on a fellowship from CAPES to complete his Ph.D. degree in animal science at the University of Florida.

Pery took the TOEFL examination in Brazil. But, when he came to the United States to study for his master's degree, he had to pass a second TOEFL in order to fulfill the more rigorous language requirement of the University of Illinois. In order to prepare himself for this second TOEFL examination, Pery came to the United States
without his family and enrolled for a quarter at the English Studies Center at Illinois. In this center, students attended English classes for eight hours a day, five days a week. Each class was limited to ten students, and the course schedule included time spent in listening laboratories as well as sessions devoted to improving reading, writing, and conversational skills. Pery paid for this instruction with his own resources. His grant from CAPES was conditional upon succeeding in this course and passing the TOEFL examination.

In addition to this training, Pery studied English at a branch of the private Yazigi English Studies Institute in Brazil. Yazigi hires professional linguists as instructors and stresses creating culturally realistic situations in which to teach English. Yazigi courses enjoy a very good reputation in Brazil. Pery feels that the time and effort he has spent on learning English will have been very worthwhile.

Pery's career in animal science began when he completed his undergraduate studies at the Federal University of Santa Maria of Rio Grande do Sul. Upon graduation, he received a position there as an assistant professor. His decision to pursue graduate studies in the United States came about when his university planned to expand its curriculum and offer graduate-level courses. To do this, it was necessary to increase the number of faculty members who hold graduate degrees.

Pery chose his Ph.D. advisor at the University of Florida on the basis of contacts they had with one another in Brazil, and as a
result of having read several scientific papers that the American professor had published. However, Pery's advisor does not speak Portuguese, and Pery is the first Brazilian to choose this professor as an advisor. Although he is advancing well in his program, Pery would like an opportunity to work more closely with his advisor. He feels that students are burdened with a large number of essentially meaningless, petty assignments which inhibit the more intimate contact he would like.

Pery notes that it is generally up to Brazilian students to relate what they learn in their classes in the United States to research problems that they will be facing in Brazil. Of the courses he has taken at the University of Florida, only one has utilized any Brazilian bibliography or examples. Pery rates the courses he has taken as one-third excellent, one-third weak, and one-third waste of time.

Pery feels that his two greatest problems in the United States have been communication problems with his advisor and homesickness for Brazil and his extended family. He feels that the financial arrangements of the grant he receives from CAPES are adequate. He receives his regular salary as a university professor, and the fellowship pays his travel and tuition expenses and provides him with a monthly maintenance allowance of US$420. At the present time, CAPES fellowships pay students fixed amounts which do not take into consideration their individual situation. Pery feels that the fellowship program could be run more efficiently and at the same time provide more benefits to students who need them if the flexibility to base awards on individual circumstances were built in.
Pery is already thinking about his return to Brazil and his future career there. He hopes to spend about half of his professional time teaching and half doing research. He hopes that he will not be burdened again with the chairmanship of his department for at least ten years or so. Pery feels that students returning from graduate study in the United States would benefit greatly if their colleagues in Brazil had a clearer perception of what the experience of studying abroad is like. He noted that a student returning to Brazil is "like a stranger in his or her own homeland." It would help greatly, Pery feels, if Brazilian friends and colleagues were prepared to help the returning students make the necessary adjustment.

Pery is married to a woman who was also born in Rio Grande do Sul. She is a professional dentist and holds the same rank as Pery, associate professor, at the Federal University of Santa Maria. She does not have a fellowship to do graduate study in the United States, but she has secured a courtesy professor position at the College of Dentistry at the University of Florida. Under this arrangement, she receives no salary and pays no fees, but she is allowed to use university facilities. Pery and his wife have two daughters, one three and the other eight years old. In addition, a female cousin of Pery (about 16 years old) accompanied them to the United States and is enrolled in a public high school. Both of Pery's daughters attend school as well; the older child is enrolled in a public elementary school and the younger daughter participates in a pre-school program.
Pery's wife, children and cousin usually attend the Sunday children's Mass at the University Catholic Church. Occasionally, Pery accompanies his family to Mass. The children are also enrolled in religion classes at the parish house, preparing them for First Communion. The family enjoys this opportunity to socialize with other Brazilian families, and for the children, the refreshments that the Church serves them after Mass are a weekly treat.

Pery maintains close ties with other families from the south of Brazil who live at Hopewood. He and his family brought with them the special gourd and metal straw from which maté tea is drunk. The southern families may often be seen sharing an outdoor chimarrão. Often, this is a prelude to a heavy meal as southerners maintain that mate aids the digestion. From time to time, the southern families share the expense of importing a kilogram of maté tea from Rio Grande do Sul.

There is a cohesiveness among families from the south of Brazil residing at Hopewood which is not matched by Brazilians from other areas of the country. Since 1977, Pery's family, along with two others from Rio Grande do Sul and a family from Minas Gerais, have maintained a shared subscription to the Brazilian current events magazine, Veja. The four families divide the annual subscription cost equally. Each week a different family is allowed to keep the magazine while the other three are allowed to read it. A small tag on the inside cover indicates who is to be the owner and who are to be the readers for a given week. On one occasion, the family from Minas Gerais
which had originally entered into the subscription agreement, returned to Brazil, and a family from another region tried to buy their share of the subscription. This was initially permitted; however, another family from Rio Grande do Sul joined the group of subscribers.

Pery is very aware of the large number of people from Rio Grande do Sul who have been selected for graduate study abroad, and he keeps informed on the progress of many of them. He was very happy to be able to tell about a couple from Rio Grande do Sul who had been studying at the University of Colorado. The husband had received a fellowship to study for his Ph.D. in 1976. In the meantime, the wife enrolled in a graduate program in education and went on to receive her own Ph.D. in 1979.

All in all, Pery is a very popular member of the Brazilian community at Hopewood. He is active in social events and is an enthusiastic member of the soccer team, although he did not play soccer in Brazil. His perpetual good humor and his knowledge of the latest jokes being told in Brazil make him a center of attention at parties. When Pery passed his qualifying examinations, it was a cause for celebration among all of the Brazilians at Hopewood, and indicative of his deep participation in community life.

Discussion

Pery is similar to other Brazilians who receive fellowships from CAPES in that he receives a standardized allowance in addition to his university salary. He also exemplifies the majority of Brazilians who come to study in the United States with regard to his
region of origin and to his practicing of Catholicism. Pery is atypical of other Brazilian students inasmuch as he has Indian names. He is also distinguished by the fact that his wife has the same rank as he does at the Federal University of Santa Maria. In addition, the expenditure of his personal funds to study English in the United States is almost unique.

Pery and his wife are very much members of the Brazilian middle class, and their families have been so for two generations. Yet, Pery is the first person in his family to receive university training, much less to receive advanced degrees. It is in the south of Brazil that the middle class is most numerous due to the lack of a plantation, slaveocratic tradition; but, Pery's case indicates the increased level of education of the "solid" middle class. No longer is a secondary education enough to maintain one's position, and members of the middle class are now looking toward advanced training in agronomy and other specializations, rather than the traditional professions of law and medicine.

The fact that Pery has made two separate trips to the United States for graduate study means that he is more comfortable in this country than most Brazilian students manage to be. A trip to the Food and Agricultural Organization meeting in Rome provided him with additional experience outside of Brazil. Pery's experience in helping to organize an Amazonian branch of the Federal University of Santa Maria and his work in the Amazon area as a consultant to the Rondon project mean that he has more experience in different regions of his own country than do most Brazilians.
The residence of Pery's female cousin with him and his family is indicative of the importance and closeness of extended family ties in Brazil. She does not take the place of a maid, but is accepted as a full-fledged member of the Hopewood community. On the other hand, she is appreciated for her role as an older companion to Pery's two daughters, as well as to other children who live at Hopewood.

Pery's fictive Indian name points to two facts: the existence of an Indian name as part of his real name, and his appreciation for the Indian roots of his ancestry. These two facts are rare among students. However, Pery's perception of them is explained by his father's appreciation of his own Indian ancestry: three of Pery's siblings received Indian names, also, and it was a theme for many conversations at home and during periodical visits to rural areas known in their region as the site of an old Jesuit mission called the "Seven People's Mission" ("os sete povos das missões"). Nowadays, this site comprises seven cities named after seven saints. Also, Pery's perception of his southern "gaúcho" society leads him to divide them in two broad categories: those in whom European blood predominates and those in whom Indian ancestry is recognized as more important than the European one. Pery estimates that only one-fifth of his blood is from his Indian ancestry, but he considers this Indian ancestry as a valuable asset to his life. He once even commented that he was president of one "Centro de Tradição Gaúcha" ("Center of Gaúcho Tradition"); these centers exist throughout Rio Grande do Sul, and in Pery's region they emphasize the relevance of their Indian ancestry. Pery thinks that
Indians are the true Brazilians whose cultures and places should not be changed because of the alternatives they offer to modern Brazil.

Guarany Forte

Life History

Guarany is a mineiro; that is, he is from the state of Minas Gerais in the southeast of Brazil. He is very proud of his home state and his home town which is also Guarany. Among the members of the Brazilian community, he is noted for his leadership ability and for his long experience in the United States as a graduate student. Guarany has just recently completed his Ph.D. program in the Department of Animal Science of the University of Florida. Several years earlier (1967-1969) he had received his master's degree, also in animal science, at the University of Florida, and had returned to his position as a faculty member of the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. During his two periods of study in the United States, Guarany has made several professional trips to other areas of the country, and he and his family have made personal trips to tourist attractions in Florida.

Guarany was born in 1936. He is older than most of the Brazilian graduate students at Hopewood. His three children, two girls and a boy, range between the ages of four and twelve years old, and are among the older Brazilian children living at Hopewood. A male nephew who is eighteen years old also lived with Guarany's family for some months. He accompanied the family to the United States and enrolled in a program at Santa Fe Community College in Gainesville. He eventually moved into his own apartment with a Brazilian roommate.
Guarany's wife María is from Bolivia. She speaks English fluently and was able to secure occasional employment at the University of Florida as a secretary. Upon returning to Brazil, she helped to put her language skills in Spanish, English and Portuguese to work by finding a job as a translator. After two extended visits to the United States, she became comfortable with her role in this country. She found that she got along very well without a maid. She said that, although they would hire a maid upon returning to Brazil, she thought that her relationship with domestic help would be different. She planned to participate more actively in household chores, with the maid acting more as a helper.

María has lived in Rio de Janeiro since she was five years old. While she was attending secondary school, María studied English at the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos and she also took a Westminster course, which teaches British English rather than American English. María felt that she was more influenced by the Westminster course and when she first arrived in the United States, she noticed that her English was "different" from that of her American neighbors. María said that she learned much more about life in the United States from movies and television programs than from her English classes.

While she was working at the University of Florida, María had the opportunity to accompany some of her colleagues on a trip to the Caribbean. María also joined with a group of female neighbors at Hopewood to go jogging every morning.

Guarany's paternal grandfather migrated to Minas Gerais from Italy. There, he secured a job as a laborer on the large estate
of a coronel. One day, however, he asked his patron for permission to play the accordian, as he was talented at playing musical instruments. For this, he was dismissed because the coronel said he wanted peasants, not musicians. Guarany's grandfather then moved to a small town nearby and became a piano tuner, a profession he continued from that time. Guarany's maternal grandparents were farmers and, he claimed, descended from Indians.

Guarany's father was a tailor and his mother was a seamstress. Together they opened a small store which sold cloth and sewing notions. The store became an important fixture in the small town of 2,000 people called Guarany. It provided enough income to support Guarany and his six brothers and sisters through secondary school. Guarany's parents had attended school only through the third grade; but, they were determined that their children would have more education than they did. Guarany's mother, in particular, stressed the importance of education. She told her children that they must obtain a degree in higher education at all cost.

The opportunities for obtaining an education were very scarce in Guarany's home town. All of his brothers and sisters had to leave home and attend boarding schools in a neighboring town in order to complete their secondary education. When his oldest sister became the first in his family to complete secondary school, she received a class ring, which the family purchased with money received from the sale of their mother's sewing machine. This was in 1943, when Guarany was about seven years old; but, the incident made quite an impression on him and he referred to it often.
As the next-to-the-youngest of seven children, Guarany did enjoy some advantages. In 1949, a new ginásio, or elementary school, opened in his home town. Guarany was thus able to complete the first level of his secondary education while living at home, rather than having to leave in order to attend a boarding school.

In 1952, Guarany finished his studies at the local ginásio and, in 1953, he went to Rio de Janeiro, where he worked to support himself and completed his secondary education in three more years. He then entered the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro and began to work toward a degree in agronomy. During his university studies, Guarany did not have to work because he was supported by an older brother who had completed his degree program in dentistry.

Guarany's relationship with his brother is indicative of the importance of family to Brazilians. As has been stated before, mutual aid relationships are a basis for the extended family acting as a member's support network. After Guarany finished his studies, his brother joined the Navy. Upon leaving the service, he will help to support the son of one of his brothers, who will be beginning his university studies. It will be remembered that Guarany brought a nephew, a brother's son, with his own family to the United States.

From 1960 through 1962, Guarany received a small grant which was awarded by the Ministry of Agriculture to all agronomy students to encourage them to pursue their studies. The grant was of two thousand cruzeiros, or about thirty-five dollars (US$35.00--September 1979 exchange rate) per month. However, at that time, a student in a
federal university could live very cheaply. Tuition was free and lodging could be obtained at very little cost. Students paid only a token price for their meals: two cruzeiros or six cents each for lunch and dinner.

While studying as an undergraduate, Guarany took an examination which was used to select students to work on a study of coffee plantations in the interior of Rio de Janeiro. He did well on the examination and for two years he dedicated his one-month vacation to the study. During that time, he surveyed forty-five coffee plantations.

Upon completing his undergraduate studies in 1963, Guarany obtained employment with the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1966, he passed a competitive selection examination and won a position as an auxiliary professor at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. In 1967, Guarany received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation through the International Rice Institute to study for a master's degree at the University of Florida.

In 1969, Guarany received a master's degree in animal science in a non-thesis program, and returned to the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. Upon his return, he was made chairman of his department, a position he held from August 1969 through October 1970. He was promoted to assistant professor and he served in this position until 1976 when he received a CAPES fellowship and returned to the University of Florida to work for a Ph.D. in animal science. This he received in March 1979, at the end of the winter quarter. While Guarany was studying for his Ph.D., he was promoted to associate
professor by his university. He returned to fill this position in the spring of 1979.

These are the general features of Guarany's educational history. In the course of pursuing his studies, Guarany had several experiences which are indicative of the experiences of many other Brazilian students. Not the least of these is his prolonged effort to learn to use English well. This began in 1964 when Guarany attended a training program in Matão, in the state of São Paulo. Matão was a research station sponsored by the International Rice Institute. The course was given in English and taught by the man who would later become Guarany's major professor at the University of Florida. Guarany was very frustrated at his inability to understand much of what was said in the course.

When he returned to his job at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro, Guarany arranged for an English teacher to come to his home twice a week and give classes to a group of agronomists. When he began studying English in this way, Guarany was able to read scientific papers in English without too much difficulty. The teacher Guarany hired had been a broadcaster for the BBC and he placed a great deal of stress on how to open and maintain a dialogue. He also gave instruction in English composition and introduced his students to readings in English from a wide variety of sources. Guarany rated this experience as excellent.

In 1965, an agreement was reached between USAID and Brazil's Ministry of Agriculture whereby Brazilian agronomists could be funded
to receive graduate training in the United States. As a candidate for this program Guarany was eligible to have his English classes paid for by USAID and he intensified his sessions with the English teacher. This arrangement continued until the teacher secured an appointment as a Portuguese professor at the University of Ohio and left Brazil. Guarany then began to take English classes from a private organization in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Every day after completing their regular work schedule at the university, Guarany and two colleagues traveled the 46 kilometers into Rio de Janeiro to take their class. This continued for six months and Guarany feels that it was during this time that he began to feel confident in his ability to speak and understand English; although, when he thinks about the effort involved in the daily trip after work, Guarany says that it was a loucura (literally "crazy," but meaning extraordinary effort).

USAID then paid two female Peace Corps volunteers who were working at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro to spend two hours each day teaching English at the university. After this study, Guarany took and passed the TOEFL examination in 1967.

Guarany arrived at the University of Florida in June of 1967. The university was at that time changing from a semester to a quarter system and he had to wait until September to begin taking classes under the new academic calendar. Guarany utilized the time to take an English course of the English Language Institute, and to prepare for and pass the Graduate Record Examination. When the fall quarter began, Guarany was ready to enter his graduate program. He also took one additional English course, English for Foreign Students, which was offered by the
Department of English at the University of Florida. This completed his formal training in English. While English training required a tremendous amount of time and effort, Guarany feels that a firm knowledge of English is a professional necessity for someone in his field. To not learn English would be to cut oneself off from the bulk scientific information on agriculture currently being published.

Guarany chose to attend the University of Florida for his graduate training because, being located in a semi-tropical area, he felt that it would be possible for him to do research there that would have immediate application to conditions found in the state of Rio de Janeiro. When he arrived at the University of Florida in 1967, he knew no one among either the faculty or students. However, in 1968, the professor who had conducted the course at Matao four years previously arrived and became Guarany's advisor.

Guarany felt that he had good rapport with faculty members during both his stays at the University of Florida. Although he knew none of them personally when he arrived, he had received information on the personnel in the Animal Science Department and he was familiar with their research through his reading of scientific publications. Guarany felt that he had received very good advice from the members of his master's degree committee. At that time, the principal role for an agricultural professor in Brazilian universities was that of a teacher. Little emphasis was placed on research. Accordingly, Guarany's advisors suggested that he take a non-thesis master's degree and use his time to take as many courses in as many different areas as possible in order to increase his usefulness as a teacher.
Guarany took their advice and several benefits accrued to him as a result of it. First, when Guarany returned to the University of Florida to work on his Ph.D., he was required to take very few courses. This allowed him to spend more time on research and publishing. Indeed, Guarany had published six papers in Brazil prior to beginning work on his Ph.D. He planned to publish two papers in English in the United States. Both of these were to be jointly authored by Guarany, his committee chairman, and another committee member. In one, Guarany was to be the senior author and in one he was to be a collaborating author.

Taking the advice of his advisors also helped Guarany to gain some interdisciplinary background. During the course of his studies, he took courses offered by the Departments of Agronomy, Animal Science, Dairy Science, Food and Resource Economics, Soil Science and Statistics. In addition to his Ph.D. in animal science, Guarany took a minor in soil science.

Guarany's committee chairman was helpful to him in other ways. When Guarany was conducting field experiments, he allowed him to take along his research assistant to act as a field assistant. Although Guarany's advisor had spent over two years in Brazil, he spoke no Portuguese. Because of this lack of language ability, he referred to his time in Brazil as a "horrible experience." As a result, he was very sympathetic of the problems Guarany encountered living and working in a society in which he had to speak English.
Guarany did not feel that he was isolated from his advisors or that he suffered from a lack of contact with them. He did not try to just "drop in" on his advisors when he wanted to see them; rather, when he had something he wanted to talk about he called ahead to make an appointment. He always tried to keep his visits brief and to the point. Although many Brazilian students complain about a lack of access to their advisors, Guarany said that he never had any problem following this approach. In his opinion, the preference expressed by his advisors that students make appointments to see them was not reflective of a pedantic attitude, but of a desire for organization.

Even before coming to the United States to study, Guarany had traveled to areas outside of his own more than do most Brazilians. While an undergraduate agronomy student, he had occasion to visit the states of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro. He also traveled to Uruguay. After he became a faculty member, the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro established two branch campuses in the lowland Amazon area, one in Macapá and one in Parintins. Students are selected to spend from three to six months of their vacation time in these areas assisting in rural development projects. Guarany helped to coordinate these projects and thus also became acquainted with the Amazon area.
In addition, Guarany worked in Brazil as a consultant to the Latin American Students Program in American Universities (LASPAU). In this capacity, he helped to select Brazilian students who would be coming to the United States to study. After seeing a large number of students having adjustment problems upon returning to Brazil, he became convinced of the importance of acquiring work experience prior to going abroad to study. He felt that two years of work experience was the minimum necessary to insure that students have a sense of purpose and that they have a concrete view of the problems that need to be solved in Brazil.

Guarany also had the opportunity to take several trips during his visits to the United States. USAID paid for him to go to New York to participate in a seminar on the use of library resources. He felt that this experience helped him to more effectively use the library as a research tool in his own program, and that it gave him an advantage over fellow students who did not have such training. Prior to returning to Brazil after completing his master's degree program, USAID also paid for Guarany to go to Akron, Ohio, to participate in an exit seminar sponsored by the Psychology Department of the University of Michigan. About 80 foreign students from different countries who had just completed graduate degree programs in universities throughout the United States participated in the seminar. The seminar lasted for 15 days. Students were asked to evaluate their experience
of graduate study in the United States, and they underwent what was termed "psychological preparation" for returning to their own countries.

In addition, Guarany and his family traveled by bus from Gainesville, Florida, to Minneapolis, Minnesota, to spend their Christmas vacation. Guarany also attended a professional meeting in Chicago and made a trip to Washington, D.C. All of these trips were paid for by USAID. Guarany and his family also took personal trips to tourist attractions in Florida such as Disneyworld and Daytona Beach.

Guarany felt that he had generally good rapport with his American colleagues. He had a study desk in a room shared with twelve other animal science graduate students. In this situation, he came to know some Americans quite well. However, Guarany said he felt no particular need to get to know American students. This was particularly true during his second visit to the United States. He spoke English well and was a member of a very supportive Brazilian community at Hopewood. There was very little that American students could provide that he could not find within the confines of this community. It was a Brazilian friend, for example, who helped Guarany prepare the graphs, tables and slides that he used in his dissertation defense.

With regard to non-academic areas of his life in the United States, Guarany noted that he had few problems adapting to American institutions. He quickly realized that the family health insurance policy recommended by the University of Florida was inadequate for the needs of his family and bought a more satisfactory policy from another company.
Guarany found that he was generally able to maintain his customary diet centering around beans, rice and fresh vegetables while living in the United States. With regard to American cuisine, he mentioned that he did not like frozen food. Guarany often prepared coffee for visiting friends, and, when in the spring of 1979 his family returned to Brazil ahead of him, he did his own laundry and prepared his own meals when he was not invited to eat at the house of a friend.

Guarany was a very popular member of the Brazilian community at Hopewood. He was always ready to help a friend and when he learned of the present research he was eager to introduce the author to faculty members and students whom he regarded as "key informants." Guarany participated in most social occasions involving the Brazilian community. He was a principal figure in the Saturday soccer games and he regularly played volleyball with Brazilian and other students living at Hopewood. Guarany very much enjoyed playing cards or just talking with friends. During the World Cup Soccer Match in Buenos Aires, he secured the help of a Portuguese neighbor who was an electronics engineer to set up a radio receiver that would get good reception of broadcasts of the matches.

After Guarany defended his dissertation, his friends had a celebration party for him in the recreation room at Hopewood. They shared the time and expense of preparing homemade refreshments. On the day he returned to Brazil, he had morning coffee in the home of some friends who then took him to the airport. Later, after he had
returned to Brazil, his friends received some Brazilian magazines and newspapers from him.

Guarany was optimistic about what lay in store for him upon his return to Brazil and his position at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro. Before coming to the United States to do his doctoral work, Guarany felt that his principal emphasis had been teaching. He hoped to place more emphasis on research upon his return. He also planned to be active in student advisement and hoped to be allowed to return to his position as a consultant to the Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa, in which he advised students with grants of "scientific initiation." Some of the students with whom he worked before coming to the United States had gone on to publish papers and study abroad themselves.

Guarany reflected that one thing he learned in the United States was that there are many jobs that urgently need to be done in areas such as extension, but which do not require someone with a Ph.D. to fill them. Rather, they could best be filled by someone with a middle-level technical education. People are not encouraged to fill such positions in Brazil, he noted, because the salaries are too low and the working conditions are too difficult to justify the effort of obtaining the necessary degree. Efforts need to be made to make these intermediate-level jobs more attractive, he felt.

Discussion

Guarany and Pery are similar in that both have had two periods of residence in the United States. Both had considerable work
experience before undertaking graduate study. Neither wife did graduate study in the United States, but both worked in positions that offered rewards such as travel and professional advancement. Both Guarany and Pery are professors in southern universities that lie outside of major cities. Their presence in the United States is indicative of the emphasis being placed by Brazil on agricultural development.

The emphasis being placed by Brazil on agricultural development has caused some recent changes in careers models. Traditionally in Brazil, the careers through which one establishes oneself as securely middle class are those of medicine and law. In fact, of Guarany's four older brothers, two are lawyers, one is a dentist and one is a physician. Guarany was the first in his family to choose a career in agriculture. However, he now has three nephews who have chosen agronomy as their major area in their university studies.

The importance of the extended family has been alluded to several times. Indeed, it was instrumental in the realization of Guarany's mother's dream that all of her children be educated. However, in the complex bureaucratized society of Brazil, Guarany does not rely solely upon his family for support. Guarany employs a professional *procurador* or "power of attorney" to handle his bureaucratic problems for him. In Brazil, the *procurador* makes a business out of developing the personal relationships with bureaucrats which can make a large, impersonal bureaucracy work in one's favor. When, during his second stay in the United States, Guarany was promoted to
associate professor by his university, it was the procurador who handled the necessary paperwork.

Lino Linhares de Abreu

Life History

Lino was born in 1945 in the city of Rio de Janeiro. He has lived in that city for most of his life. In terms of Brazilian regional labels, he is a carioca. Lino's family background is decidedly urban and upper-middle class. His paternal grandparents were of Spanish origin and they migrated to Brazil from Portugal. His maternal grandparents were farmers in the state of Rio de Janeiro. Although Lino received his Ph.D. from the University of Florida in agricultural economics, his maternal grandparents provided his only pre-professional contact with the rural countryside.

Lino's father is a lawyer in Rio de Janeiro. When Lino was young, he held a position with the Brazilian government and the family lived in New York City from 1950 through 1955. Lino's mother has completed her elementary education. Lino also has one sister. She is younger than he and works as a physician.

Lino married in 1971, after completing his master's degree in agricultural economics at the University of Viçosa. His wife is a lawyer, and the two of them have one daughter. Until he had completed his master's degree and married, Lino lived with his parents.

Lino's education career began in the United States while his family was living in New York City. At the end of 1955, they returned
to Brazil and Lino was placed in a private elementary school in Rio de Janeiro. In 1957, he entered a ginásio, or private secondary school, also in Rio de Janeiro. He continued going to school there until 1964, when he completed his secondary education.

In 1965, Lino entered the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, where he pursued a degree in economics. While an undergraduate, Lino received an internship from the Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica, the Brazilian Planning Agency or IPEA. This gave him the opportunity as an undergraduate student to participate in the process of gathering data on economic and social problems. The internship also paid for the last two years of Lino's undergraduate education. He received his undergraduate degree in 1963.

Through IPEA, Lino received a scholarship to study for a master's degree in agricultural economics at the University of Viçosa in Minas Gerais. The scholarship provided the stimulus for him to channel his energies into agriculture. Lino completed his master's degree program in 1970 and went back to work for IPEA, where he received a tenured position.

In 1973, Lino received a fellowship to work on his Ph.D. in agricultural economics in the United States. The fellowship was jointly sponsored by IPEA and USAID. IPEA continued paying Lino his salary and USAID paid for his tuition at an American university, as well as for his insurance and travel expenses. Other officials of IPEA had previously studied abroad under this program, attending such American universities such as Stanford University, Johns Hopkins
University, the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin, and the University of Florida. Other IPEA officials had studied at universities in Great Britain and France.

Lino's fellowship provided him with funds to study English before leaving Brazil. Lino had spoken English when he attended elementary school in New York City; however, he did not continue using the language when his family returned to Brazil. He studied English in secondary school, and he remembered enough to always make excellent grades in his classes. However, he did not feel truly comfortable with English when the opportunity came to study in the United States. One reason that Lino was unable to maintain his English was that he got no reinforcement at home. Neither of his parents ever learned English while they were in the United States. They associated with Brazilian friends and even did most of their shopping in Brazilian establishments.

Under the terms of Lino's fellowship, IPEA paid for him to take private English classes at the Centro Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos in Rio de Janeiro. In addition to teaching English grammar and vocabulary, the course attempted to prepare students for various aspects of American life that they were likely to encounter. They were exposed to different kinds of American music and acted out such situations as going to the supermarket or post office, or attending Mass.

One of the more interesting aspects of Lino's experience is that he changed universities after having begun his Ph.D. program in
the United States. Lino was looking for a strong agricultural economics program with an interest in international research. Purdue University was suggested, but Lino did not wish to go there because he had already had extensive contact with their program through their tremendous presence at the University of Viçosa. He wanted an opportunity to experience a different approach to his discipline.

Lino elected to go to the University of California at Davis. The school had responded promptly to accept his application and he was told in Brazil that its program was "marvelous." However, upon arrival, Lino found himself very disappointed. The agricultural economics department had very little international experience to discuss with foreign students. Only one professor had any Latin American background. He had worked in Chile and he was not a very accessible individual. His advisor would pass him in the hall without speaking to him, and the one professor to whom he felt any closeness soon died of cancer. Also, Lino and his wife met no other Brazilians. As Lino put it, "I felt like an orphan."

By the summer of 1974, Lino was extremely discouraged. At the suggestion of a USAID program coordinator at the University of Florida, whom Lino had happened to meet, he arranged to take a summer course at the University of Florida. Lino and his wife spent the summer living in the Brazilian community at Hopewood. Lino found that the Food and Resource Economics Department at the University of Florida had considerable international experience. He got to know a professor who had experience in Brazil with whom he felt he could work.
Also, USAID agreed to pay Lino's expenses to move from Davis to Gainesville. Thus, he enrolled in the Ph.D. program of the Department of Food and Resource Economics in the fall of 1974.

Once at the University of Florida, Lino followed IPEA guidelines, which urged students studying abroad to do research on topics related to Brazil, in choosing his dissertation topic. While still in Brazil, he had worked on a pilot project for the Superintendencia do Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (Superintendency for the Development of the Northeast), or SUDENE, and the World Bank. The project involved a study of sharecroppers in northeast Brazil, and Lino decided to continue his research for his dissertation.

Although Lino's advisor agreed upon his area of research, Lino realized that he did not receive as much faculty input as he would have had he chosen a topic of more immediate interest in the United States. Another Brazilian student in Lino's department who was working on a topic related to the marketing of citrus fruit received considerably more attention, for example. Lino's committee did, however, devote considerable time to helping in areas such as research methodology, quantitative analysis, and the editing of his dissertation.

In 1976, Lino returned to Brazil and spent one year in the northeast conducting research on small-scale agriculture in the region. In March of 1977, he returned to the University of Florida to write his dissertation. In December of 1978, at the end of the fall quarter, Lino completed his Ph.D. program and returned to his position with IPEA in Brazil.
In August 1979, an article appeared in the local newspaper, the Gainesville Sun, announcing that Lino's dissertation had been awarded "Honorable Mention for an Outstanding Doctoral Dissertation" by the American Agricultural Economics Association in its annual awards ceremony.

Discussion

Lino's academic career was distinguished by his move from the University of California at Davis to the University of Florida. He felt that he made a poor decision when he decided to attend the University of California. Lino noted that the people who had recommended that he go there did not themselves do graduate study at that institution. Lino had no firm information before he left Brazil about what university in the United States would best serve his needs. He is a good example of a student who would have benefited from information gathered through a systematic evaluation of graduate degree programs in universities outside of Brazil.

The award Lino received for his Ph.D. dissertation was, of course, personally gratifying for Lino, in part because of his initial difficulties at the University of California, and in part because doing a dissertation on a strictly Brazilian topic required some extra effort. For other Brazilians, Lino's award had broader significance. The announcement followed closely an article which appeared in a university-oriented newspaper in which a University of Florida dean expressed the opinion that the presence of foreign students may lower the quality of many degree programs. He felt that some
departments might be lowering their standards to accommodate foreign students. Brazilian students at Hopewood took the dean's remarks very personally and Lino's achievement was taken as a vindication of their presence.

Finally, Lino is one of a growing number of Brazilians who are choosing careers that involve advanced degrees in agriculture. Many of these people would probably have chosen careers in law or medicine until very recently. Lino's case is very interesting in that he comes from an urban background. He was drawn into agricultural economics by inducements offered by the government to foster agricultural development.

Nara Maria Santos Costa

Life History

Nara was born in the small city of Santa Teresinha in the southeastern state of Espirito Santo in 1944. Her father is a parodontist and her mother is a housewife. Both parents have completed only elementary school. Nara's paternal grandparents were peasants (sitiantes) and her maternal grandparents owned a small farm. All of Nara's grandparents were literate, although none of them completed elementary school.

Nara is married to Nilo Alves Forte. He was born in 1942 in Minas Gerais, another southeastern state. Like Nara, Nilo is from a small city, Mozambinho, located in the hinterland of his state. Nilo's father owns a pharmacy, and partially completed an undergraduate degree in pharmacy. Nilo's mother is a housewife. She is literate; but she never completed elementary school. All of Nilo's grandparents
owned small farms. His maternal grandparents immigrated to Brazil from Italy.

Both Nara and Nilo received all of their schooling in public institutions. After she completed secondary school, Nara went to the University of Viçosa, where she studied home economics. At the University of Viçosa, Nara received two degrees, a *bacharel* and a *licenciatura*. This meant that she was qualified both to teach and do research in her major discipline.

It was while she was studying at the University of Viçosa that Nara and Nilo met. After he received his undergraduate degree in agronomy at the University of Viçosa, Minas Gerais, Nilo got a job at the same university. Later, he went to work in Brasília for a state agricultural agency which was later absorbed by EMBRAPA. His bosses sent Nilo back to the University of Viçosa to get his master's degree in 1964. It was during this period that Nara met him, and they were married in 1966, when Nilo completed his master's degree.

From the University of Viçosa, the couple went to Brasília. Nara obtained a position teaching home economics at the Colégio de Economia Doméstica, while Nilo worked at the headquarters of EMBRAPA as a researcher in vegetable crops. The couple remained in Brasília until 1977 when Nilo received a fellowship from EMBRAPA to study for a Ph.D. in 1976 at the University of Florida. When they came to the United States, Nara had to give up her job.

Before coming to the United States, Nilo studied English at the EMBRAPA language training program at Sete Lagoas. Thus, he passed the TOEFL examination while still in Brazil. Nara did not have the
opportunity to study English in Brazil. After arriving in Gainesville, she spent some time looking for a suitable English class. She finally enrolled in one offered in a program of Adult and Community Education, which is sponsored jointly by Santa Fe Community College and the Alachua County Public Schools.

After a period of English study, Nara passed the TOEFL examination. She applied for, and received, a CAPES fellowship, which would pay for her tuition, and enrolled in a graduate program of adult education. Nara began her program in 1978 and completed it in 1979, receiving a non-thesis master's degree in adult education. A large number of foreign students study education at the University of Florida. In one course of comparative education, Nara found among her classmates two other Brazilians, both male, a male student from Iran and another from Colombia, and a woman from Jamaica. While her program was international in scope, none of it focused particularly on Brazil. Nara's advisor had never been to Brazil and spoke no Portuguese.

In evaluating the programs in the United States, both Nara and Nilo note that once awarded, their grants are fixed in terms of the amount the student may receive. No adjustment is made for inflation and this makes it difficult to maintain a satisfactory standard of living. Nara noted that it would have been very helpful had her CAPES fellowship included an allowance for buying books. Nara estimates that about 60 percent of her courses responded to her needs, while Nilo estimates that about 80 percent of his courses fulfilled the expectations he had of them. Like Nara, Nilo's advisor speaks no
Portuguese and has never been to Brazil. Both Nara and Nilo feel that
their advisors are more interested in specialization rather than
interdisciplinary approaches to problems.

Nilo feels that there has been little communication between
himself and EMBRAPA. He received little information about life in the
United States before leaving Brazil, and since being in the United
States, he has had little contact with Brazil, other than informally
through friends and family. Nilo feels that he would be much better
prepared to readjust to his work in Brazil if he were kept informed
of the projects currently being carried out by EMBRAPA and the initia­
tives being planned. Nilo voiced his concerns when he traveled to
Madison, Wisconsin, to attend the first meeting of EMBRAPA graduate
students in the United States, in August of 1978.

Nilo hopes to finish his doctoral program by the end of the
1979 fall quarter. When he and Nara return to Brazil, they will go
back to the capital city of Brasília, where he will resume working for
EMBRAPA. Nara hopes to put her degree to work for MOBRAL (Movimento
Brasileiro de Alfabetização), or the Brazilian Literacy Campaign. She
had done some work with this organization before leaving Brazil, and
she hopes to continue upon her return.

Nara and Nilo do not live in the Hopewood apartment complex.
Rather, they live in another student housing unit of the University
of Florida. Only a few other Brazilian families live in the same
complex. In spite of this relative isolation from other Brazilians,
the couple participates actively in the life of the Brazilian community,
regularly attending birthday parties, the Carnival Ball and New Year celebrations.

While in Brazil, Nara and Nilo had a maid. However, they do not have one in the United States, and they say they see no need for one here. They do plan to hire a new maid upon their return to Brazil. Nara and Nilo do not own a home in Brazil; however, they anticipate that Nilo will be promoted to a higher position in EMBRAPA when they return and they hope to be able to purchase one then.

While in the United States, Nara and Nilo have had their business handled by a procurador. In their case, he is one of Nara's seven brothers, to whom they have given power of attorney. When they return to Brazil, they will handle their own business and the services of a procurador will no longer be needed.

Nara and Nilo were accompanied to the United States by their three daughters, who range from 6 through 12 years old. All of them attend an elementary school in Gainesville which has a bilingual education program. In 1978, they went to school with children of 16 different nationalities. The girls are fluent in English and often speak English at home. From school, they bring home information about such things as American foods and activities which are taking place in Gainesville. Once they obtained discount tickets to go to the local roller skating rink. They took the children of three other Brazilian families with them.
Discussion

Nara is one of several Brazilian graduate students' wives who has managed to do graduate study at the same time her husband was pursuing his degree. Some of these women have, like Nara, received fellowships from CAPES. If they are financially able, some families will pay for the wife's study with personal funds. Only recently have the Brazilian students learned that the University of Florida has a scholarship fund for foreign students who show high academic achievement.

Apart from the financial barriers to both husband and wife doing graduate study, there is the constraint of time. As has been noted repeatedly, Brazilian students in the United States often must take upon themselves responsibilities for the running of a household that, in Brazil, are handled by a maid. This, combined with working in an unfamiliar environment and in a foreign language, places severe limitations on the time that is available. With three children, it is very noteworthy that Nara and Nilo have been able to divide their responsibilities so that both could carry out graduate degree programs at the same time.

As a student couple, Nilo and Nara have been living outside Hopewood, in another university housing block. However, they have had good contacts with people from Hopewood. They even planned to have their celebration for the defense of dissertation at Hopewood, together with one other of the four students in agronomy who planned to complete their programs in the fall of 1979. These facts indicate how they
chose an alternative for residence other than that chosen by a majority of Brazilian families. At the same time, they interact with Hopewood as much as they can, but according to the needs and possibilities of a liminal situation. One Brazilian colleague of Nara's in the master's program of education lived at Hopewood and this peer doubled her and her husband's contacts outside their immediate neighborhood.

Rosangela Alcontara Penteado

Life History

Rosangela is from the city of Piracicaba in the state of São Paulo. São Paulo is generally considered the most progressive of the southeastern states. As was noted in Chapter Two, it has been a leading state in helping to foster the educational growth that has occurred in Brazil in the 20th century. Piracicaba was one of the centers of this educational expansion. In 1901, the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luiz de Queiroz (ESALQ) was founded there. When founded, ESALQ offered courses in agricultural sciences at the elementary, secondary, and superior levels. Now called the Federal University of Piracicaba, this institution offers training in undergraduate through doctoral levels. ESALQ was one of the first universities to be established in Brazil. It was founded before the pioneering University of São Paulo and the University of Viçosa. Rosangela is currently working on her Ph.D. in microbiology at the University of Florida. Had she not chosen to accompany her husband when he came to the United States to work toward his Ph.D. in entomology, Rosangela probably would have taken her doctoral training at the University of Piracicaba.
Rosangela was born in Piracicaba in 1946. Her maternal and paternal grandparents owned small farms in the Piracicaba area. Both of Rosangela's parents are literate, although neither of them have any formal education beyond elementary school. Her father is a self-employed businessman who works as a real estate broker and home builder. Her mother is a housewife.

Rosangela was the fourth of nine children born to her parents. All of Rosangela's brothers and sisters have at least finished secondary school. One of her brothers is a lawyer and two others are mechanical engineers. One of her sisters is currently working on her master's degree in biology, while two other sisters teach literature in a secondary school. She has one brother and one sister who have only recently completed secondary school. Rosangela is the first member of her family to study abroad and the first one to pursue a Ph.D.

Before she began elementary school, Rosangela's parents moved out of Piracicaba to the small, nearby town of Laranjal Paulista, where both sets of her grandparents lived. She attended the public elementary school there from 1953 through 1957. She also began her secondary schooling there, but moved to São Paulo for the second level of secondary school where there were more possibilities to find part-time jobs so that she could support herself. While in São Paulo, Rosangela worked as a typist for a private corporation, as a bank teller, and as a clerk for a state welfare agency. She completed her secondary school in 1964.

In 1965, Rosangela took a short preparatory course for the university entrance examination. This she passed and from 1966 through
1970 she carried out her undergraduate studies at the University of São Paulo (southeast), receiving her degree in biology. From 1970 through 1972 Rosangela studied for her master's degree in genetics from the Federal University of Piracicaba.

Rosangela and her husband are both assistant professors at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. Both secured their posts in 1975 through passing a competitive examination. In 1977, they both secured CAPES fellowships to study for their Ph.D.s at the University of Florida: Rosangela in microbiology and her husband in entomology.

The program under which Rosangela and her husband obtained their CAPES fellowships was originally administratively linked to Michigan State University in East Lansing. It was intended to improve the capacity of faculty members in agricultural schools to conduct research. The program had a slow start because, at first, there were not enough qualified candidates for fellowships. As a result, it was changed from an administratively autonomous program to one administered by CAPES. This administrative change had several results. First, it ended the special role of Michigan State University. More importantly for people such as Rosangela and her husband who were already involved in the program when the changes occurred, there were changes in the financial awards that were made under CAPES administration, students lost an allowance for books, for travel within the United States and for travel to a third country. Rosangela receives US$320 (a single's type grant) and her husband receives US$420
per month in addition to a regular salary of assistant professors which amounts to about US$1,000 per month for each of them.

Since their fellowship program still had its headquarters at Michigan State University when they first arrived in the United States in 1977, Rosangela and her husband spent their first six months there learning English. Before leaving Brazil, they had spent about three months taking private English courses at their own expense. As a result of this training, Rosangela and her husband passed their TOEFL examinations while still at Michigan State University, before moving to the University of Florida. Rosangela notes that she has learned considerably more English since beginning her coursework at the University of Florida than she did in the formal English classes. She feels that this is because, for her, real-life situations are less stressful situations than those which were created in the classes. Today Rosangela feels very comfortable working in English.

Rosangela plans to do research on nitrogen-fixing bacteria for her dissertation topic. The Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro is noted for its expertise in this area. Rosangela is enthusiastic about her research. She notes that if it is successful, it will greatly reduce the expenditures currently made by farmers for chemical fertilizers.

Rosangela is one of only two foreign students in her graduate program. The other is a woman from the Philippines. In her classes, there are few examples relating to research in Brazil. Rosangela's advisor has never been to Brazil nor does he speak Portuguese. However,
most of the research which relates directly to Rosangela's dissertation topic was done in Brazil and this is reflected in the bibliography of her research design. Also, she is able to work well with her advisor, who co-authors articles with his students to aid them in getting published. When she first arrived in Gainesville, Rosangela did have some problems in her relationship with her advisor. He expected her to spend long hours at night in the laboratory and away from her family. This problem has been resolved, however. Rosangela's husband's research forces him to spend a lot of time at an experimental plot in Georgia. During his absences, Rosangela is particularly grateful for maid's company.

When Rosangela was interviewed by the author, she had just successfully completed the written part of her Ph.D. qualifying examinations and was preparing for her oral examinations. Her husband had passed his qualifying examinations in entomology a few weeks earlier. They hope to have both completed their programs by the end of the spring quarter in 1980 so that they can return together to Brazil.

Rosangela and her husband are both reasonably satisfied with their graduate programs in the United States. They feel that their courses and research experiences have generally lived up to their expectations. Their biggest problem has been that they could not adjust their grants to meet changing needs. For example, because Rosangela's husband must be away from home a great deal conducting his research, it was necessary for them to buy a second car. They could get no additional money to help meet this additional expense. Also, they are
allowed no money to buy books. On the whole, however, they feel that their experience has been a good one.

Rosangela and her husband have a three-year-old daughter and Rosangela is currently pregnant with their second child. During her first year in the United States, she paid a babysitter to help take care of her daughter. Then, she returned to Brazil and hired a live-in maid, who came back to the United States with her. At the present time, her daughter attends a nursery school sponsored by the University of Florida for married students with children. While the child is at nursery school, the maid attends adult education courses. After nearly two years in the United States, the maid speaks fluent English. She participates in life at Hopewood on an equal basis with her employers. Sometimes they all attend parties together; sometimes the maid stays home and takes care of the little daughter, and sometimes Rosangela and her husband stay at home while the maid attends parties. The couple owns a house in the state of Rio de Janeiro near the university where they work. Both will go back to their positions at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro when they do finish their programs.

Interestingly, the maid is one of the few Protestants among the Brazilians at Hopewood. She and a family are active in the Presbyterian Church, while another family is Baptist.

Rosangela's husband is an avid soccer player and he rarely misses playing in a Saturday afternoon soccer game. This is a particularly important activity for him because his research allows him to be home only on weekends.
Discussion

Rosangela's case offers several insights. The fact that she was born in a rural area and that her grandparents and parents had only elementary school education are two aspects her case has in common with other students. The fact that she is a woman seeking a doctoral degree in a family where both spouses are studying for a similar degree sets her apart from her Brazilian peers.

As was true for 49 out of 60 students interviewed, her place of birth was a city in the interior of Brazil. Among other students enrolled in the International Agricultural Program at the University of Wisconsin (Madison) for the years 1975-1978, 58 out of 73 were born in the interior area. The striking point is that not only those involved in agriculture fit into the pattern; in fact, students of other fields fit into a similar category for their place of birth. Whether this means a growing urbanization of rural areas or whether it points to aspects of rural exodus is a matter of hypothesis for further research. In any case, it implies that graduate students did not return to their rural areas once they left. Between their place of birth and their place of work, there is a difference: if they were born in an interior area, none of the interviewed students work in their place of birth.

Rosangela's family is a large one with nine children, of which she is the fourth. Furthermore, her father's occupation was related to building homes in rural areas or occasionally working as a salaried person on a farm. She is the first of her siblings to study
for a Ph.D. degree. Thus, regarding the status of her grandparents and parents, Rosangela compares with Conceição (see Conceição's case) in that she is not middle class by birth. Rather, she is trying to improve her professional and socio-economic status by studying abroad to foster her biological studies and research career which Brazil needs as basic science.

Rosangela is from the southeast region as are 27 out of the 60 students interviewed. Her region and the southern one are those with the largest number of students in the group under study. A similar pattern is found in the two other examples of programs of studies abroad. More precisely, Rosangela is from São Paulo, but now she works in Rio de Janeiro. She moved intraregionally, as is the case of Guarany and Nilo's cases. As cases of more developed regions, the south and the southeast either are a good job market for graduates or they "export" graduates through national institutions as it happens for EMBRAPA researchers referred in the case of João.

Finally, as a woman seeking a Ph.D. degree, Rosangela is among the few who have a husband seeking an equal degree. Given their mutual interests, they chose options that make them special among the other students: they had to have two cars, and they hired a maid. Their case compares only with two others where both students either sought equal degrees in different fields, or different degrees in a similar field. However, Rosangela comments that she was awarded a type of grant offered to a single person rather than the type awarded to a married one.
Maria Cecilia Meireles de Arruda ("Cecy")

Life History

Cecy was born in 1953 in the state of Bahia, a state which is popularly regarded as the historic heartland of Brazil and a bastion of traditional values. The capital of Bahia, Salvador, was the first capital of Brazil. It is a city which is renowned for having as many church buildings as there are days of the year.

Cecy's parents are both physicians. Her mother works in the state capital of Salvador while her father works in rural areas outside of the city. Her father's brother was also a physician. He left Bahia and went to work for the Fundação Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública (Special Service Foundation for Public Health) in the Amazon area. He married a girl from that region and remained in the Amazon until his death in 1978.

Cecy's father had a job in a rural area and she enrolled in public elementary school there. From her living in a town, she remembers that in rural Bahia during religious holidays such as the Holy Week and the festivities of Saint Cosme and Saint Damian, there was special food for the occasion. This special food she called "comida de azeite" (food prepared with plenty of vegetable oils to which most often some kind of hot pepper is added). The festivities and the food in Bahia are used in a mixture of Catholicism and Afro-religious cults. Her remarks on the Bahian foods were made in the context of her comments on the fact that she had had few problems in adapting to American meals, because her urban experience in Salvador (Bahia) had prepared her for this.
Cecy's paternal great-grandfather was an immigrant from Italy. Her paternal grandfather was a lawyer. Her mother's parents owned a small farm in Bahia and are descended from the old aristocracy of the region. Once, when Cecy's parents came to visit her in the United States, the family went to visit a Brazilian friend who had a book on the coroneis of Bahai. The book contained a picture of one of Cecy's maternal ancestors. While the social order of Bahia has changed and the coroneis no longer control the region, it is apparent that Cecy's family occupies a favored position in the regional class structure.

Cecy attended elementary school from 1960 to 1964. Her secondary education occurred in private and public schools in Salvador, Bahia, between 1965 and 1971. In order to provide for her secondary schooling, her mother got a job in the capital city of Salvador (Bahia) and this favored Cecy and her siblings. Different from what happened to Guarany (see case) who benefited from secondary education in his own rural town in the southeast (Minas Gerais), her case is similar to that of Pedro (see case) whose father, as an agronomist, moved from a previous job in the rural area in order to find secondary schools for his children in the capital city of his state in the northeast (Ceará).

Cecy's experience in the United States began at an earlier stage in her life than has been the case for most Brazilian graduate students. In 1970, before completing secondary school in Brazil, she enrolled in an international study program. Cecy had to provide for her own transportation to the United States while the program arranged for her to enroll in an American high school in Florida, and to live with an American family.
This experience shaped Cecy's future direction profoundly. First, it was in the United States that she became interested in chemistry and decided to pursue her career in that field. Secondly, she established a degree of intimacy with American friends that few Brazilians can match. She still speaks of a *minha mãe americana* and a *minha irmã americana* or "my American mother" and "my American sister," respectively. She still visits these fictive kinfolk whenever possible, particularly for American family holidays such as Thanksgiving.

After finishing high school in the United States, Cecy returned to Brazil and began her undergraduate studies in chemistry, in 1972, at the Federal University of Bahia. She completed her undergraduate degree in 1976. She began working on her master's degree in chemistry, also at the University of Bahia, in 1977, completing it in 1978. Upon receiving her master's degree, Cecy was hired as an assistant professor by the Instituto de Química of the Federal University of Bahia. However, she worked in this position for only six months before applying for and receiving a CAPES fellowship to pursue her Ph.D. in chemistry at the University of Florida, which she is currently doing. Before starting her Ph.D. program in the U.S., Cecy had 18 years of formal education in Brazil.

Cecy took other steps in order to be less dependent on her family. She gave private lessons in mathematics, and she helped in a research program in the poorest area of her city: *os alagados de Salvador* (the shantytown of Salvador). Once she completed her studies for a degree as a chemical engineer, she sought a job. From her hunt
for a job, she remembers that Petrofertil (a local subsidiary of the Brazilian Petroleum Corporation) informed her that they had an opening position but they were exclusively interested in male engineers. She obtained similar information from other prospective employers. Consequently, after encountering these problems in the private job market, she decided to look over a graduate program in which she was helped by a partial grant from CNPQ (Brazilian Research Council), and then she enrolled in the master's program of the Federal University of Bahia (Salvador, Brazil).

Because of her previous experience in the United States, Cecy has had to overcome fewer of the problems that confront most Brazilian graduate students. Previous to her first stay in the United States, she had studied English in a private course for three years. Now her English is perfectly fluent and she passed the TOEFL examination easily in Brazil. Also, the time spent in close contact with Americans has helped her to feel comfortable in American society and to have considerable familiarity with its cultural and institutional particularities. Cecy even has an American acquaintance (one of Cecy's former American teachers) who filled a role as a procurador for her, although he was not paid. The American teacher who encouraged Cecy's interest in chemistry when she was in high school helped her to obtain all of the necessary admission forms from the University of Florida.

Previous to Cecy's obtaining a grant to study abroad, other professors in her department had obtained similar advantages. One completed four years of graduate study (Ph.D.) at Pennsylvania State
University and a second obtained support for a doctorate in Paris, France. At the same time that Cecy traveled for her Ph.D. program in the United States, another fellow assistant professor went to England for a program similar to hers. Usually, these graduate students are young assistant professors, seldom are they of a higher rank. Cecy is among the youngest of the graduate students I interviewed for my research.

Cecy is generally pleased with her Ph.D. program at the University of Florida. She notes that she is able to use equipment here that she could only see pictures of in Brazil. However, she is sometimes disturbed to find that equipment is not maintained as well as it should be. She is sometimes frustrated that her curriculum forces her to move at what often seems to be a frantic pace. Often she is forced to rush through subjects that she would like to probe more deeply. She is presently hoping to receive a post-doctoral appointment that will allow her to pursue some of these subjects at a more relaxed pace. Also, Cecy would like to have an opportunity for more personal contact with her advisor.

As an unmarried student, Cecy does not live in the Hopewood apartment complex. Rather, she resides in a private apartment with two American roommates. In this setting, there are fewer visible clues in her home that would indicate Cecy's national origin than one would probably find in a Brazilian home in Hopewood. In the livingroom, one notes only a color poster of ceramics from Bahia.

Cecy is Catholic. But, like the majority of Brazilian students abroad, she says she behaves as if religion did not matter to her,
neither Catholicism nor any other. In Gainesville, once she was invited to a religious meeting by members of the Crossroads Church. The Crossroads Chruch is a Protestant denomination of a fundamentalist kind. Each year they search for students to participate in what they call "soul talks." Soul talks are meetings in students' homes and they are the first step before students may be invited to more formal church meetings. Cecy kindly refused the invitation, and she adds that she behaves like an atêu (an atheistic) person, in liminality.

Although she does not live in Hopewood, Cecy maintains contact with many of the Brazilian families there. She gets together with other students who have CAPES grants to share information. She also attends many social events at Hopewood such as the Carnival Ball or New Year's Eve party. Bahians have the reputation in Brazil for being good dancers, and in Cecy, the reputation certainly holds true. She is much admired for her dancing ability.

Cecy is one of the few students who maintains steady contact with her institution. She receives letters from the professor in Bahia who chaired her master's degree committee almost monthly. However, Cecy is also one of the few students who does not receive her university salary in addition to her CAPES fellowship. When she received her fellowship to come to the United States, she was forced to terminate her contract with the Instituto de Quimica of the University of Bahia. She supplements the $480.00 per month she receives from her fellowship with money she managed to save while she was in Brazil. Although she lives at home with parents who are apparently
well-to-do, she is proud to point out that she has worked since the first year of her undergraduate studies, first as a peer tutor and later giving private classes in mathematics.

Cecy has had an opportunity to do some traveling in Brazil. She has been as far south as São Paulo and she has also become acquainted with the Amazon region through her uncle who worked there as a physician for the Fundação Serviço Especial de Saúde Pública. After finishing her master's degree, Cecy went by car to visit him, driving along the Belém-Brasília highway.

Among her achievements, Cecy counts: (1) her coming to the United States for one year of high school; (2) her procuring a grant to be a "monitor" (literally, student's tutor) in the last year of her undergraduate course; (3) her deciding to study abroad after her master's degree. These achievements help her in her Ph.D. program because they point to her initiative and reaffirm the success of her own efforts. However, she thinks her first visit to the United States was more exciting than her second, which she considers fine socially, but not yet rewarding enough academically.

Discussion

According to the Brazilian sociologist Carneiro Leão (1958) until the beginning of the 20th century, one could not find more than one generation of upper class people who had descended directly from rural landlords. There was a saying like this: "Pai, senhor de engenho, ou fazendeiro, filho doutor e neto pobre" (literally, "If the father is a rural landlord, his son will be a doctor, but his grandson will
be poor"). However, Cecy's case is slightly different; her maternal
great grandparent was a landlord and a "coronel" (member of the rural
landowning elite), her grandfather was a lawyer, both her father and
mother are physicians (and her father completed residence requirements)
and Cecy is working toward a Ph.D. In consequence, Cecy's family has
maintained an upper class status for more than one generation. But
one similarity remains in that from her grandfather on down, their
traditional professions of lawyer and physician have been employed in
government service. Two of her sisters have chosen medicine and law
for their professions according to their father and grandfather models.
Cecy's choice of analytical chemistry under the initial influence of
an American teacher in high school indicates that she adds a modernizing
note to the previous pattern followed by her grandfather, father and
two of her sisters. Notwithstanding the fact that, upon return to
Brazil, as they did, Cecy will resume her job as assistant professor
in a public institution, her choice of chemistry is unusual.

During my research, two cases similar to that of Cecy were
found. One young male from Ceará had previously come for a year of
high school in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and in 1979 he was enrolled in
an undergraduate course in business administration at the University
of Iowa, Iowa City. He had no grant and his family supported his
studies. A second male was found in Gainesville. He had come to the
United States for the second time. The first time he had come for one
year of high school, also in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; in 1979, he came to
visit one female cousin (Pedro's wife) whose husband completed a
Ph.D. in the United States but he also expected to visit Milwaukee and
to try to enroll in an undergraduate program. Both cases are from the northeast, and they fit into Cecy's upper class economic status.

Cecy's secondary education as well as her undergraduate and master's degree program occurred after 1964. This year marks the start of a series of efforts to reform Brazilian higher education. For instance, as part of her formal training, she had organização social e política do Brasil (social-political organization of Brazil) as a substitute discipline instead of the sociology that was taught in law schools since 1870 and after 1927 was introduced in secondary schools (Leão 1958:50, 52). In her undergraduate and graduate programs in Bahia, she had a course of lectures on problemas brasileiros (literally, "Brazilian problems") which is an obligatory discipline and aims at calling attention to local, regional and national potential and needs. But as a series of lectures, usually presented by different visiting professors, these courses fall far short of meeting their objectives. Despite mild influence from these courses, Cecy says she is personally interested in solutions for urban pollution for her city of Salvador (Bahia).

Maria Conceição Oliveira Gilet

Life History

Conceição was born in 1933 in the city of São Luís, the capital of the northern state of Maranhão. Hers is a particularly interesting case history because it is different from that of most of the Brazilians who come to the United States to do graduate study. First, Conceição is from the northern region of the country. Secondly,
she is a single woman, and thirdly, she is black, and finally, at the age of 46, she is somewhat older than the average Brazilian graduate student.

Maranhão was one of the most important slave-holding areas in Brazil. It has also had a rather singular history. It was occupied by the French from 1612 to 1614, and its capital of São Luis is named after a French king. Conceição is very much a product of these traditions. Her grandparents were slaves from West Africa, from an area that is part of the present-day state of Nigeria. They received their surname from their owners. Conceição's parents were cousins who shared a French surname.

Conceição was born in the state capital of São Luis. She attended public elementary and secondary schools in that city. Upon graduation from secondary school, she was certified as a normal, or elementary, school teacher. Conceição spent two years teaching in the rural areas of Maranhão and then returned to São Luis where she conducted private classes in the city. For someone born in the city with a complete secondary school education to voluntarily go to work in the countryside is very unusual in Brazil. However, as we shall see, it is indicative of Conceição's continuing interest in rural development. After she had returned to São Luis, Conceição secured a position as a supervisor in Maranhão's Secretariat of Education. Today, she continues working for the Secretariat of Education, although she has been promoted to a supervisor of schools.

In 1966, Conceição was approached by a female official of USAID about the possibility of obtaining a fellowship to attend a
special three-month course in education to be offered in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. She applied for and received the fellowship. The first step was to go to Recife for an intensive three-month course in English at the Centro Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos. The English training was also paid for by USAID.

After she finished her English training, Conceiçao flew from Recife to New York. On the plane she had a chance meeting with an American sociologist who had worked in Maranhao. He took her from the airport to his mother's house where she ate her first meal in the United States. He then called the USAID office in New York to make arrangements for her to continue her trip to Washington, D.C., where she spent three more months studying English at Georgetown University. After completing her English training, Conceiçao proceeded to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where the education course was held. The classes covered such areas as curriculum development, school supervision and teaching methods. The students were allowed to have an interpreter present during lectures. There was no final examination and the students were evaluated on the basis of a final paper.

Conceiçao found her first experience in the United States to be a good one. The selection process was rigorous, involving making a formal application and being interviewed by USAID officials. There was a genuine effort to select people who were both qualified and who would otherwise not have an opportunity to receive such training. Conceiçao noted that at the time most programs of this sort had a maximum age limit for participants of 28 years. This age limit would
have excluded her. However, this particular program had an age limit of 39 years, so Conceição counted herself fortunate to be able to participate. She commented that the USAID bureaucracy seemed unusually efficient. The checks to pay her tuition and stipend always arrived on time and all of the necessary arrangements for her trip were made without complication. Conceição also valued the experience for the personal relationships that it afforded her the opportunity to make. She met many students from the United States, and she remembers with particular pleasure the friendships she formed with some people from Nigeria.

When Conceição returned to Brazil she continued her work in the Ministry of Education in Sao Luis. She also began undergraduate studies at the University of Maranhão (Sao Luis) in the areas of administration and education. Conceição also took courses from the local branch of the Associação de Diplomados da Escola Superior de Guerra (Association of Graduates of the Superior School of War). Since World War II, this institution has offered training to selected civilians who are potential leaders in Brazil. Students attend classes in branches of the school located in their home states or they may go to the central headquarters in Rio de Janeiro for more intensive three-month courses.

With this background, Conceição was able to obtain a CAPES grant in 1975 to study education administration at the University of Iowa. Before she could leave Brazil, however, she had to go to Recife to take the TOEFL examination. The examination was administered in
the Centro Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos, the same place where she studied English prior to her first trip to the United States. Conceição passed the examination and went on to the University of Iowa, where she was informed that she would have to pass another TOEFL examination before she could be formally admitted into her degree program. However, she was permitted to take courses that counted toward her degree at the same time she took an English class to prepare for the TOEFL. This enabled her to avoid the frustrating experience of making no progress on her degree prior to passing the TOEFL. She was also able to be exposed to and use English in a normal academic environment. When Conceição did take the TOEFL examination, she passed it with no difficulty.

Conceição is enrolled in a non-thesis master's degree program at the University of Iowa. Her advisor does not speak Portuguese nor has he ever been to Brazil. Conceição describes him as an "old professor" and a "gentleman." The biggest problem with her program is that most of her time is occupied with her course work, and she has little opportunity to work on themes that are of particular relevance in Brazil. She is similar to other Brazilian students in that she has a sense of being "rushed" through her program. Her advisor's busy schedule allows her less time for consultation with him than she would like. Conceição hopes to partially remedy this problem if she is permitted to stay for a month or two after graduation to do research on topics that are specifically related to Brazil.

Conceição's experience is indicative of what faces a black woman from the north of Brazil when she seeks advanced education. People
from the north live far from the decision-making centers of Brazil and opportunities for advanced education reach them very slowly. Also, her fellowship from CAPES limits her to a non-thesis master's degree. She is not provided with funds to progress any further. In fact, the fellowship that Conceição has received is the same type as those which were given to the wives of male students who come to the United States to work on a Ph.D.

Conceição notes two major problem areas in the administration of her program by Brazilian institutions. First, the bureaucracy is often very inefficient. After she had arrived in Iowa, her money was delayed by "red tape" in Brazil. She notes that this is not an uncommon occurrence and that it is an unnecessary source of additional stress for students in a foreign country, especially for new arrivals. Also, Conceição is troubled by the lack of contact between students in the United States and their institutions in Brazil. She feels that the institutions seem to lose interest in the students once they are out of Brazil. Like most Brazilian students, the only contact that Conceição has with institutions at home are the checks she received and the occasional reports she is requested to make. The reports could serve as a useful contact, but the information that students are requested to provide is generally related to questions of administration. There is little interest in a substantive evaluation by students of their experience abroad.

At the University of Iowa, Conceição resides in a high-rise student apartment building called "Mayflower." The building contains about two-hundred apartment units. It is occupied by individuals and
families of many nations and ethnic backgrounds. Conceição participates actively in the life of her apartment building, both among Brazilians and Americans.

Among Brazilian students at the University of Iowa, Conceição is a veteran. She helps new arrivals find their way through the maze of hallways that run through the building, or to solve a problem such as opening a broken mailbox. On one occasion, she prepared meals for an ill Brazilian student. In late December of 1978, Conceição was joined at the University of Iowa by a group of 20 Brazilian teachers who had come to study physical education. In February 1979, with Conceição's help, the group prepared a Carnival celebration complete with food, music, and dancing. The group also made costumes and banners just as do the escolas de samba or "samba clubs" at Carnival time in Brazil. The group's banner bore the name it had chosen for itself, Unidos da CAPES, or "the CAPES Unit." The costumes and banners were still very much in evidence as apartment decorations when the author visited the University of Iowa campus in May 1979.

Conceição also knows many American students, most of whom are black. Her roommate is a black American woman and Conceição says that she knows of no cases in her building where black and white students share a room. During the author's visit to the University of Iowa, she helped to prepare food for the celebration party of a black American doctoral candidate who had just passed his qualifying examinations.

Conceição's experience in the United States has helped to heighten her awareness of her black heritage. She has become very
aware of the various social and political organizations which seek to improve the position of black people in American society. These are largely absent from the north of Brazil. One of the more significant events of her stay in the United States was the publication of the book *Roots* by Alex Haley and its subsequent dramatization on television. While in the United States, Conceição has acquired the custom of wearing a pink turban as an explicit recognition of her own African heritage.

Upon returning to Brazil, Conceição will go back to her job as a school supervisor in the Ministry of Education in São Luis. She hopes to spend more time working with rural schools in Maranhão. The rural areas of the state have a special personal significance for her because her grandparents, who were slaves, spent most of their lives in the rural area of Codó. She feels that it is in the rural areas where Maranhão's African heritage is most alive. Also, Conceição hopes one day to be able to travel to the area of Nigeria from where her ancestors came so that she may have a better sense of her own African heritage.

**Discussion**

Conceição is proud of being black. In this discussion, I will point to her lower class origin in a context concerning black Brazilians, and her rise to a middle-class role.

An argument was presented recently by the Brazilian magazine *Veja* (November 7, 1979:121-122). It deals with recent findings about the levels of education and income of Brazilian blacks, as well as with the reinsertion of color categories in the coming census of 1980, in
Brazil. Concerning the first point, the argument started with the analysis of data from a national household sampling of 1976 (PNAD or Plano Nacional de Amostragem Domiciliar). The PNAD intended to obtain an in-depth view of some aspects of Brazilian population and it included color categories that were left aside since the Brazilian census of 1960. As color categories the PNAD had whites, blacks and morenos (a color in between black and white). Although these color categories in Brazil are the subject of controversy, the results obtained clearly indicated that blacks in Brazil had less education and also had less income. The argument centered around these data in order to reinsert color categories in the coming census. Economists, sociologists and anthropologists entered the discussion. This broad frame helps to look at Conceição in her effort to become educated; it fits into the reasons why very few blacks have started and completed the struggle through the many barriers surrounding a grant for graduate studies abroad.

The lower class background of Conceição included facts such as the illiteracy of her maternal grandparents and the partial completion of elementary school by her paternal grandparents. Her father is a typographer in the city of São Luis; this means he is a salaried person. Incidentally, São Luis is known in Brazil as the Brazilian Athens or a Atena brasileira, given its role as a center in the northeastern intellectual life. But this intellectual life is most often a middle-class affair. Lower class people, as the father of Conceição, only indirectly benefit from it by getting jobs from printing material for the more literate ones.
But Conceição by now is definitely a middle-class person. After she returned from the United States, although she is single, she lived in her own house. Previously, she lived with her mother and father, but while in the United States she had left some savings in Brazil in order to build her own residence. Furthermore, the fact that she enrolled in a course of the ADESG, is a recognition of her potential as a civilian leader in urban and rural areas of her state. The level of her job in the State Office of Education as coordenadora (coordinator) requires skills and competence well above those of the average public officials. Also, being a single person at her age indicates that Conceição improved well beyond the average black "marriageable" person. Among poor blacks, there are opportunities for black and white intermarriages, as the author observed in one black colony called Pitimandeua (in the state of Pará), in 1972. But, because of her elevated social position, Conceição rather runs the probability of marrying later or not marrying at all; one case similar to hers is that of another Brazilian black graduate student who is single and who studies at Mississippi University and who was the only black among the 60 students in the EMBRAPA meeting at Madison, in the summer of 1978. As a female and as a black, Conceição is an example of a graduate student with lower class origins. Moreover, she crosses the class boundaries by facing the barriers and the relative advantages of raising from lower class origins to middle-class socioeconomic status. Her case opens the question of the need for further studies about Brazilian blacks in higher education and in the other levels of formal and informal education as well.
Cig Nagib

Life History

Cid was born in 1939 in a small town in the interior of one of the northeastern states. At that time, Cid's home town was located about one hour's distance from the state capital. Now, because of some improvements in transportation and urban expansion, the distance has been cut to about 20 minutes. In any case, however, the capital city has always been near enough to exert considerable influence over Cid's home town.

Cid's father was Lebanese. He immigrated to Brazil with his family in the 1930s while he was still young. They moved first to Rio de Janeiro and, later, to Pernambuco, where Cid's father married. After two more moves, Cid's parents settled in the town that became their home.

Cid's father worked as a push-cart vendor, a mascate, and he traveled to the different towns in the area following the periodic market cycle, and selling on credit. By the time Cid was born, the youngest of six brothers, the economic situation of the family was somewhat better. The family had been able to open a small clothing store. However, Cid's father continued to work as a push-cart vendor until he died in the mid-1950s.

Both of Cid's parents were literate, although neither advanced beyond the elementary level. All of Cid's brothers finished elementary school and one advanced as far as the fourth year of secondary school. As the youngest brother, Cid benefited from the improving economic
situation of his parents. He attended elementary school in his home town. For secondary school, however, he went to the state capital. The first years were spent in public school; however, Cid completed his secondary education in one of the most prestigious private secondary schools, or liceus, in the state capital.

In 1959, after having finished secondary school, Cid obtained a job as a library aide at the Centro Cultural Brasil-Estados Unidos in the state capital. Later, he obtained a part-time job as an aide in the city library. As a result of these employment experiences, he took an intensive course in library skills. It was also during this period that Cid became interested in social sciences. He attended an intensive training course in social science research which was offered at the local university and taught by outstanding Brazilian social scientists from other regions of the country.

As a result of this training, Cid obtained a job as clerk at the local university, where he also enrolled in the undergraduate program in geography. He chose this program because it was the one which placed the most emphasis on social science. This program also led Cid to receive intensive training in archaeological field research. Off and on for seven years, he worked with two well-known American archaeologists who were conducting research in Brazil. With them, he co-authored an article published in the United States.

While studying geography, Cid met the woman who would become his wife. She was also studying in the geography program. They were married in 1966. Upon graduation, Cid passed a competitive
examination for an instructorship in social sciences at the university where he had studied geography. His wife had an appointment as an assistant professor of social science.

It was not long before Cid and his wife felt the need for graduate-level training in social science. Together, they left the northeast and took a vacation in the south, looking for a suitable graduate program that offered a master's degree in social science. They visited departments at the University of São Paulo and the University of Rio de Janeiro, but finally settled on a newly formed department at the University of Bahia.

The couple was accepted into the program in 1972. Cid was permitted to continue receiving his instructor's salary while he studied, and his wife obtained a fellowship from CAPES. After completing their course work, the couple did field work among a group of acculturated Native Americans in Bahia. In 1975, they defended their theses and returned to their university in the northeast.

Upon their return, Cid and his wife was promoted to assistant professor of social science and later his wife was promoted to associate professor. He was also appointed coordinator for intensive courses in social science and he worked to establish a master's degree program at the university. Cid continued in this capacity from 1976 through 1978.

It was during this period that Cid began taking steps that would eventually lead to graduate study in the United States. He wrote to a professor of the Department of Anthropology at the University
of Florida about his hope to study abroad. In 1977, Cid secured the appointment of a native of northeastern Brazil who had just received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Florida to a faculty position in his department. In 1978, Cid arranged for an intensive three-week anthropology seminar to be taught at his university by the American professor at the University of Florida to whom he had previously written.

In September 1978, Cid came to the United States to study for his Ph.D. in social science at the University of Florida. In addition to the University of Florida, Cid had applied to Brandeis University and to Cambridge University in England. He was accepted by all three institutions. However, Cid chose the University of Florida because of his previous personal contacts there.

There are several aspects of Cid's experience which are interesting in light of the experiences of other Brazilian graduate students in the United States. Not the least of these is his experience in learning to speak English. While studying for his master's degree at the University of Bahia, Cid took a private course offered by Yazigi, after which he was able to read and write, but not to speak. Later, he studied for three months under a private tutor. Cid and his wife also studied English at home. In their livingroom in the United States, one notes the taped lessons which were produced by yet another private English-teaching concern in Brazil (Fisk). This preparation enabled Cid to pass the TOEFL examination in Brazil,
prior to coming to the United States, although he continued to feel very ill at ease with English.

Upon arriving in the United States, Cid and his wife enrolled as full-time students in the English Language Institute of the University of Florida. According to the director, the purpose of the Institute is "to prepare people to use English in an academic setting." Before enrolling, Cid and his wife met with the director to receive assurance that this was actually the case. Since Cid had already passed the TOEFL examination, he felt that it would be a waste of time and money to take a course oriented toward preparing students for the examination. Cid was told that classes would be tailored to the students' interests, and that he and his wife would not be disappointed if they enrolled in the English Language Institute.

With these assurances, Cid and his wife paid US$500 each for three months of instruction and enrolled in the program. Later they found that most of the instructors were graduate students of the university. The linguistics program and departments such as romance languages and English take advantage of the assistantships that the Institute provides their students. The English Language Institute is also used as a training program for teachers. The classes were almost exclusively oriented toward preparation for the TOEFL examination. In one class, the teacher went so far as to dismiss from the class those students not interested in the TOEFL. In a conversation class, rather than being prepared to use English in an academic environment, students were instructed about brushing their teeth.
Cid did not give up after his unhappy experience with the English Language Institute. He enrolled in a class entitled "English for Foreigners," which is offered by the Department of English as part of the regular university curriculum. This was an improvement. The class met daily and there were assignments aimed at improving language skills. However, there was insufficient time for the instructor to completely correct and explain the assignments he gave, so the students found it difficult to learn from their mistakes.

Cid's best experience learning English occurred when he enrolled for an individual study course under a professor in the Department of Anthropology. The professor met with Cid weekly to discuss his previous week's work and to give a new assignment. Cid wrote a short paper each week on the theme about which he had been reading to hand in to the professor. In addition to discussing anthropology, the professor corrected Cid's English. Thus, Cid was able to advance in an academic area that interested him and at the same time was able to improve his language skills. He noted that this was the first time that he had been able to systematically work on his English in a class without feeling like a "child" (criança).

Unfortunately, Cid's wife has yet to have such a happy experience with English. She continues taking classes and is struggling with the language. Although Cid received a CAPES fellowship to study for his Ph.D. degree, she still has not been able to pass the TOEFL examination, which is a prerequisite for any CAPES grant. Thus, she is not yet eligible to enroll in an individual study class as Cid did.
Although they have been in the United States for over a year, she still has made no progress on her Ph.D. program.

Cid has mixed emotions about his academic experience in the United States thus far. He is happy with his relationship with his advisor, both personally and as a scholar. Cid's advisor does take a personal interest in him. He went to the airport to meet Cid the day he was to arrive and he helped him through the complicated process of finding housing for himself and his family. The two meet regularly to discuss Cid's academic progress and plan future steps in his program. Cid is also generally happy with his department. He feels that it is a good program and that most faculty members have a genuine concern for the students.

At the same time, there are frustrations. Cid feels that despite TOEFL, he has had to spend more time on English than on studies in his discipline for most of the time since his arrival. Even now that he is becoming more competent in English, Cid feels that coping with the foreign language requires a disproportionate amount of time. Also, his wife's difficulties in learning English well enough to begin her own Ph.D. program are a constant source of stress. With regard to the social science courses he has taken, Cid feels that they have generally been good courses and were competently handled. However, he finds that the curriculum is structured so that the student must take a lot of different courses in many different areas. It is difficult for a student to have the time to read and study more deeply in an area that is of particular interest. Cid has been able to
overcome this problem to a degree by registering to take hours of individual study with various faculty members. Cid is notable for his desire to travel and become acquainted with new people and places. He seems to live by an old Spanish proverb, "El hombre sabe por viejo, pero más sabe por viajero" ("Man learns a lot through the experience of growing old, but he learns even more by traveling"). The only regions of Brazil that Cid and his wife had not visited are the state of Amazonas and the midwest region of the country. They have traveled to other countries in South America as well. They visited Peru and Argentina in years when the Congress of Americanists met in the capitals of those two countries. As a result of their work with American archaeologists, they traveled to the United States in 1973 to attend a seminar on archaeological research held in Washington, D.C. During that visit, they also traveled to New York.

Since coming to the United States to do graduate study, Cid and his wife have used their vacation time between academic quarters to continue their travels. They traveled from Gainesville to Tallahassee, Florida, to visit a friend from their university in Brazil who is currently working toward his Ph.D. in statistics at Florida State University. They also traveled with an American couple to visit the couple's family in Atlanta, and they have gone to Washington, D.C., to visit the archaeologists with whom they worked in Brazil. More recently, Cid and his wife traveled to the southwest of the United States. Because of their background in geography, they wanted to visit Mesa Verde. However, they also were fascinated by the similarities
and differences they found between Native Americans living on the Navaho reservation and the Native Americans with whom they worked in Brazil.

Since being in the United States, Cid has distinguished himself by having close relations both with Americans and with the Brazilian community at Hopewood. Before coming to the United States, Cid hosted a couple of American graduate students from the University of Florida who were conducting research in his city. He helped them to orient their research and provided them with a place to live. When Cid came to the United States, these students tried to reciprocate by helping him get settled at the University of Florida. Also, Cid's advisor alerted other students that he was coming so they were also prepared to help with things such as finding housing or purchasing a car. Additionally, Cid's warm personality and knowledge of his discipline have made him a well-liked and respected member of his department by faculty and students alike.

Cid has also participated in the cycle of social activities in the Brazilian community, attending picnics, birthday parties and other celebrations. On Saturday evenings, a group of friends usually gathers for a visit at Cid's apartment. He is a good friend to people from all regions of Brazil and he cannot socialize along regional lines because in Hopewood there are no students from his own region. But his knowledge of the different areas of Brazil enables him to be interested in and appreciative of regional cultural diversity.

Cid and his wife have two children, a son who is four years old and a daughter who is two. As is the case with other Brazilian
families, the children provide a motive for a great deal of social activity. Cid and his wife have held birthday parties for each of their children, and, of course, they take them to parties for other Brazilian children. The children attend a private pre-school, along with several other Brazilian children. Cid and his wife, along with the other parents, take turns providing transportation.

Cid and his wife are amazed at the ease with which their children have adapted to life in the United States. They get along well with other children and seem very happy in this country. Of particular interest is the ease with which they have learned English. They speak Portuguese with their parents and other Brazilian adults, but they speak English at the pre-school, with many other children who live at Hopewood and sometimes to one another.

Cid and his wife are generally satisfied with their life in the Hopewood community. When they first arrived, they had trouble securing housing in Hopewood. For three months, they lived in a hotel while they were on a waiting list for an apartment there. Then, they secured a two-bedroom apartment in the north complex of Hopewood. Later, finding that this provided them with rather cramped quarters, the family moved to a townhouse in the south complex. They find this to be a very comfortable home.

Like other Brazilians, Cid and his wife have had to adjust to living without a maid. They try to divide household chores up as equally as possible. Cid has become a true aficionado of cooking outdoors on a grill. He does this almost nightly and he has even developed his own recipe for barbecuing chicken.
Cid notes that living in the Brazilian community at Hopewood has been something of a "mixed blessing." On one hand, he enjoys being with other Brazilians and he values the help and support they provide. On the other hand, he feels that he would learn English more rapidly if he were forced to speak it more outside of the classroom. Cid notes that at home he and his wife speak Portuguese almost exclusively. Even his close American friends generally speak some Portuguese.

Discussion

Cid is unusual among Brazilian students in some respects. First, as a student of social science, Cid is not among the majority of Brazilians who have come to the United States in fields related to technology and agriculture. A representative sample of CAPES grantees for the year 1976 indicates that for a total of 111 Brazilian graduate students in the United States, 15.31 percent were from the field of technology, 15.31 percent from agriculture, 11.71 percent from social sciences, and an additional 9.9 percent were from the field of letters and linguistics (dos Santos 1978:35). Second, he and his wife are two of a small group of northeasterners to study in the United States (see Figures 4 and 5). Prior to Cid's coming, a student from the northeast carried out undergraduate and graduate studies in the United States, eventually receiving a Ph.D. in anthropology and now he teaches at the University of Campinas, one of the best universities in the state of São Paulo (southeast region). A faculty member from
Cid's university is working on a Ph.D. in statistics from Florida State University in Tallahassee. However, apart from these individuals, Cid and his wife are the only northeasterners to study in Florida universities. They proudly comment that by 1978 their university had 500 professors completing graduate degrees, mostly in Brazil and a few abroad.

One final point deserves discussion: the implications of Cid's father being a Lebanese immigrant. Some Brazilian students had grandparents or great-grandparents who were European immigrants (see Guarany's and Lino's cases). Cid's father, however, migrated from the Middle East (Beirut) to Brazil (Rio de Janeiro). He followed a pattern in which the southern region of Brazil was a favorite step for foreign immigrants (Diegues 1960) and Rio de Janeiro is a main port city in the southeast. Only later did the northeast region attract Cid's father, and there he was a successful store owner. As a store owner, Cid's father fits into another pattern of foreign immigrants to Latin America. Foreign immigrants may enter into trade activities rather than into landowning or into government as a consequence of their experience and of their contacts abroad. The success of Cid's father reaffirms a traditionally positive image of foreign immigrants for whom lack of success is an exception. The usual image of successful foreign immigrants contrasts to what Hirschman (1961) and other national and foreign authors have attributed to Latin Americans: self-denigration, self-laceration, pessimism, low "need achievement."

So, in more practical terms, Yutaka (1971) even suggests that descendence
from foreign immigrants is a positive factor for social mobility in Brazil. Accordingly, I know of one recent case in which a German last name was considered as a favorable point in attributing a higher status to a Brazilian-born person in São Paulo (southeast Brazil). Taking into account the meaning of being a foreign immigrant or one of their descendents, two implications are relevant from this discussion: (1) the search for a degree abroad is part of a favorable image regarding foreign immigrants and foreign culture as was pointed out in Chapter One, and (2) Cid's case goes beyond the social function ascribed to blood descendence; his stay abroad doubles his effort toward social mobility by achievement.

Pedro Gentil Valente

Life History

Pedro was born in 1947 in the city of Fortaleza, capital of the northeastern city of Ceará. As a young man, he migrated south to the state of Minas Gerais, where he began his professional career. He was working for an agency of the state of Minas Gerais when he received a fellowship from EMBRAPA to study for a Ph.D. in agronomy at the University of Florida, a degree which he successfully completed in the spring of 1979.

Although he migrated to the south as a young man, Pedro's family is very much a northeastern one. His paternal grandfather was a land surveyor in a small town of Ceará, while his maternal grandfather was a petty merchant in the state of Algôas, another northeastern state.
Pedro's father and mother are both from Ceará. His father is a professional agronomist. For most of his professional life, he worked at an experiment station in the interior of Ceará. However, in 1960, he was permitted to transfer to the city of Fortaleza so that all of his children could attend secondary school. Pedro's mother completed elementary school.

Pedro is the fourth of ten brothers and sisters. At their father's insistence, all finished secondary school and some have gone considerably beyond that level. Among Pedro's brothers and sisters are included a physician, a dentist, a mechanical engineer, an architect, and another agronomist in addition to Pedro.

Education has always been very important in Pedro's family. His father encouraged all of the children to get as much education as they could. Pedro's sister came to visit him while he was working on his degree and his entire family offered encouragement. That the encouragement of his family was important to Pedro is clear when one reads the acknowledgements in his dissertation. The acknowledgments are done in Brazilian style, with those whose help was most important mentioned last. The last part of Pedro's acknowledgments is dedicated exclusively to his family. He lists many members individually and notes how each helped him progress toward his degree.

Pedro married in July of 1970, prior to undertaking his master's degree program in Brazil. His wife, Carmita, and her family, are from the state of Ceará. Carmita was born in the small town of Camocim. Her father was a manager for a rural agency of the National
Bank of Brazil. Carmita has completed secondary school and she is an accomplished seamstress.

One of Carmita's relatives came to visit Pedro and his family while they were in the United States. This person was a male cousin of Carmita's and he had come to the United States previously to study in an American high school as part of an international youth exchange. While Pedro was in the United States, a female cousin of his joined his family. She stayed with them and she took advantage of the opportunity to look for an undergraduate degree program in which she would like to enroll when her English had improved enough.

Pedro and Carmita have three children: one boy and two girls. The boy is three years old and the girls are four and six years old. The family in the United States was completed by another female cousin of Carmita. She is eighteen years old and accompanied the family to this country. While Pedro worked on his Ph.D., she enrolled in and completed a two-year course in computer science offered by Santa Fe Community College in Gainesville.

Pedro attended elementary and secondary school in Fortaleza. Before completing secondary school in 1965, he had attended both public and private institutions. Pedro then entered the Federal University of Ceará, which is also located in the city of Fortaleza. He finished his undergraduate studies in 1969, receiving his degree in agronomy. While at the Federal University of Ceará, Pedro entered and won a competition for a fellowship provided by the Banco do Nordeste. This fellowship paid for the last two years of his undergraduate
education. In 1970, Pedro received a grant from the Conselho Nacional de Pesquisa (National Research Council or CNPQ) to pursue a master's degree in agronomy at the University of Viçosa in the southeastern state of Minas Gerais.

In 1973, Pedro successfully completed his master's degree program and secured a job with the Corporation for Agricultural Research of Minas Gerais (EPAMIG). EPAMIG is the state branch of EMBRAPA in Minas Gerais. This was Pedro's first full-time job and he remained in his position until 1976, when he was awarded a fellowship by EMBRAPA to study for a Ph.D. in agronomy at the University of Florida. Pedro received his Ph.D. in agronomy in the spring of 1979. Upon his return to Brazil, he was immediately given the position of a liaison officer between EPAMIG and the University of Viçosa with the responsibility of coordinating and supervising agricultural research. Pedro continues working in this capacity to the present.

Pedro's experiences studying English in order to prepare himself for graduate study in the United States are similar to those of many other Brazilian students, especially those with EMBRAPA fellowships. Prior to coming to the United States, Pedro was given the opportunity to take an intensive English course at Sete Lagoas in the interior of Minas Gerais. This facility is maintained by EMBRAPA for use by its employees. All courses are very intensive, lasting from three to four months with students attending classes eight hours a day. Sete Lagoas provides students with a way to study English on a full-time basis before they leave Brazil.
The first time that Pedro took the TOEFL examination he failed; but, the second time, after having completed four months at Sete Lagoas, he passed. Unfortunately, Pedro did not receive the results of his TOEFL examination before he left Brazil. Likewise, his scores were late in arriving in the United States. Thus, when Pedro arrived in the United States, he could not begin working on his degree program. Instead, he enrolled for more English instruction at the English Language Institute of the University of Florida. About midway through the quarter, his TOEFL scores arrived from Brazil, making it unnecessary for Pedro to continue in the English Language Institute.

Pedro did not object to continuing his English study after he arrived in the United States. It was something he had planned to do anyway, although not being able to begin his degree program immediately was something of a frustration. In retrospect, Pedro noted that he learned considerably more English interacting with peers and professors in his field work than he did in formal English classes. In order to maintain and improve his English and expand his knowledge of American culture, Pedro subscribed to a number of publications while he was in the United States. These included magazines such as *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *Ellery Queen*, as well as the local newspaper, the *Gainesville Sun*.

Pedro did not know his advisor in the Agronomy Department personally before he came to the United States. However, he was familiar with his reputation and with his professional writings. Pedro's advisor at the University of Viçosa had been a student of this
American professor. Before leaving Brazil, Pedro wrote a letter to this professor informing him of his research interests and asking him to serve as his advisor. Among Brazilian graduate students, Pedro's advisor has a very good reputation. At the commencement ceremony in which Pedro received his degree, five other Brazilians who were also receiving a Ph.D. were listed as students of this professor. Guarany, whose case also appears in this chapter, is a student of the same professor. Pedro knows of no student of his advisor who has ever failed in their program.

Pedro characterizes his advisor as fair, objective, and highly organized. His busy schedule did not always allow for intimate contact with his students, but he was always cognizant of his responsibilities to them. When Pedro neared the end of his Ph.D. program, his advisor helped him to prepare several articles for publication. The names of Pedro and his advisor appeared on the articles as co-authors. Pedro's contacts with his advisor continued after graduation. Once, when Pedro's job as a liaison between EPAMIG and the University of Viçosa brought him back to the United States, he passed through Gainesville to visit friends at the University of Florida and to confer with his advisor about data he was analyzing for a project they were working on together.

Pedro was very pragmatic in his approach to his Ph.D. program. He chose his dissertation topic on the basis of a meeting which his advisor held with the students working under him. At that time, Pedro's advisor suggested topics for possible research. Pedro chose the one
which he suggested that none of the other students were interested in, but which built directly upon the work of some other Brazilians who had studied in the United States.

Pedro was very focused in his pursuit of a Ph.D. in agronomy. He took only courses which were directly related to his own research interests. These courses were selected from the departments of agronomy, soil sciences, animal sciences, botany, and statistics. Pedro noted that it would have been nice had his training been more interdisciplinary or holistic; but, his program did not really allow time to acquire that sort of background.

Pedro felt that one of the most useful things he learned while in the United States was computer skills. It assisted in the analysis of his own research data, and it is a skill for which there is increasing demand in Brazil. Pedro was very proficient working with computers and he spent a lot of time helping other Brazilian students with computer-related problems.

Pedro did very well in his Ph.D. program. In part, this was due to his understanding of the American sense of time and how it differs from the sense of time found in Brazil. Thus, he was able to deal with the American "cult" of deadlines without feeling as oppressed or pressured as many of his Brazilian colleagues. Pedro managed his time so well, in fact, that he finished his program considerably ahead of schedule. He used the extra time to prepare some papers for publication.

Pedro was aware of the many crises that some of his Brazilian colleagues had to overcome. These ranged from poor relations with an
advisor to unsatisfactory grades to being accused of plagiarizing a
dissertation. Pedro felt that most of these crises stemmed from the
poor transmission of information among students. He noted that
usually students who already have some experience in the United States,
who are veterans, have the necessary information to help new arrivals
avoid or solve problems. However, veterans do not provide this infor-
mation unless it is asked for or unless they have a particular reason
to believe it is needed. For a number of reasons, families who are
in the midst of an academic crisis are reluctant to talk about it.
For this reason, Pedro strongly feels that Brazilians could help their
own situation by using peer advisement available from veterans.

When Pedro and his family first arrived in Gainesville, they
moved into a second-story apartment in the south complex at Hopewood.
Later, they moved into a first-floor apartment at the north complex.
The north complex apartments are newer and somewhat larger than those
of the south complex at Hopewood. Brazilian students who have been in
the United States for awhile tend to favor the north complex. Inter-
estingly, after Pedro and his family moved into the north complex,
they lived very close to two other Brazilian families who were also
originally from the northeast of Brazil. However, because of the
husbands worked in unrelated institutions in Brazil and the families
had different circles of friends in Hopewood, the families remained
unaware of one another's presence for some time, until they became
close friends.

While they lived in Hopewood, Pedro's family was very active.
As already noted, Carmita's cousin studied computer science at Santa Fe
Community College. Carmita is an accomplished seamstress. While living in Hopewood, she made clothes for Brazilian neighbors who did not always care for American fashions. This provided the family with an additional source of income. Carmita's work inspired other Brazilian women to sew clothes for their own families. Carmita willingly helped them interpret or make patterns and helped many women to improve their sewing skills. In addition, Carmita learned English and maintained her lively interest in literature. She was always well informed on new book releases in Brazil.

Pedro was a soccer player during his stay in the Hopewood community. He rarely missed a Saturday afternoon soccer game. Pedro also participated in the neighborhood volley ball games which are frequently held at Hopewood. Among his neighbors, Pedro was noted for his sense of humor. He was particularly fond of assigning nicknames to his Brazilian neighbors which he felt emphasized particular aspects of their personality or physical stature. He revealed that another neighbor had nicknamed the author "the Missing Link" because he seldom spoke and appeared lost when he first arrived at Hopewood. Pedro enjoyed laughing at people's misadventures when they had recently arrived in the United States and were still unfamiliar with their new surroundings; however, he was also quick to help newcomers become oriented.

Pedro and his family themselves had misadventures during their stay in the United States. They received in the mail a letter announcing that they had been randomly selected by computer from a
nationwide sample to receive a set of kitchenware at a reduced price and under a layaway system of payment. Six months later, the family had completed payment for the cookware, but had yet to receive the items of their purchase. Later they received the items, and also they discovered that another Brazilian family had responded to the same offer and tried unsuccessfully for ten months to secure delivery.

When Pedro and his family returned to Brazil in the spring of 1979, they rented a trailer to haul their possessions and drove to Miami, where they took a plane to Brazil. Their first stop in Brazil was in the northeastern state of Ceará, where they visited both Pedro's and Carmita's families. From there, they continued to Minas Gerais where Pedro began his job as a liaison between the University of Viçosa and EPAMIG.

In the summer of 1979, Pedro returned to the United States on business related to his new position. On his way back to Brazil, he stopped in Gainesville. At that time, he noted that things were going well for his family. However, he expressed some frustration with his job because it was purely an administrative position. After all of his training, Pedro found himself in a position which allowed him no time for teaching or research.

Discussion

As in the cases of Pery and Guarany, Pedro helped one relative while he studied in the United States. This kind of help means that Pedro's ties to his siblings persist and are stimulated outside of his native culture. His female relative had time to study
and to do baby-sitting for some neighbors. Also, she reciprocated by sharing in the care of the family's three little children. She herself was considered as part of the young set of Hopewood as well as part of Pedro's family.

Another interesting feature is the short visit of Pedro to Gainesville, three months after his return to Brazil. Other former students have made this kind of revisitation to their former universities. In Brazil, the sense of belonging to "alumni" groups is limited to the group with whom one graduates; but most often "associações de ex-alunos" (alumni associations) exist only for former students of private secondary schools either secular or religious. To the author's knowledge, no former Brazilian graduate student keeps formal ties with American universities through groups of alumni. Nevertheless, from 1976 to 1979, two of the students who revisited Gainesville kept close ties with their former advisors. Thus, the central focus of their revisitations was a personalized rather than an institutionalized relationship.

A final point regarding Pedro's discomfort as a returnee to Brazil is that previous to his returning, Pedro told the author that he expected no adjustment problems when he returned to Brazil. However, during his revisitation to Gainesville, he said he was not happy with his assignment upon return. He would like to do research or to teach and he was doing neither. In this regard, two points should be made: (1) some Brazilian officials who have received returnees complain that newly graduated Ph.D.s or M.S.s suffer an occupational disease they
called "a sindrome da tese" ("the thesis syndrome"). By this kind of problem, they mean that newly graduated Ph.D.s or M.S.s would prefer to develop projects related to the research they did for their dissertation or thesis. Since this is not always possible, they claim that the new graduates become uncooperative for a time. Is this, for the moment, the case of Pedro? This is an open question, because he said he had no such problem after his M.S. degree. Secondly, since Pedro was only three months into his re-entry stage, for two reasons, it is possible that his discomfort is part of a broader process. Thirdly, although Pedro was very pragmatic in the choice of a research topic, in his situation two of the nine suggestions once presented for improvement of the effectiveness of foreign graduate's programs were lacking: opportunity to conduct research in his own country or use of data originating in the home country (Ordoñez, 1977:921). Furthermore, authors concerned with the re-entry crisis (Gama and Pederson, 1976) point out that (1) the re-entry crisis is frequently unexpected, and (2) it includes stages such as "initial feelings of euphoria and satisfaction after returning to the home culture, followed by another decline in adjustment to the home culture and, finally, if they are also able to make the final adjustment, there is a state of recovery and increased judgment" (1976:3). This analysis fits Pedro's case, but it suggests the relevance of further research on the post-liminal situations.
Life History

João was born in 1947 in the town of Cametá, which is located on the lower Tocantins River in the Amazon region of Brazil. Cametá was at one time a center of cocoa production. This activity declined in importance, although there are currently some efforts being made to revive the cocoa plantations.

João comes from a family of merchants. Both his maternal and paternal grandparents were merchants who operated in rural areas of the município (county) of Cametá. João's father began as a merchant in Cametá, but he moved his business to Belém so that his children would have better educational opportunities. João's mother is a house­-wife. Both of his parents are literate, but neither of them completed elementary school.

João was born the fifth of seven children. Of the seven, four completed secondary school and two, João and his younger sister, have gone on to receive high education. João's sister is a lawyer. She works in Belém for the Superintendencia do Desenvolvimento de Amazonia (Superintendency for the Development of the Amazon), or SUDAM. João's family is a very close-knit one and he remains very close to it. The only remembrance of life in Brazil that he brought with him was a photograph album of pictures of his family.

João began elementary school in Cametá. After his family moved to the city, he attended a private school in Belém. João then attended a private secondary school run by the Catholic Church. When he finished
secondary school, João wanted to study medicine. However, he was attracted to agronomy by the example of an older friend who told him that there were many more opportunities for students in agricultural sciences. At that time, all students in the agricultural sciences received partial financial support for their studies from SUDAM.

In 1967, João entered the Faculdade de Ciencias Agrarias in Belém (Pará) to begin his undergraduate studies. In the second year of his program, João and another undergraduate student prepared a proposal to study potentially harmful insects in the newly established Jari gmelina and pine plantation owned by the American millionaire Daniel Kieth Ludwig, as a project for an entomology class. The proposal was submitted to the enterprise which then provided funds to conduct a two-month study. João then wrote a paper summarizing the results of this project. João later had the opportunity to return to the Jari plantation after he had completed his undergraduate degree. This early research effort remains a source of pride for him.

João received his undergraduate degree in agronomy in 1977. Before actually completing his undergraduate program, however, he secured an internship with a local agency of the Ministry of Agriculture. After his internship, he took a competitive examination and was one of several others selected as a junior researcher of the agency. This was João's first job, and he held it for two years, from 1969 through 1971.

In 1971, the agency for which João was working was incorporated into EMBRAPA. With this change in administration came an emphasis
on graduate training for employees. João obtained information about
the graduate degree programs offered by the University of Viçosa by
writing himself to the university. Once he determined that the
university offered a program that would fit his needs, João presented
his plans for study to the director of his agency. The director
agreed that João could do graduate study and continue receiving his
regular salary. At that time, local directors were empowered to make
such decisions; now they must be made at the national headquarters
in Brasília. In addition to being allowed to keep his salary, João
applied for and was awarded a fellowship by the CNPQ to study for a
master's degree at the University of Viçosa. He completed his program
in 1974, receiving a master's degree in animal nutrition.

After receiving his master's degree, João had his first
experience of what it is like to return to a job after having been
away attending graduate school. EMBRAPA research projects run on a
yearly cycle. Every year a policy decision is made regarding what
sorts of research are to be emphasized in that year. João was not
kept informed about the decisions that were being made while he was
studying. As a result, he returned to find his degree in animal
nutrition of little use in the research that was then being emphasized.
João found himself working in plant breeding rather than in anything
having to do with animal nutrition.

EMBRAPA is a centralized national corporation with several
regional branches. In João's branch, about half of the people are
local and about half come from outside the region. The branch director
is of local origin, a native of the city of Belem. EMBRAPA promotes its personnel on the basis of a merit system. A person who has left his or her position is usually promoted upon returning to their job. Other promotions are forthcoming as the returnee publishes or makes other achievements. In João's branch of EMBRAPA, there are about 60 researchers and about 200 other staff members. Among the researchers, about 12 have received graduate training in the United States. Two of these have been women. Only João's immediate superior had a Ph.D. when João came to the United States. He received his degree in agronomy from the University of Florida in 1976. When João left Brazil, he held the position of research coordinator. His superior now fills that role.

João described the process through which one receives an EMBRAPA fellowship. He noted that when the program sending people abroad to study first began in 1972, there was a very high demand among its employees. Over time, however, the demand has slackened somewhat. Once a candidate decides for sure that he or she wants to come to the United States, the senior researchers of that department or branch meet to decide if the candidate's proposed research program will contribute to meeting their research needs. If they decide in favor of the candidate, this information is forwarded to the central headquarters in Brasília. This sets in motion a process which includes providing the candidate with information about American universities, setting up a schedule for three months of intensive English training and making arrangements to take the TOEFL examination. The EMBRAPA
fellowship program is administered in the United States by the Institute of International Education. It was not until he had passed the first of two TOEFL examinations that João was contacted by the Institute and issued an official passport. The whole process lasted about a year and a half. João's successful completion of it was cause for a small celebration with his colleagues in Belém.

João's experience studying English at the Sete Lagoas center, which is maintained by EMBRAPA, is typical of many Brazilian students. Students are highly regimented in their schedules. They are in classes from 7:30 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. At 2:00 p.m. classes resume and continue until 5:00 p.m. All students eat together and meal periods are strictly regulated. Most courses last for twelve weeks. Once a week, afternoon classes are suspended and students are allowed to leave the center to shop or take care of personal business. João found that students were provided with considerable information about American universities and, of course, the constant exposure to English was very helpful. However, João felt that, for all of the regimentation and emphasis on an intensive learning experience, individuals were often disorganized. Also, João does not feel that his classes did a particularly good job of reproducing the situations that students in the United States must face. João feels that this is because the Sete Lagoas program is almost exclusively TOEFL-oriented.

João's advisor in the Agronomy Department is the same professor who advised João's supervisor when he studied at the University of Florida. Two other Brazilians who entered the Ph.D. program at the
same time João did also selected this professor as their advisor. Pedro, whose case has already been discussed, was a student of the same professor. This professor has periodic meetings of all the students working under him so that they might have an opportunity to get to know one another and to discuss their programs with their peers as well as with him. This practice is highly appreciated by João and the other students.

João's advisor also has the custom of acting as a co-author of the first articles his students write, based upon their research. This helps to insure their publication. This advisor also takes an interest in his students' lives outside the university. For example, he has a set of pots and pans that he often lends to newly arrived foreign students to help them set up housekeeping.

João is particularly impressed with his advisor's receptivity to student input. On one occasion, he discussed a topic in class that related to some research that had been done by João and his supervisor in Brazil. João informed his advisor of this and was allowed class time to share his experience with the other students. All in all, João is satisfied with his academic experience in the United States.

In 1976, João married in Belém. His wife, Lia, is also from the north. She is certified to teach elementary school. However, she gave up teaching to work for a private corporation that is involved in developing riverine transportation. She was working for this company when she and João were married, but she left her job a week later.
Lia has been trying to learn English. When João left for the intensive English course at Sete Lagoas, Lia enrolled for private English at the Belém branch of FISK. She hopes to improve her English in the United States and plans to study further; however, she has not yet found a suitable course. Lia and João have decided to take a typing course. They hope to improve their typing skills and they feel that using English in a natural setting will do more to improve their fluency than a formal language class.

João and Lia have a two-year-old daughter. At first, they were concerned about how she would adapt to life in the United States. The little girl attends a nursery school where many other Brazilian children go. She enjoys her nursery school and has no problem at all adjusting. She did not even cry the first time her mother left her there.

Kinship and regional ties have played an important role in João and Lia's stay in the United States. When they arrived in Miami from Brazil, they were met by a friend of one of João's cousins who helped them arrange to spend the night in a hotel before continuing to Gainesville. Upon their arrival in Gainesville, they were met at the airport by a couple from the north. After the two couples had talked for awhile, they discovered that both Lia and the wife of the couple that had met them were born on Marajo Island in Belém. It appears that the two might even be distantly related.

João and Lia arrived on Friday. So, to help ease the stress of their arrival, the couple which had met them at the airport took
them to the beach for the weekend. There were several Brazilian families who went to the beach with them. This gave João and Lia an opportunity to get to know some of the people who would be their neighbors.

Such support was very important for João and Lia because they were unable to move into student housing when they first arrived. They had to live in a local motel for 20 days before they moved into a townhouse in the north complex at Hopewood. They were immediately incorporated into the Brazilian community. Soon after they arrived, a northern family and a southern family were jointly sponsoring a birthday party for two children who shared a birthday. When it was learned that João and Lia's daughter would be two years old on the same date, she was invited to be a third guest of honor.

Discussion

As a northerner, João comes from an area that is far away from governmental federal decision centers in Brazil. His career, however, fits into a cultural national pattern, since, in obtaining a grant, bureaucratic and personal ties go together. Moreover, he is very interested in his regional roots. These aspects are considered here for discussion.

In the groups studied, João is one of the four graduate students from the north. In three of the four groups studied in this research, there were no students from his region. This almost total absence contrasts sharply with the overwhelming presence of students from the south and the southeast. However, both the head of João's agency of
research (EMBRAPA) and his immediate supervisor were born in the north of Brazil and they earned graduate degrees in the United States. The majority of researchers in his agency, however, originated from the southeast or from the south. Of all the students in agronomy who graduated from the University of Florida between 1976 and 1979, only one more came from the north. These facts indicate how regional disparities in Brazil are not only economic but also in terms of opportunities to obtain grants for graduate education in Brazil and abroad.

The fact that João earned a master's degree in Brazil is part of a recent trend: not to send people to study abroad without having a master's degree. Such a trend proves true for Cecy, Pedro, Cid, and Rosangela as well as for Nara's husband (cf. cases), among the case histories presented. Also, in terms of his career, João has alternated times of intensive study with intervals of work and research. Besides the previous master's degree, this period of work is highly valued in EMBRAPA.

Part of João's life history deals with the bureaucratic problems he encountered while attempting to obtain a grant within his own institution. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Brazil has borrowed impersonal objective procedures from modern administrative standards. These borrowings emphasize objective evaluation rather than subjective merit only, or prestige. However, personalistic considerations in the sense of putting a personal touch through intermediaries into routine procedures as a variation of personalism as perceived by Gillins (1971), as a central Latin American
value, functions in João's efforts to improve his position and his skills. For example, in addition to his achievements, his initiative toward research during his undergraduate course, and his Brazilian master's degree, another set of effective bonds are his supervisor, and the former advisor to his supervisor. Such a network of personal linkages is further supported by the fact that the director of João's research agency also earned a graduate degree from Texas A & M, and, thus, has personal experiences regarding matters of studies abroad. In contrast to this network, João complains that in some cases in his agency, researchers may return from studies abroad and no one notices because the work load and the pattern of socializing among researchers do not allow for such.

A final comment is in order regarding João's interest in keeping in touch with his agency through his immediate supervisor. This is a direct consequence of his previous experience. He felt quite frustrated upon returning to his agency after studying for his Brazilian master's degree. He wants some feedback from his agency, through his supervisor, in order to feel that his stay abroad is continually relevant to his institution, and in order to make wiser choices for his dissertation topic. In a liminal situation, this feedback is significant on account of the negative feelings experienced when it is missing and the positive results obtained by those who have sought and obtained such feedback. In cross-cultural liminality, the second language and the new culture setting need to be balanced by such direct renewal of links which further prepares for a meaningful stay and a less disadjusted return.
Also, João is aware of Wagley's point regarding the fact that agronomists in Brazil still use books prepared for the technology of temperate zones (1971:60). In consequence, in his stay abroad, João seeks to correct that distortion: he uses the best of the library resources he finds around the American university, but he also looks for reliable data from research done or in process in his own research agency. In this sense, João keeps a critical eye on his own experience but he keeps taking steps to improve it over time. To his experiences, his regional roots and friends add a sense of practical commitment to his present and future role.

Conclusions from Case Studies

Some general inferences can be drawn from these case studies about Brazilian graduate students who are candidates for advanced degrees in the United States. Although, as stated earlier, none of these individuals (or their families) can be said to be exactly typical, they do illustrate the range of real-life situations found among the 66 individuals covered by this study. And, in the opinion of the author, they are representative of the whole body of Brazilian graduate students who are now studying abroad.

Very important is the fact that all of them are, by origin, from the middle class and most of them are second-generation middle class. A large percentage of these graduate students have parents who have completed secondary school which, as we have seen, was in a generation ago, the exception and not the rule. It is probably true that less than 5 percent of all Brazilians of their parents' generation
had secondary education. In some rare instances, such as the case of Cecy, the parents had completed a degree in higher education (i.e., medicine) which was rare indeed. Their parents were all literate in a generation when over 50 percent of the Brazilian population was illiterate. On the other hand, it is easy to perceive that none of our cases comes from the old landed gentry and with rare exception (cf. the case of Cid), have from what would be called lower class in Brazil. Thus, it is obvious that a great change has taken place among those who are sent abroad for higher education since the 19th and 20th century when this opportunity was limited to the aristocracy. Yet, one cannot say that these cases indicate marked examples of social and economic mobility. They are instances of people of middle-class background reinforcing their position in the middle class. They do indicate that the educational level of the middle class is improving. Where a secondary education was sufficient in the past for the middle class, now one needs a university education; and the professors, technicians, and researchers of modern Brazil are being drawn from the middle class.

In the past, study abroad was financed by private family funds. All of our cases (and the others not presented here) are financed from governmental funds of one kind or another—-from national programs of the federal government such as CAPES or from a semi-official corporation such as EMBRAPA. In most cases, funds from the government are derived from universities where the graduate student is already a faculty member and in others from bilateral government agreements such as the AID program in agriculture managed by Michigan
State University. It should be noted that in none of the cases presented (nor among all of the 60 interviewees) were there individuals studying primarily on their own funds. Nor were there individuals from the teaching staffs of private Brazilian universities.

This fact that graduate students are supported in the United States by public funds channels to a large extent the disciplines represented among them determines where they study in the United States, and ties their studies to bureaucratic policies. It is obvious that the large number of agronomists and other scientists related to agriculture (entomology, etc.) related closely to agriculture is a result of the Brazilian government's policy for rapid agricultural growth. Related to this policy also is the fact that such a large number of students come from south Brazil where commercial agriculture is best developed and where the better-known schools of agricultural sciences are located. It is not all that clear that the methods used for selection of graduate students for study in the United States provides the best candidates for higher degrees. Too often individuals are selected for study abroad to fulfill a need of a given Brazilian institution for personnel to a given position in a given discipline. This, of course, can be seen fulfilling as a local or national need, but it also does not always result in granting fellowships to the best possible candidate. Thus, there are few graduate students from the north and northeastern regions of the country, although three of the cases presented here are from these regions.

It is obvious for those students who do come to study in the United States language is the major culture barrier. In fact,
as already documented earlier in this study, the TOEFL examination becomes almost a trauma for these foreign students. This would seem to reflect upon how foreign languages are taught in Brazilian secondary schools and universities, a fault which Brazil seems to share with the United States, according to American opinion. Among the best adapted individuals among those in these case studies were those who had two different periods of study in the United States, with an interval between their stays at home in Brazil. They not only were better equipped linguistically, but they adjusted better to the conditions of its university system. They, perhaps, have had time and an interval to reflect on their earlier experience and return for the second time better prepared to avoid culture shocks.

It seems clear that Brazilian graduate students in the United States are passing through various stages of liminality. They are individuals whose normal family and social life is interrupted for a period of two to four years; they are professionals. Often university teachers and researchers whose professional life is somewhat in limbo for this period and who are worried about their ultimate reintegration to their former and future life work. As these cases illustrate, Brazilian graduate students take refuge during this period of liminality by seeking the company of others in the same condition (fellow countrymen, and even better, others from their own region of Brazil). They have created rituals such as arrival parties, picnics, birthday parties, celebrations of examinations passed (as if they were rites of passage), and farewell parties. Accustomed to living in the midst of
large extended families, these occasions take on new meanings abroad. And, people seek to maintain their Brazilian identity. Soccer becomes important, even to those who were not necessarily fans or active in the sport. Carnival becomes a high point of the year, giving identity to the group as Brazilians.

Finally, something should be said about the spouses of Brazilian graduate fellows in the United States. As these cases indicate, it is quite common for both husband and wife to have a career among the younger professionals of Brazil today. This fact was shown to be true by Charlotte Miller in her study of middle-class families in the city of Belo Horizonte (Minas Gerais) in Brazil (Miller 1976). Such well-educated wives face a special problem in the United States. Generally, only the husband has a fellowship, but the career-minded wife wants to continue her education so that her career will be furthered upon their return to Brazil. In Brazil, she has been able to combine a career with role of a mother and housewife because she has the backing of domestic help and of a large extended family group. Few middle-class people in Brazil send small children to nursery schools and the phenomena of babysitters is all but unknown. Thus, the answer is either to import domestic help or a relative or to send small children to local nursery schools. To pay for a babysitter costs US$2 an hour and is rarely seen as entirely possible (see the cases of Rosangela and Pedro). This creates a new dimension in the problem of adjustment of the family to North American student life, but it is generally offset by the awareness of the well-educated wife. The presence of a maid,
even though she may be treated like a family member, or even of a relative in the household, sets off the Brazilian student family from their graduate student colleagues, for it is almost unheard of for North American married students living in university housing to have any kind of domestic help. In their feeling of seeking a temporary adjustment during a stage of liminality in a foreign setting, such people turn back to the society from which they came, for help.
CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

During their period of residence and study in the United States, Brazilian graduate students are living through a stage of liminality. They are predominantly adult men and women who are removed from the ordered world of their professional careers when they assume the roles of students in a foreign and, for them, an unstable situation. During their period of residence abroad, the normal rules of their own society are suspended. In their temporary status of liminality as graduates students, they pass through various public rites of passage and rites of intensification. Furthermore, they create a communitas of neophytes, or a gathering together of those of equal status, which somewhat isolates them from the world around them. They tend to reside near one another in the same apartment complexes whenever possible and tend to associate with each other frequently. Both these rites of intensification and the communitas seem to help them maintain a sense of identity during a period when their former identity is suspended.

The adjustments of Brazilian students coming to the United States create a liminal quality to much of their experience. Brazilians who come to the United States are separated from their extended families, which in Brazil provide moral and material support, and which provide an important reference point for defining one's own status and
role. The students are placed in an environment where accustomed rules of behavior do not apply. The rules which do apply are either not known or known only imperfectly. The status the student had in Brazil, either by ascription or achievement, means nothing in the United States. Instead the student must go through a process of self-redefinition. Characteristic of the redefinition process are phenomena such as role reversals in which children talk and teach while adults listen and learn. Students are aided in redefining themselves by culture brokers who define, mediate and interpret situations of cross-cultural contact. Moreover, this process of redefinition has both internal and external sides. Internally, each student must make his or her own adjustment to the new way of life. Externally, the new status which results from this experience in the United States will be evaluated by all of the student's friends and family and used in the reintegration of the student in a new, higher position in Brazilian society.

As neophytes, Brazilians must adjust to the fact that they are set apart from "normal" life in time and space. Spatial boundaries are crossed in the journeys to and from the United States. Temporal stages are marked by events such as the beginning and ending of school terms, qualifying examinations and, finally, by graduation. There is a formalized process of receiving a new identity as the students conform to the American system for naming people and then go about obtaining driver's licenses and Social Security cards. Furthermore, their self-identity is called into question by the experience of living
in a society where many Brazilian expectations regarding status and role behavior do not apply.

Brazilians also assume the role of neophytes before a wide range of culture brokers. These cross-cultural mediators are not only classroom professors. They are more experienced Brazilians who have lived for a longer time in the United States, American students, and the students' children. The instruction they receive is about topics as diverse as English grammar, cooking, or tropical ecosystems. Also, the liminal experience itself and the instruction received during its course mean that the students will return to Brazil with a new identity. They hope to join an elite which has received training abroad in their professional fields. They hope to receive higher incomes than they did before coming to the United States and expect that career advancement should come more rapidly than it would have otherwise.

Finally, the liminal experience of Brazilian graduate students in the United States may be further distinguished as occurring in a foreign, public setting. It resembles Turner's "sequestered" liminality in that the students are physically separated from their own society and placed in a context where the Brazilians' accustomed rules of social interaction do not apply. At the same time, their liminal experience is public in that it takes place within American society and involves the active participation of Americans as well as Brazilians.

The educative process that Brazilian students in the United States must go through has both formal and informal liminal qualities. The formal liminal qualities relate to the academic setting itself.
The degree programs as such, the relations with academic advisors, and classes in English are all examples of these formal aspects. Informal liminal qualities of the educative process refer to establishing social relations with people outside the formal academic setting. These social relationships are the means by which Brazilian students receive the information they need to behave in at least a minimally acceptable way in American society. This includes information regarding how to obtain a driver's license or to legally purchase and operate a motor vehicle. Such social relationships are also an important means of being informed about cultural or recreational events that are offered locally. The social relationships that Brazilian students form are also important in maintaining a sense of their own regional and national identity while experiencing cross-cultural liminality.

This dissertation has also tried to examine how the liminal experience of Brazilian graduate students abroad fits into the experience of Brazil as a nation. The history of higher education in Brazil was reviewed and an effort was made to show how the present experience of large numbers of graduate students abroad in some respects represents a continuation of this history, and how, in other respects, it represents a breaking away from that history.

Traditionally, education abroad has been a privilege reserved for the upper classes, and the upper classes have used education as a tool for maintaining their privileged position in society. Education was monopolized by the elite of the exporting regions of the country. Sending their children abroad was a means of maintaining and strengthening their international ties.
On the other hand, the class of the Brazilian students currently in the United States represents a marked departure from the traditional pattern. Indeed, most of the students that form the research base for this dissertation are upwardly mobile members of the Brazilian middle class. Many of them are the first generation of their family to achieve middle-class status.

Yet, it would be a mistake to assume that graduate study abroad results in a departure from elitist aspirations among middle-class students who study abroad. Deeply ingrained elitist values are not eliminated by a stay of two to four years abroad because this experience of cross-cultural liminality does not expose the neophytes to the required stimuli. In order for change to occur, a change in the students' curriculum must take place. There is, presently, too much emphasis on narrowly training people in the so-called "hard" sciences, while little is done to expose them to the humanities and social sciences. Training of future technocrats which combines both these fields of knowledge would, in my estimation, create a kind of professional who is both a technological and social innovator.
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Samuel Amorim Sá was born on December 20, 1930, in Belém, the capital city of the state of Pará, Brazil. He completed his primary and secondary education in Brazilian public schools in 1950. From 1951 to 1957 he studied philosophy and theology in Belém and Rio de Janeiro, respectively. In 1963, he began his undergraduate studies at the Federal University of Pará (Belém, Pará, Brazil) and completed them in 1967. He spent the academic year 1967-1968 with graduate studies at the Université Catholique de Louvain (Belgium) and at the Universidade de São Paulo (São Paulo, Brazil). In 1968, he accepted a position as auxiliary instructor at the Universidade Federal do Pará (Belém, Brazil) and now he holds a position as Associate Professor (professor adjunto) at the same institution. In 1972 he began to participate in the coordinating team of the Nucleo de Altos Estudos da Amazonia (Amazonian Advanced Studies Center) as coordinator of the International Research Program. In 1976, he continued his studies at the University of Florida. He obtained his M.A. in anthropology at that institution in 1977, and since then has been working for his Ph.D. degree in anthropology.

While in the U.S., he contributed to a seminar on Oral History in Latin America (Latin American Studies Association, Seventh Annual Meeting, Houston, Texas, November 2-5, 1977). He also contributed
an article to the *Florida Journal of Anthropology* (1979, 4[2]) on the career of the late Eduardo Galvão. This article was co-authored with his wife Elisa B. Vianna Sá. The couple has three children: Maria-Clara, Vera, and André.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Charles Wagley
Chairman
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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