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**INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES FROM VENEZUELA IN BRAZIL AND
OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
IN THE UNITED STATES: A CROSS CULTURAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF
LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES**

JOÃO PESSOA, 2020

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For Valentina and Martina.

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Então fui ficando com aquela energia de migrante, “ah, a minha vida é pobre, tô cheia de necessidades, tudo falta na minha vida, a minha profissão ficou por trás, o que eu tinha feito ficou por trás, tô iniciando do zero...” Então, tudo isso tem uma carga bem forte, eu me livrei já com certeza de tudo.

[So I started to get that migrant energy, “oh, my life is poor, I’m full of needs, everything is missing in my life, my profession was behind, what I had done was behind, I’m starting from scratch...” So, all of this has a very strong burden, I got rid of everything for sure.]

(Petrólina, Venezuelan refugee in Brazil)

ABSTRACT

There has been a crisis over forced displacement of people worldwide over the past few years. The largest group of refugees entering Brazil are Venezuelans (HOAGLAND, 2019) while Congolese immigrants have been amongst the largest groups arriving in the United States (KROGSTAD and RADFORD, 2017). Both countries' present official discourses that add to the negative climate of opinion, such as speeches by the Presidents Trump and Bolsonaro demeaning individuals who are part of those groups. In this context and in the current adverse climates of opinion, this qualitative ethnographic study addresses the central matter of understanding Venezuelan and Congolese immigrants' and refugees' adapting experiences in Brazil and in the United States. I focus on the challenge of integrating through learning the host countries' languages, Portuguese and English, and at the same time keeping their identities through maintaining multilingualism. I use Grounded Theory analytic methods (CHARMAZ, 2006), including data coding, sampling and memo writing, as well as ethnographic tools (SALDAÑA, 2015), including semi-structured interviews, in-field notes, and pictures. Key concepts in my theoretical framework, constructed after the analysis process, are related to identity (BOURDIEU, 1991; NORTON, 2013), Theory of practice (BOURDIEU, 1977), and Language Policy as social practice (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009). The findings demonstrate that official language policies are filled with naturalized propositions that are arbitrary, both culturally and ideologically situated, and that directly affects and influences immigrants' and refugees' language perceptions, social practices, and living experiences. Differences and similarities between the two countries were also found. The research contributes to the field of Language Policy and Planning by the choice of theme, contexts, and participants, under investigated, by providing a cross-cultural comprehensive analysis, and by challenging notions traditional in the field.

Key- words: Refugees; immigrants; integration; language policies.

RESUMO

Tem havido uma crise mundial devido ao deslocamento forçado de pessoas nos últimos anos. O maior grupo de refugiados que tem entrado no Brasil é de venezuelanos (HOAGLAND, 2019), enquanto os imigrantes congolese estão entre os maiores grupos que chegam aos Estados Unidos (KROGSTAD e RADFORD, 2017). Os dois países apresentam discursos oficiais que contribuem para o negativo clima de opinião, como discursos dos presidentes Trump e Bolsonaro que diminuem indivíduos que fazem parte desses grupos. Nesse contexto e nos atuais climas adversos de opinião, este estudo etnográfico qualitativo aborda a questão central da compreensão das experiências de adaptação de imigrantes e refugiados venezuelanos e congolese no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos. Eu foco no desafio que existe de integrar através da aprendizagem das línguas dos países anfitriões, português e inglês e, ao mesmo tempo, mantendo suas identidades através da manutenção do multilinguismo. Utilizo métodos analíticos de Grounded Theory (CHARMAZ, 2006), incluindo codificação de dados, amostragem e redação de memorandos, além de ferramentas etnográficas (SALDAÑA, 2015), incluindo entrevistas semiestruturadas, anotações em campo e imagens. Os conceitos-chave do meu referencial teórico, construídos após o processo de análise, estão relacionados à identidade (BOURDIEU, 1991; NORTON, 2013), à teoria da prática (BOURDIEU, 1977) e à política linguística como prática social (LEVINSON, SUTTON e WINSTEAD, 2009). As descobertas demonstram que as políticas linguísticas oficiais apresentam proposições naturalizadas arbitrárias, cultural e ideologicamente, e que afetam e influenciam diretamente as percepções de linguagem dos imigrantes e refugiados, práticas sociais e experiências de vida. Também foram encontradas diferenças e semelhanças entre os dois países. A pesquisa contribui para o campo da Política e Planejamento Linguístico pela escolha do tema, dos contextos e dos participantes, cujas investigações são escassas, fornecendo uma análise abrangente transcultural e desafiando as noções tradicionais no campo.

Palavras-chave: Refugiados; imigrantes; integração; políticas linguísticas.

RESUMEN

Ha habido una crisis mundial debido al desplazamiento forzado de personas en los últimos años. El grupo más grande de refugiados que ingresó a Brasil son los venezolanos (HOAGLAND, 2019), mientras que los inmigrantes congoleños se encuentran entre los grupos más grandes que llegan a los Estados Unidos (KROGSTAD y RADFORD, 2017). Ambos países presentan discursos oficiales que contribuyen al clima negativo de opinión, como los discursos de los presidentes Trump y Bolsonaro que disminuyen a las personas que forman parte de estos grupos. En este contexto y en los actuales climas adversos de opinión, este estudio etnográfico cualitativo aborda el tema central de la comprensión de las experiencias de adaptación de los inmigrantes y refugiados venezolanos y congoleños en Brasil y Estados Unidos. Me concentro en el desafío de integrar a través del aprendizaje de los idiomas de los países anfitriones, portugués e inglés, mientras mantengo sus identidades manteniendo el multilingüismo. Utilizo métodos analíticos de Grounded Theory (CHARMAZ, 2006), que incluyen codificación de datos, muestreo y redacción de notas, además de herramientas etnográficas (SALDAÑA, 2015), que incluyen entrevistas semiestructuradas, notas de campo e imágenes. Los conceptos clave de mi marco teórico, construido después del proceso de análisis, están relacionados con la identidad (BOURDIEU, 1991; NORTON, 2013), con la teoría de la práctica (BOURDIEU, 1977) y con la política lingüística como práctica social (LEVINSON, SUTTON y WINSTEAD, 2009). Los resultados demuestran que las políticas lingüísticas oficiales presentan propuestas naturalizadas arbitrarias, cultural e ideológicamente, y que afectan e influyen directamente en las percepciones lingüísticas de los inmigrantes y refugiados, las prácticas sociales y las experiencias de la vida. También se encontraron diferencias y similitudes entre los dos países. La investigación contribuye al campo de la política y la planificación lingüística al elegir el tema, los contextos y los participantes, cuyas investigaciones son escasas, proporcionando un análisis intercultural integral y desafiando las nociones tradicionales en el campo.

Palabras clave: refugiados; inmigrantes; integración; políticas lingüísticas.

RÉSUMÉ

Il y a eu une crise mondiale en raison du déplacement forcé de personnes ces dernières années. Le plus grand groupe de réfugiés qui sont entrés au Brésil sont les Vénézuéliens (HOAGLAND, 2019), tandis que les immigrants congolais sont parmi les plus grands groupes arrivant aux États-Unis (KROGSTAD et RADFORD, 2017). Les deux pays présentent des discours officiels qui contribuent au climat d'opinion négatif, tels que les discours des présidents Trump et Bolsonaro qui diminuent les individus qui font partie de ces groupes. Dans ce contexte et dans les climats défavorables actuels, cette étude ethnographique qualitative aborde la question centrale de la compréhension des expériences d'adaptation des immigrants et réfugiés vénézuéliens et congolais au Brésil et aux États-Unis. Je me concentre sur le défi de l'intégration par l'apprentissage des langues des pays d'accueil, le portugais et l'anglais, tout en conservant leur identité en maintenant le multilinguisme. J'utilise des méthodes analytiques de Grounded Theory (CHARMAZ, 2006), y compris le codage des données, l'échantillonnage et la rédaction de mémos, en plus d'outils ethnographiques (SALDAÑA, 2015), y compris des entretiens semi-structurés, des notes de terrain et des images. Les concepts clés de mon cadre théorique, construits après le processus d'analyse, sont liés à l'identité (BOURDIEU, 1991; NORTON, 2013), à la théorie de la pratique (BOURDIEU, 1977) et à la politique linguistique en tant que pratique sociale (LEVINSON, SUTTON et WINSTEAD, 2009). Les résultats démontrent que les politiques en matière de langues officielles présentent des propositions naturalisées arbitraires, culturellement et idéologiquement, et qu'elles affectent et influencent directement les perceptions linguistiques des immigrants et des réfugiés, les pratiques sociales et les expériences de vie. Des différences et des similitudes entre les deux pays ont également été constatées. La recherche contribue au domaine de la politique et de la planification linguistique en choisissant le thème, les contextes et les participants, dont les enquêtes sont rares, en fournissant une analyse interculturelle complète et en remettant en question les notions traditionnelles dans le domaine.

Mots-clés: les réfugiés; les immigrants; l'intégration; politiques linguistiques.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees report, by the end of 2016, 65.6 million people had to move from their homes because of conflict and persecution. The number of people seeking refuge between international borders in 2016 reached 22.5 million, representing the largest number of expatriates since the post-Second World War. Syria, which is still in conflict, is now considered the largest refugee producer, as an exorbitant number of 5.5 million displaced people in 2016, and 12 million people (65% of the population) internally displaced or out of the country as refugees . In addition to the Syrians, 7.7 million Colombians and 4.7 million Afghans are among the largest numbers of displaced populations. In 2017, only South Sudan expelled 737,400 from individuals with increasing numbers.

Developed countries (such as the US, Germany and England), developing countries (such as Brazil and Turkey), and even underdeveloped countries (such as Ethiopia and Kenya) are subject to receiving massive waves of people to which there is no alternative but to migrate. Countries that are members of the 1951 Convention or the 1968 Protocol, in particular, have the international commitment to support these migrants and the joint responsibility of creating support networks for countries that do not have the resources to foster effective reception. Forced to leave their countries, many refugees have no chance of returning to the countries and capital (economic, cultural, social) they have left behind. Most of them have to start lives anew, usually with a new language, while they have to recover from trauma and deal with feelings of depression, loss, and frustration.

In this research, I examine integration processes of two different communities in two diverse contexts. The study's participants are Venezuelan refugees living in Brazil and Congolese immigrants (one of them refugee) living in the U.S. The terms "refugee" and "immigrant" have distinct definitions in official national policies of both countries. The fundamental difference is that immigrants choose to emigrate while refugees are forced. The Refugee Convention of 1951, defines refugee as a person

owing to well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

However, this research challenges the distinction and shows that participants who are considered immigrants and refugees go through very similar experiences prior and after arrival to the host countries.

1.1 The problem

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR, 2019) report shows that more than 70% of DRC Congo's population live below the line of poverty, meaning they lack not only adequate nutrition, but also employment and education. The committee of the Red Cross reported there is about 7 million people in need of assistance and more than half of them displaced due to violence (DRC, 2019). Women and children are the most affected by the country's crisis, according to Mercy Corps (2019), saying there are more than two million children who suffer from severe malnutrition and one in ten women and girls had gone through sexual violence in the year of 2016. The crisis produce about 4.5 million refugees (World report, 2019), and it was estimated in 2013 that 10.000 DRC refugees lived in the U.S. This number has been growing and it has been reported that there has been a dramatic change in the amount of Congolese present in the Mexican border (Gunia, 2019). The U.S. used to be the country that received the most refugees, but with the current Trump administration, the number have lowered and the country lost its position to Canada. Congolese people resort to different strategies to leave the country and one of them is applying to the Diversity Visa (DV) Lottery Program from the U.S. This program is aimed at attracting skilled immigrants and in this sense, not everyone who is in need has the same chance to win it (US Embassy, 2019). However, they do not get to validate their credentials and work on their professions when in the U.S. Besides, it has been proposed in 2018 cutting this program by 50%. The ones who do win the DV lottery have the challenge to integrate to the U.S., in the face of growing hostility towards immigrants. This is specifically

true concerning Africans, as President Donald Trump himself has questioned why the U.S. is receiving so many people from “shithole countries” (DAWSEY, 2018).

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2020) reports also show that over 4 million Venezuelan refugees have left their country and most of the population arriving in neighborhood countries are families with children, women (including pregnant women), elderly and disabled people. They are in immediate search for food, medicine, and shelter. There are an estimated 224.000 Venezuelans living in Brazil. Five hundred per day enter the country through the state of Roraima. Juliano Torquato is the mayor of Pacaraima, the border town. During a speech at the Senate in 2019, he said, “o município está à beira de um colapso social com o crescente número de venezuelanos que chegam e se instalam na cidade” (The town is on the brink of social collapse with the growing number of Venezuelans arriving and settling in the city) and asked for help from other states. His appeal proceeded the existing Program by the federal government of internalization initiated in April of 2018, which is the transference of refugees from Roraima to other states of Brazil. The State assists with the transfer, however, the living assistance depends on Non-Profit Organizations, usually connected to the Church. However, since the crisis broke out, Pacaraima has been receiving an increasing number of Venezuelans without proper structure. This resulted in growing hostility towards refugees, acts of xenophobia, exploitation of immigrants labor force, and of women, and violence. In August of 2018, a group of Brazilians vandalized shelters, burned down several tents and forcibly expelled a group of Venezuelans. The current President Jair Messias Bolsonaro have also made remarks about refugees. He said they are “a escória do mundo” (the scum of the world) (AZEVEDO, 2019).

His speech adds to the negative climate of opinion towards Venezuelans who flee from a State collapse in search for dignified lives. Most of refugees in Brazil go through harshened experiences in Roraima among which some is able to restart in other states, which is the case of this study’s Venezuelan participants. Highlighting immigrants’ voices, and more specifically, women’s voices, is critical for deploying

conditions for integration and for the well-being of both immigrants and host countries' members. In this new context and in the current adverse climate of opinion, this qualitative study addresses the central matter of understanding Venezuelan and Congolese immigrants' and refugees' experiences in Brazil and in the U.S. I focus on the challenge of integrating through learning the host countries' languages, Portuguese and English, and at the same time keeping their identities through maintaining multilingualism.

1.2 Study proposal

Due to such great amount of displaced people, and the consequential immigration and refugee crisis internationally, many researchers around the world and from diverse fields have focused their attention to the integration phenomenon (OUDENHOVEN and EISSES, 1998; MONTREUIL and BOURHIS, 2001; NEKBY, 2002; BARRET and DUFFY, 2008).

Language Policy and Planning scholars initially focused on national more macro-level perspectives (HAUGEN, 1959; CALVET, 1974; COBARRUBIAS, 1983) but expanded their investigations by reassessing the role of the planner and including personal agency (COOPER, 1989; FISHMAN, 1974; RICENTO and HORNBERGER, 1996; D. C. JOHNSON, 2013). In the current phase, LPP researchers, turn their attention to questions that involve ideologies, practices, social justice, and therefore, social inclusion and integration.

Considering that official language policies can influence and affect practices, I am interested in investigating centralized positions by Brazil and the U.S. regarding immigrants and refugees' integration, seeking an intercultural/supranational dialogue. In this way, this study examines official language policy texts. However, I consider that analyzing only top-down policy texts is not enough to examine the phenomenon. In this case, a qualitative ethnographic study involving a multiplicity of data types is necessary. This study takes into account 1) the perceptions about languages in the voices of immigrants and refugees; 2) the different learning strategies by the participants; 3) identity negotiation processes; and 4) an in depth analysis of localized language policies.

1.3 Relevance of the study

Venezuelan refugees' experiences in Brazil have been analyzed from the perspectives of History (MILESI, CORY, ROVERY, 2018) and of Law (SOUZA and SILVEIRA, 2018). Within the Justice Studies, Hoagland (2019) analyzes the refugees' policies in South America, particularly the 1984 Cartagena Declaration. However, I did not find any comprehensive study attempting to investigate this group's integration process.

Likewise, contrary to the growing body on Latino immigrants in the U.S. (E. J. JOHNSON and CASTRELLON, 2015; GALLO and HORNBERGER, 2017; HORNBERGER and SWINEHART, 2018; SÁNCHEZ, GARCÍA, and SOLORZA, 2018), outside Warriner's (2004, 2007, 2016) publications, little attention has been given to Sub-Saharan African immigrants, especially Congolese.

Due to being granted the Capes (in Brazil) and Fulbright (in the U.S.) scholarships, the present research was carried out at the Universidade Federal da Paraíba (in the Graduate Program in Linguistics) and at the University of Iowa (Education Graduate Program). In the academic context, the present research contributes to the international literature on refugees and immigrants, since it has a supranational and innovative character; brings to the institutional environment, a theme extensively treated by the media that might obfuscate relevant local actions; and brings theoretical contributions to the discussions that include social integration, identity and language policies. However, the contribution exceeds academic limits, because it brings relevant information on policies for integrating refugees and immigrants; focuses on two communities of immigrants whose voices have not yet been adequately represented either in the political or academic contexts; and provides possibilities for bilateral dialogue and support between two countries that are regional leaders.

1.4 Context of the study and research questions

The collection of data and observation of the phenomenon of integration occurred in different places. In the U.S., data collection was conducted in Iowa City from August 2017 to June 2018. In Brazil, in the cities of Conde and João Pessoa from June 2018 to December 2019. Data collection included semi-structured interviews (audio-recorded, they ranged from 40-120 minutes) with refugees and representatives, in- field notes, pictures, and classroom observation.

This study is interested in how immigrants and refugees from DR Congo and Venezuela adapt to the new contexts and the ways in which identities, language policies and capital are implicated. I focus on the following research questions:

Main question:

How do issues involving language use and communication influence the integration of adult immigrants and refugees from DR Congo and Venezuela into the United States and Brazil?

Specific questions:

The first question focuses on the different language policies that affect participants' process of integrating.

1. *What are the different types of language policies involved in immigrants and refugees' integration process, language learning and social practices?*

The dealing with this question will be done in two different chapters. In chapter 4, I describe official language policies (including educational policies and overtly expressed written or spoken texts), because they have a great effect on children's language repertoires, which affects adults through families and community's language relations and because they might influence host society's attitudes, formation or/and reproduction of language ideologies, climates of opinion, and societies' labels. I also answer this question in chapter 6, by describing language policies that are part of the adults' routines and language decisions, represented in the families, communities, hosting centers, churches etc.

The second question comprises official discourses, and harshened events prior and post arrivals in the host countries.

2. *Which statements reveal climates of opinions and ideologies in official discourses and how are they reflected in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries?*

I address this question in two chapters. I address commonsense ideas portrayed as irrefutable truths that are connected to assimilating language policies described in chapter 4. In chapter 5, I examine participants' perceptions on the role of languages and their adapting experiences related to their search for dignity, which are intertwined with the host countries normative discourses.

The third question emphasizes immigrants and refugees' searches for belonging,

1. *What are relevant processes involving languages and identities implicated in the sense of belonging to the host countries?*

I deal with this question in chapter 7, by describing how the search for and negotiation of identities, and the mobilizing of different types of capital, directly affect refugees' and immigrants' feelings of belonging to Brazil and the U.S.

As described above, the first and second questions are answered in two different chapters, but in the introductory part of each chapter I will remind the reader about which questions will be addressed.

1.5 Overview of the chapters

In Chapter 2, I present the conceptual context of the study. The concept and actual process of integration is complex, I begin drawing from American and Brazilian sociologists and move to constructing it paying close attention to theories from Language Policy and Planning and Identity. I offer concepts in this chapter that are grounded in the data, which helps guide the dissertation.

In Chapter 3, I present the research methodology, settings and participants. I use constructivist grounded theory to make sense of the integration phenomenon. The analysis process, therefore, started as I gathered the data and included several

coding cycles and memo writing. For answering the first question, I combine thematic and intertextual analysis of official texts, discourses, and interviews. I answer questions 2 and 3 by using ethnographic data, including interviews, field notes, and pictures.

The four chapters dedicated to my findings are organized around two main processes, dignity searching and search for belonging. I argue the first is related to assimilating processes and the latter to resisting them through integrating experiences. In Chapter 4, entitled “Assimilating language policies – documents and discourses of homogenization”, I look closely into how educational language policies and discourses from both countries perceive the immigration and how immigrants are included in (or excluded from) the idea of nation. In Chapter 5, entitled “In search for dignity – Languages and harshened realities”, I answer the second question and lay out immigrants and refugees’ narratives and experiences connected to their search for dignity and external forces represented by host society’s attitudes, formation or/and reproduction of language ideologies, climates of opinion, and societies’ labels. Therefore, this chapter contextualizes phenomena related to assimilating official texts.

In Chapter 6, “Integrating language policies – Creating, negotiating, and interpreting language policies and practices”, I present counter language policies, which function as propellant components in the process of integration. I present the integrating language policies that most affect adult immigrants and refugees’ adapting process after Chapter 6, because they do not have a prescribing character and are the concomitant result of their search for belonging. These policies are more tangible from participants’ perspectives as they belong to their routines and daily lives. They include family, community, hosting centers, and churches’ language policies and policing practices.

Chapter 7, entitled “In search for belonging – Languages, identities, and social connections” is related to participants’ integration process to the host countries. This chapter contextualize immigrants and refugees’ experiences of

adaptation and search for belonging through expanding language repertoires, negotiating identities, and building meaningful social capital.

In Chapter 8, I present further discussion, final considerations and implications.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT

2.1 Assimilation *versus* integration?

A bulk of research on integration seeks to comprehend ways in which immigrants become part of the larger society. For this section, I select two perspectives on the adapting experience by American and Brazilian sociologists. Even though those ideas date back to early twentieth century, they are still in trying to account for both assimilative and integrative processes and I argue they are still present in the countries' climates of opinions. I do not intend to make a comparative theory based on the two different countries, because comparison is not the core intention of this dissertation. However, I consider important to bring about sociological theories developed in both countries to give voice to a diversity of perspectives and deepen the understanding of the construction of the concept of immigrants in both nations. It is important to note that even though the conceptions are part of the collective imaginary about both nations, they have been revisited and reviewed in the Academic context.

A theory that attempts to account for immigrants' adapting processes dates back to the early 1920s, with the publication in the U.S. of "Introduction to the Science of Sociology", by Park and Burgess (1925). The authors use the term "assimilation" and define it as follows:

a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life. (p.735)

Therefore, a process in which persons or groups assimilate a common way of living, behaving and remembering. There is an idea of a host society that is a homogeneous unity with shared common values, which swallows up the assimilated newcomers with different backgrounds.

Park and Burgess (1925) refer to immigrant and racial colonies as isolated and segregated neighborhoods, therefore not assimilated. They argue that the new

format of cities with easy means of communication and transportation “tend to destroy the permanency and intimacy of the neighborhood” (1925, p.9), but at the same time preserve immigrant colonies especially when they face prejudice outside the community. Authors find that this type of isolation exists in every large city and note:

The difference is that each one of these little colonies has a more or less independent political and social organization of its own, and is the center of a more or less vigorous nationalist propaganda. For example, each one of these groups has one or more papers printed in its own language. In New York City there were, a few years ago, 270 publications, most of them supported by the local population, printed in 23 different languages. In Chicago there were 19 daily papers published in 7 foreign languages with a combined daily circulation of 368,000 papers. (p.26 and 27)

The sociologists associate papers printed in the communities’ languages to different levels of “vigorous nationalism” and therefore each of the “little colonies” to a nation. For them, the urban environment greatly alters social control and difficulties are increased. Thus, there is a link between assimilation and social control conducted mainly in one language, which is the language of the homogenous host society. Without that, control can only be exercised by the enforcement of law, once public opinion and mores are very diverse with the addition of the foreign element.

Park and Burgess (1925) state that social control and corporate action are interdependent and the latter is only possible with communication. They argue that formal control must be based on the spontaneous and instinctive communicative reactions among individuals in the group and changes in the mores of isolated and segregated groups, such as the immigrants, must be investigated to distinguish the changes, their directions and “the forces that are likely to minimize and neutralize them” (p. 31). Hence, different languages are associated with less communication and therefore less social control.

Gordon Milton (1964) proposes a model of assimilation that involves seven different degrees. 1) *Cultural or behavioral assimilation*, or *Acculturation*, which occurs when the group changes its cultural patterns to those of the host society. 2) *Structural assimilation*, when the individual enters the networks, cliques, clubs and

institutions on the society. 3) *Marital assimilation* that is freely and frequent intermarriage and interbreeding. 4) *Identification assimilation*, which is the development of a sense of peoplehood or ethnicity. 5) *Attitude receptional assimilation*, when there is absence of prejudice. 6) *Behavior receptional assimilation*, when there is absence of discrimination. Finally, 7) *Civic assimilation*, when there is no value or power conflict.

Contrary to the idea of a host society as a homogeneous unit, the author argues that when immigrants arrive in a host society, there are several subsocieties in it, but there is one dominant subsociety which standards guide the adjustments of the new group. In the American case, he agrees with Joshua Fishman that classifies as its “core society” the middle-class White Protestant, with Anglo-Saxon origins. Gordon Milton (1964) states he does not imply other cultures have not contributed to the American society, on the contrary, however, immigrants and their children’s contributions “have been made by way of cultural patterns that have taken their major impress from the mould of the overwhelmingly English character of the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture”(p.73). The “melting pot”, on the other hand, would be the blending of cultures undergone through social mixing and large-scale intermarriage. The author refers to this process as ideal and an abstraction against which the realities of what actually happens can be measured. Therefore, assimilation takes place aiming two “goal-systems”, which are either the “melting pot” or the “core society”.

Gordon Milton (1964) states that the “acculturation” process is historically undertaken by immigrants in the U.S. through the acquisition of the English language and American behavior patterns. Acculturation is thorough when the second and succeeding generations speak English as their native language and are exposed to the school system. However, he argues that acculturation success does not guarantee entrance to the “core society”, unless immigrants are already white Protestants from Northern and Western Europe. Additionally, it does not eliminate prejudice and discrimination nor does it lead to intermarriage to the “core society”. In this sense, focusing on the role of language, Gordon Milton (1964) makes it clear

that although language is important in the first degree of assimilation process, it does not give immigrants full access to the host society.

The author refers to the U.S. immigrant colonies from the 19th and 20th centuries as groups with ways of living oriented by their societies of origin. This includes their faith, services conducted in their native languages as well as “recreational patterns involving native customs and tongue, and a network of personal friendships with their ethnic compatriots” (Gordon Milton, 1964, p.105). Therefore, he also links colonies to nations. He argues this approach was inevitable and was positive once the immigrant groups provided warmth and acceptance during the harsh process of settling in an alien society. The author points out, however, that the impact of minority cultures have been modest in contrast to individuals’ impacts in the core society. Therefore, acculturation is more likely to be a one-way process and he argues that structural assimilation was out of the question for both immigrants and natives because, among other reasons, of their will to remain in the comfort of their own communal institutions.

Gilberto Freyre (1962) also addresses the matter and refers to it by many names, such as “social integration”, “racial integration”, “human ecology”, “plural societies”, “ethnic pluralism” and so on. He argues that those terms are used in and outside the realm of Sociology in an attempt to describe the endless problem of the region situation of groups and cultures. The author states societies, even though made similar in many aspects because of technology, are irreducibly culturally plural. However, among plural societies, there are those characterized by what he calls parallel pluralism, and he uses Britain and Union of South Africa as examples, with ethnic groups living apart from each other. There are also societies that are identified as convergent pluralism, such as Brazil, which he defines as “um país de considerável miscigenação, de intensa interpenetração entre as culturas que formam sua civilização nacional e de constante mobilidade” (p.17). Gilberto Freyre (1962) goes on and argues one of his most controversial statements about the country, which is that even though there is color and racial prejudice in Brazil, it is less intense than in other countries, such as the U.S. The author states there is an imperfect but already

advanced “democracia étnica ou racial” (p.18). He defines integration in contrast to assimilation and domination, as:

interpenetração, troca de valores ou de equivalentes culturais de valores, reciprocidade até a formação de novo grupo ou de nova cultura. (A integração) Não se refere apenas a relações entre grupos socialmente verticais – raças, classes, castas – mas também a relações entre grupos socialmente horizontais como são os grupos regionais que constituem uma sociedade nacional (...).

[interpenetration, exchange of values or cultural equivalents of values, reciprocity until the formation of a new group or new culture. (Integration) It does not only refer to relationships between socially vertical groups - races, classes, castes - but also to relationships between socially horizontal groups such as the regional groups that constitute a national society (...).] (FREYRE, 1962, p.23)

The idea of integration, for Gilberto Freyre, is related to an idea of transformation. The formation of Brazilians through a process of integration undergone through the contact among Europeans, Amerindians and Africans. He is interested in the result, which is the people of the Tropics (or the Hispanics, Brazil included) achieved through a process of transformation from a plural reality to a unified plurality. In this regard, Gilberto Freyre (1975) affirms the following:

os brasileiros, como neo-hispanos, cada dia se tornam mais conscientes de serem na América não uma cultura subeuropéia porém uma cultura de início plural, com elementos ameríndios, africanos, orientais, ao lado dos derivados da Europa e tendendo a formar flexível síntese metarracial dentro de uma constante ou tradição dinamicamente hispânica.

[Brazilians, as neo-Hispanics, each day become more aware of being in America not a sub-European culture but a culture of plural beginning, with Amerindian, African, Eastern elements, alongside derivatives from Europe and tending to form flexible meta-racial synthesis within a dynamically Hispanic constant or tradition.] (p.42)

Gilberto Freyre (1975) states that Brazil had great impact from the Spanish in its pre-national experience. Therefore, he argues that the Hispanic Americas is a set of transnational cultures, diverse but with dynamic similarities, that homogenizes it to a certain degree. One of main characteristics of this unity in contrast to the Northern-Europeans is the sense of time. In light of the technological development, the author argues Hispanics kept living in tropical time-spaces, with slower paces of production and without the accelerated work, expressions of the Industrial Revolution. He

argues even though the Hispanics have been part of the Revolution and have developed their companies and business, the time of idleness although contradictory to the time of business have helped set a different pace for production than that observed in North America and Europe.

Darcy Ribeiro (1978) introduced in the analysis of the formation process of the American peoples the terms “Povos-Novos” (new peoples), “Povos-Testemunho” (witness peoples), “Povos-Transplantados” (transplanted peoples), and “Povos-Emergentes” (emergent peoples). The new peoples are a result of deculturation and disparate ethnicities that fuse together. Survivors of high cultures, which suffered the impact of Europe’s expansion, represent the witness peoples. The transplanted peoples are the result of migratory processes however they preserved original ethnic characteristics and the emergent peoples are nations in process of decolonization. Darcy Ribeiro (1978) argues that, among other countries, Brazil and Venezuela are situated in the description of new, even though the south of Brazil presents characteristics of transplanted people due to the massive European immigration. However, in a later study (Ribeiro, 1995), the author states that Brazilians as nation were born and grow as new people. He says the following on immigrants:

Apesar da desproporção das contribuições – negra, em certas áreas; indígenas, alemã ou japonesa, em outras -, nenhuma delas se autodefiniu como centro de lealdades étnicas extranacionais. O conjunto, plasmado com tantas contribuições, é essencialmente uno enquanto etnia nacional, não deixando lugar a que tensões eventuais se organizem em torno de unidades regionais, raciais ou culturais opostas.

[Despite the disproportion of contributions - black, in certain areas; indigenous, German or Japanese, in others - none of them defined themselves as the center of extranational ethnic loyalties. The ensemble, formed with so many contributions, is essentially one as a national ethnicity, leaving no room for occasional tensions to be organized around opposing regional, racial or cultural units.] (p.223)

Differently from the description of Gordon Milton on the correspondence between immigrant neighborhoods and nations, for Darcy Ribeiro, the new people is translated into an amalgam of diverse contributions (of different intensities) that result in a national identity. The author, however, is aware of power relations and refers to the process of assimilation against the process of segregation. He disagrees

with the idea of “racial democracy”, proposed by Gilberto Freyre, however, argues that the strategy of integration undertook in Brazil occurred through a process of ethnic fusion and segregation is greater perceived in terms of class. Nevertheless, increased forms of cruelty to the unequal treatment are added to blacks and mulattos. Racism in Brazil, however, propels an integrative force. He says:

É assinalável, porém, que a natureza mesma do preconceito racial prevalente no Brasil, sendo distinta da que se registra em outras sociedades, o faz atuar antes como força integradora do que como mecanismo de segregação. O preconceito de raça, de padrão anglo-saxônico, incidindo indiscriminadamente sobre cada pessoa de cor, qualquer que seja a proporção de sangue negro que detenha, conduz necessariamente ao apartamento, à segregação e à violência, pela hostilidade a qualquer forma de convívio. O preconceito de cor dos brasileiros, incidindo, diferencialmente, segundo o matiz da pele, tendendo a identificar como branco o mulato claro, conduz antes a uma expectativa de miscigenação. Expectativa, na verdade, discriminatória, porquanto aspirante a que os negros clareiem, em lugar de aceitá-los tal qual são, mas impulsora da integração.

[It is noteworthy, however, that the very nature of the racial prejudice prevalent in Brazil, being different from that registered in other societies, makes it act as an integrating force rather than as a mechanism of segregation. Prejudice of race, of Anglo-Saxon pattern, indiscriminately affecting every person of color, whatever the proportion of black blood they hold, necessarily leads to the apartment, to segregation and violence, due to hostility to any form of coexistence. The color prejudice of Brazilians, focusing differently according to the color of the skin, tending to identify the light mulatto as white, rather leads to an expectation of miscegenation. Expectation, in fact, discriminatory, as aspiring for blacks to clarify, instead of accepting them as they are, but driving integration.] (RIBEIRO, 1995, p. 216)

Darcy Ribeiro (1995) describes the Brazilian experience on integrating its people against the reality as it is presented in Anglo-Saxon countries. Nonetheless, the author argues that the type of racism found in Brazil propels integration once the color of the skin is changeable while race is a more segregating concept, since its stability does not depend on the skin tone but on the drop of the blood. Despite of his criticism on the concept of racial democracy, recognizing the existing racism against the color of the skin, Ribeiro’s idea of integration or assimilation (he uses both terms interchangeable) is not much different from Gilberto Freyre’s. Both researchers relate the integration experience in Brazil to the process of the people’s ethnic formation and to miscegenation that assimilate old and recent immigrants to the Brazilian identity.

In the perspectives above presented, the language element seems more relevant in the authors who theorize about the U.S. While Freyre (1962; 1975) and Ribeiro (1978; 1995) emphasize the interethnic aspect of integration Park and Burgess (1921; 1925) and Gordon Milton (1964) visualize integration through interrelation of cultural aspects such as language.

The terms integration and assimilation have the same meaning in the researchers' rhetoric. Nevertheless, there are recent separate definitions of both terms. Lambert, Moghaddam, Sorin and Sorin (1990) contrast assimilation and multiculturalism, the first being the abandonment of heritage cultures in favor of the American way of life and the latter being the maintenance of those cultures while being established in North America. Schneider and Crul (2010) theorize about the phenomenon by comparing assimilation and integration in the U.S. and in Europe. They argue that the concept of assimilation, which has to do with incorporating to economic and social success, is more prevalent in the U.S., while the concept of integration prevails in Europe and carries an implicit idealization of some level of cultural homogeneity, especially regarding language. Another term that has been used is "acculturation". Although Gordon Milton (1964) uses it as another term for assimilation, they have been referred otherwise as different. Acculturation was defined as "phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups" (REDFIELD, LINTON, and HERSKOVITS, 1936, p.149). Although acculturation is neutral in this definition, Berry (1997) argues that one of the groups change the most due to power relations. However, it is different from assimilation because cultures of origin are not necessarily replaced, but they remain using strategies such as resistance or creation of new cultural forms.

There are several definitions in the literature of the phenomena but many times, they are simplified descriptions of a highly complex and localized process I choose to call adapting experience throughout the dissertation. I argue that the perspectives on integration previously presented are combined attempts to describe

adapting processes that occur from one extreme (diverse cultures in contact living in harmony) to another (one culture is totally subjected to a dominant other). This research uses theories in different areas of knowledge in order help account for the experiences.

2.2 Concepts rationalizing the adapting experience

I refer to the adapting experience as the attempts by host societies and by immigrants and refugees to assimilate and/or integrate. As discussed, participants are assimilated at some level as soon as they move into the host countries, by dominant ideologies, climates of opinions, as well as social and linguistic agreements that create a set of expectations in regards to immigrants' behaviors while also reflecting on immigrants' local cultures and languages perceptions. After the first assimilative wave, new members' attempts for socially integrating are connected to their identity negotiations and mobilizing of capitals. Language negotiations are imbricated in their negotiation of identities and are represented in this theoretical framework by language policies and their power in both assimilating and integrating groups and individuals.

2.2.1 Language ideologies and climates of opinion

Language policies are created and put into practice in a context in which language choices are guided by a set of interests, ranging from macro-economic issues to communities' resistance struggles. This context, therefore, is embedded in ideologies, making language policies and language ideologies interdependent. Building upon Silverstein (1992), Blommaert (2006, p. 244) describes a monoglot ideology, which idealizes a language-people-country link and imposes "particular ascriptive ethnolinguistic identities for its citizens" (i.e. "People who are Chinese speak Chinese"). Even when language policies publicly advocate for multilingualism and multilingual education, monoglot ideologies normalize the dominance of one language variety and obfuscate multilingual realities. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argues that monolingual reductionism rationalizes language homogenization and supports the homogenous nation-state – "a state with one nation and one language which probably does not exist anywhere in the world" (Skutnabb-

Kangas, 2000, p. 238). This language that functions as a unifying value is, for Bourdieu (1991), characterized by aspects that are far from natural, but they are products of an arbitrary imposition. It is an objective property, along with ancestry, territory, and religion etc., that determines the idea of region. Language is an object of mental representation and an act of knowledge and recognition that serves symbolic (and political) struggles; therefore, it is also a discursive element that creates a reality and an identity. This reality is a representation that is constructed as it contributes to the recognition or even the existence of the region/nation. For example, a language that is officially standardized in a region, in practice, may not be the language most used by its speakers, as it is the case of French in Congo, but it may play a decisive role in defining boundaries. Language, therefore, is one of the representations with truth-values that contribute together with performative discourses to legitimize and identify nations.

This idea of a nation and its imposed properties can have dangerous effects in locals', immigrants' and refugees' lives. Maryns (2005) investigates the monolingual language ideology present in Belgium bureaucratic services concerning forced immigration and found that the imposition of a monolingual standard variety as the only means for asylum seekers to report their experiences and to express why they need asylum decreases their chances of good performance. Accordingly, monolingual language ideologies can also be revealed when examining linguistic landscapes. Mirvahedi (2016)'s study shows how Ajerbaijani is put under a shadow despite its rich use (approximately two million speakers) in both governmental and private signs in the city of Tabriz in Iran, in the name of a national ideology. Nonetheless, even multilingual discourses can exclude minority languages due to an ideology that ascertain selected languages to nations. Wodak and Boukala (2015) show the hegemonic role of the EU policies in the discourse about 'in-groups of Europeans' and 'out-groups of third-country nationals'. Austria and Greece conformed (using their own strategies) to the EU directive, which limits multilingualism to national languages of its member states and requires proficiency in those languages as means to exclude 'strangers'. Therefore, policies, signs and

discourses about languages connected to nations and their official stands build and fix language ideologies in the social imaginary.

Classifying language ideologies, however, can be problematic as Woolard (1994) observes that definitions for language ideology vary widely. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) note that a fundamental distinction lies between those definitions that take a neutral and others that take a critical stance – the former tending to describe “all cultural systems of representation,” the latter tending to embed “strategies for maintaining social power” into the definition (Woolard and Shiefflein 1994: 57-58).

Therefore, in order to comprehend the effects of external forces’ influences in immigrants and refugees’ processes of integration, I include the idea of climates of opinion (ANGENOT, 1977, 1982; BOURDIEU, 1991). Climates of opinion are the perceived bulk of opinions of a given social group in a given era. Although there is a variety of opinions that might differ from the climate of opinion, the latter is represented by the majority and is reproduced in various discourses with truth-value. One way to examine climates of opinions in texts and speeches is to investigate the connected propositions or maxims that constitute commonsense ideas circulating among speakers. Angenot (1977, 1982) refers to these aphorisms as ‘ideologemes’.

According to Arnoux and Del Valle (2010), ideologemes can be used to identify the dominant ideological systems of different eras, discourses, and institutions. According to Foucault (1972), discourse and institutions are intertwined and discourse functions as instrument of both power and resistance in societies, expressed through language and practices. In his words, “discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.” (FOUCAULT, 1976, p.101). D.C. Johnson (2007) argues that this dichotomy of the Foucaultian sense of discourse should be considered in analyzing LPP policies because it has the potential to illuminate, expose and even undermine power relations. For Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009), cultural normative discourses encompass statements on what can and should be done are one of the policy types, which encompasses statements on what can and should be done, representing a model of reality.

In order to identify the statements that, according to Angenot (1977, 1982) can illuminate ideologies, I use his theory of the ‘common places’ (1977) based on the notion of ‘topic’ in Aristotle. The common places are the implicit, the unsaid, the covert, but they also have a regulating characteristic. It is possible to identify the ‘unsaid’ common place ideas by analyzing sets of maxims, which portray a recurrent idea perceived as fact. Although those propositions present a logic that is connected to the reality structure, they are presented as irreducible statements, that is, probable truths stated in a manner that the interlocutor has no option but to accept it. Likewise, Foucault (1972) states that any manifest speech rests covertly on a “never-said” (p.28), a silent voice formerly articulated and an unspoken undermining all enunciations. In this type of discourse, the fundamental is the implicit regulating propositions underlying the enunciation.

As Angenot, Bourdieu (1991) also refers to a ‘commonsense’ and the difficulty of its submission to logical criteria once it is subordinated to ‘practical functions’ oriented to produce social effects. In turn, Rumsey (1990, p.346) defines language ideology as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world.” Foucault (1972) refers to this group opinion sovereignty as collective memory, formed by simultaneous and successive phenomena established by a game of notions and symbolic connections.

Examples of ideologemes within the theme of refugees in different times and places include, “Refugees are a threat to Europe.” This ideologeme derives from a set of propositions that naturalize the speech and generalize its acceptance, usually related to right-wing political discourse. Another example of an ideologeme that allows us to identify climate of opinions within the same theme is “Refugees’ languages must be preserved”, which is usually linked to activists for language rights. Another example of an ideologeme present in media discourses in the U.S. is the metaphor of the “American Dream”. E.J. Johnson (2006) argues that its link to success and happiness is “so embedded in the broader social discourse in the United States that it is taken for granted” (p.20). Arnoux and Del Valle (2010) explain that a statement naturalized in a way that impedes its criticism reflects the new enforced ideologeme, which is achieved in general by appealing to emotional representations.

Thus, this study uses Angenot's (1977, p. 24) term 'ideologeme' defined as "all maxims that are subjacent to an enunciation that the subject circumscribes particular relevance". Ideologemes function as the Aristotelian 'places', that is, as governing generalizations underlying social discourse to which it is attested authority and coherence. The analysis of these set of statements allows uncovering language ideologies, defined by Rumsey (1990, p.346) as "shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world."

2.2.2 Identity

Identity has been referenced as a construct socially negotiable. According to Hall and du Gay (1996), the post-modern individual does not have a fixed or permanent identity, but has many contradictory identities that are historically defined. Likewise, Bauman (2000) understands identity (re)formation as a life-time ongoing task, always a process, never a final product. Identity in this tradition is a two-way process between the person's freedom and self-transformation, and the desire for stability, which can only be offered by the community's social acceptance.

I argue that identity might be dynamic and malleable from the perspective of those who are dominant in a society, but for vulnerable minority groups, such as immigrants and refugees, identity is usually imposed by host societies' climates of opinions. For example, Tsuda (2000) argues Japanese (or Japanese descents) in Brazil are perceived as Japanese due to their phenotype and a change in perception requires an intimate relationship process, which changes perception for individuals but not for the collective. On the same matter, Penha-Lopes (2015, p. 818) argues the following:

Brazilian racial taxonomy is indeed flexible. It depends a great deal on perceived physical appearance; skin color, hair texture, and the shape of lips and nose aid in the process of classification, but they also complicate it, for these need not be cumulative. In this sense, actual descent may not matter much; because race is largely a visual impression, it varies widely on how one sees it.

The same occurs with Venezuelan participants in this research but due to how they sound and not to how they look. Adults hardly ever lose accent therefore, this feature will also accompany them. Congolese immigrants will be identified as Africans or

by their nationality or region in Africa (West, Sub-Saharan etc.) and not as African-Americans; because the latter refers to black Americans born in the U.S. even though participants have shared they would like to be perceived as such. Therefore, although it can be argued that moving transnationally is in itself a way of changing identities, depending on the individual, it is a change from imposed identities related to one climate of opinions to another.

In this sense, Bourdieu's (1991) notion of identity better suits this study. He sees identity not only in terms of negotiation, but mainly in terms of struggle of dominance, once the person's value (reduced to the social identity) is in play. This value is socially defined by the amount of "symbolic capital" the individual has, which includes economic, cultural, and social capital. While money or property rights define the economic capital, the other types of capitals are metaphors to explain how culture and social membership, in a class divided-society, can also be convertible into economic capital and, more strongly, can be used to accentuate differences.

Bourdieu's theories are helpful in illuminating the dynamic and dialogic relationship between individual agency and social structure. Three concepts are central to Bourdieu's theory of practice (1977). *Habitus* is a built-in disposition (almost postural) that guides individuals' actions and that is accumulated through life of interacting with values, beliefs, ideologies, activities etc. culturally situated. The *Doxa* guides the *Habitus* as it is the set of rules that encompasses the embodied values. It has a changing character as rules might change through time and space, however, although it is presented as part of natural world as it appears to oneself, it is often the result of hegemonic influence by dominant groups. For instance, French is the official language used in institutional spaces in DR Congo and carries status that positions individuals in society; those who have school access are fluent in French and consequently have more access to jobs. Social actors might view the power of French as natural, leaving this commonsense unquestioned. *Habitus* and *Doxa* are deployed in the social world, divided by *Fields*. For Bourdieu (1977), *Field* is a social space of objective relations, each *Field* has relatively autonomous social

and power structures, with beliefs, language use, etc., and it structures and is structured by material and symbolic capital. Bourdieu's (1977) central concern with social practices and social fields gives rise to his concept of "misrecognition", relevant for examining refugees' and immigrants' adapting experiences. Dynamic social processes in social spaces produce situations, actions, statements, and processes that are recognized according to the range of dispositions of a given habitus and not for what they actually are. Social meanings ascribed to classifications from a diversity of fields, are tangled with the Doxa, which relation to the social world, Bourdieu (1977) states it "is the absolute form of recognition of legitimacy through misrecognition of arbitrariness" (p. 168).

Beyond economic capital, translated into money or property rights, symbolic capital is composed by cultural, social, and linguistic capital, that might be reverted into money. *Cultural capital* refers to levels of education or other skills that can be transferred into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Those who are positions of power within a given society dictate the types of cultural capital that are most likely to be converted to a form of economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) notes as example of cultural capital, academic qualifications and achievement where diplomas from institutions in some parts of the world have more potential of granting power to its holders than others. For instance, having a degree from Harvard has usually more value than a degree from a university in Venezuela.

Cultural capital refers to education, cultural goods and educational qualifications. This type includes what Bourdieu (1991) calls "linguistic capital", which can be decisive in regards to how refugees and immigrants are positioned in the society. Languages, dialects or accents, are products of "mental representation" and therefore, acts of perception, appreciation, knowledge and recognition. Language in this sense is an objective criterion of the identity's definition. Nonetheless, in the symbolic forces relations, the dominant in a society define which type of cultural capital is likely to be convertible into economic capital. In this case, even though refugees and immigrants bring to the host country institutionalized forms of cultural capital, as diplomas and certificates, these may not be validated, which causes them to lose cultural capital as soon as they leave their countries.

Linguistic capital is the way that appropriate language and linguistic systems can be used to give the users additional social or cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1991). Some languages, dialects, and accents have greater perceived value than others. He says, “all linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant” (BOURDIEU, 1991, p. 53). Those who are “insiders” hold the power to create the forms of language that will be considered the “standard” of a particular community. This means that non-native speakers of Portuguese and English are automatically “outsiders” and the dominant linguistic systems are difficult, if not impossible, to fully incorporate.

Social capital, on the other hand, is the set of resources connected to networks, that is, membership to groups that are more or less institutionalized. Together with the cultural capital, social capital also constructs social identity. According to Bourdieu (1991), the social capital and other types of capitals (symbolic, economic and cultural) are interdependent, as the social capital depends on the volume of capitals an agent is able to mobilize. For the author, social capital is not natural but a product of “endless efforts”. These types of capitals help build the idea of identity, which limits are not natural but the result of arbitrary imposition. Therefore, the immediate loss of cultural capital upon entrance in the new country decreases refugees and immigrants’ opportunities to acquire social capital.

There are different types of social capital. Lancee (2010) defines bonding social capital as within-group connections, such as family ties and bridging social capital as between-groups trust, represented by inter-ethnic relationships with an outward orientation. In the case of immigrants and refugees, bonding social capital means connecting with people from their own community or from the same ethnic background or nationality. On the other hand, bridging social capital would be the building of relationships between immigrants and locals. The connections newcomers are able to make in the host society through its members.

Economic, social, cultural and linguistic capital are interrelated as the mobilization of one or more facilitates the access to the other forms of capital. For example, having wealthy parents makes it possible to pay the high cost of tuitions

to get a college degree education. Having good credentials can open the door to the job market, where one can increase not only their economic capital, but also build new connections. The other way around, connections can also help to promote job market access. Well-paid jobs then depend on the mobilization of a number of capital, including linguistic capital, especially in the case of immigrants who might be required not only to be fluent in the host country's language but also to sound native-like. Accent, according to Bourdieu (1991) is an object of mental representation that reveals an identity (an idea of unity). Immigrants that do not have this capital can be positioned as outsiders (or even unwanted) in the social field. Therefore, these types of capital legitimize and transfigure this powerful yet invisible force. Hence, symbolic capital constructs reality and establishes an order that integrates the social world through symbols of mental and objective representation.

Studies have used Bourdieu's notions to account for immigrants' integration experiences. Akkaymak (2017) analyses qualitative interviews with immigrants from Turkey in Canada through the lens of Bourdieu's notions of capital and habitus. Results show that cultural capital was not enough to put participants (high-skilled immigrants) in the job market. There was struggle because of discrimination towards foreign education and credentials and the lack of social capital. Fernando and Cohen (2016), on the other hand, make use of the same concepts to Bourdieu's theories of capital and habitus to examine 32 Indian academics' experiences. This paper challenges the discourse that associates migrants' international careers to disadvantage. It shows that those academics are very well placed to pursue a career in the UK academic field as they transfer capitals between multiple fields. Al Ariss and Syed (2011) use Bourdieu's theory of capital in the analysis of 39 qualitative interviews with skilled Lebanese in Paris. This research shows that skilled migrants mobilize different types of capital in order to pursue international careers. Erel (2010) criticizes the views on cultural capital as homogeneous package that fits or not into the host country, what she calls "rucksack approaches", and shows that Turkish and Kurdish migrant women produce and reproduce new ways of cultural capital giving it a dynamic character. Integration, therefore, is usually looked at from

the perspective of the access to the job market. In trying to account for the adapting experience more thoroughly, I consider other domains besides the workplace related to participants' routines and I do so by examining various types of language policies impositions, creations, and interpretations.

2.2.3 Language Policy and Ethnography

Language Planning and Policy (LPP) had its first phase in the late 1950s and was described as consisting of deliberative processes in selecting languages and varieties, reflecting the elaboration of normative linguistic instruments (Haugen, 1959). It moved from a positivist approach to languages, through a second phase when some critics (CALVET, 1974; FISHMAN, 1974; COBARRUBIAS, 1983; COOPER, 1989) began to reassess the role of the planner and the negative impacts of language planning. LPP then moved to a third and current phase, which Ricento (2000) described as “the synthesis of elements of critical theory with an ecology of languages approach” (p. 206). In this phase, LPP expanded its critical approach and gave more attention to personal agency as well as to the multilayered character of language policies (RICENTO and HORNBERGER, 1996; D. C. JOHNSON, 2013).

During these phases, various types of language policies have been defined and used in the LLP literature (see review in Johnson, 2013). The following table lays out the main types and definitions:

Table 1 Language Policy types

Genesis	<i>Top-down</i> Macro-level policy developed by some governing or authoritative body or person	<i>Bottom-up</i> Micro-level or grassroots generated policy for and by the community that it impacts
Means and goals	<i>Overt</i> Overtly expressed in written or spoken policy texts	<i>Covert</i> Intentionally concealed at the macro-level (collusive) or at the micro-level (subversive)
Documentation	<i>Explicit</i> Officially documented in written or spoken policy texts	<i>Implicit</i> Occurring without or in spite of official policy texts

In law and in practice	<i>De jure</i> Policy “in law”; officially documented in writing	<i>De facto</i> Policy “in practice”; refers to both locally produced policies that arise without or in spite of de jure policies and local language practices that differ from de jure policies; de facto practices can reflect (or not) de facto policies
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Reprinted from “Language Policy”, by Johnson, D.C., 2013 p. 10.

Language policies are also examined through the analysis of how language is manifested in public or private signs and how that relates to the power relations among different languages and to the communities’ language practices. Shohamy and Gorter (2009) defined the area of Linguistic Landscape as “the attention to language in the environment, words and images displayed and exposed in public spaces... at times for functional reasons, at others for symbolic purposes” (p. 7). This study offers an understanding of the language landscape surrounding the two communities and analyzes most types described in *Table 1*, but also challenges some definitions. For example, as I collected and analyzed data, the terms “macro” and “micro” bothered me as languages policies for and by the community are “macro” from immigrants and refugees’ perspectives. Therefore, I view top-down language policies occurring in community level, when mothers impose a certain language use. From the perspective of the family, for example, the mother plays a macro role in influencing the linguistic repertoire.

This reflection was possible due to the ethnographic orientation that guided this dissertation. In order to comprehend the intricacies of enacting language policies in local contexts, LPP researchers (HORNBERGER, 1988; DAVIS, 1994, CANAGARAJAH, 1995) began using ethnography to uncover how LPP processes function. Ethnography illuminates not only the power of personal agency, but also bottom-up and *de facto* language policies, defined by D. C. Johnson (2013, p.12) as “an activity that occurs in practice despite whatever the de jure policy states”. Canagarajah (2006) states that an ethnographic study allows researchers to focus on

micro-level and personal relationships and uncovers the community's "lived culture". However, Ricento (2000) points out the need of LPP research to connect micro and macro-levels investigations in order to deploy a conceptual framework for a new paradigm. Hornberger (2002) also calls attention to find "as many ways as possible to open up ideological spaces for languages and literacies in classroom, community, and society" (p. 23). In response to those gaps in the field, Hornberger and D. C. Johnson (2007) propose the Ethnography of Language Planning and Policy (ELPP), defined by D. C. Johnson (2009 p. 140) as "a methodology that compares critical discourse analyses of language policy texts with ethnographic data collected in some local educational context." It offers a way of understanding LPP creation, interpretation, and resistance across multiple levels of policies and through ideological spaces.

Since then, there has been a growing body of LPP ethnography research. Valdiviezo (2009) argues, based on ethnographic research conducted on bilingual intercultural education (BIE) policy in Peru, that teachers have active roles in both reproducing inequalities and contesting social structures through policy implementation. Similarly, Mortimer (2013) examines language policy in Paraguay and defines its implementation as a multiplicity of communicative events interconnected using same cultural forms. Her study reveals how teachers appropriate the language policy text but add a new meaning to speakers of Guaraní that the text does not bring. Pearson (2013) uses ELPP to analyze Rwanda's medium of instruction (MOI) policy of 2008, which stated English as MOI in all public schools, replacing French. Her research shows that even though teachers genuinely invest in the policy, they resort to the use of other languages for reasons beyond ideology that range from management of classroom and lack of proficiency in English. On the other hand, E. J. Johnson's (2011) study reveals how Proposition 203, an anti-bilingual repressive language policy in Arizona affected language use in language-minority classrooms; even though Spanish is allowed in class, its use is aimed at making the transition to English only. For D. C. Johnson and E. J. Johnson (2015), not only teachers, but also other language policy arbiters such as school administrators have an impact on implementation, as they tend to hierarchize the

appropriation and interpretation of macro-level language policies and align their beliefs about research with beliefs about language education.

A bulk of the work using ethnography to analyze LPP processes has been carried out on educational settings focusing on how language policies impact school-age individuals' language use. McCarty's (2011) edited book offers a sociocultural approach, emphasizing the local agency and everyday policymaking in various contexts. The volume offers a "broad range of language policy types and processes that ethnography is uniquely suited to explore" (HORNBERGER and JOHNSON, 2011, p. 278). It uncovers LPP processes in multiple levels, reveals the almost autonomous character of practices, captures the impact of spaces being opened and closed for language use in schools and communities (HORNBERGER and JOHNSON, 2011), and proposes to deploy an ethnographic perspective on language policy (BLOMMAERT, 2013). However, it uses a redefinition of "language policy" that encompasses processes that go much beyond the policy text, such as classroom interactions in themselves. Hornberger and Johnson (2011) argue that broadening the definition also poses a question of what *isn't* language policy and the problem of ignoring the power of macro-level LPPs. The authors argue that ethnography reveals the appropriation and interpretation of macro-level language policies that may or may not differ from the policy "intention," but connecting official documents and discourses to local language use is still a challenge in the field.

For Blommaert (2013), "policing practices", the multiplicity and nonlinearity of individuals and communities' relations, economic access or value to resources, human action in context, and multiform and multicentric social dimensions are more interesting (even if less spectacular) than formal policy. While the chapters of this important book in the field of LPP include multilingual settings, most of them also revolve around language policies and practices in the educational context.

Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009), likewise, propose unpacking policy to view it as social practice, and more specifically, as power practice. They define policy as "a complex, ongoing social practice of normative cultural production

constituted by diverse actors across diverse contexts.” (p.770). Policy as discursive practice can be normative and officially authorized, but can be also deployed in informal and spontaneous ways outside institutions that make policy constitutionally. Instead of asking “What is policy and what does it do?”, Approaching language policies through social theory turns the researcher to question “who can do policy and what can it do?”. Additionally, in the authors’ accounts, discursive practices of more macro levels of governance and law must be linked to the discursive practices of local communities or institutions. They argue that “a critical approach to policy as practice, which must necessarily be cross-culturally comparative, takes seriously the notion that so-called communities of practice often comprise the conditions under which policy is both formed and appropriated.” (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009, p.772). However, they also argue that the theory of policy as practice needs much to be developed and Blommaert (2013) states that looking closely at classrooms and schools is not enough because a deeper understanding requires investigating what happens outside educational settings and in the social and cultural contexts.

Hornberger, Tapia, Hanks, Dueñas and Lee (2018) also raise the question of how to expand ELPP to include LPP processes’ analysis in contexts other than nation-state governed schools. In a more recent work, Gallo and Hornberger (2017) use ELPP to investigate language policies in routine interactions of a family, whose father had been deported to Mexico. The study’s findings highlight that language policies within the family are not imposed by parents, nor decontextualized, but they are the result of interactions between children and parents and is shaped by imagined futures on both sides of the border. In this article, there is not an explicit language policy, by the family members as language use is not imposed but negotiated. The authors consider these language interactions as processes of language policies and relate them to broader issues in society, such as migration policies in the context of the U.S. However, the question of delimiting language policy remains. Blommaert (2013) comments on this question when he says, “an ethnography of language policy addresses not policy per se, but normativity, the modes and conditions in which complex manoeuvring of different forms of normativity takes place in social

events” (p.138). The author also considers central to language policy and therefore to the analysis of sociolinguistic environments in our modern globalizing world the concept of mobility, he says:

(...) if we observe mobility as a key feature of sociolinguistic environments, we can start imagining further developments in such environments as driven by mobility. This will complicate our lives as ethnographers – it involves an ever-expanding “context” for our objects – but it is an inevitable adjustment if we want to shape a new and relevant ethnography. (p. 137)

Mobility is central to this present study, which participants’ “policing practices” are constantly in reference to both trying to integrate to the new context and accessing the values of Congolese and Venezuelan cultures, which process is crucial in defining their gender identities. Another important concept to this research is “linguistic repertoire”. Blommaert (2011) argues that the linguistic repertoire “refers to individuals’ very variable (and often rather fragmentary) grasp of a plurality of differentially shared styles, registers, and genres (...) in which people take on different linguistic forms as the align and disaffiliate with different groups at different moments and stages” (p. 4 and 5).

I address both suggestions made by Hornberger and Johnson (2011) and Blommaert (2013), concerning the attention to the limits of what language policy can be as well as the consideration of the sociocultural environment outside schools. I also take a critical approach to policy and attempt to view policy as practice, proposed by Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009), and comparatively analyze data generated with participants from diverse cultural and social backgrounds in two different cultural contexts. Additionally, Spolsky (2012) states that gender factors, women’s practices and attitudes are rarely present in discussions about language policies. I address a range of language policies influencing the first generation of adult immigrants’ language use and maintenance and the role of women that need to be further explored in order to comprehend ways of achieving social integration.

2.2.4 Gender, Imagined Identities and Language Practices

Gender and language learning studies have moved from a binary idea that directly related gender to sex, that is, the studies of women's language and men's language (LAKOFF, 1975), to the study of "a complex system of social relations and discursive practices, differentially constructed in local contexts" (NORTON and PAVLENKO, 2004, p. 504). To Cameron (1998), the pursuit to understand "women's language" is now the one to understand how the norm of gender "mutuality" functions to differ women and men linguistically in a given speech community. Similarly, Higgins (2010) argues that the ways of speaking associated to women in a community reflects its femininity's concepts and norms. Further, she states that "individuals experience differential access to institutionalized and informal language-learning opportunities in gendered ways, particularly in the case of immigrant populations" (HIGGINS, 2010, p.376).

From this new paradigm, studies have looked into questions of gender, identity and language learning. One of the most prominent studies is Norton (2013), in which she views gender as an important facet of social identity as it interacts with ethnicity, class, age, sexuality etc., and she considers the construct of identity very important for the language learning process. She sees identity as multifaceted and fluid and references it as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (p. 45).

Norton draws from Anderson's (1983) notion of "imagined communities", which define nations and nationalisms as specific cultural products and view of "imagined communities" and "imagined identities" is also relevant to our study. Norton (2013) sees imagined communities as groups of people with whom individuals connect not personally, but through imagination, including workplaces, schools, churches, and neighborhood communities. In imagining themselves in a community, they are also imagining identities. Therefore, to imagine, in this case, is also the desire to be part of a group or of a collective purpose. Individuals imagine communities and identities and put efforts to achieve or build a sense of belonging. Norton (2013) argues that imagined communities as well as imagined identities

might affect the investment learners make in languages. Investment, for the author, is related to the complexity involving language learners' identities and their commitment to learning. Norton (2013) argues that motivation to learn is not a result of students' personality, being extroverted, for example, as it was perceived before, but it is connected to how invested students are in the communities' language practices. Equally important to this study is the concept of "practiced identity", term coined by Xu (2012) to explain the identity that, in contrast to imagined identity, stems from "real-world interactions in communities of practice" (p. 569).

In 2006, García, Skutnabb-Kangas and Torres-Gusmán edited a volume called "Imagining multilingual schools: languages in education and globalization" in which authors used the term "imagining" in the field of LPP. Edwards' and Newcombe's (2006) chapter show that the power of imagination helped the analyzed communities overcome their lack of resources, as they opened primary and secondary schools in the face of difficulties. They argue that in order to imagine multilingual schools, it is necessary for bilingual advocates to communicate their case to parents. Similarly, by examining language policies of a Mayan community in Chiapas, Mexico, and its attempts for promoting multilingual schools, Ogulnick (2006) argues that the power of imagination cannot be underestimated, once it is through "keeping the multilingual dream alive" (p. 167) that the community is making their right to learn a reality.

McCarty (2010) has also used the term "imagined futures" in LPP, more specifically in ethnography of language policy. On the other hand, she draws it from the concept of "sociological imagination," which calls researchers to focus on studying, describing, and creating equitable educational environments (Mehan, 2008). McCarty (2010) views "imagined futures" as an interruption of the crisis narrative, such as educators in schools that turn the crisis narrative on its head and create language policies and practices that empower bilingualism and difference. Gallo and Hornberger (2017) also use the "imagine" in an ELPP study to describe the imagined educational futures of the participants in a family and show how imagination is connected with language ideologies and negotiated language policies.

Although coming from different perspectives, imagined identities and imagined futures reveal an optimistic element to the concept of imagination that is relevant in the narratives of the women in our research. We understand that imagining here is pursuing a place to belong as well as focusing on the individuals' full potential, regardless of their portrait in hegemonic discourses (like the association of immigrants to language limitations or women to housework and childcare). Immigrant women, and more specifically mothers, are active agents in the creation, interpretation and, furthermore, in imagining language policies and practices. To understand these is important to have an understanding of their realistic integration to the host society and the role languages play in the process.

Limited, but growing, research has been conducted to address the experiences of African immigrants in the U.S. Knight, Roegman and Edstrom (2016) analyze experiences of 1.5-2 generation of West African immigrants and find that, in accordance with dominant discourses, those immigrants perceive the American Dream as obtainable through hard work, economic success, and formal education. However, results also show that immigrants have been forced to reconceptualize these steps as they recognize how they are positioned in the society as African immigrants. They, therefore, have to work harder to achieve the American Dream. Wachter, Heffron, Snyder, Nsonwu, and Busch-Armendariz (2016) explore 57 Congolese refugee women's challenges, risks, and strengths in the process of resettlement in the U.S. The study shows that pre- and post-migration processes determine their experiences and that being resettled can exacerbate the problems, and even though these women are resilient, their strength should not be romanticized as they need support. Women's pre-migration sexual violence leave traumas they have to endure in the new context without support. Additionally, most women in this research were single, widowed, or married but not living with their spouses and most of them portrayed a feeling of loneliness, and grief from family separation. One of the implications for this study is that these women need long-term English training.

Gender issues have also been analyzed in the narratives of immigrant women's language learning processes, particularly those coming from Latin

America. King and De Fina (2010) examine personal experiences to understand how 15 Latin American immigrant women position themselves in relation to government language policies in the U.S. Due to social isolation (most women spent the day alone with their children), opportunities for ethnographic research were nonexistent. They used informal interviews to describe multiple frames for how participants understood language policies, including language policy as racism, language policy as deception, and language policy as support services for immigrants.

Menard-Warwick (2004) examines gendered themes in interviews conducted with 2 Latino women. The author is interested in understanding the participants' perspectives on gendered practices and ideologies from their communities. The research shows that L2 learning is mediated by the response to the gendered expectations placed on them by their families and communities. Although both communities' ideologies placed men in position of power and decision making, one of the women was more inclined to resist those practices. However, both women's investment in learning English was connected with their gendered identities, like motherhood, and family roles, such as being responsible for protecting children from the negative aspects of the U.S. culture. The author argues that language learning and gender responsibilities are intertwined. Lee (2013), on the other hand, analyzes narratives among 7 Asian women and 1 Asian man immigrants. The author observes that language classrooms are places that optimize not only language acquisition but also social relations. Through the analysis of multi-party audio recorded interactions, Lee (2013) shows that they use their narratives to locate common concerns and construct a safe environment in which to practice the new lingua franca. This study's findings related to the process of negotiating gender roles and identities is portrayed in Chapter 7 - In search for belonging – Languages, identities, and social connections.

Chapter 2 is a result of the analysis of the four findings chapters. The description of the adapting experiences pointed to rationalizing concepts related to language policies and ideologies, climates of opinions, normative discourses,

identities, capital, and practices. Chapter 3 describes the study's methodology, data collection and analysis, settings and participants.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY: A GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH

This dissertation is based on an ethnographic project undertaken in two different settings and therefore with two diverse groups of participants. The first data collection took place in a small neighborhood in Iowa City, in the U.S., whose residents are in majority originated from DR Congo. It lasted from August of 2017 to June of 2018. The second part of data collection occurred among Venezuelan refugees from June of 2018 to December of 2019 and took place in Conde and João Pessoa, in Brazil. I consider both to be ethnographic based not only on the duration of the enterprises but especially due to the level of participation and involvement I was able to achieve within the routines of both groups.

People's actions and accounts are studied in everyday contexts, rather than under conditions created by the researcher – such as in experimental setups or in highly structured interview situations. In other words, research takes place 'in the field'. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 3).

In collecting data for this dissertation, I did not impose any assumptions or hypothesis as an ethnographer attempts to answer research questions through time spending, collecting diverse interpretations from several sources, and seeking for persistent themes (WOLCOTT, 1987). Rather, I used grounded theory for the analysis process and for constructing the theoretical framework.

3.1 Research questions

3.1.1 Main question

How do issues involving language use and communication influence the integration of adult immigrants and refugees from DR Congo and Venezuela into the United States and Brazil?

3.1.2 Specific questions

The first question focuses on the different language policies that affect participants' process of integrating. For answering this question, I analyze official texts (including

educational policies and overtly expressed written or spoken texts), which I call “assimilating language policies”, listed in *Table 3*:

Table 2 Texts under analysis

Texts from Brazil	Law No. 9.394, of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, including amendments. (LDB)
	Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (National Curriculum Parameters), 1998. (PCN)
	Base Nacional Comum Curricular (Common National Curriculum Base), 2017. (BNCC)
	Law No. 10488, Plano Estadual da Educação da Paraíba (Paraíba State Education Plan), 2015. (PEEP)
	Discourses by former president Michel Temer, current president Jair Messias Bolsonaro, and current minister of Health, Luiz Henrique Mandetta.
Texts from the U.S.	The No Child Left Behind, Act of 2002. (NCLB)
	Public Law 114-95, of December 10, 2015 – Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA)
	Educating Iowa’s English Learners (ELs), A handbook for administrators and teachers, 2015. (EIEL)
	Discourse by president Donald Trump.

For that, I use the concept of ideologeme to identify propositions that account for the host countries’ climates of opinions. I also answer this question by describing language policies that are part of the adults’ routines and language decisions, which I call “integrating language policies”, represented in the families, communities, hosting centers, and churches.

1. *What are the different types of language policies involved in immigrants and refugees’ integration process, language learning and social practices?*

The second question deals with shared harshened events prior and post arrivals in the host countries. I address this question by presenting analysis on participants’ perceptions of languages roles and adapting experiences related to their search for dignity. I also address commonsense ideas portrayed as irrefutable truths that are connected to assimilating language policies.

2. *Which statements reveal climates of opinions and ideologies in official discourses and how are they reflected in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries?*

The third question emphasizes immigrants and refugees' searches for belonging, which involve learning of languages, negotiating of new identities, and mobilizing different types of capital. I use Norton's and Bourdieu's views on identity and Bourdieu's theory of practice.

3. *What are relevant processes involving languages and identities implicated in the sense of belonging to the host countries?*

3.2 Data collection: an international and multi-sited approach

I collected data in multiple sites in Iowa City, in the U.S., and in João Pessoa and Conde, Brazil. All data collected were at the local level. In Iowa City, I researched a group of Congolese immigrants and refugees and in João Pessoa and Conde, the participants of my research were a group of Venezuelan refugees. The data collected in both countries include (i) semi-structured interviews (audio-recorded, they ranged from 40-120 minutes); informal conversations, in-field notes, pictures, other documents such as translations. Settings include immigrants and refugees' neighborhood, language classes (English and Portuguese), churches, public places we would meet (such as a mall), my own house and hosting centers.

As I described Brazil's official language policies and refugees' perceptions of languages in my Master's degree thesis through document analysis and semi-structured interviews (SOUSA, 2015), my goal for this dissertation was to gain a further understanding of refugees and immigrants' experiences concerning language learning and policing and how these (if they did) influenced their social integration. Hence, I undertook this ambitious ethnographic project in order to illuminate diverse groups of migrants' processes of integration in very diverse settings. I chose to study the Congolese group because I was living in the same complex building they were living and teaching English to part of them across from where we lived, so research

took place naturally. Regarding the Venezuelan group, I was planning on doing research with Congolese students at the university, but a month prior my return to Brazil, I was invited (as my peers knew about my interest and theme of research) to welcome refugees from Venezuela and provide them with Portuguese classes. I decided to work with this group in Brazil for this reason and because of the additional complexity it would add to my research having two distinct groups with similar characteristics (a group formed by families seeking refuge due to difficulties in home country).

During the U.S. data collection period, my older daughter was one year old and I spent a lot of time with the women during playdates we would “set up” (it was very informal, sometimes we would show up without letting the other know beforehand, a common practice among them). Some of the women were also students where I volunteered. I volunteered at the center across from where we lived once a week on Mondays in the evening and, just like several of them, I would go there again twice a week in the mornings (Tuesdays and Thursdays) to get food the NPO (Non-Profit Organization) distributed. I also volunteered at a church two blocks from where we lived twice a week (two other mornings – Mondays and Wednesdays). At first, during the first month or so, the two places I worked were the only places I would meet participants, but I soon became friends with Marta, and she “opened the gate” for me to meet and be in familiar terms with several other women in the neighborhood. We would meet for different reasons; for our kids to play, for chatting, for eating together (Congolese and Brazilian foods, but mostly Congolese), for dancing (sharing music from our countries and dance moves), for going to church, and for celebrations such as our birthdays and Christmas dinner. Even though participants were aware of my research, this aspect of my presence soon became invisible as we developed a natural routine.

Similarly, in Brazil I worked as a volunteer Portuguese teacher in the NPO that welcomed more than 100 refugees from Venezuela. I taught on Saturdays in loco for three hours from 9am to 12pm. However, I would come to the NPO much earlier and would stay there way after midday to observe participants’ interactions

outside the classroom. In addition to it, I went to all the celebrations including “children’s day” and “Christmas party”, and having a little daughter once again (this time around she was two years old) allowed me to spend more time with families, as we would (and still do) meet for playdates and birthday parties.

Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) lay out philosophical approaches that have been used in ethnography. Positivist approaches to ethnography seek to model social research based on the natural sciences and its methods have the intention to test hypotheses or theories. This search for a rigorous scientific character has been connected to it been seen by some as less scientific once its findings produce “subjective” results. In reaction, ethnographers have developed a different view on the nature of social science and called it “naturalism”, which was also inspired by the natural sciences. It proposes that the social world had to be approached in its “natural” state as reality (or truth) can be reached only in the empirical world and not in “artificial” research settings. Post-modernist and post-structuralist ideas confronted the apolitical aspect of naturalism. Ethnographers guided by non-Marxist Leftist political orientations criticized the approach and asked for liberation of oppressed voices through ethnographic research. Critical ethnography, therefore, advocates for researchers’ responsibility for not only understanding phenomena but also transforming it. Both positivist and naturalist views end in the research itself and do not produce impact on policy-making and practice.

Researchers of Language Policy and Planning (LPP) have used critical ethnography in the study of language practices, policies, and ideologies. Canagarajah (1993) investigates student opposition to reproduction through ESL in a Sri Lanka classroom. Phyak (2013) also uses critical ethnography in the school setting, to examine language ideologies and policies in Nepal. Hornberger (2000) and McCarty and colleagues (2011) used critical ethnography in the study of indigenous language survival and maintenance. Valdiviezo (2013) utilizes ethnography of language policy to analyze the bilingual intercultural education (EBI) policy in the Peruvian Andes.

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) proposed the ethnography of language planning and policy (ELPP), which connects ethnography and critical discourse analysis in the educational context (D.C. JOHNSON, 2009). D.C. Johnson (2009) argues that this approach is largely influenced by Hymes's ethnography of communication. For Hymes (1980), language is inevitably connected to social life and its study is allowed through ethnography. Hornberger and Johnson call for more ethnographic approaches in researching Language Policy and Planning LPP as it allows unveiling interpretation and implementation of multilayers language policies at the local level. For the authors, one way of describing micro levels and investigating multiple levels of LPP is by using the methodology. According to Caraganajah (2006, p.153) in reference to macro LPP,

While LPP operates from the macro-social level of state and international institutions, ethnography focuses on the micro-level of interpersonal relationships, conversation, and everyday life. While LPP is deliberate and programmatic, ethnography unravels the largely unconscious "lived culture" of a community. In short, while LPP is about how things "ought to be," ethnography is about what "is".

Hence, critical approaches, and critical ethnography, have been used in LPP with the intent to give question language *status quo* (and as consequence groups and individuals) and provoke social change through exposing policies that favor dominant ideologies (TOLLEFSON, 1991) or to propose language policies capable of minimizing inequalities (D.C. JOHNSON, 2013). Although I investigate language policies, this dissertation does not use ethnography of language policy, as it was proposed by Hornberger and Johnson (2007) because I am not interested in their implementation. Rather, I am interested in the ideological effects they have on immigrants and refugees' living experiences, decisions about language, and language negotiation in different societies' domains.

As in critical ethnography, the concept of reflexivity in ethnography research rejects the notion that findings in social research can have an autonomous character and that they are neutral in the sense that they are not influenced by researchers' findings. However, reflexivity does not imply researchers' have necessarily to act according to their political orientations. In Hammersley's and Atkinson's words:

All social research is founded on the human capacity for participant observation. We act in the social world and yet are able to reflect upon ourselves and our actions as objects in that world. However, rather than leading to doubts about whether social research can produce knowledge, or to the desire to transform it into a political enterprise, for us this reflexivity provides the basis for a reconstructed logic of inquiry that shares much with positivism and naturalism but goes beyond them in important respects. (2007, p. 18)

The authors argue that most ethnographers have abandoned positivist and naturalist approaches to their research and adopted reflexivity as one important feature of social research. This dissertation adopts reflexivity as a philosophical guide. My primary goal is to produce knowledge and I try to minimize any bias in the findings due to my own political views or practical interests, but I understand the impact I have in the social world as a researcher and I include my own role within the focus.

Although ethnography has been appointed as the approach to research that can really reveal participants daily interactions in contrast to perceptions or ideologies, there are several limitations raised in connection with ethnographic work. Those limitations include its time-consuming aspect, difficulty of accessing the field and of gaining participants' trust, difficulty of producing generalizations, and of analyzing due to the volume of data and the triangulation method.

For this dissertation, I took the advantage of the Fulbright scholarship I was granted in the U.S. to dedicate the time to collecting data in that country, and of CAPES scholarship in Brazil so I did not work during my Doctoral degree so I could dedicate most of my time to the research. For both groups, luckily I had gatekeepers that introduced me to the other participants and built in them trust. I met Marta while I tutored ESL for her. My class would always be redirected according to her linguistic (and social) needs, we soon found out we lived at the same complex and she soon introduced me to the other Congolese women in the neighborhood. She was the main person who allowed my presence as a researcher and as a friend among the other women. In Brazil, the main volunteer in the house, with whom I also became friends, Maria da Guia, had the same role of making the Venezuelan participants comfortable around my presence and open for my data collection. Analyzing the data was a challenge as it was as time consuming (or more) as data collection was, but I extended one more year of my dissertation period in order to be able to finish it. Generalizations are always going to be an issue for some when

it comes to the findings this type of research produces. However, being able to research two very distinct groups in two also distinct main settings gave space to the possibility of some kind of generalization once I observed patterns in some of the struggles related to refugees and immigrants' experiences.

3.3 Data Analysis

In this dissertation, I use “grounded theory” for the analysis of the multiple data generated. In 1967, Glaser and Strauss (1967) proposed a strategy for deploying theories grounded on data in social and qualitative research through the publication of the book entitled “The discovery of grounded theory: strategies for qualitative research”. In this book, the authors contrast their position to research conducted with prior ungrounded assumptions and that aims the testing of hypotheses or theories. In their words, theories grounded on data “(...) can usually not be completely refuted by more data or replaced by another theory. Since it is too intimately linked to data, it is destined to last despite its inevitable modification and reformulation.” (GLASER and STRAUSS, 1967, p. 4). Charmaz (2006) argues that this book had great impact in not only sociologist researchers but also professionals of various fields such as doctors and nurses. It also called the attention of quantitative researchers who resorted to grounded theory when using mixed methods. Nevertheless, later on Glaser and Strauss have disagreed on the method procedures. According to Charmaz, Strauss and Corbin developed new techniques to grounded theory, which Glaser fought back with the argument that preconceptions were being forced into the data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) were very concerned with the interference of researchers' own views or prior assumptions into the data analysis and listed as one of analytic strategy to disregard literature review in the first moment. They argued researchers become indoctrinated and insensitive to discovering new theories when they commit themselves to a preconceived “pet theory”. Nevertheless, both Glaser and Strauss have very positivist approaches to qualitative research from which scholars have moved away as they understand their preconceptions are never neutral (CHARMAZ, 2006).

In this sense, Charmaz defines grounded theory as more flexible when it comes to its guidelines researchers can adopt and adapt in various studies. I adopt a reflexivity view of grounded theory and I try to move away from prior assumptions and theoretical frameworks though I am aware of my positionality. I did the literature review for this dissertation, both before the data collection, and during the process as different questions emerged (according to the inquiries I had and because during this time, I had access to the University of Iowa libraries). By becoming familiar with studies in the subject of my research, I also became aware of what contribution (and at this point related to the inquiries only) I could offer to the literature during the ethnographic fieldwork.

Charmaz (2006) argues that ethnography use of grounded theory focuses on the phenomenon or process under study rather than on giving full descriptions of a setting. Instead of having a strict divide between data collection and analysis, grounded theory allows ethnographers to start the analytic process right from the start preserving an open-ended approach and permitting systematic reviews. The author describes the analysis process as follows:

Grounded theorists start with data. We construct these data through our observations, interactions, and materials that we gather about the topic or setting. We study empirical events and experiences and pursue our hunches and potential analytic ideas about them. Most qualitative methods allow researchers to follow up on interesting data in whatever way they devise. Grounded theory methods have the additional advantage of containing explicit guidelines that show us how we may proceed. (CHARMAZ, 2006, p. 3).

Those (flexible) guidelines include coding, memo-writing, and theoretical sampling. Coding means labeling pieces of data with a very brief summary that can be represented by a name, for example. For Charmaz (2006, p. 46), grounded theory coding:

(...) consists of at least two main phases: 1) an initial phase involving naming each word, line, or segment of data followed by 2) a focused, selective phase that uses the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize large amounts of data.

For this dissertation, I took a slightly different approach for the coding process. For my first phase, I coded segments of data. Secondly, I went back to the data and coded sentence by sentence (although for many grounded theorists, line-by-line coding

comes first), which was very interesting because it opened my eyes for aspects of it I had not seen in the first phase. Then I did the second phase as proposed by Charmaz (2006) and organized it according to its main and recurrent themes. Those themes were not guided by preconceived categories or codes; they emerged and were created based on what I saw in the data, through qualitative interpretation and meaning making. The codes, though, remained open for change. I generated ideas from prior theoretical understandings, from my experience in working with refugees through language teaching, and from the emergent themes that arose from the data collection stage. An initial list of codes included “estranging cultures”, “parenting”, “negotiating language”, and “women’s roles”. In later coding cycles and using an inductive approach to data to allow abstraction (SALDAÑA, 2015), I reviewed and refined the themes presented in the findings.

Another important aspect of the analysis process is memo writing. For Glaser and Strauss (1967), it offers an immediate idea illustration. For Charmaz (2006), it keeps you close to the analysis and increase the abstraction level. In her words:

Memo writing forms the next logical step after you define categories; however, write memos from the beginning of your research. Memos spur you to develop your ideas in narrative form and fullness early in the analytic process. Your memos will help you clarify and direct your subsequent coding. (CHARMAZ, 2006, p. 82).

I wrote two memos for each transcribed audio-recorded interviews, during the period of data collection. However, this dissertation makes use of other types of data such as informal conversations, field notes, and documents. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that the production of memoranda as a continuous reflexive monitoring of notes force the ethnographer to undertake an explicative process. As I was not observing from a distance (in a classroom environment, for example), but an active participant, writing field notes as situations occurred was challenging. One of the strategies I used for taking notes, and subsequently, writing memos, was recording myself on my phone before I could sit down and write. I did not feel comfortable picking up my notebook and writing while things were happening, so I would find a way to make a quick voice recording to then transcribe it and reflect upon it later at home or at the university office. So this writing was highly informal, as Charmaz

(2006) defends it should be. Categories emerged from this circular coding process, memo writing, and data comparison and gave me the basis for contrasting my findings with those in the literature review and in the theoretical framework.

During the collection and analysis processes, I began to understand participants were describing events through narratives and I decided to incorporate this concept to the study. Narrative inquiry has been an increasingly influential approach in applied linguistics over the past decade. Bell (2002) argues one of the defining characters of a culture is that it uses stories to make sense of the world, and narratives can offer an understanding of learners' experiences, values, and beliefs that constitute broader ideologies. Furthermore, narratives provide ways of understanding personal and collective identities. Bell (2002, p. 208) states that "stories are constantly being restructured in the light of new events, and that stories do not exist in a vacuum but are shaped by lifelong personal and community narratives." This continuity shows an ongoing and evolving aspect of how storytellers situation ideologies and individual identities. Ochs and Capps (1996) say that narratives not only reflect personal identities, but they are a place where individuals can create hybrid, fluid, and fluctuating identities. Additionally, Barkhuizen (2011) has highlighted the interactive aspects of storytelling, but also argues how they are constructed within the specific contexts in which they are told. Narratives are built from storytellers' and researchers' engagement; participants construct narrative knowledge and researchers analyze elemental insights from the stories (BELL, 2002). Recently, concerned mainly about the interpretation of data, narrative inquiry studies are increasingly using multiple sources of data (BENSON, 2014).

3.4 Settings and Participants

In this section, I provide a brief description of the two countries due to the supranational data collection type. I then move on to describe each states, and then a description of the local settings where I collected the data. I also provide a chart with participants' pseudonyms (provided by them), the approximate age during data

collection, and languages spoken. I also describe more in depth each participant and I include and position myself as participant as well.

3.4.1 Brief profiles of Brazil and the United States

Brazil and the U.S. have similar extensions (the U.S. has 9.37 million km² and Brazil, 8.51 million km²) and a relatively close number of inhabitants, the U.S. has 323.1 million, followed by Brazil with 207.7 million.

Leaving aside, at that moment, the specificities that distinguish the countries historically, culturally and socially, Brazil and the U.S. present other similarities and have historical factual characteristics that intersect. Among them, the formations of these national states took place at the same time, the two countries used slave labor until the end of the nineteenth century, and both have received, throughout their histories, massive waves of immigrants who are part of the formation and consolidation of national identities.

Nevertheless, the two contexts also present very differing aspects; it is worth highlighting, the disparate characteristics regarding their economies. While the U.S. is perceived as one of the most powerful countries worldwide and the country of opportunity, Brazil is still considered a developing country. The idea of the American Dream has attracted and continues to attract millions of people around the world, and consequently, the U.S., even in the face of restrictive policies, has received the most number of immigrants and refugees in the international context. In the case of refugees, for example, the numbers are markedly disparate. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), up to the 2014 survey Brazil had 7,289 refugees from 81 different nationalities, the main countries of origin being Syria, Colombia, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The U.S., in turn, according to the Department of Homeland Security, had by 2015, 3,252,493 refugees. Therefore, the experiences by both the countries and by immigrants and refugees are expected to present differences not only because of differences in cultures, but also because of each State's unique experiences with the phenomenon.

3.4.2 Brief profiles of Conde, João Pessoa, and Iowa City

The Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) reports Conde has an estimate population of 24.6k. It is on the coast, which attracts tourists from outside the state and country as well as from rural areas. It is a place for identity and territory struggles among minority peoples, including Tabajara indigenous tribes and three Quilombola communities Gurupi, Ipiranga, and Mituaçu. In 2018, the town received a first group of about 50 Venezuelan refugees. Between Conde and João Pessoa, the state has received so far more than 400 hundred Venezuelan refugees and their families. João Pessoa is the capital of the state of Paraíba, and has an approximate population of 809.015k. It is also on the coast and attracts tourists from various places. The IBGE census of 2012 shows there has been a 15-fold increase of Asians in the state, totaling about 50k individuals, living mostly in João Pessoa, which represents a large immigrant community. It is also home for a Quilombola community called Paratibe. Due to its size and economic force in the state, and its proximity to Conde, many Venezuelans find work and move to João Pessoa. Currently, the state is leading the reception of refugees in the Northeast region with representatives from diverse areas, such as from Law and Health. The hosting centers promote different types of assistance, including with jobs, languages, and housing.

Iowa City has an estimate population of 73.4k, among which 7.26% are African American. There is a growing community of Congolese immigrants and refugees in the city, which state is recognized as traditionally always receptive of refugees. In the seventies, Iowa was the first state to receive the Vietnam War refugees and has since then developed a number of mechanisms to host refugees coming from various countries. Today, the state has important leaders fighting for the rights of refugees including the Syrians, as the director of the Center for Integration of Refugees, Mark Grey, who fights in favor of more resources for hospitals, for district schools and for English training programs for refugees.

3.4.3 The hosting centers

Valley Neighborhood Outreach Center (VNOC) (pseudonym) is a human services agency based for the community, which provisions include on-site childcare, support for parents, after-school programming, and family English training programs. The staff members speak a variety of languages such as Spanish, French, Swahili, Lingala, and Arabic. VNOC offers cross-cultural training for immigrants and refugees, which includes ESL and literacy development for children and parents. The center is located in an area of the city where a large number of immigrants and refugees reside and most of the students in the ESL classes for adults, during the time of data collection were Congolese. VNOC is located at Bangala street (pseudonym) across from a building complex where most of the research participants and I lived. On the same street, there was a church where I volunteered as English tutor and where I also collected data during classes and services. Most my data collection was conducted on this street, however, data collection also took place outside it, in an African American church and two Congolese churches.

Paraíba Migrante Center (PMC) (pseudonym) located in Conde at Flor de Mayo street (pseudonym), is connected to the catholic church and shelters refugees for as much as six months. It provides services such as assistance with documentation, with the job market, language training, food, clothing, items for personal hygiene etc. After the first six months, if the individual or family is not able to support itself financially, which is very rare, the center keeps assisting those individuals by helping, for example, with rent costs. Data collection took place at this center mostly, but also at other places where events were held, such as the legislative assembly, public spaces etc.

3.4.4 The field

I collected data in classrooms, at the hosting centers' common areas, churches, and public spaces communities-associated. I entered both communities by being a volunteer tutor and teacher at the centers, which gave me permission to do research. I conducted classroom observations at VNOC Mondays from 6pm to 8pm, at the

church on Mondays and Wednesdays from 9am to 11am (from August 2017 to June 2018), and at Paraíba Migrante on Saturdays from 9am to 12pm (from June 2018 to December 2019). However, classrooms functioned as opportunities to meet potential research participants. Most data collection was conducted outside the classrooms at the hosting centers' common areas, where I conducted interviews and informal small conversations and took field notes and pictures. I also took field notes at events mostly in Paraíba Migrante, but also at other sites. I met Venezuelans participants who were living in João Pessoa in their neighborhood and they also came to my house. At the Bangala street, we met at the neighborhood outside our apartments, at the stores, churches, cafeterias, supermarket etc. I was part of the community, therefore the access to those places occurred naturally. While in those public spaces, I also took pictures and notes.

Table 3 Data Collection

Location	Activity	Time
Valley Neighborhood Outreach Center (VNOC)	Classroom and activities participant observer, English tutor.	(2017/2018)
Paraíba Migrante Center (PMC)	Classroom and activities participant observer, Portuguese teacher.	(2018/2019)
American Church's English classes	Classroom and activities participant observer, English tutor.	(2017/2018)
Churches' services (2 Congolese, 1 African American, 1 Latino, 1 American)	Visitor and participant observer	(2017/2018)
Communities' neighborhoods	Participant observer	(2017/2019)

3.4.5 Participants

All participants were recruited through the centers at which they attended English and Portuguese classes. They are between 25 and 45 years old and have been in the U.S. for at least 2 years and in Brazil for at least 1 year. Congolese participants speak about 4 languages, each having a unique repertoire of languages. The language they speak are also different from other family members' spoken languages. Languages are listed according to their report and in the same order. Most Venezuelans reported

they speak Spanish and Portuguese. Two participants are the hosting centers' representatives, Helen and Maria da Guia. Helen reported she speaks three languages and Maria da Guia reported she speaks Portuguese and Portunhol, term used to describe the mixture of Portuguese and Spanish.¹

Table 4 Participants

Main Participants	Country of origin	Age	Time in the host country	Languages spoken
Abigail	DR Congo	30s	3 years	Tshiluba, Swahili, Lingala, French, and English
Adrienne	DR Congo	30s	2 years	French and Lingala
Daniela	Venezuela	20s	2 years	Spanish
Helen	U.S.	50s	Born in the U.S.	English, Spanish, and Mandarin
Loredana	Venezuela	20s	2 years	Spanish and Portuguese
Maria da Guia	Brazil	30s	Born in Brazil	Portuguese and Portunhol
Marta	DR Congo	20s	6 years	Tshiluba, Lingala, and French
Petrolina	Venezuela	40s	1 year	Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Italian
Rafaela	Venezuela	20s	2 years and 6 mo	Spanish, Portuguese, and basic English
Rilive	DR Congo	30s	4 years	Mangbetu, Lingala, French, and a little bit of English
Solange	DR Congo	40s	6 years	Lingala, French, and Kicongo
Soraya	Venezuela	30s	1 year and 6 mo	Spanish and Portuguese
Thereza	DR Congo	30s	3 years	Swahili, Lingala, French, Tshiluba,

¹ Lipski (2006) argues that Spanish and Portuguese are two highly cognate languages and Portunhol (in Portuguese) and Portuñol (in Spanish) are used in reference to both the bilingual situation in border communities and to when speakers of one of the languages tries to speak the other unable to suppress first language's interference. In this particular case, Maria da Guia's Portunhol fits the latter definition as she tries to speak Spanish aware of the constant interference of Portuguese.

				and a little bit of English
Leo	DR Congo	40s	6 years	French, English Swahili, Lingala, Kirundi and the “mother tongue”
Maths	DR Congo	30s	2 years	French, Swahili and Lingala
Ramón	Venezuela	20s	2 years and 6 mo	Spanish and Portuguese

I list other participants I chose not to include them as main participants either because they were mentioned by other main participants or had a smaller participation compared to the others; meaning I had less opportunities of contact. The extra participants’ pseudonyms and countries of origin follow: Divine (DR Congo), Imara (Nicaragua), Nairy (Venezuela), Nancy (DR Congo), José (Venezuela), Paulo (Brazil), Roberto (Brazil), Yoselin (Venezuela).

Among the immigrant and refugee participants, there are 14 Protestants, 2 Catholic, 1 Brannam follower, and 1 agnostic. 11 have undergraduate degree, among which there is a doctor, 2 schoolteachers, 2 nurses, 1 studied Tourism, 1 (woman) who was in the army, 2 social worker, 1 mechanical, and 1 studied Computer Science. Six have secondary school degree, and 1 have primary school degree. Current occupations include: 8 housewives, 1 receptionist, 1 waitress and assistant, 1 housekeeper, 1 social worker, 3 company workers, 1 restaurant keeper, 1 supermarket, 1 construction builder. Among the women, 12 are married living with their husbands, 11 have children, and 3 are single and have no children. Among the men, 3 are married, 4 have children, and 1 is divorced.

I selected these participants because there is little research about immigrants and refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa in the U.S. (WARRINER, 2004, 2007, 2016) and even less from Venezuelans in Brazil (HOAGLAND, 2019). I chose to focus on narratives, with special attention to women’s, because of their critical role in influencing language use and maintenance (SALLABANK, 2012). This study is unique not only because of the selection of participants, but because we had access

to socially isolated participants, (most mothers spend the days with their children inside the community).

3.4.6 The researcher

The first description will be of myself, as the researcher is also a participant. From 2010 to 2012, I lived in Piedmont, California, as an *au pair* and took the Certificate entitled Teaching English as Second Foreign Language at the University of California Berkeley. That certificate gave me the opportunity to work as a volunteer English teacher at a NPO in San Rafael in 2011, which was the first time I participated in a language-training program for immigrants and refugees. Since then, I am interested in the theme and I have worked with it both in the academic context and directly with refugees mainly through teaching English and Portuguese. I wrote my Master's degree thesis on refugees in Brazil and this dissertation on immigrants and refugees in both countries. I took a personal interest in the subject since the beginning because I identified with their struggles even though being perfectly aware mine were much less challenging. As a Brazilian living in the U.S. with an American family, I faced difficulties related to cultural differences in various levels despite my English fluency. I imagined how immigrants who are in that position due to harshened events forcing their displace face much greater obstacles, including learning host languages. In this research, I could also relate to some participants' struggles, such as having children and lack of social support, low income etc.

3.4.7 Trustworthiness

Several strategies were employed aiming to establish trustworthiness of the collection and analysis of data. Strategies included member checks, peer-reviewing, and constant comparison. Categories were developed through frequent return to the data during the analysis process. I also discussed primary results with participants to check their validity and connection to their living experiences. Emergent themes and categories were discussed with peers and advisors both in Brazil and in the U.S.

The next chapter is a result of the thematic and textual analysis deployed (Saldaña, 2015) of Brazil's and the U.S.'s official educational policies and official

politicians' speeches. I will relate this data with some of the refugees' and immigrants' living experiences gathered during the ethnographic data collection in order to show the existing relationship between official discourses and social practices.

CHAPTER 4: ASSIMILATING LANGUAGE POLICIES – DOCUMENTS AND DISCOURSES OF HOMOGENIZATION

As I analyzed the collected data, I began to understand that both assimilation and integration are closely related to language policies and practices. However, some language policies are fixed language agreements based on cultural commonsense, that await for newcomers who enter the new context. Other language policies are closer to immigrants' daily experiences and adapting processes. Those language policy types do not fit prior defining terms found in the field of LPP literature because they reflect this grounded theory qualitative analysis. Therefore, I chose to separate the types by naming them "assimilating" and "integrating" language policies.

Assimilating language policies, in this research, are official documents and discourses, which effects are powerful and reach immigrants through host society's attitudes, formation or/and reproduction of language ideologies, climates of opinion, and societies' labels. They affect adults mainly through a family member, usually a child in the school system. For example, even though official educational language policies influence children more directly, they affect adults in the family collaterally. Therefore, a monolingual language policy at school affects children's language repertoire, as they tend to conform to the language spoken at school, and this can cause language loss for the community in the long run, and conflict among family members, such as communication problems. This type of policy has a great impact in the family relations, but adults are often left with having to create strategies that are usually outside formal institutions, to conform to or resist assimilation.

Integrating language policies can be a resisting response to official language policies. They are the language policies that most affect immigrants and refugees, and therefore, language policies that are present in their routines and living experiences in the host countries. Because they belong to the day-by-day lives, they are usually informal and created out of adapting necessities; and therefore include family and community language policies. I found unproductive to refer to them as

micro language policies, term traditional to the literature of the field, because they are macro from the perspective of influencing immigrants' languages repertoires and integration and resisting assimilation. Therefore "integrating" is more adequate.

Assimilating and integrating language policies here presented are related to the research participants' experiences. A language policy promoting host languages learning do not equal assimilation because integration here is conceived as an open possibility that allows expanding language repertoires. Therefore, an official language policy can be integrating rather than assimilating, depending on the context. Additionally, there are language policies that affect only a portion of members of the community. For example, school language policies aimed at parents might affect only mothers who take care of the children's affairs while fathers are at work, and vice-versa. For this research, the type of policies are divided as follows in *Table 5*:

Table 5 Assimilating and Integrating language policies types

<i>Category</i>	<i>Type of item</i>
Assimilating	1. <i>De jure</i> educational language policies
	2. Overtly expressed (written or spoken) policy texts
Integrating	1. Communities' language policies
	2. Families' language policies
	3. Churches' language repertoire, translators and interpreters
	4. Translators and interpreters from workplace or institutional sites, such as schools and food stamps distribution sites
	5. Neighborhood signs, including bus signs, hosting Centers', stores', and institutional sites', such as the post offices and public clinics

This chapter, (together with chapter 6) addresses types of language policies involved in immigrants' and refugees' integration processes, affecting their language learning and social practices. In addition, it deals with the statements that reveal climates of

opinions and ideologies in official discourses and their reflection in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries.

I analyze assimilating language policies, which are educational policies from the two countries. From Brazil, I analyze the following texts:

- Law No. 9.394, of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, including amendments. (LDB)
- Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais (National Curriculum Parameters), 1998. (PCN)
- Base Nacional Comum Curricular (Common National Curriculum Base), 2017. (BNCC)
- Law No. 10488, Plano Estadual da Educação da Paraíba (Paraíba State Education Plan), 2015. (PEEP)
- Discourses by former president Michel Temer, current president Jair Messias Bolsonaro, and current minister of Health, Luiz Henrique Mandetta.

The following documents from the U.S. will also be under analysis in this chapter:

- The No Child Left Behind, Act of 2002. (NCLB)
- Public Law 114–95, of December 10, 2015 – Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA)
- Educating Iowa's English Learners (ELs), A handbook for administrators and teachers, 2015. (EIEL)
- Discourse by president Donald Trump.

I chose official documents that guide national education from both countries and one document from each state studied (Iowa and Paraíba). I collected and analyzed the ethnographic data before the documents, because I chose to understand the language policies that most directly affected the communities' language choices from their perspectives. I had the immigrants and refugees acts from each country in mind before I got into the fields, but during data collection, I understood educational policies had greater impacts on adults' adapting process. I added excerpts of two

presidents in Brazil because both were in power during data collection; furthermore, I added the speech of the minister of Health because he made a direct mention to the Portuguese language. Donald Trump was the President during data collection and made remarks on the English language.

Since this is a thematic analysis, excerpts from the different texts will appear in relationship to each other. Therefore, the analysis will be divided by countries and not by each title of documents. In addition, I also inserted excerpts of participants' interviews, as I perceived an existing relationship between official texts and their perceptions. Although the theory was constructed after the analysis, I argue that the texts portray a set of recurrent ideas as commonplace that lead to irreducible statements Angenot (1977) calls ideologemes. The commonsense ideas found are listed as follow:

- Brazilian identity as the mixture of the three matrices (Indigenous, African, and European);
- Brazilians speak Portuguese only;
- Foreign languages in Brazil means English language;
- Americans are English proficient; Immigrant students as underachievers;
- Ideal immigrants in the U.S. speak English; and
- The U.S. improves immigrant' lives.

Excerpts from the analyzed texts will be presented to give body for each of the propositions.

4.1 Brazil educational policies

There was a rare appearance of the words “immigrants” or “refugees” in the Brazilian policies here analyzed. However, certain key words that might refer to those populations emerge, such as “migrations”, “mother tongue”, “Brazil formation” and “community”.

4.2 Brazilian identity: the mixture of the three matrices (Indigenous, African, and European)

The federal documents here presented were made aiming to centralize the teaching in Brazil; therefore, students from different parts of the country should achieve the same educational goals. The document from Paraíba is a tool supportive of the national guidelines, which includes quotations from those documents. Nevertheless, there is an idea of unity achieved through common mandatory subjects throughout the country. This purpose presupposes the identity concept.

The analysis of these documents show the emergence of the commonsense idea of a Brazilian identity associated with a Brazilian miscigenated people who are formed ethnically mainly by three different peoples, Indigenous, African and European. The 1996 LDB, under general dispositions of Basic Education, states the teaching of History should give special attention to the cultures and ethnicities that form the Brazilian people.

§ 4o O ensino da História do Brasil levará em conta as contribuições das diferentes culturas e etnias para a formação do povo brasileiro, **especialmente das matrizes indígena, africana e européia.**

[Paragraph 4. The teaching of Brazilian History shall take into account the contributions of different cultures and ethnicities to the formation of the Brazilian people, especially the indigenous, African and European matrices.]

Although the above excerpt considers contributions from different cultures and ethnicities, it explicitly prioritizes the ones that supposedly form the national identity. This instruction continues in the most recent edition of the LDB, with the same words “especialmente das matrizes indígena, africana e europeia”. This type of discourse is recurrent throughout the policies under analysis. This relevance rises through explicit statements or through examples of languages and cultures under a subject the document guidelines.

In this sense, on the PCN policy, under the theme of “Pluralidade cultural” (Cultural plurality), there is a discussion about the teaching of foreign languages

associated to the diverse cultures languages represent. The document illustrates the meaning of plurality as follows:

a pluralidade cultural brasileira (indígenas, negros, brancos, católicos, seguidores de cultos religiosos de origem africana, judeus, sambistas, adeptos de reggae etc.) pode ser trazida à tona em uma tentativa de acabar com visões estereotipadas do que é ser brasileiro.

[the Brazilian cultural plurality (indigenous, black, white, catholic, followers of religious cults of African origin, Jews, samba dancers, fans of reggae etc.) can be brought to the fore in an attempt to end stereotyped visions of what it means to be Brazilian.]

The consideration of a culture plurality involves recognizing different ethnicities, religion followers, musicians etc. The first examples given to Brazil's cultural plurality include the three matrices discussed previously. Indigenous, blacks, whites, catholic (representing the European' religion), and African cults. It also mentions music styles, such as samba, as examples of Brazil's culture plurality. The intersection between music and ethnic origins is an association linked to Brazil's national identity that is reflected in refugees' comments about Brazil. Petrolina, one of the Venezuelan participants, said:

(...) as pessoas vão embora se não tiver tocando a música daqui (nas festas), vocês são muito brasileiros, gostam da sua música, eu adoro, porque é a cultura que vai passando de um pra outro sem vergonha, não sentem vergonha do que é as suas raízes, a cor da pele, por exemplo, aquele da capoeira, adoro a capoeira, que é a mistura de música com as raízes afrodescendentes e são bem apreciadas aqui, então isso é lindo. Vocês valorizam.

[(...) people will leave if the music is not played here (at parties), you are very Brazilian, you like your music, I love it, because it is the culture that goes from one to another without shame, they do not feel ashamed of what their roots are, the color of their skin, for example, that of capoeira, I love capoeira, which is the mixture of music with Afro-descendant roots and they are well appreciated here, so this is beautiful. You value it.]

Petrolina portrays the idea that Brazilians appreciate their roots because they are not ashamed by the music and the color of the skin. She mentions "capoeira" and its African origins as an example. This illustrates how the discourse about the Brazilian identity throughout the policies is also shown in refugees' comments.

On the BNCC policy, under the theme “Portuguese”, the policy mentions the recognition of other official languages in parts of Brazil due to the claims of the communities, of experts, and of researchers. It follows:

Muitos representantes de comunidades de falantes de diferentes línguas, especialistas e pesquisadores vêm demandando o reconhecimento de direitos linguísticos. Por isso, já temos municípios brasileiros que cooficializaram línguas indígenas – tukano, baniwa, nheengatu, akwe xerente, guarani, macuxi – e línguas de migração – talian, pomerano, hunsrickisch -, existem publicações e outras ações expressas nessas línguas (livros, jornais, filmes, peças de teatro, programas de radiodifusão) e programas de educação bilíngue.

[Many representatives of communities of speakers of different languages, experts and researchers have been demanding recognition of linguistic rights. For this reason, we already have Brazilian municipalities that co-officialized indigenous languages - tukano, baniwa, nheengatu, akwe xerente, guarani, macuxi - and migration languages - talian, pomerano, hunsrickisch -, there are publications and other actions expressed in these languages (books, newspapers, films, theater plays, broadcasting programs) and bilingual education programs.]

The examples show the recognition of languages that are directly related to two of the matrices that formed Brazilians. Indigenous and European languages. However, even though the association is powerful and perceived portrayed as an irreducible fact, it should be problematized. When referring to immigrants’ languages there is not an example of languages of groups of immigrants from other ethnicities, such as the Japanese community, one of the largest communities which language still survives. According to the 2008 IBGE report, there are more than 1.4 million Japanese and Japanese descendants in Brazil. Although it is considered the biggest community of Japanese outside Japan, this ethnicity is not part of the Brazil’s collective imaginary of the country’s identity, which is portrayed in the documents analyzed.

On the PEEP policy, there is a description of Paraíba’s population that shows the relevance of the three matrices in the formation of its people:

Assim como ocorre nas populações da maioria dos Estados brasileiros, o povo paraibano resulta do caldeamento de múltiplas etnias, decorrendo de forte miscigenação entre o branco europeu, os índios locais e os negros africanos. Sendo assim, a população é essencialmente mestiça, e o grupo dos declarados pardos corresponde a mais de 50% dos habitantes do estado, segundo dados do IBGE/2010. De acordo com os registros históricos, os primeiros relatos de mestiçagem na Paraíba ocorreram entre os índios potiguaras e os corsários franceses, que já freqüentavam o Estado, mesmo antes da chegada dos portugueses.

Entre os mestiços, os mulatos predominam no litoral centro-sul paraibano e no agreste, área mais agrícola, enquanto os caboclos estão presentes em todo o interior e no litoral norte, onde a pecuária sempre foi mais intensa. Já os cafuzos são raros e dispersos.

[As in the populations of most Brazilian states, the people of Paraíba are the result of the brazing of multiple ethnicities, resulting from a strong miscegenation between European whites, local Indians and African Africans. Thus, the population is essentially mestizo, and the group of declared browns corresponds to more than 50% of the state's inhabitants, according to data from IBGE / 2010. According to historical records, the first reports of miscegenation in Paraíba occurred among the indigenous Potiguaras and the French privateers, who already frequented the State, even before the arrival of the Portuguese. Among mestizos, mulattos predominate on the center-south coast of Paraíba and in the agreste, a more agricultural area, while caboclos are present throughout the interior and on the north coast, where livestock has always been more intense. Cafuzos are rare and dispersed.]

This policy uses the terms “mestiço”, to define the mixture of peoples that took place in the region, “mulatos” being the mixture of blacks and whites, “caboclos” the mixture of natives and whites, and “cafuzos”, which corresponds to the mixture of natives and blacks. According to the excerpt, this is the reality not only of Paraíba, but also of most of the Brazilian states, revealing the idea of the country as a unified in its similar ethnic characteristics.

This ethnic description is a strong and current way of thinking about the Brazilian national identity. However, The BNCC document recognizes that this feature about Brazil is a result of abounding struggle, which positions Indigenous and African descents as the most marginalized. The policy BNCC portrays this when guiding how History should be taught, as follows:

A inclusão dos temas obrigatórios definidos pela legislação vigente, tais como a história da África e das culturas afro-brasileira e indígena, deve ultrapassar a dimensão puramente retórica e permitir que se defenda o estudo dessas populações como artífices da própria história do Brasil. A relevância da história desses grupos humanos reside na possibilidade de os estudantes compreenderem o papel das alteridades presentes na sociedade brasileira, comprometerem-se com elas e, ainda, perceberem que existem outros referenciais de produção, circulação e transmissão de conhecimentos, que podem se entrecruzar com aqueles considerados consagrados nos espaços formais de produção de saber. Problematicando a ideia de um “Outro”, convém observar a presença de uma percepção estereotipada naturalizada de diferença, ao se tratar de indígenas e africanos. Essa problemática está associada à produção de uma história brasileira marcada pela imagem de nação constituída nos moldes da colonização europeia.

[The inclusion of mandatory themes defined by current legislation, such as the history of Africa and Afro-Brazilian and indigenous cultures, must go beyond the purely rhetorical dimension and allow the study of these populations to be defended

as artisans of Brazil's own history. The relevance of the history of these human groups lies in the possibility for students to understand the role of other alterities present in Brazilian society, to commit to them and, also, to realize that there are other references of production, circulation and transmission of knowledge, which can intertwine with those considered consecrated in the formal spaces of knowledge production. Questioning the idea of an “Other”, it is worth noting the presence of a naturalized stereotyped perception of difference, when dealing with indigenous and Africans. This problem is associated with the production of a Brazilian history marked by the image of a nation constituted along the lines of European colonization.]

Although the policy portrays the idea of a Brazil composed by three matrices, the excerpt above defends the teaching of the History of Indigenous and Afro-Brazilian cultures as the builders of Brazilian history and, therefore, worthy of students' examination. It also highlights Brazil's history production has been a reflex of European colonization and affirms students should comprehend there are other references of production, circulation, and transmission of knowledge. The LDB policy makes it explicit Indigenous communities' rights:

Art. 78. O Sistema de Ensino da União, com a colaboração das agências federais de fomento à cultura e de assistência aos índios, desenvolverá programas integrados de ensino e pesquisa, para oferta de educação escolar bilingüe e intercultural aos povos indígenas, com os seguintes objetivos: I – proporcionar aos índios, suas comunidades e povos, a recuperação de suas memórias históricas; a reafirmação de suas identidades étnicas; a valorização de suas línguas e ciências; II – garantir aos índios, suas comunidades e povos, o acesso às informações, conhecimentos técnicos e científicos da sociedade nacional e demais sociedades indígenas e não-índias.

[Art. 78. The State's Education System, with the collaboration of federal agencies for the promotion of culture and assistance to indigenous, will develop integrated teaching and research programs, to offer bilingual and intercultural school education to indigenous peoples, with the following objectives: I - to provide the indians, their communities and peoples, with the recovery of their historical memories; the reaffirmation of their ethnic identities; the appreciation of their languages and sciences; II - guarantee to the indians, their communities and peoples, access to information, technical and scientific knowledge of national society and other indigenous and non-indian societies.]

From this paradigm, those documents have tried to shift the attention to marginalized cultures, whose languages have been silenced for years. However, the tripartite idea of Brazil's unity is still very strong and present in the documents. Even the most recent policy, BNCC from 2017, notably focus on these cultures and guides, through its mandatory curriculum, prioritizing them. The document guides, under history, the study of different groups in the Brazilian society, but advises what should be prioritized.

(EF03HI03) Identificar e comparar pontos de vista em relação a eventos significativos do local em que vive, aspectos relacionados a condições sociais e à presença de diferentes grupos sociais e culturais, **com especial destaque para as culturas africanas, indígenas e de migrantes**. Os patrimônios históricos e culturais da cidade e/ou do município em que vive.

[(EF03HI03) Identify and compare points of view in relation to significant events in the place where you live, aspects related to social conditions and the presence of different social and cultural groups, with special emphasis on African, indigenous and migrant cultures. The historical and cultural heritage of the city and / or the municipality where you live.]

This excerpt has a direct connection to the excerpt from the 1996 LDB policy, as follows:

§ 4o O ensino da História do Brasil levará em conta as contribuições das diferentes culturas e etnias para a formação do povo brasileiro, **especialmente das matrizes indígena, africana e européia**. [The teaching of the History of Brazil will take into account the contributions of different cultures and ethnicities to the formation of the Brazilian people, especially the indigenous, African and European matrices.]

However, it strikes “European” by “migrants” who are still associated throughout the texts and through languages used to exemplify migrants’ their languages, mostly to Europeans.

There is recognition in one passage of forced migrants from Latin America on the BNCC policy, under the object of knowledge “diversidade e dinâmica da população mundial e local” and the thematic unity “O sujeito e o seu lugar no mundo”, the student from Geography of the 8th year, should develop the ability to:

(EF08GE04) Compreender os fluxos de migração na América Latina (movimentos voluntários e forçados, assim como fatores e áreas de expulsão e atração) e as principais políticas migratórias da região. [Understand migration flows in Latin America (voluntary and forced movements, as well as factors and areas of expulsion and attraction) and the main migration policies in the region]

The ability accounts for comprehending refugees’ situation, without using the term, and for migratory politics. However, large and old communities of immigrants are not mentioned on any of the texts.

Reaffirming the national identity through teaching Brazil’s ethnicity origins is present throughout national and state documents. One of the objectives for students of the basic education presented in the PCN is that they are capable of: “conhecer e valorizar a pluralidade do patrimônio sociocultural brasileiro (...)”

(know and value the plurality of Brazilian socio-cultural heritage). The goal that follows explicitly shows the desire to build progressively a unity identity:

conhecer características fundamentais do Brasil nas dimensões sociais, materiais e culturais como meio para construir progressivamente a noção de identidade nacional e pessoal e o sentimento de pertinência ao país. [to know fundamental characteristics of Brazil in the social, material and cultural dimensions as a means to progressively build the notion of national and personal identity and the feeling of belonging to the country.]

It also touches the matter of belonging. Belonging to Brazil, means knowing Brazil in its social, material and cultural dimensions. Therefore, perceiving Brazil's national identity, and understanding and valuing its heritage (which I argue through this analysis it is conceived by Indigenous, African and European cultures) compose the feeling of the country's belonging.

Michel Temer and Jair Bolsonaro were in power as Presidents during data collection in Brazil. They portrayed this commonsense idea about Brazil's identity in different ways. Temer said the following during the 73th United Nations General Assembly, in New York, "Somos um povo forjado na diversidade. Há um pedaço do mundo em cada brasileiro". His speech agrees with the idea of mixed Brazilians formed by peoples from different parts of the world. Bolsonaro echoed the idea, as follows:

Entrevistadora: E o que você propõe para resgatar dívida da escravidão?

Bolsonaro: Mas que dívida? Eu nunca escravizei ninguém na minha vida, que dívida é essa?

Entrevistadora: O senhor não, mas o país escravizou.

Bolsonaro: (...) Pelo amor de Deus, que dívida é essa? (Entrevistador: É uma dívida histórica.) Nós temos hoje em dia misturados no Brasil, mulatos, mais de 50% (Entrevistador: os Estados Unidos pagou essa dívida, vem pagando, os Estados Unidos faz isso.) Que dívida é essa, meu Deus do céu? Vou fazer uma pergunta pra você, é justo minha filha ser cotista?

Entrevistador: De repente, se ela for pobre (Bolsonaro: Não diga isso.), tem cota pra pobre, cota pra negro e cota pra índio.

Bolsonaro: Vamos, olha só, o negro não é melhor do que eu nem eu sou melhor do que o negro. Na academia militar das agulhas negras, vários negros se formaram comigo, alguns abaixo de mim, outros acima de mim, sem problema nenhum. Por que cotas? Pra que nos dividir, meu Deus do céu?

[Interviewer: And what do you propose to redeem debt from slavery?

Bolsonaro: But what debt? I have never enslaved anyone in my life, what debt is that?

Interviewer: Not you, but the country has enslaved.

Bolsonaro: (...) For God's sake, what debt is that? (Interviewer: It is a historic debt.) Today we have more than 50% mixed in Brazil, mulattos (Interviewer: the United States paid this debt, has been paying it, the United States does this.) What is this debt,

man? Good heavens? I'll ask you a question, is it fair for my daughter to be a shareholder?

Interviewer: Suddenly, if she is poor (Bolsonaro: Don't say that.), There is quota for the poor, quota for the black and quota for the Indian.

Bolsonaro: Come on, look, the black is not better than me nor am I better than the black. In the military academy of the black needles, several blacks graduated with me, some below me, others above me, without any problem. Why quotas? Why divide us, my God?]

Brazilians identity as a mixture of different ethnicities is commonsense throughout the texts, however while the documents emphasize them mentioning elements of each cultures that helped form Brazilians and the BNCC document explicitly recognizes the struggles involved in the miscegenation process, Bolsonaro affirms Brazilians are mixed, using the term “mulatos”, to justify his position against racial quotas. In Bolsonaro’s view, the discussion about slavery and historical depth divides mixed Brazilians into blacks and whites. This division does not correspond to the idea of an identity forged in each Brazilian diverse ethnic background and depicts an idea of a racial democratic nation. I do not discuss the scientific validity of affirming Brazilians as mixed, or the reasons behind the miscegenation process that took place in Brazil throughout its colonial period and after. However, Brazilians conceived as a result of a mixture of three matrices is a powerful “undiscussed” element of representation that contributes to the recognition of Brazil as a nation firmly present in the policies. The constant reaffirmation of this element throughout the texts and speeches compose a set of statements that define a commonsense idea as undiscussed truth (ANGENOT, 1982), a constructed reality from institutions and agents officially reproducing normative discourses (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009), as well as knowledge and power (FOUCAULT, 1972).

4.2.1 The migrant being

The policies under analysis make little to no reference to immigrants. There is not much about migrants either; however, when they appear in the documents, they are represented in several ways worth noting. They are referred to as the first settlers, in accordance to the ethnic aspect of the symbolic representation of the Brazilian national identity. They are associated to contributions to the formation of the

Brazilian culture and, Brazilians who move within the country are also accounted for as migrants in the documents.

4.2.3 Migrants as the three matrices that form Brazil identity

The BNCC policy brings, for Geography in the basic education, under “Processos migratórios no Brasil” (Migratory processes in Brazil) as object of knowledge, the following ability to be developed:

(EF04GE06) Identificar e descrever territórios étnico-culturais existentes no Brasil, tais como terras indígenas e de comunidades remanescentes de quilombos, reconhecendo a legitimidade da demarcação desses territórios. [Identify and describe ethno-cultural territories in Brazil, such as indigenous lands and remaining quilombo communities, recognizing the legitimacy of the demarcation of these territories.]

The document states the relevance of students identifying and describing ethnic and cultural territories and uses as examples Indigenous communities who have the right to legitimized and demarcated territories, and African communities directly linked to the Quilombos, that is, hidden places where fleeing slaves would seek refuge during the slavery period in Brazil. Those communities are still alive from the colonial period and are considered under migratory processes in the BNCC policy. For History, in basic education, under “As questões históricas relativas às migrações” (Historic matters related to migrations), one of the abilities echoes the one above presented. It says:

(EF04HI09) Identificar as motivações dos processos migratórios em diferentes tempos e espaços e avaliar o papel desempenhado pela migração nas regiões de destino. Os processos migratórios para a formação do Brasil: os grupos indígenas, a presença portuguesa e a diáspora forçada dos africanos.

[Identify the motivations of migratory processes at different times and spaces and evaluate the role played by migration in the destination regions. Migration processes for the formation of Brazil: indigenous groups, the Portuguese presence and the forced diaspora of Africans.]

Therefore, the migrant being is also associated with not only the Portuguese colonizers and African slaves, but also with Indigenous peoples. The three matrices that form the representation of Brazil’s national identity, therefore, should be subject of study under the theme of migratory processes.

In the PEEP policy, under strategies for students' literacy, Indigenous and African (Quilombola) communities are grouped under itinerant populations, as follows:

Oferecer a alfabetização às crianças do campo, indígenas, quilombola, ciganas e de outras populações itinerantes, apoiando a produção de materiais didáticos específicos, e desenvolvendo instrumentos de acompanhamento que considerem o uso da língua materna e da identidade cultural destas comunidades.

[Offer literacy to rural, indigenous, quilombola, gypsy and other itinerant populations, supporting the production of specific teaching materials, and developing accompanying instruments that consider the use of the mother tongue and cultural identity of these communities.]

The document considers those marginalized groups for the literacy program it aims to put into practice. However, considers them populations in movement and does not account for immigrants or refugees. Instead, once again, there is correlation between migratory populations and Indigenous and African communities, which roles are very relevant for shaping the national identity.

In recognizing the immigrant as belonging to the three matrices, the immigrant's and the Brazilian's definitions become intertwined and therefore misrecognition (BOURDIEU, 1977) occurs, placing immigrants as being part of the collective idea of the nation's formation. This cultural normative discourse about immigrants positions them as part of the country as an imagined community (ANDERSON, 1983), but also produces a set of expectations in regards to immigrants' Brazilianized roles and practices.

4.2.4 Migrants as Brazilians who move inside the country

The word "immigrant" appears in the PEEP document in the description of the Paraíba population. It follows:

Ainda com base nos dados do IBGE, 8,9% da população residente na Paraíba em 2011 nasceu em outros estados ou países, o que representa um total de 344 mil pessoas, sendo estes imigrantes provenientes de Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo.

[Still based on IBGE data, 8.9% of the population residing in Paraíba in 2011 was born in other states or countries, which represents a total of 344 thousand people, these being immigrants from Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo.]

As seen, the word refers to Brazilians who live in Paraíba but are originally from other states of the country. There is not a description of immigrant populations from other countries. The document refers to migratory processes when describing the cities to which Indigenous Potiguara people have emigrated from their original villages.

Processos migratórios também levaram contingente Potiguara a habitar em cidades como Mataraca, Mamanguape, João Pessoa, Cabedelo, Bayeux e Santa Rita. Outros locais importantes nas suas rotas migratórias são as cidades de Canguaretama, Baía Formosa e Vila Flor, no Rio Grande do Norte, São Paulo (SP), Rio de Janeiro (RJ) e Navegantes e Itajaí (SC).

[Migration processes also led Potiguara contingent to live in cities such as Mataraca, Mamanguape, João Pessoa, Cabedelo, Bayeux and Santa Rita. Other important places in their migratory routes are the cities of Canguaretama, Baía Formosa and Vila Flor, in Rio Grande do Norte, São Paulo (SP), Rio de Janeiro (RJ) and Navegantes and Itajaí (SC).]

The BNCC policy refers several times to migrants as Brazilians who move from rural to urban areas. One example comes from the ability expected for students from basic education studying History. It says:

(EF03HI01) Identificar os grupos populacionais que formam a cidade, o município e a região, as relações estabelecidas entre eles e os eventos que marcam a formação da cidade, como fenômenos migratórios (vida rural/vida urbana), desmatamentos, estabelecimento de grandes empresas etc.

[Identify the population groups that make up the city, the municipality and the region, the relationships established between them and the events that mark the formation of the city, such as migratory phenomena (rural / urban life), deforestation, establishment of large companies etc.]

The explanation for migratory phenomena is between parentheses. Students, then, should be able to identify events that marked the process of groups migrating from rural to urban areas forming the cities.

Similarly, one of the abilities students of Geography in basic education should develop follows: “Reconhecer especificidades e analisar a interdependência do campo e da cidade, considerando fluxos econômicos, de informações, de ideias e de pessoas.” In recognizing the interdependence of urban and rural spaces, students should consider the flux of people this linkage generates. Thus, the documents recognize identify migratory processes that involve local individuals or groups who move inside the country.

4.2.5 Migrants as contributors to Brazil society

As seen, the LDB policy, under general dispositions of Basic Education, guides approaching to History taking into consideration the contributions of the three matrices. The BNCC policy echoes this statement. Its guidelines for students general formation affirm curriculums and pedagogical approaches must include the study of several subjects, such as Portuguese and English, and the following:

VI - história do Brasil e do mundo, levando em conta as contribuições das diferentes culturas e etnias para a formação do povo brasileiro, especialmente das matrizes indígena, africana e europeia;

[history of Brazil and the world, taking into account the contributions of different cultures and ethnicities to the formation of the Brazilian people, especially the indigenous, African and European matrices;]

Therefore, the study of Brazil's and world's History must account for the contribution of the different ethnicities that form the Brazilian people and which are considered throughout the documents as the first migrants. The same document guides that the teaching of History for basic education, under historical matters related to migrations, as follows, "Analisar diferentes fluxos populacionais e suas contribuições para a formação da sociedade brasileira." These fluxes of people might include the first groups of migrants, Brazilians who move from rural to urban areas etc. Regardless, the analysis of migrants, involve the investigation of their contribution to the formation of the Brazilian society.

Similarly, under the subject and its place in the world, for Geography for basic education, students are required to "Identificar, em seus lugares de vivência, marcas de contribuição cultural e econômica de grupos de diferentes origens." Thus, contribution is an important concept that is related to migrants and must be under examination by students.

Furthermore, Geography and migratory processes in Brazil for basic education must promote the following:

(EF04GE01) Selecionar, em seus lugares de vivência e em suas histórias familiares e/ou da comunidade, elementos de distintas culturas (indígenas, afro-brasileiras, de outras regiões do país, latino-americanas, europeias, asiáticas etc.), valorizando o que é próprio em cada uma delas e sua contribuição para a formação da cultura local, regional e brasileira.

[Select, in their places of experience and in their family and / or community histories, elements from different cultures (indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, from other regions of the country, Latin American, European, Asian, etc.), valuing what is in each of them and their contribution to the formation of local, regional and Brazilian culture.]

Students must select elements of cultures from migrants, whose origins are from inside and outside Brazil, and not only recognize, but also value their contribution to the formation of local, regional and Brazilian culture. The word culture is in the singular, portraying the idea of unity, of a Brazilian unique culture formed by the contribution of different migratory processes.

This idea agrees with the speech of Paraíba Migrante's priest founder during the event celebrating the organization's twenty years of existence. He said the following:

Migrantes com outros valores e culturas sempre enriqueceram o nosso estado, país, e nação. O migrante é uma oportunidade pra gente crescer. Vamos acolher os migrantes porque eles vão enriquecer a nossa nação que é feita de migrantes. (Nota em campo, 13 de dezembro, 2019)

[Migrants with other values and cultures have always enriched our state, country, and nation. The migrant is an opportunity for us to grow. We will welcome migrants because they will enrich our nation that is made up of migrants. (Field note, December 13, 2019)]

The priest depicts the idea of migrants as contributors to the nation. This idea portrays an ongoing formation of the Brazilian identity bettered by the continuing addition of immigrants. This notion shown throughout the texts does not echo some of Bolsonaro current speeches. He said:

O Brasil é a nossa casa. Aqui não pode entrar qualquer um não. Já basta os cubanos legalizados aqui entre aspas, fantasiados de Mais Médicos. Nós não podemos fazer do Brasil a casa da mãe Joana. (...) É lógico que devemos ter compaixão por essas pessoas, mas é preciso ter controle, porque junto com eles vem uma minoria que é a escória e o preço pode ser muito alto para nos livrarmos dessa pequena escória no futuro.

[Brazil is our home. No one can enter here. Cubans legalized here in quotation marks, dressed as Mais Médicos, are enough. We cannot make Brazil the home of mother Joana. (...) It is logical that we should have compassion for these people, but it is necessary to have control, because with them comes a minority that is the scum and the price can be very high to get rid of this little scum in the future.] (BARRA, 2016)

Not only Bolsonaro diminishes Cuban immigrants who are already in Brazil during his speech, but he also affirms Brazil must have more control over whoever enters

the country because among the groups, Brazil might receive “scums” that might hindrance Brazil’s future. Therefore, even though there is a commonsense idea in the texts that portrays immigrants as benefactors for the Brazilian culture, there is also a counter discourse that perceives them as threats to the country’s advance.

4.2.6 Brazilians speak Portuguese only

Another object of mental representation serving symbolic and unifying purposes (BOURDIEU, 1991) is the Portuguese language, which position is reinforced throughout texts, as explained under the general objectives for foreign language during basic education of the PCN policy:

Quanto à função social, embora se possa dizer que o Brasil é um país multilíngüe, **dadas as diversas etnias atuantes em sua formação**, é necessário, também, reconhecer que a grande maioria da população escolar vive em um estado de monolingüismo. Exceções são as regiões fronteiriças, algumas comunidades multilíngües de grupos de imigração estrangeira ou de indígenas, e as grandes áreas metropolitanas e turísticas, onde circula um grande número de estrangeiros. Isso significa poder-se contar com apoio muito limitado para o desenvolvimento de habilidades lingüísticas fora da escola, visto que, para a grande maioria da população escolar, a língua estrangeira está fora do contexto da interação familiar, sem possibilidades de contato com parceiros falantes da outra língua e sem nenhum contacto internacional significativo. Possivelmente, essa grande maioria não sente nenhuma necessidade ou desejo de se comunicar em língua estrangeira e a percepção de uma necessidade futura é por demais remota.

[As for the social function, although it can be said that Brazil is a multilingual country, given the diverse ethnicities active in its formation, it is also necessary to recognize that the vast majority of the school population lives in a state of monolingualism. Exceptions are border regions, some multilingual communities of foreign or indigenous immigration groups, and large metropolitan and tourist areas, where a large number of foreigners circulate. This means that we can count on very limited support for the development of language skills outside of school, since, for the vast majority of the school population, the foreign language is outside the context of family interaction, with no possibility of contact with partners who speak the language. another language and without any significant international contact. Possibly, this great majority does not feel any need or desire to communicate in a foreign language and the perception of a future need is too remote.]

This excerpt shows concomitantly a recognition of Brazil as multilingual, related to the “the diverse ethnicities acting in its formation”, and Brazilians as monolinguals who do not have any possibilities of contact with speakers of other languages nor the desire to learn foreign languages. Communities’ languages, therefore, are not

included in the notion of which language other than Portuguese should be studied at school.

The document BNCC also mentions the great amount of languages spoken in Brazil when referring to the study of Portuguese language. It says:

Ainda em relação à diversidade cultural, cabe dizer que se estima que mais de 250 línguas são faladas no país – indígenas, de imigração, de sinais, crioulas e afro-brasileiras, além do português e de suas variedades. Esse patrimônio cultural e linguístico é desconhecido por grande parte da população brasileira.

[Still in relation to cultural diversity, it is worth saying that it is estimated that more than 250 languages are spoken in the country - indigenous, immigration, signs, Creole and Afro-Brazilian, in addition to Portuguese and its varieties. This cultural and linguistic heritage is unknown to a large part of the Brazilian population.]

This text also refers to Brazil as culturally diverse, but also brings about the notion that most Brazilians do not know their cultures and languages. Therefore, there is a commonsense idea that portray Brazilians as diverse ethnically but speakers of only one language, Portuguese. This illustrates the idealization of a language-people-country link (BLOMMAERT, 2006) and how monoglot ideologies normalize dominance of one language while obfuscate multilingual practices.

According to LDB, it is mandatory that schools teach Portuguese, Math, the knowledge of the physical and natural world and social and political realities, especially of Brazil.

Art. 26. § 1o Os currículos a que se refere o caput devem abranger, **obrigatoriamente, o estudo da língua portuguesa** e da matemática, o conhecimento do mundo físico e natural e da realidade social e política, **especialmente do Brasil**. [The curricula referred to in the caput must cover, necessarily, the study of the Portuguese language and mathematics, the knowledge of the physical and natural world and the social and political reality, especially in Brazil.]

The same document refers to the Portuguese as obligatory, specifying the guideline for basic education. As follows:

§ 2o O ensino fundamental regular será ministrado em língua portuguesa, assegurada às comunidades indígenas também a utilização de suas línguas maternas e processos próprios de aprendizagem. [Regular elementary education will be taught in Portuguese, ensuring indigenous communities also use their mother tongues and their own learning processes]

The policy states the teaching must be conducted in Portuguese language, with the exception of Indigenous communities, which are allowed to use their mother tongues at school. On this matter, the PCN brings, under “Critérios para inclusão de língua estrangeira no currículo”, the following:

A convivência entre comunidades locais e imigrantes ou indígenas pode ser um critério para a inclusão de determinada língua no currículo escolar. Justifica-se pelas relações envolvidas nessa convivência: as relações culturais, afetivas e de parentesco. Por outro lado, em comunidades indígenas e em comunidades de surdos, nas quais a língua materna não é o português, justifica-se o ensino de Língua Portuguesa como segunda língua.

[Coexistence between local and immigrant or indigenous communities can be a criterion for the inclusion of a certain language in the school curriculum. It is justified by the relationships involved in this coexistence: cultural, affective and kinship relations. On the other hand, in indigenous communities and in deaf communities, in which the mother tongue is not Portuguese, teaching Portuguese as a second language is justified.]

As the excerpt shows, although Indigenous communities can be educated in their own languages, Portuguese must also be learned as second language. On the other hand, immigrants must study the languages of their communities as foreign languages at school. It portrays the idea that immigrants, contrary to Indigenous and deaf communities, have Portuguese as mother tongue. Furthermore, it illustrates the idea of immigrant communities as being restricted to the ones that are traditional in the collective memory and that builds the country’s identity, which generations have been born in Brazil and supposedly speak Portuguese.

According to the LDB policy, Portuguese must be studied considering the fact that it gives access to communication, knowledge and citizenship.

ldbArt. 36. O currículo do ensino médio observará o disposto na Seção I deste Capítulo e as seguintes diretrizes: 8 I – destacará a educação tecnológica básica, a compreensão do significado da ciência, das letras e das artes; o processo histórico de transformação da sociedade e da cultura; a língua portuguesa como instrumento de comunicação, acesso ao conhecimento e exercício da cidadania;

[The high school curriculum will observe the provisions of Section I of this Chapter and the following guidelines: 8 I - will highlight basic technological education, understanding the meaning of science, letters and the arts; the historical process of transformation of society and culture; the Portuguese language as an instrument of communication, access to knowledge and the exercise of citizenship;]

This excerpt shows the relevance of Portuguese’s role in the large society and its irrefutable place in the educational system.

More explicitly, current Minister of Health, while Congressman, said the following about the provisional executive order 621/13, establishing the Program Mais Médicos, which aimed to bring foreign doctors to assist urban area populations in Brazil:

Mandetta: Senhor presidente, senhor relator, senhores pares, os senhores estão me ouvindo? Senhor presidente, eu pergunto a esta sala se os senhores estão me ouvindo (Presidente: Ouvindo bem.) Estão me entendendo? É porque eu estou falando na linha do que Caetano Veloso cantou, “minha pátria é minha língua”, há um legado da colonização portuguesa que colocou pra todos nós a língua portuguesa como um patrimônio dessa pátria, quando eu dispenso a língua portuguesa de documentos oficiais, eu estou virando as costas pra minha pátria, and do you know why, Mister President? Mister president, can you hear me? Mister president, are you understanding what I’m talking to you? Can you understand what I’m saying to you? I am asking you a question, if you don’t understand, how can I complain about something that is about our language, this law is disgusting, this law harms and brings all of us to a kind of people that doesn’t even have a language in your own country, what you are doing here is something that brings me the deep desire to get out of here. Cus I have a big concern about what you’re doing here and what are your interests in here, se no comprendes señor presidente, se no hablas la lengua de los gringos, tal vez empeze a compreederme en español, tal vez en algún lugar de su idea, en algún lugar de su vida, este país ha empezado a se construir como nación con la lengua portuguesa, a última flor do lácio, inculta e bela, é essa língua que vocês estão jogando na latrina do lixo, é essa língua que vocês tão entregando e falando “eu não preciso desta língua”, e quando chegar documentos em inglês pros senhores, os senhores leiam, quando chegar em cirílico pros senhores, os senhores leiam, quando chegar em hebraico, leiam da direita pra esquerda, e do fim pro começo, senão, não entenderão. É óbvio e ululante, que se a constituição brasileira é na língua portuguesa, se nós fomos educados na língua portuguesa, se nós aprendemos a ler e escrever na língua portuguesa, se nós exercemos o nosso mandato na língua portuguesa, nós não podemos abrir mão da língua portuguesa, a não ser que vocês queiram inaugurar uma nova fase em que todos serão políglotas e todos lerão tudo, talvez uma emenda de alguns de vocês colocando o esperanto como língua nacional e educar as crianças, os jovens, os idosos pra compreender o que muitos no Brasil não compreendem nem em português, vocês joguem na latrina e na lata do lixo a língua de Camões, de Castro Alves, de todos os poetas que ousaram escrevê-la na língua portuguesa.

[Mandetta: Mr. President, Mr. Rapporteur, gentlemen, are you listening to me? Mr President, I ask this room if you are listening to me (President: Listening well.) Do you understand me? It is because I am speaking in line with what Caetano Veloso sang, “my homeland is my language”, there is a legacy of Portuguese colonization that made Portuguese for all of us as a heritage of that homeland, when I dispense the Portuguese language with official documents , I’m turning my back on my homeland, and do you know why, Mister President? Mister president, can you hear me? Mister president, are you understanding what I’m talking to you? Can you understand what I’m saying to you? I am asking you a question, if you don’t understand, how can I complain about something that is about our language, this law is disgusting, this law harms and brings all of us to a kind of people that doesn’t even have a language in your own country, what you are doing here is something that brings me the deep desire to get out of here. Cus I have a big concern about what you’re doing here and what are your interests in here, if no comprendes señor presidente, if no hablas la lengua de los gringos, maybe make me compreederme

en español, maybe somewhere your idea, somewhere in your life, this country has started to build itself as a nation with the portuguese language, the last flower of the latium, uncultured and beautiful, it is this language that you are playing in the garbage pit, it is this language that you are delivering and saying “I don't need this language”, and when documents arrive in English for you, you read, when you arrive in Cyrillic for you, you read, when you arrive in Hebrew, read from right to left, and from end to beginning, otherwise they won't understand. It is obvious and ululating, that if the Brazilian constitution is in the Portuguese language, if we were educated in the Portuguese language, if we learn to read and write in the Portuguese language, if we exercise our mandate in the Portuguese language, we cannot give up the Portuguese language, unless you want to inaugurate a new phase in which everyone will be multilingual and everyone will read everything, perhaps an amendment by some of you making Esperanto the national language and educating children, young people, the elderly to understand what many in Brazil do not understand even in Portuguese, you throw the language of Camões, Castro Alves, of all the poets who dared to write it in the Portuguese language, in the latrine and in the trash can.]

Although the document establishes that foreign doctors must have knowledge of the Portuguese language, Mandetta portrayed the law as disgusting, because it represented a threat to the Portuguese language, patrimony of the nation. The politician spoke in Portuguese, English and Spanish (the two latter with latent interference of Portuguese) not to create a space for a rich multilingual repertoire, but rather to prove people do not understand when communication is not conducted in Portuguese. He mentions artists and poets to emphasize the importance of the national language and made reference to Portugal, by citing Camões and the colonial period, portraying the Portuguese language as a gift to Brazil that must be appreciated and stood alone. His comments also contribute to the commonplace idea represented by the ideologeme “Brazilians only speak Portuguese”, which is a reflection of the monoglot ideology that associates a nation to one language only, and therefore other languages, and in this case, speakers of other languages, represent a threat to the nation's unity. Furthermore, the policies' choices of words, such as “will observe”, “must”, “will highlight”, “mandatorily” etc. exposes the texts' normative character that, together with the politicians' speeches, form institutionally warranted discourses and facilitating conditions (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009) that has power to potentially influence society's climate of opinion on languages.

4.2.7 Foreign languages in Brazil mean English language

The choice of foreign/second languages, which the LDB policy makes mandatory, is not optioned by local communities, but rather by what it refers to as school community.

§ 5o Na parte diversificada do currículo será incluído, obrigatoriamente, a partir da quinta série, **o ensino de pelo menos uma língua estrangeira moderna, cuja escolha ficará a cargo da comunidade escolar**, dentro das possibilidades da instituição.

III – **será incluída uma língua estrangeira moderna, como disciplina obrigatória, escolhida pela comunidade escolar**, e uma segunda, em caráter optativo, dentro das disponibilidades da instituição.

[§ 5o In the diversified part of the curriculum, it will be mandatorily included, from the fifth grade, the teaching of at least one modern foreign language, the choice of which will be the responsibility of the school community, within the possibilities of the institution.

III - a modern foreign language will be included, as a mandatory subject, chosen by the school community, and a second one, optionally, within the availability of the institution.]

The LDB policy names the additional language as “modern foreign language”, which disagrees with the notion of a local community language that can be a hybrid dialect or Indigenous language very unique to the particular community. It also silences the local communities by placing the decision on whether language to study on the school community. The document do not define what a school community involves in terms of its members. However, the BNCC document makes it clear because refers to it more often and makes it possible to infer its meaning. Under “práticas de linguagem” and “campo da vida pública”, it sets the required ability that follows:

(EF01LP21) Escrever, em colaboração com os colegas e com a ajuda do professor, listas de regras e regulamentos que organizam a vida na comunidade escolar, dentre outros gêneros do campo da atuação cidadã, considerando a situação comunicativa e o tema/assunto do texto.

[Write, in collaboration with colleagues and with the help of the teacher, lists of rules and regulations that organize life in the school community, among other genres in the field of citizen activity, considering the communicative situation and the theme / subject of the text.]

The above excerpt makes it possible to infer that school community involve life how it is organized in the school environment. It belongs to the public realm and is composed by rules that teachers and students are able to list together (but not make together), which does not involve families or neighborhood agents.

In this sense, I argue that the addition of a language in the school curriculum, called “modern foreign languages”, is addressed to Brazilians whose language is Portuguese only, regardless of their ethnic background. In addition, the choice for the additional language is connected to the State’s subjectivities, since it is responsibility of the school community, instead of directly responding to the local communities’ aspirations,

Although the 1996 LDB policy did not explicitly define which foreign language school communities should choose, the PCN document, which was made in order to guide the curriculum choices, lists three reasons why foreign languages should be chosen. Historical, traditional, and related to local communities. Under the local community reason, it argues the existence of immigrant and indigenous communities, under traditional, the document argues the roles foreign languages had in Brazil’s cultural relations throughout history, and under the historical reason, the PCN argues that there are languages that stand out internationally at different times in History making their learning relevant. The document exemplifies the historical reason with the English language, as follows:

O caso típico é o papel representado pelo inglês, em função do poder e da influência da economia norte-americana. Essa influência cresceu ao longo deste século, principalmente a partir da Segunda Guerra Mundial, e atingiu seu apogeu na chamada sociedade globalizada e de alto nível tecnológico, em que alguns indivíduos vivem neste final do século. O inglês, hoje, é a língua mais usada no mundo dos negócios, e em alguns países, como Holanda, Suécia e Finlândia, seu domínio é praticamente universal nas universidades. É possível antever que, no futuro, outras línguas desempenhem esse papel.

[The typical case is the role played by the English, due to the power and influence of the American economy. This influence grew over this century, mainly after the Second World War, and reached its peak in the so-called globalized society with a high technological level, in which some individuals live at the end of the century. English is now the most widely used language in business, and in some countries, such as the Netherlands, Sweden and Finland, its dominance is practically universal in universities. It is possible to predict that other languages will play this role in the future.]

The PCN associates English to the U.S.’s powerful influence globally and especially in the business world. It uses European countries as examples of countries, in which English is used universally at higher Education. Therefore, even though there is a discourse that resists the European influence, it also continues to perceive it as reference.

The PCN document also reflects upon the hegemonic position English occupies in the globalized world. It argues the language is placed as the language of economic power, which makes it a threat to other languages and the holder of prestige. Nonetheless, learning it contributes to resisting its role. It says:

Nesse sentido, **a aprendizagem do inglês**, tendo em vista o seu papel hegemônico nas trocas internacionais, **desde que haja consciência crítica desse fato, pode colaborar na formulação de contra-discursos** em relação às desigualdades entre países e entre grupos sociais (homens e mulheres, brancos e negros, falantes de línguas hegemônicas e não-hegemônicas etc.). Assim, os indivíduos passam de meros consumidores passivos de cultura e de conhecimento a criadores ativos: o uso de uma Língua Estrangeira é uma forma de agir no mundo para transformá-lo.

[In this sense, learning English, in view of its hegemonic role in international exchanges, as long as there is critical awareness of this fact, can collaborate in the formulation of counter-discourses in relation to inequalities between countries and between social groups (men and women, white and black, speakers of hegemonic and non-hegemonic languages, etc.). Thus, individuals pass from mere passive consumers of culture and knowledge to active creators: the use of a Foreign Language is a way of acting in the world to transform it.] []

An aware learning of English, therefore, gives students tools for opposing its hegemonic role in causing inequality not only among countries, but also among social groups, including gender and ethnicity. Notwithstanding, under the general objective for a foreign language in basic education, the same policy explicitly states English is an appropriate language to be learned as foreign language by Brazilian students, using the same rationale the above excerpt criticizes. It says:

A educação em Língua Estrangeira na escola, contudo, pode indicar a relevância da aprendizagem de outras línguas para a vida dos alunos brasileiros. Uma língua estrangeira, e neste momento histórico particularmente o inglês, dá acesso à ciência e à tecnologia modernas, à comunicação intercultural, ao mundo dos negócios e a outros modos de se conceber a vida humana.

[Foreign language education at school, however, may indicate the relevance of learning other languages to the lives of Brazilian students. A foreign language, and in this historic moment particularly English, gives access to modern science and technology, intercultural communication, the business world and other ways of conceiving human life.]

English not only gives access to modern Science and technology, the business world, but also to intercultural communication. This description of English agrees with the principles and purposes of national Education, which aims, according to the LDB policy, “(...) o pleno desenvolvimento do educando, seu preparo para o exercício da

cidadania e sua qualificação para o trabalho.” (the full development of the student, his preparation for the exercise of citizenship and his qualification for work.).

English takes on the place of “foreign language” officially with the amendment of the LDB policy, from Law No 13.415, 2017. It adds:

§ 4º Os currículos do ensino médio incluirão, **obrigatoriamente, o estudo da língua inglesa** e poderão ofertar outras línguas estrangeiras, em caráter optativo, preferencialmente o espanhol, de acordo com a disponibilidade de oferta, locais e horários definidos pelos sistemas de ensino. [High school curricula will necessarily include the study of the English language and may offer other foreign languages, optionally, preferably Spanish, according to the availability of places, places and times defined by the education systems.]

It makes the teaching of English mandatory during the High School years, with the possibility of schools offering a second optional foreign language, preferably Spanish, according to institutions’ availability. This change downgraded Spanish due to its offer being optional. The BNCC policy, which guidelines were made mandatory through the same amendment, abandons the problematic term “foreign language”. The document argues the term has a Eurocentric bias and chooses to use the term “lingua franca” for approaching English. It says:

Em que pese as diferenças entre uma terminologia e outra, suas ênfases, pontos de contato e eventuais sobreposições, **o tratamento dado ao componente na BNCC prioriza o foco da função social e política do inglês e, nesse sentido, passa a tratá-la em seu status de língua franca.** O conceito não é novo e tem sido recontextualizado por teóricos do campo em estudos recentes que analisam os usos da língua inglesa no mundo contemporâneo. Nessa proposta, **a língua inglesa não é mais aquela do “estrangeiro”, oriundo de países hegemônicos, cujos falantes servem de modelo a ser seguido, nem tampouco trata-se de uma variante da língua inglesa.**

[In spite of the differences between one terminology and another, its emphases, points of contact and possible overlaps, the treatment given to the component at BNCC prioritizes the focus of the social and political function of English and, in this sense, starts to deal with it in its lingua franca status. The concept is not new and has been recontextualized by field theorists in recent studies that analyze the uses of the English language in the contemporary world. In this proposal, the English language is no longer that of the “foreigner”, coming from hegemonic countries, whose speakers serve as a model to be followed, nor is it a variant of the English language.]

The policy problematizes the term “foreign language” as a term suggestive of referring to languages of hegemonic countries and chooses the status of “lingua franca”, which in the document applies only to English. However, the term implies

separating English from specific countries and associating it to various speakers from different backgrounds. It says:

(...) o status de inglês como língua franca implica deslocá-la de um modelo ideal de falante, considerando a importância da cultura no ensino-aprendizagem da língua e buscando romper com aspectos relativos à “correção”, “precisão” e “proficiência” linguística. [the status of English as a lingua franca implies displacing it from an ideal speaker model, considering the importance of culture in teaching and learning the language and seeking to break with aspects related to linguistic “correctness”, “accuracy” and “proficiency”.]

The term “lingua franca”, thus, should drop expectations that include ideal speakers, correction, and proficiency. Nevertheless, likewise the term “foreign language”, “lingua franca” does not have any connection with local communities nor with local languages. Immigrants’ perspective is non-existent in the documents, which perceive them in different manners, including in ways stereotyped linked to national identity constructions (BLOMMAERT, 2006).

This commonsense idea that English should be the foreign language studied is portrayed throughout the texts; however, Refugees themselves have problematized its position in school curriculums. Refugees from Venezuela have shared their country’s educational system also favors English. In Rafaela’s point of view, Portuguese should be a subject in schools because of the countries proximity. She said:

(...) mas eu penso que sendo um país que tá perto de nós, era bom, claro que esse negócio faz de outro jeito, lá nós aprendemos inglês, mas agora que nós tá fora, nós pensamos, eles deviam colocar só português, né? Pelo menos pra falar “Oi”, era pra ter estudado mas não foi assim. Mas eu penso que seria bom ter.

[but I think that being a country that is close to us, it was good, of course this business does it in another way, there we learn English, but now that we are abroad, we think, they should put only Portuguese, right? At least to say “Oi”, it was to have studied but it wasn't like that. But I think it would be nice to have.]

She recognizes the usual practice is to study English as foreign language; however, she reconsiders her language-learning trajectory and, from the recent experiences, now believes Venezuelans should study only Portuguese as foreign language. Therefore, her living experience questions the idea of English as a “lingua franca” in the Latin American context, which among variety of languages, Portuguese and Spanish excels.

4.3 U.S. educational policies

While the Brazilian policies hardly account for immigrants in the country, the following policies have substantial portions dedicated directly to what the documents consider the needs of immigrant students.

4.3.1 Americans are English proficient

The policies under analysis also aim for a unified identity through the educational system. Although states have the autonomy to develop their own standards and assessment tests, for example, they need to respond to national established goals. According to the NCLB policy, the Teaching American History program has as its purpose to improve teachers' not only knowledge and understanding, but also appreciation of American history. It says:

The Teaching American History program supports student achievement by improving teachers' knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of American history. According to the most recent statistics from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in U.S. history, only 17 percent of fourth-graders, 14 percent of eighth-graders, and 11 percent of 12th-graders scored proficient on the assessment; further, more than half of 12th graders did not reach the basic level. The Teaching American History program helps increase students' knowledge of history by providing funds to school districts to design, implement and demonstrate effective, research-based professional development programs. The program is predicated on the idea that students who know and appreciate American history will be well-prepared to understand and exercise their civic rights and responsibilities.

The document brings the problem of most students not reaching the basic level on the assessment in U.S. history. According to the paragraph, students will be better citizens if they not only know, but also appreciate American history. Throughout the documents, it is possible to infer which students most probably fall into the high percentage of students not reaching the basic level, the ones not proficient in English. The NCLB also separates funds specifically for investing in American History. It says:

Funds should be used to: (1) carry out activities that promote the teaching of American history as an academic subject separate from social studies, and (2) develop, implement and strengthen programs that improve the quality of instruction and the quality of professional development and teacher education activities with respect to American history.

American history is a separate subject that should be strengthened to improve the quality of its teaching. The ESSA policy also brings about the concern about improving the quality of the teaching of American history. As follows:

the Secretary is authorized to carry out an American history and civics education program to improve— “(1) the quality of American history, civics, and government education by educating students about the history and principles of the Constitution of the United States, including the Bill of Rights; and “(2) the quality of the teaching of American history, civics, and government in elementary schools and secondary schools, including the teaching of traditional American history.

The paragraph mentions “history and principles of the Constitution of the United States” and “traditional American history” as subjects that must be under improvement. The renovation of approaching American history in order to contribute to the learning of disadvantaged students. The ESSA document says:

The purpose of this section is to promote new and existing evidence-based strategies to encourage innovative American history, civics and government, and geography instruction, learning strategies, and professional development activities and programs for teachers, principals, or other school leaders, particularly such instruction, strategies, activities, and programs that benefit low-income students and underserved populations.

An important element of unity that is of major concern in the policies under analysis is the English language. Among the main goals of the NCLB document is setting English as a priority in education. It “Sets English language proficiency as the objective”; “Establishes annual achievement objectives for limited English proficient students.”; “Requires reading and language arts assessments of children in English.”; “Requires that teachers be certified as English language proficient.” etc. Under “Qualification for teachers and paraprofessionals”, states must pursue the following:

States must develop plans with annual measurable objectives that will ensure that all teachers of core academic subjects are highly qualified, which means that they have state certification (which may be alternative state certification), hold a bachelor’s degree, and have demonstrated subject area competency. Core academic subjects include English, reading or language arts, mathematics, science, foreign languages, civics and government, economics, arts, history, and geography.

All teachers must be qualified, through certification, and be English proficient. The ESSA document, under English language proficiency standards, guides the following:

Each State plan shall demonstrate that the State has adopted English language proficiency standards that— “(i) are derived from the 4 recognized domains of speaking, listening, reading, and writing; “(ii) address the different proficiency levels of English learners; and “(iii) are aligned with the challenging State academic standards.

The term “English learners” in this document is a replacement for the term “Limited English proficient students” from the NCLB policy, but they address the same populations, students who need to learn English mainly because of their non-English speaking background.

Not only must students, mainly immigrant children, improve their language skills, but they also must be under constant evaluation for their progress. The ESSA policy, under “Assessments of English language proficiency”, states the following:

Each State plan shall demonstrate that local educational agencies in the State will provide for an annual assessment of English proficiency of all English learners in the schools served by the State educational agency.

Schools, therefore, must annually test students’ language proficiency according to each states’ defined standards. Immigrant students’ school knowledge can be assessed in a language other than English; however, there is limited time for this practice.

(...) provide for assessments (using tests in English) of reading or language arts of any student who has attended school in the United States (not including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico) for 3 or more consecutive school years, except that if the local educational agency determines, on a case-by-case individual basis, that academic assessments in another language or form would likely yield more accurate and reliable information on what such student knows and can do, the local educational agency may make a determination to assess such student in the appropriate language other than English for a period that does not exceed 2 additional consecutive years, provided that such student has not yet reached a level of English language proficiency sufficient to yield valid and reliable information on what such student knows and can do on tests (written in English) of reading or language arts;

Thus, the main goal should be proficiency in English. The EIEL policy provides the website where there is explanation for how the state of Iowa assesses students’ English proficiency. There are two assessments; one conducted for newcomers called “Screenener”, that identifies non-English proficient students and their needs, and another test called “Summative” managed annually, monitoring students’ progress in English language proficiency. Both assessment types are available for

students from Kindergarten to grades 9 through 12. Students are scored on a scale from 1-5 in each language domain (speaking, listening, reading, writing), and are classified as “progressing” when they score 1 or 2, “emerging” when scoring 3, and are considered “proficient” when they score 4 or 5.

Therefore, there is a manifest and committed attempt to assimilate immigrant students and their families linguistically. This attempt is in accordance with the president Donald Trump’s discourses. On a debate, during presidential campaigns, he said:

Reporter: You criticized governor Bush for speaking Spanish in his campaign, you said “you should really set an example by speaking English in the U.S.”. What’s wrong with speaking Spanish here?

Trump: Well, I think it’s wonderful and all, I do mean it to a large extent, we have a country where to assimilate, you have to speak English, and I think that where he was and the way it came out didn’t sound right to me, we have to have assimilation, to have a country, we have to have assimilation, I’m not the first one to say this, we’ve had many people over the years, many many years, saying the same thing, this is a country where we speak English, not Spanish.

There is a commonplace discourse in his speech that reinforces power and dominance (FOUCAULT, 1972) of English over Spanish. Newcomers need to assimilate by speaking English and, he emphasizes, not Spanish. He only emphasizes Spanish because it represents a threat to his idea of how many languages a nation can have, due to the large amount of speakers. Therefore, by dismissing the fact that a large number of American citizens speak Spanish as first language, he associates English as one of the main elements for what the American identity means. He tries to add traditional (turning into the past) voices to his speech in an attempt to validate his idea, generating a normative discourse both reflecting and reproducing discourse that maintain the society’s climate of opinion.

Associating the American identity to English is reflected throughout Congolese immigrants’ perceptions. Leo shared about his children:

L: Like, ok, my first born is a... when we came she was in sixth grade, right now she is in her first year in the university, she didn’t get that accent a hundred percent fully, she still has some interference, because she went to school in Kenya, there was an English program, she’s ok, the second born who is fifteen, that one is completely American. Completely, the other three apart from my first-born. I mean, when it comes to speaking, they are Americans.

Similar to the policies' requirements, Leo classifies her children's proficiency in English through their performance in different skills and additionally considers the lack of accent as definitive for being American. Therefore, in his view, even though his first-born is a student at a university, the other three children are completely American while the first is not fully, because she still has some interference from Swahili.

Therefore, "Americans speak English" is a proposition that values as fact and is accepted as such. It is the reproduction of the monoglot ideology, which associates each nation to one language. The association of English to the U.S. is presented as obvious and natural but it is the product of arbitrary imposition. Bourdieu (1977) argues that "Every established order tends to produce (to very different degrees and with very different means) the naturalization of its own arbitrariness" (p.164).

4.3.2 Immigrant students from a deficit perspective

Hadjistassou (2008) argues that there is a major assumption that correlates children from minority ethnic low-socioeconomic backgrounds, including Native American, African American and Latino, to low academic performance. The term "Limited English proficient" brought up in the NCLB policy is in itself problematic because of the word "limited" and was replaced by the term "English learners" in the ESSA policy. However, the students the terms comprise are mostly immigrant students, whose languages are not English. The NCLB act explains it as follows:

The number of limited English proficient children attending American schools has grown dramatically, **primarily because of immigration**, with state education agencies reporting that limited English enrollment rose from 2.1 million in the 1990-1991 academic year to more than 3.7 million in 1999-2000.

The excerpt highlights that the primary reason why American schools are full with limited English proficient students is immigration and that the number is growing. Those students are perceived as a group of students that do not achieve state standards, and therefore characterize U.S. education as worse than it should. Reforms are designed, then, to help immigrant students achieve the full potential

expected and achieved by native speakers. The NCLB act states those students are expected to meet the same standards other students are also required to meet. It says:

The Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students program assists school districts in teaching English to limited English proficient students and in helping these students meet the same challenging state standards required of all students.

All students mean the non-English proficient limited or non-immigrant (native) students whose standards are high. The policy itself brings up the association made between immigrant students and underachievers. It follows:

A congressionally mandated study found that these students receive lower grades, are judged by their teachers to have lower academic abilities, and score below their classmates on standardized tests of reading and math.

The policy mentions a study, which can be perceived as having an authoritative value, to justify the need to increase immigrant students' performances. In the following passage, the policy uses limited English proficient students and students with disabilities as interchangeable. It says under "Inclusion", "State assessments must provide for the participation of all students, including students with disabilities or limited English proficiency." The state EIEL policy, by explaining there should not be a connection between lack of English proficiency and Special Education services, shows such link exists and in the educational system. It says:

Lack of English proficiency does not, in and of itself, qualify a student for Special Education services. A student who lacks English language skills is different from an individual with a language disorder. A student from another culture may have learning styles and concepts of appropriate school and classroom behavior that, while they may differ from the American mainstream perception of the same, may be appropriate to that student's cultural background and experiences. In the course of normal second language acquisition, a student may not be able to perceive or pronounce certain sounds that do not exist in his or her first language, or that are not used in the same position. Normal sound patterns and interference from the first language may lead students to fail to discriminate sounds in the second language. This is not a cognitive, speech, or hearing disorder. In addition, a student may acquire oral and written skills in English at different rates. Oral fluency in English may not be an indication of the overall English language skills necessary for academic achievement.

The policy brings arguments from Linguistics that include discussion on language sounds and speech disorder, and differences in cultural expectations for behavior in the classroom, to explain why immigrant students might seem and sound they

qualify for Special Education services, when they often do not. The document, then, considers important to assess students' academic knowledge in their first languages, as follows:

EL academic experiences may vary greatly, partly dependent on their past opportunities to participate in academic endeavors in any language. Academic skills may be more appropriately assessed in the student's first language. If academic skills are assessed in English, it is important to remember that lack of English skills may influence the performance in content-area testing.

Although the EIEL policy recognizes lack of English skills may influence results in content-area testing, the Iowa Code definition of Limited English Proficient students mentioned by the same document reveals a discourse that explicitly considers that immigrant students fall behind educational expectations. It says:

Chapter 280, Section 280.4, of the Iowa Code defines a Limited English Proficient student as follows: "A student's background is in a language other than English, and the student's proficiency in English is such that the probability of the student's academic success in an English-only classroom is below that of an academically successful peer with an English language background.

This definition does not consider assessing students' academic knowledge in their languages, as discussed in the document, but correlates lack of English to academic failure. Certainly, the maxim "Limited English learners" belong to the realm of the unsaid, however, it is possible to infer its irrefutable truth value throughout the texts. According to Ruiz (1984), policies versing the education in the U.S. over the years have assumed that non-English speakers have a handicap needed fixing and that "this connection of non-English language heritage and bilingualism with social problems has become entrenched in popular thought" (p.7).

4.3.3 Ideal immigrants in the U.S. speak English

The EIEL policy recognizes the importance of immigrant students' languages, however, it sees those languages as bridges to acquiring proficiency in English. It says under General Considerations:

ELs need not give up their native language to learn a second language. On the contrary, the development and maintenance of skills and proficiency in the first language enhance acquisition of a second language. Compared to students who are not proficient in their native language, those who are native-language proficient will acquire English more efficiently and effectively and will learn to read sooner than their nonnative proficient peers.

Not only using a language orally, but also being proficient in the different skills strengthens the acquisition of English. The excerpt also compares immigrant students who are proficient in their languages and students who are not, positioning the first as more efficient when learning English, and therefore more ideal. The same document mentions studies that show students' background directly intervene in their learning of English.

It may take a long time for a student to learn English well enough to participate fully in an all-English-language mainstream classroom. Researchers have concluded that it may take from three to ten years to master sophisticated English in the four skill areas (listening, speaking, reading, writing) required for full participation and learning in an academic setting (Cummins, 1991; Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002). The amount of time will vary with each student's background, age, experience, and first-language literacy, as well as with the amount of support provided by school and parents.

Educational goals related to English is the achievement of "sophisticated English" in the four skills and the amount of time to reach it depends on among other things, first-language literacy. Students' success is also interdependent with the support they receive from school and from their parents. Parents, throughout the documents under analysis, have great responsibility in helping their children achieve proficiency in both their home languages and in English and are held responsible for their success or failure. Ideal immigrant students have, therefore, parents that make sure they are native language proficient, which will facilitate English language proficiency.

Solange, one of the Congolese women participants, assures her kids are proficient in French. However, she also makes sure to others their English is "perfect". She shared the following about a situation at school:

S: They (her children) speak French. Now, the first one, he can read French too and he speaks and reads English perfectly. When we go to apply for the school, the principle told us, "Do your sons speak English?" "Yes, they speak English. Because I say to you I have an accent, because I speak French, but my son is different than me, he is young, he can learn faster than me." But the principle was like "I'm not sure", but after one week, when I go pick up my son, he told me: "Oh, your son speaks English like us". I said "Yes, because he grew up here, it's different than me, I grew up in Africa before I came here, I have an accent but it's different with kids", every time he saw me he would say "oh, your kids speak English like us, like our kids!", I said "Yes, they grew up here". She said that to me and also to my husband.

Solange was very proud to share how happy the principle was for her kids speaking English “perfectly”. In Solange’s perception, she is older and will keep her accent, which means her English is not as good as her kids’ who are growing up in the U.S. and speak like American kids. In her narrative, the principle did not believe her at first and asking whether they spoke English was a requirement for accepting their application, however, with her insisting, in one week the kids proved to be as fluent as American kids were and as capable of studying at that school.

The ideal immigrant child will not only be English proficient, but they will also adjust socially and culturally. The EIEL policy, under age-appropriate placement, states the following:

EL should be placed in, or as close as possible within two years of, the grade in which other students of the same age are placed. Interactions with same-age peers encourage EL students to use oral English and to make social and cultural adjustments.

Age-appropriate placement is considered important because students have more possibilities of interactions that lead to practice of English and social and cultural adjustments. Therefore, students who are more successful in English proficiency accomplish not only progress in the language and content-area subjects, but also in adapting socially and culturally to the U.S. I argue that the main objective is the social and cultural adaptation because the same document refers to the English learned through interactions as bad English. It says:

It is important to note that the oral language needed for basic survival, while acquired relatively quickly (1 to 3 years), by itself is not sufficient for students to perform well in the classroom. Early acquisition of basic, predictable oral language—or even slang—may lead mainstream teachers to believe that an English learner is reasonably proficient in English. Yet, the student actually may not know enough English to fully participate academically in an English-medium mainstream classroom.

Oral language learned relatively quickly through interactions is considered basic and predictable and does not make students not even reasonably proficient in English. Being fluent in a language that makes use of slang, for example, does not equal knowing enough English to fully be part of a classroom, which uses the academic language. This excerpt shows that fluency in some varieties of English is not considered helpful in the classroom; on the contrary, it misleads teachers. This

reveals that it is the Standard English that serves the symbolic purpose of building the U.S.'s unifying identity, and not all varieties of English, represented by different communities. Thus, it reveals an underlying language ideology that positions the dominant variety not only as expected, but also as an acceptance requirement.

While honoring immigration and border officials, president Donald Trump said the following when inviting a Latino man to receive an award:

Trump: Thank you, thank you. Andrew, come here, I want to make you a question, come here, you're not nervous, are you? He speaks perfect English. Come here, I want to ask you about those 78 lives, he saved 78 people. So, how did you feel there were people in that trailer, there were a lot of trailers around. Please. He didn't know he was going to do this.

Trump tells the audience that the Latino border agent speaks “perfect English”, thus, he should not be nervous. This event portrays the idea that this particular official is an ideal immigrant because not only he saved so many lives, but he also is linguistically assimilated, according to Trump's prior comments. Therefore, this ideologeme “The ideal immigrant speaks English” found in policies and speeches is part of the climate of opinion in which immigrants and refugees are embedded when they arrive.

4.3.4 English improves immigrants' lives

The policies show a U.S. project of unifying the country through English; therefore, throughout the documents under analysis, states are mandated to make students achieve English proficiency. However, they also use terms such as “helping”, “assisting”, and “benefiting”, portraying an idea that the U.S is favoring immigrants. The NCLB act grants states and districts greater control in order to “benefit” limited English proficient students. It says:

Another hallmark of the new law is that, in exchange for greater accountability for results, states and school districts will have unprecedented flexibility in how they can use federal education funds. The intent is to put greater decision-making powers at the local and state levels where educators are most in touch with students' needs. Similarly, a result of the law's consolidation of bilingual education programs is to give states and districts greater control in planning programs to benefit all limited English proficient students.

The then new law gave states more autonomy in order to benefit immigrant students because, according to the text, those more localized institutions understand their needs. Under education of migratory children, two of the purposes described in the ESSA policy follows:

- 4) To help migratory children overcome educational disruption, cultural and language barriers, social isolation, various health-related problems, and other factors that inhibit the ability of such children to succeed in school. (5) To help migratory children benefit from State and local systemic reforms.

Migratory children means not only immigrant children but also students who move from one state to another in the country. The above excerpt illustrates the idea that students need help and the State offers it by providing beneficial reforms that prevent students from facing the listed problems that impede their success in school.

The ESSA policy, under English language acquisition, language enhancement, and academic achievement, brings as the first two of the purposes, the following:

- (1) to help ensure that English learners, including immigrant children and youth, attain English proficiency and develop high levels of academic achievement in English; “(2) to assist all English learners, including immigrant children and youth, to achieve at high levels in academic subjects so that all English learners can meet the same challenging State academic standards that all children are expected to meet;

Immigrant children need to reach certain expectations that involve English proficiency, but ‘hopefully’ are helped and assisted by the State, which aims to even immigrant students and “all students” performances. Under Subgrants to eligible entities, the ESSA states entities are eligible to receive funds under the following condition:

- A State educational agency may make a subgrant to an eligible entity from funds received by the agency under this subpart only if the entity agrees to expend the funds to improve the education of English learners by assisting the children to learn English and meet the challenging State academic standards.

Assisting immigrants to learn English means improving their education. There is an idea throughout the policies that the State provides progress to immigrants and better their lives. Under Activities by agencies experiencing substantial increases in immigrant children and youth, opportunities for immigrant children and youth include the following:

“(F) other instructional services that are designed to assist immigrant children and youth to achieve in elementary schools and secondary schools in the United States, such as programs of introduction to the educational system and civics education; and “(G) activities, coordinated with community-based organizations, institutions of higher education, private sector entities, or other entities with expertise in working with immigrants, to assist parents and families of immigrant children and youth by offering comprehensive community services.

The opportunities include assistance not only to immigrant students, but also to immigrant parents and children who can benefit from programs that instruct about the U.S.’s educational system and civics, as well as from community services.

President Donald Trump have brought up the same matter of the nation’s identity and made remarks about English, he said:

Trump: Well, I think that when you get down to it, we are a nation that speaks English, and I think that while we are in this nation we should be speaking English, that’s how assimilation takes, I mean, whether people like it or not, that’s how we assimilate, that’s how we go on to that next phase, the next stage, that’s how people who don’t speak English, I’m not only talking about Spanish, I’m talking about various parts of the world, that’s how they will become successful and do great so, I think it’s more appropriate to be speaking English.

Not only he understands English is the way to assimilation, but he also recognizes assimilation as progress. He also portrays the idea that English brings, not only to Americans but also all over the world, success. Therefore, conforming to the American identity and speaking English improves people’s lives as it represents evolution. The ideology of English as ‘lingua franca’ has been extensively discussed (PHILLIPSON, 1991; PENNYCOOK, 1994; BOYLE, 1997) and it appears in the Brazilian policies as the undoubtable foreign language that should be studied at schools. Therefore, Trump’s comments on how every nation benefits from learning English positions the language not only as main element of the U.S.’s identity, but also the most important language globally, and is part of a larger climate of opinion present in both host societies under analysis.

This commonsense idea that immigrants are in the U.S. to be bettered can be perceived in immigrants’ narratives about choosing to leave their countries and live in the U.S. Arnould shared:

I think the government has to have the immigrants because no one can live in this country to go live somewhere for no reason, as me I cannot say all Congolese, me, I came here because I saw in my country nothing in my opportunity, opportunity

to my life. Had been graduated but I cannot get job, so I have intelligence I have my diploma, but the government, the way they govern it was the good way to be a government to live with the people, our country have wars and that's why I left, I am going somewhere, I am going to learn how the people live, how we can make the life better, and one day I'll be back to my country. I want it.

Arnauld explains his decision to move to the U.S. is directly connected to his desire to pursue a better life. In his narrative, being in the U.S. is temporary because he wants to take the things he learned to improve his life back to Congo. He related a better life with having opportunities in the workplace and taking full advantage of his potential. However, Arnauld was not able to validate his diploma and chose to pursue his career again in the U.S., which means pursuing proficiency in English. He said:

A: That's my goal. And I think next year or the middle of this year I can be done and then I'm gonna get my major. Computer Science, you know? Because the teacher, if you go to the college, all teacher knows you are able to understand and to do everything they are gonna tell you to do because you went to school for English, you finished all your English levels. If you come to regular classes that means you have been successful with you ESL class. You have to be successful in ESL class before you go to the regular class, that's it.

Arnauld's goal is to finish English to start studying Computer Science. In his narrative, teachers need to be ascertain that students will understand their tasks. Students assure the teachers they are capable of doing their tasks by attending all ESL classes, finishing and being successful in all English levels. Therefore, in Arnauld's narrative, in order for the U.S. to better his life by providing a job in his area of expertise, he needs to take many steps that, in his perception, are English-related.

This illustrates how there is an "irrefutable truth" (ANGENOT, 1977) stating that success is granted in the U.S. to immigrants who are hard workers and willing to invest every step to learn English depicted not only in policy texts, but also in participants' policing practices. This idea relates directly to the American Dream ideology, defined by E.J. Johnson (2006, p. 20) as "the illusory idea that everyone in society has an equal opportunity to achieve economic success." The author found in media discourses that the metaphor is directly associated to a successful life and to the belief that English helps immigrants achieve this dream.

4.3.5 Parents' roles

One of the ways the ESSA policy states funds should be used, under National professional development project, is “to support strategies that strengthen and increase parent, family, and community member engagement in the education of English learners;” Therefore, parents, families and community members should be reached so they can be of active participation in English learners’ education processes. The EIEL policy states this action is necessary due to the increasing diversity of cultures encountered in classrooms. It says:

Our students are becoming more diverse in their cultures, languages, lifestyles, and socioeconomic levels. As a result, teachers and administrators are increasingly eager to find more effective ways to work with students and their parents to combat the low achievement and high dropout rates that plague our schools today. Realizing the importance of parent involvement in education, many schools recruit and encourage parents to become partners in learning.

Diversity of cultures, languages, lifestyles, and socioeconomic statuses is associated with low achievement and high dropout rates in schools. Teachers, administrators, and parents should therefore unite in the mission of combating these problems, which may be caused by diversity.

One of the purposes of Title III of NCLB is “to promote parental and community participation in language instruction educational programs for the parents and communities of limited English proficient children”, and in response to this guideline, the EIEL policy states the following:

The term parental involvement means the participation of parents in regular, two-way, and meaningful communications involving student academic learning and other school activities, including ensuring - (A) that parents play an integral role in assisting their child’s learning; (B) that parents are encouraged to be actively involved in their child’s education at school; (C) that parents are full partners in their child’s education and are included, as appropriate, in decision-making and on advisory committees to assist in the education of their child; (D) the carrying out of other activities, such as those described in section 1118.

A great deal is, therefore, expected from the parents and their responsibilities start, according to the EIEL document, with completing a survey that will classify their children as in need for special English training attention or not. It states:

The Home Language Survey should be completed by the parents or guardians of all new students in the district. Information gathered from the survey becomes part of the student’s permanent records and should be available to the student’s teachers.

The importance of the survey relies not only on the fact that it will define students' educational route, but also on the fact that its information will be part of students' permanent records, available to their teachers. The same document recognizes providing information on their children is a difficult step for parents. It says:

It is important to note that some parents may be reluctant to reveal that English is not their home language. Many times this reluctance is related to fear of negative consequences for their children or themselves. School personnel should make every effort to clearly explain the purpose of the questionnaire and to elicit accurate information. Parents may need reassurance that the information requested will be used to help make the best possible placement decisions for their children.

Parents might have gone through situations, mentioned in the documents, where teachers have judged their children as less intelligent due to their nonnative language background, and fear their responses to the questionnaire might place their children as under-achievers. This hesitation may be perceived in different ways. The EIEL policy recognizes parents of immigrants are oftentimes misunderstood, as follows:

Parents who come from lower socio-economic status, or who are members of a minority group, are sometimes thought of as being uncaring and uninterested in their children. We know, however, that this is not true. All parents and families have the same hopes and dreams for their children.

Instead of addressing the reasons why they are conceived as uninterested, the document gives an abstract and homogenizing explanation 'in favor' of the parents. Later on, the same document, under English language proficiency, there is the following statement:

Parents whose English proficiency is limited may find it difficult or intimidating to communicate with school staff or to help in school activities without Bilingual support from someone in the school or community. These parents can, of course, participate successfully and help their children at home. We must be sure that they receive information in the native language (available at www.transact.com) and that their efforts are welcomed and encouraged.

The policy recognizes limited English proficiency might be a barrier for parents to participate in school activities, but hold the belief they are able to help their children at home while providing a website for translation services.

The ESSA policy also brings the need for the parental involvement, under English language acquisition, language enhancement, and academic achievement. It says, "to promote parental, family, and community participation in language

instruction educational programs for the parents, families, and communities of English learners.” Therefore, there is investment not only in teaching English to immigrant students but also to their parents, families, and communities. The same document, among Authorized subgrantee activities, list the following activities:

“(6) Providing community participation programs, family literacy services, and parent and family outreach and training activities to English learners and their families— “(A) to improve the English language skills of English learners; and “(B) to assist parents and families in helping their children to improve their academic achievement and becoming active participants in the education of their children.

Therefore, immigrant students’ families are provided with, and expected to attend, training activities that will improve English learners’ language skills and will assist parents to help their children better their academic performance. However, while undertaking these challenging tasks, families are discouraged to engage in interpretation and translations unless it is through a professional.

Keep in mind that it is neither appropriate nor effective to use children (offspring, siblings, family members, children of friends) as interpreters. In fact, the Office of Civil Rights does not approve of this practice in the school context. Children lack maturity, background knowledge, and an understanding of the need and requirement for confidentiality. They should not be given the responsibility to inform and negotiate communication between home and school. School and parents need to communicate as adults through a capable adult interpreter.

The EIEL policy mentions the Office of Civil Rights disapproving of the practice to prohibit these types of interactions between home and school, therefore, families and school staff, unless done by an authorized interpreter. These demands might be too overwhelming for parents who might be themselves going through the process of being able to communicate in the country. The requirement of participation is also often contradictory in the documents. While the policies insist in parent involvement in the English learning process, they also demand that parents teach their languages at the academic level. The EIEL policy explains the following:

It is, therefore, neither useful nor practical, and in many ways counterproductive, to encourage parents of ELs to try to speak English with their children at home. Parents can provide much support in the native language and should be encouraged to speak and read (to the extent possible) to their children in any language that is comfortable for them to use. The school and parents together can plan for additional language-rich experiences for ELs in English, both in and out of school.

Therefore, parents are expected to help children achieve English proficiency, enhance native language proficiency as well, and plan with school additional language experiences.

Although parents should be included in their children's education, the policies set, especially from immigrant parents, unrealistic expectations. In the following chapters, I show how parents lack time to engage in social activities, even those for the nuclear family, some do not speak English and rely on family members and the neighbors they trust for translations and interpretations. I also show the complex reality, which is to manage the families' languages while trying to maintain a multilingual environment with the addition of English at the same time. English as a symbolic force representing the U.S.'s identity is one of the recurrent commonplace ideas circulating among the texts. This study shows other statements that function as truth values, including Brazil as monolingual, English as the dominant foreign language in Brazil, and immigrants' identities from a deficit perspective in The U.S. These commonsense ideas are produced by normative discourses that foment climates of opinions constituted by a set of naturalized cultural classifications that await refugees and immigrants. In the next chapter, I depict a scenario in order to demonstrate participants' struggles prior and after arrival in the host countries and show how these climates of opinions affect refugees' and immigrants' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries.

CHAPTER 5: IN SEARCH FOR DIGNITY – LANGUAGES AND HARSHENED REALITIES

Integration involves identity negotiations and identity is closely related to languages. The prior chapter described a portion of the climates of opinion that awaited participants. When immigrants and refugees arrive in a country, they are faced with a particular *Doxa*; a powerful set of implicit rules, which values are so imbricated in collective thought that they are seen as part of the natural world, therefore guiding how people behave and perceive realities Bourdieu (1977). They dive into a dense pool composed by established social agreements and dominant ideologies, which readily assimilate individuals from diverse backgrounds at some level. For example, the society has a definition of immigrants that carries a bulk of correlations that construct labels, which will be applied to the individual. Immigrants and refugees in this research enter the host countries in search for dignity and realize, while being readily assimilated, that search is an ongoing process. In this chapter, I analyze data related to the concept of *dignity*. I show in the data a set of unfolding practices that give a sense of dignity to refugees and immigrants. This sense, whether object of mental representation or manifest in concrete actions, is decisive in contributing to feeling satisfaction in the host countries. These events and processes involve languages (but not only) and I show the relationship progressively as I present the data.

Chapter 5 begins showing the journeys immigrants and refugees go through before entering the host country. I consider the narratives of their lives prior arrival important because not only these emerged constantly during data collection, but also because they illustrate events that might have an influence in how they struggle in the host countries. I move to show how languages are perceived by participants and the relationship there is between assimilative language policies and their perceptions.

Therefore, in Chapter 5, I attempt to depict a scenario illustrating the struggles participants go through in the process of adapting to the new context. I also

address how climates of opinion and ideologies are reflected in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries.

5.1 Events producing emigrants and refugees

Refugees and immigrants in this study fled from their countries of origin due to distinct reasons, but they are all related to a feeling of dignity loss. Some of them could not exercise their professions, they could not get education, and therefore could not imagine future identities, they could not freely express their discontent due to repression, some could not even have their basic needs fulfilled. At the clearest level of understanding (although very complex chain of events that lead to its existence), there is hunger. Not having basic needs not only pushed them out of their countries, but it left psychological marks that borders are not able to erase, and therefore those marks accompanied them in the host countries.

Most of the Congolese participants entered the U.S. as immigrants and not refugees, but I argue they are refugees in reality as they went through similar (or sometimes worse) situations, which forced them to find a way to leave Congo. Solange, for example, shares reality in Congo as follows:

S: When we came, we saw some differences, we started to understand, like this.. is no like we think about.. you know, in Africa sometimes you have to work very hard, before you find something to eat, but here it's nothing. Everybody can find something to eat. But in Africa, especially my country it's different, even if you work, you have to work very hard to find something to eat, here it's easy, even you don't work, they give food stamp, you can get food, but in my country you can't get this.

In the U.S., Solange realizes access to food does not always require a lot of effort. Her words resonate with Leo's description of his life back in Congo: "I sometimes share with them (*his kids*) like, 'you guys have opportunities I never had, you guys have everything. I don't remember the first time I had shoes on me. You guys, there are people who go nine days with no meal.'".

Some refugees have shared events linked to food scarcity that were turning moments in deciding it was time to flee. Daniela said:

D: Arroz e feijão, só eso. (*A filha*) não comia carne, ni pão. E nós tínhamos que decidir se ella comia, era só una comida, se era de manhã, se era de almoço, ou se era de janta. Ela pedia mas não podia, nós tínhamos que compartilhar sua comida.

E: Vocês perderam peso?

D: Ela perdió e eu também perdi muito peso. Eu vim também por isso, porque minha menina também um dia, ela deu... que chama? Ai, diós, lhe deu una diarreia, então era muito difícil, ela desidratou todinha, eu tocava sua boca e não tinha saliva, eu não sabia que fazer, eu llevé ela para posto de salud? Tinha água mas ela tava muito desidratada, precisava de soro. Quando chegamos lá, não tem nada. Só deram para ela, pegaram água, colocaram bicarbonato e limon e deram para ela tomar, porque não havia para colocar, ela foi recuperando, mas eu tenía que compreender de que era como que.. o morrer o vivir, eu tenía que esperar cualquiera de las dos cosas, sin fazer mais nada. Eu disse, “eu tenho que ir, porque não posso deixar que minha menina, aconteça alguna cosa com ella.”

[D: Rice and beans, that's all. She (The daughter) didn't eat meat or bread. And we had to decide if she ate, it was just food, if it was in the morning, if it was for lunch, or if it was for dinner. She asked but she couldn't, we had to share her food.

E: Did you lose weight?

D: She lost and I also lost a lot of weight. I came because of this too, because my girl also one day, she gave ... what is it? Oh, diós, she had diarrhea, so it was very difficult, she dehydrated all over, I touched her mouth and had no saliva, I didn't know what to do, would I take her to a health clinic? There was water but she was very dehydrated, she needed serum. When we get there, there's nothing. They just gave it to her, got water, put bicarbonate and lemonade and gave it to her, because there was nothing to put, she started to recover, but I had to understand what it was like... to die or to live, I had to wait anytime of things, without doing anything else. I said, "I have to go, because I can't let my girl, something happen to her."]

In this case, leaving was a matter of immediate survival. Even though Daniela was reluctant and scared to leave Venezuela and meet her husband in Brazil, this event gave her (or forced her to gain) the strength and courage she needed.

The following field note was taken during one of the first hosting and cultural events promoted by PMC with the refugees and it shows how food deprivation can reflect on their almost postural behavior.

Valentina (my daughter) and I are having a snack at the table during “children’s day” party at the NPO space. So, I am at this big table with all the refugee kids and the volunteer is here also. I noticed Valeria (who is sitting next to Valentina) looks uncomfortable and as she eats, she holds her paper plate with the snacks very close to her chest and watches everyone around. I ask the volunteer the reason why she was acting that way and she said: “Valeria is much better now, when she had just arrived, she would fight whoever came next to her food, now she just watches out”. I ask: “and why is that?” The volunteer answers: “because she didn’t have anything to eat there and the little she had, she probably had to fight for it”. (Field notes, October 14th, 2018)

Valeria had her third anniversary coming up that month and at that early age, she had to be conscious of her surroundings to protect her food from possible thieves. She looked very alert and it told us a lot about her prior situation.

In addition to not having enough to eat, participants shared that prior to their entrance to Brazil and to the U.S. they struggled with other needs including access to health, which was another recurrent theme. In Solange's words, in comparing both Congo and the U.S.:

S: Yeah the first thing, when you go to the hospital, here if you don't have money, if you go to emergency, they give you, they provide everything for you to feel better, and then they can ask you money after you are better. But in my country it's different. Money first. That's why some people die. If you don't have money, if I'm gonna die now, nobody can take care of you, you need money before you get treatment. This one is hard to.. I saw people die because of money.. some die in the hospital, in front of the hospital, but it can't get in, because it don't have money. People die. There's no justice in my country. I think many countries in Africa. Last time I watched on TV one woman, but she wanted to give birth, she had twins, but when she went to the hospital, they asked for money she said I don't have money. Nobody helped her and she died.

In her words, "there is no justice in my country". Solange, as many other Congolese in this community, watches the news about Congo regularly, and seeing images like the one she describes reinforces in her the reasons why she left Congo to try a new life in another country.

They also lacked job opportunities and complained they did not get fair paychecks when they found work. Solange shared this about Congo:

S: But like I said, here you can get food... also, here when you work, you get money because of your work, they pay, it's different from my country, like before I came here there was six months that I didn't receive my payment, six months yeah (*laugh*) my husband too. You know, you go to work and you don't receive your payment, sometimes all you can do to survive, it's different, here you can work, you get your payment.

Solange is comparing Congo to the U.S.. She talks about the times her husband did not get payment for his work with a sense of humor, using it to show its absurdity. They did not have a choice, and winning the lottery was the only hope they had to survive with dignity.

Government instability (or dictatorship) is another producer of refugees. Both Congolese and Venezuelans shared their frustration over their countries' government leaders. Venezuelans blamed Nicolás Maduro for their poverty, alleging they were a very rich country badly administered. Congolese blamed president at the time Joseph Kabila Kabange for ruling the country for too long and persecuting the people. Maths shared the following about Congo:

M: The government? Ahh, It's no good. It's no good because if you are ministry, you know? Or you are authority, you can do anything you like, anything, no justice, no police man, anything you want because you are ministry or president, it's no good. Government can harm people, yeah, the people can do a confusion, and the people, you know? Kill your brother because I have money to give you, kill your brother because I need this country, I need this state, only for me, only me. Kill your people, this is the orientation the government give over there, they give the guns to kill somebody.

Rilive echoes Maths' comments on how brutal Congo leaders are and she adds how political opinions cannot be expressed without retaliation. She shared:

R: The differences is that in Congo.. police in Congo is cutting the people's heads, the army.. sometimes in Congo, you see.. I don't like the president, example, "I don't like Trump", if I say that.. "I don't like police", or "I don't like military", in Congo, they kill you. Yeah.

Thus, individuals struggle with a lot and on top of that, they are not allowed to show frustration over government, military or police. For refugees from Venezuela the scenario is not very much different. I took a field note describing a conversation I had with Yoselin:

Estamos tendo uma refeição na mesa, em frente uma da outra e e ela começa a falar sobre os motivos pelos quais Yoselin deixou a Venezuela e por que escolheu o Brasil. Ela me diz que foi embora porque era jornalista e trabalhava nesse local em que o marido também trabalhava, ambos têm duas filhas que ela trouxe para o Brasil. Ela me disse que publicou algo contra o governo e começou a ser perseguida até pelo próprio marido, que é ativista em prol do presidente Maduro. Alguém em seu local de trabalho a aconselhou a deixar o país porque ela seria morta eventualmente. Ela então pegou seus dois filhos e fugiu. Ela fugiu do próprio marido principalmente por causa de suas opiniões políticas. (Nota em campo, 07 de julho de 2018)

[We are having a meal at the table, in front of each other and she starts talking about the reasons why Yoselin left Venezuela and why he chose Brazil. She tells me that she left because she was a journalist and worked in that place where her husband also worked, both have two daughters that she brought to Brazil. She told me that she published something against the government and began to be persecuted even by her husband, who is an activist on behalf of President Maduro.

Someone at her workplace advised her to leave the country because she would eventually be killed. She then took her two children and ran away. She ran away from her husband mainly because of her political views. (Field note, July 7, 2018)]

The main reason she left Venezuela was due to political persecution and the person who she perceived as a threat to her and her daughters was her co-worker and husband. The country, her workplace and her household were dangerous places for her and she decided to leave. José also shared his frustration over the government, and called Maduro “un puto”. I took the following field note:

José me falou que vendeu tudo que tinha em casa, incluindo equipamentos eletrônicos e móveis, para comer durante um mês. Ele falou que é culpa do presidente, que era “un puto” e que não queria deixar o poder. Perguntei se ele acreditava que havia fraude nas urnas, e ele falou que não, mas que o presidente colocava os militares para fiscalizar as votações, o que fazia com que as pessoas se sentissem coagidas a votar em Maduro. (Nota em campo, 29 de setembro de 2018).

[José told me that he sold everything he had at home, including electronic equipment and furniture, to eat for a month. He said that it is the president's fault, that he was “un puto” and that he did not want to leave power. I asked him if he believed there was fraud at the polls, and he said no, but that the president put the military to oversee the ballots, which made people feel coerced to vote for Maduro. (Field note, September 29, 2018).]

Therefore, search for freedom was also a propelling element that produced emigration of participants. Extreme situations, including hunger, lack of health assistance, and authoritarianism, forced participants to move. However, this movement in between countries also brought hardship events. Daniela shared:

D: Hasta a fronteira de aqui de Brasil? Nós vem de ônibus. Eu, minha filha e também com um senhor que Fernando pagou para ele para que trazer a nós para a casa da senhora. Mas ele deixou a nós na fronteira, porque nós não tinha el permiso para entrar no Brasil, porque quando eu fui ser.. fui ser “cola”, como chama aqui? (E: *o quê?*) D: É que vocês chamam aqui... é que você faz una columna (E: *uma fila?*)

D: Una fila, para esperar lo que quiera, eu iba a passar na porta, o menino falou “Não, você é para amanhã”. Ai, Diós, então o senhor falou “Eu vou embora”, aí eu disse, “Pode ir”, mas eu falava assim, “Você pode ir, se você quiser”, mas, pero eu tava así com muitas ganas de chorar, eu não sabia nada, donde estava, los militares brasileiros falavam e eu não entendia nada. Eles falavam e eu ficava assim... “Toda a gente tem que ir para fora”. Eu pensé que nós tínhamos possibilidades de ficar dentro, porque havia um todo e essas cosas, mas eles sacaram todos pela rua. Aí fiquei de sexta-feira de dos horas, ficamos todo esse tempo sin comer, sim, minha menina comeu um pouquinho, porque unas meninas fizeram cosas ruins pra conseguir dar comida para nosotros.

E: Coisas ruins?

D: Unas meninas, otras meninas. Porque elas chegaram quando eu tava chorando porque o rapaz foi embora, eu tava chorando também porque ele quitó todo meu dinheiro.

E: Roubou?

D: Algo assim, ele dizia que ele vá precisar dinheiro para pagar para nós, eu di todo dinheiro, eu confiei nele. Ele foi e não deixou nada para nós. E nós ficamos na rua, e eu não sabia o que dar para minha menina. Aí chegaram as meninas e dicen, “por que você tá chorando?”, eu disse, “Eu to chorando porque não tenho nada de dinheiro, ni comida para dar a minha menina. Então elas dicen: não chore não, nós vamos procurar.

E: Venezuelanas?

D: Sim, mas eu pensé que elas tinham dinheiro. Ai eu disse, “tá bom”. Elas dicen: bora conseguir um lugar, una rua, donde você possa ficar com su menina, que nós vamos sair procurar comida. Eu fiquei ali com três senhoras e um rapaz. Elas foram, não sei que fizeram, mas elas traxeram um pouquinho de comida para eu. Mas elas tiveram que dormir com lo rapaz que deram uma comida para ela. E tinha um rapaz que queria eu tomara algo que ele tava dando, e ele decia que eu tenía que ir para sua casa, dormir com ele, eu chorava tanto, porque não era para eu não, porque seria melhor, se estuviera sozinha? Fazia esto, porque hay muitas mulheres que chegam ali e não tem mente para pensar em outra cosa que no sea comer, o morar, mas eu dizia, no posso fazer, uno porque eu tenho minha menina, e dos que eu não sei donde estoy. Ele dizia que por allá estava su mulher, mas eu sabia que era mentira, ele dizia que eu era tonta porque ele tava dando uma oportunidade para eu e eu não queria.

[D: From the border to Brazil? We come by bus. Me, my daughter and also with a gentleman that Fernando paid for him to bring us to the lady's house. But he left us at the border, because we didn't have the permission to enter Brazil, because when I went to be ... I went to be "glue", what do you call it here? (E: what?) D: Is that what you call here ... is that you make a column (E: a row?) D: A row, to wait for what you want, I will pass the door, the boy said "No, you are for tomorrow". Oh, Diós, then you said "I'm leaving", then I said, "You can go", but I was like, "You can go, if you want", but, I was there with a lot of crying, I didn't know anything, where I was from, the Brazilian military spoke and I didn't understand anything. They spoke and I was like ... "Everyone has to go outside". I thought we had a chance to stay inside, because there was a whole and these things, but they all took them down the street. Then I stayed Friday night, we stayed all this time without eating, yes, my girl ate a little, because some girls did bad things to be able to give food to us.

E: Bad things?

D: One girls, other girls. Because they arrived when I was crying because the boy left, I was crying too because he cheated all my money.

E: Stole it?

D: Something like that, he said that he will need money to pay for us, I gave all the money, I trusted him. He went and left nothing for us. And we stayed on the street, and I didn't know what to give my girl. Then the girls arrived and said, “Why are you crying?”, I said, “I am crying because I have no money, no food to give my girl. Then they say: don't cry, we will look for it.

E: Venezuelans?

D: Yes, but I think they had money. Then I said, "Okay". They say: let's get a place, a street, where you can stay with your girl, that we are going out to look for food. I stayed there with three ladies and a boy. They went, I don't know what they did, but they brought me a little food. But they had to sleep with the boy who gave her some food. And there was a boy who wanted me to take something he was giving, and he decided that I had to go to his house, sleep with him, I cried so much, because it wasn't for me, why would it be better, if I were alone? I was doing this, because there are many women who arrive there and have no mind to think of something other than eating, living, but I said, I can't do it, because I have my girl, and I don't know where I am from . He said his wife was all over, but I knew it was

a lie, he said I was stupid because he was giving me an opportunity and I didn't want to.]

Although her husband made sure to pay someone to help Daniela and her daughter to cross the border to Brazil, Daniela had to go through stressful situations. Daniela also portrays an understanding of where the women were coming from and what drove their acts and said she would have done the same if she were all by herself. Therefore, narratives by women such as Yoselin and Daniela, illustrate how vulnerable they are and how women, in this war type situation, are explored, but also shows how they find ways to protect each other and survive.

5.2 Facing host countries' realities

As seen, not only refugees but also immigrants flee from harshened realities in search for better and dignified lives for them and for their children. Participants in this research had gone through all kinds of adversities before they entered the host countries. Being able to finally flee in search for different realities is challenging and at the same time comforting. Many plan and dream about the lives they will “restart” in the new cultures, others are pushed away to countries they did not expect they would ever live in. When they get to the U.S. and Brazil, they imagine how they will be received and the lives they will have based on what they have been exposed to about the target countries. In some cases, they create great expectations. In the case of the U.S. being the target country, there is a lot of expectation due to its linguistic and thereupon cultural influence globally. In Math's:

I think the problem is that Hollywood. That's the problem for Africa people. I think in the world. Many people watching American movie. When you watch it America movie [laughing] we think all we see in the movie it's real. I think. And when people know you come to America, they know you can see high building and the life is good. You can't see the homeless in the road. (...) In the movie we think the Hollywood movie tried to buy another idea of America.

Math portrays a common idea among Congolese immigrants who fall into believing in a Hollywood fairytale about the “American way of life” and they have shared

their frustration over the reality not meeting their former assumptions. Arnauld's words echo Math's idea, as follows:

A: So, I imagined the U.S. gonna be as the way I saw in the movie, that's funny but I have to say that, I thought the U.S. was gonna be as the way I saw in the movie, but the first time when I landed to this country, in Chicago, I saw everything was the same as my country, I came here and it's the same. The road was the same.

Arnauld pictured the U.S. as a Hollywood movie and was surprised when he realized it was not much different from Congo. He said the roads were the same, but later on, he shared how people are also the same, he said:

E: What else? More differences between the two countries?

A: Hum.. I think the world is not different, the world, but I mean, God, when God created this world, He hadn't make differences between Africa and America, because if you are in daily light, it's the same, if you are at night, the same too.

Therefore, in Arnauld's narratives of comparison, before arriving to the U.S., Hollywood served as an alluring tool. As E. J. Johnson (2006) affirms, the American Dream metaphor is an illusionary idea misleading immigrants into thinking that everyone has the same chances of accessing economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1991). The circulating idea that Hollywood movies reflect the reality of the U.S. was commonplace for Arnauld when he was in Congo and that influenced his expectations about how he was going to lead his life in the country. In addition, instead of depicting an idea close to reality, the movies helped build a greater distance between how he imagined the U.S., which influenced his imagining of his own future identity in the country (NORTON, 2013), and the reality he encountered in the U.S.

Petrolina's words echo this idea about Brazil. She had an idea of Brazil based on what she saw about the country on television, as follows:

E: Antes de você vir pra cá, você imaginava como era o Brasil?

P: Sim sim, porque é bem conhecido o carnaval do Brasil, as músicas, a roupa, por exemplo, na televisão via aquelas roupas bem sensuais, adorava isso, mas foi um impacto porque em boa vista não tem isso. Vinha com aquela ideia... "quero ver a roupa, quero ver roupa", cheguei e não tem aquela coisa linda não, então foi assim. Porque não é como a televisão mostra, o Brasil é tão grande, a televisão só mostra um pedacinho.

[E: Before you came here, did you imagine what Brazil was like?

P: Yes, yes, because the carnival in Brazil is well known, the songs, the clothes, for example, on television via those very sensual clothes, I loved it, but it was an impact because in good view it doesn't have that. It came with that idea ... "I want to see the clothes, I want to see clothes", I arrived and there is no such thing, so it was like that. Because it's not like television shows, Brazil is so big, television shows only a little bit.]

Television showed her an image of a sensual Brazil, a stereotype she soon found out did not represent the entire country, since she did not find that type of clothing in Boa Vista. She also realized the television was selling another idea of what Brazil really is.

Nonetheless, to live the life they were expecting to, many realize they need to work harder than they foresaw. One of the main goals they set for themselves is learning the host countries' languages. However, influenced by the climate of opinion on language proficiency, Congolese participants end up setting high, almost unapproachable, English standards for themselves.

5.2.1 Languages in immigrants and refugees' perceptions

Most participants in this research shared they did not speak the host countries' languages at the time of arrival and shared how challenging it was. Maths said:

E: Do you remember a situation when you came here and you didn't speak English?
M: So bad.. so bad, it's no good. Because sometimes, if you need something, you go to the Walmart, you can't buy because you don't know you don't know, all you can do.. for example the food, where is the food? Where is the banana? You don't know.. it's so difficult.

He shares how hard it was for him when he did not know how to ask simple questions. The simple task, which is to go to a grocery shopping, can be very arduous and troublesome. Thereza echoes Math's comments. She said:

T: In the beginning, it was difficult, it's very hard when you don't know a language, if I speak French to you and you don't know, something like that. If you don't know English you can't understand what people are talking about.

She shares how she struggled in the beginning not understanding of what people were speaking. The fact that English alone is prevalent in most domains of the society can also be a shock for Congolese immigrants. Thereza shared: "It's different, like here it's only English, in my country it's not English, many many

languages, when the people come here they don't know English, it's difficult (...)” Thereza is used to an environment where spaces are open for multilingual practices and finds it hard to communicate in a country perceived as monolingual. Nancy also listed this difference when asked to describe Congo. She said:

E: How would you describe your culture?

N: In America, they speak only one language, in Congo, we have many languages, we have four national languages and we have many small languages, many many, but here everybody speak only one language. We have differences in food, we don't eat the same food. They don't like to cook, they like fast food. Because they don't have time to cook, that's why. In my country, we cook and we eat at home, here people like to go to restaurants.

The way Nancy explains her culture resonates with how studies (GILMARTIN and MIGGE, 2015; MACÍAS-GÓMEZ-ESTERN, 2015) illuminate immigrants' use of narratives of comparison, specifically identification of difference, to make sense of their own identities. When asked about how she describes her culture, Nancy gives her impression of the U.S. and language practices are listed as her first observation. Nancy and Thereza claim the U.S. is monolingual, in contrast to the multilingual environment they were used to back in Congo. Although these conclusions reflect the great difference there is between the language repertoires of most Congolese and of most Americans, they also ignore the multilingual realities these women practice and the linguistic reality with which they are surrounded. Thereza's husband, for instance, is the interpreter at the Congolese church they attend and Nancy reported she has friends with a variety of language backgrounds, she said: “At school I have friends from China, the Sudan, Guinea, Kenya, Mexico”. The recurrent statement of the U.S. as monolingual, therefore, illustrates the power of the monoglot language ideology, identified in the official texts and speeches and reflected in the immigrants' living experiences.

Another important identification of difference besides difference in food was the Americans' relationship with time. In Congo, people have time to cook whereas in the U.S., they eat fast food because of the lack of time. Once again, the perception of Americans embedded in a time-oriented culture.

Marta shares one of the first experiences she had when she did not speak English and when found a job as soon as she arrived in the U.S., she said:

M: I worked in S., “You don’t speak English?” (...) she (*the costumer*) said, “the black lady, she’s not talking in English”, manager gives you job, you can work in here. She says “she’s coming working here”, (*the*) manager is listening and say, (*he*) called me, “you come working in this part”. It is hard, working, one day I go to work, my first day, I am quiet, I say to my husband “I come to work and I’m quiet”. (*The manager says:*) “You need to go to parking, you’re taking the carts, you close, you open”, and I’m quiet. “Now, you’re not talking English? I give you job and you not talking, you can’t work here” I say: sometimes, I understand. “I will tell the office you’re not working here”. “Ok, go tell him.” Before. it’s complicated. Now, it’s better.

Marta shares a situation in which she could understand what people were talking about, but could not express herself. She was working in a store and was hired, even though she claims she was not fluent in English. However, as soon as one costumer noticed Marta did not speak English, she called the manager, who put Marta to work in another sector, pushing the shopping carts at the parking lot. In her narrative, the manager got disappointed for giving her the job and receiving her silence in turn. Her narrative shows how the employer expected not only her to be able to communicate in English, but also expected her to be proficient even though she had just arrived in the U.S. She explained she understood the language sometimes, but understanding was not enough for her to keep that job. In her view, her situation improved since she now can express herself in the language. During classes, however, Marta constantly asked me to adjust the content of the class to her need at her job and shared her struggling with the language. This illustrates how normative discourses naturalizing English proficiency as mandatory even among newcomers impact immigrants’ social practices and determines locals’ expectations towards them. The ideal immigrant does not disappoint the employer who is benefiting her by providing a job, expecting English proficiency in return.

For Leo, integration goes hand in hand with communication and integrating to the U.S. requires primarily the speaking of English. He said:

L: You have to speak the language. That’s the integration, integration starts with communication. How will you integrate without communicating without knowing what’s going on? So, you have to communicate first of all. See?

E: So you think that English is important?

L: When in the U.S. yes. Very very important. Yeah, and that's why you find most of them uh.. we have another place we call... they drive for 25 minutes to an hour to go to this company where they don't need to speak English. They (*the company*) have Congolese, Spanish, all those people, they have interpreters there. (...) I know a woman who leaves at 5am and gets home at 5:30 or 6pm in the evening, very tired, exhausted. Will she or he have time to study English? That's not possible and at work she doesn't practice.

Leo works at the VNOC. He is a social worker who meets with Congolese families to monitor the neighborhood children's development. Although he speaks English, he is assigned with Congolese families because of his fluency in the languages from Congo. In his narrative, he understands the importance of English also through the observation of those families' difficulties. He mentions a woman who is not integrated because she works full time at a company where English fluency is not required and does not have time nor strength to study the language. Integration, in his narratives, is aligned with learning English that will allow better job opportunities. He shared:

L: At work they can practice, I mean they learn a little bit, but not the language that would help them to get a different job. They just stay like that. It's like the Spanish.. the Hispanic too. We have so many people.. I remember I have one guy who has been living here for more than fifteen years, he came to fix something in my house, he doesn't speak English. Whenever I wanted to communicate with him, I would talk to him and he would call his brother on the phone, I would talk to the brother, and then the brother would say: ok, hand him the phone. Because they have no time.

In his view, immigrants who learn only basic English stay stagnant because they do not have the tools to look for better jobs. He uses a Hispanic man as an example of a person who is not integrated because he depends on another person and on a cellphone to communicate. Leo's narratives, therefore, reflect the commonsense idea observed in official texts, which prescribes English as the way to success. Even though the Hispanic man in question have access to economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1991) and creates his own strategies for communication, he is perceived from a deficit point of view due to his lack of English proficiency (RUIZ, 1984).

Like Thereza and Nancy, Leo described the U.S. as a time-oriented country. He said, "There (in Congo) we have time to worship, people here I don't know, they are time-oriented". He observes that the same social practice, that of going to church

and worshiping God, has different meanings in both countries. The example he uses is powerful because it is related to his faith, as if time for Americans were more important than God, or even as if it were their God.

Abigail shared how being fluent in English allowed her husband to get a better job, she said:

A: I'm trying but I don't how to speak English haha

E: What? You speak so well.

A: Yes.. so he speaks more than me. It helps him to get a better job because when he started in T. it's where.. it's a big company, they do pork meat, when he started he was packing, you know? But one day, they met with the supervisor, he told him, "since you are speaking so well you can't do this, I have a better job in the office there, just go get there and I'll give you a job". He did. Now he's working in the office.

Abigail and her husband lived for fifteen years in South Africa, before they moved to the U.S., and English is one of the official languages of the country. Her husband's skills in English provided him with a better position at the company he works. In her narrative, the supervisor made clear that her husband could not be "packing" because he spoke English very well and gave him the opportunity to work at the office. Therefore, in her narrative, the boss perceived her husband as too good for the service because his fluency in English, therefore an ideal immigrant. English allowed him to work in a position that required more of the intellect than of the physical strength. Her narrative is powerful because it shows that the commonplace ideas identified in the policies' discourses, of "English as a pathway to success" and of "the ideal immigrant being English proficient", are so naturalized in the climate of opinion in the U.S. that are reflected not only in perceptions about languages, but also in social practices. However, Abigail herself is very insecure regarding her fluency in English. She sees her South African accent from a deficit perspective. She said:

A: He (*her husband*) does help lot of people. most of people here, they are really trying to speak, it's different from us who are coming from South Africa, someone who's coming from Congo, if he learns English, he will speak English better than us, like with a nice tone, American one. Us who are coming from South Africa we already have a South African tone, you know?

One of the reasons Abigail feels insecure is her accent. Even though she does not have the trouble of communicating, she feels she does not speak English as well as

other Congolese who are learning in the U.S. She portrays the idea that in order to speak well, she has to sound native-like. Her perception of her accent as negative reflects an underlying language ideology identified specifically in the EIEL policy. It is not enough to speak English to be accepted in the society, but the ideal immigrant is expected to use Standard English. This requirement in the policy reveals a regulating discourse reflected not only in Abigail's language perception, but also in her own self-esteem as a speaker of a different variety of English. Schnittker (2002) argues that the social context is a crucial concept for understanding self-esteem and language use. Therefore, the context-embedded policies produce normative discourses that in turn produce power, which in its symbolic form ascribes value to languages and varieties directly affecting social practices (FOUCAULT, 1976; BOURDIEU, 1990; LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009). Then, social practices can affect self-worth through the marginalizing and consequent devaluing of certain languages and varieties.

Although Portuguese and Spanish are regarded as similar languages, and this could portray the idea that Spanish speakers would have an easier experience when in contact with Portuguese speakers, most Venezuelans shared they struggled with the language in the beginning. Ramón said:

R: Foi muito ruim porque eu não compreendia nada, o português e espanhol é quase igual mas quando a pessoa fala é muito diferente, eu achei muito complicado, e aí quando cheguei à fronteira, ainda tinha uma sacolinha de dinheiro, eu troquei e deu cinco reais, aí comprei um pão, até chegar em Boa Vista. Mas foi muito complicado porque quando cheguei em Boa Vista, cheguei de meio dia, aí pela tarde já fui trabalhar com meu primo, ele vendia alhos na entrada do supermercado aí eu comecei a vender.

E: Vocês vendiam em que língua?

R: Português, eu só falava "alho, alho".

E: Como é em espanhol?

R: Ajo. Era muito complicado. "Obrigado" eu nunca tinha ouvido falar essa palavra, aí eu tinha que falar "obrigado, obrigado". Fui aprendendo, pero achei muito difícil.

[A: It was very bad because I didn't understand anything, Portuguese and Spanish are almost the same, but when the person speaks it is very different, I found it very complicated, and when I arrived at the border, I still had a little bag of money, I exchanged it and gave it five reais, then I bought a loaf of bread, until I arrived in Boa Vista. But it was very complicated because when I arrived in Boa Vista, I arrived at noon, then in the afternoon I went to work with my cousin, he sold garlic at the entrance to the supermarket and then I started selling it.

E: Did you sell in what language?

A: Portuguese, I only spoke "garlic, garlic".

E: How is it in Spanish?

A: Act. It was too complicated. “Thanks” I had never heard that word, so I had to say “thanks, thanks”. I was learning, but I found it very difficult.]

Ramón recognizes that the similarities between the two languages remain in their written forms. He could not understand anything but had to work immediately. In his narrative, he shares he had never heard of the word “obrigado” in Portuguese, in spite of the countries’ proximity. Rafaela described the feeling as follows: “Era difícil pra mim porque eu não entendia nada, você podia falar, eu ficava así, no limbo.” Rafaela felt like she was in a limbo when people talked to her because she could not understand anything.

Even though it has been two years since Loredana is in the country, difficulties with Portuguese sounds persist, she shared:

L: Foi, foi, porque nós lá, é que.. ni quando eu escutava así conhecia o idioma de você era o português, ni conhecia isso. Mas quando mina irmã veio e depois eu vim e tive que aprender, foi complicado, ainda acha complicado, né? Porque o sotaque para mi es muito complicado porque eu no sé, no sé, me dificulta muito na pronúncia. Enton, mas, eu penso que nada na vida que sea bom é fácil, tudo tem o seu processo, né? E o aprendizado, o conhecimento é bom, porém, vai dificultar, va ser dificultoso o processo, mas é.. eu lembro que quando empezé, nós temos uma coisa que as pessoas quando van a.. aprender outro idioma no tem, que es a necessidade, você tem que aprender porque si no você não acha um trabalho e eso se.. puxa que você tenha que aprender, né? O tem, o tem, si no, você tem que voltar e pronto e esquecer. Então, por exemplo, de nós, a que menos fala é eu (E: Daqui? Você acha?) É, eu acho, mina prima fala muito bem, Rafaela fala bem, meu esposo ele não fala muito, mas emos escutando unas cosas por aí, olhamos que o menino sabe. Eu era a que mais ele, por exemplo mina prima me fala que eu sou preguiçoso, eu sé, mas no pongo o suficiente empenho, esforço, para também eu aprender (E: Por que?) Ni sé, eu acho que também eu penso que es praticar, né? E as vezes, por exemplo, as vezes você não tem a vontade de ficar no caderno fazendo cosas.

[L: Yes, yes, because we were there, that .. not even when I listened, I knew the language of you was Portuguese, I didn’t even know that. But when my sister came and then I came and I had to learn, it was complicated, you still think it is complicated, right? Because the accent for me is very complicated because I don’t see it, it doesn’t make it very difficult to pronounce it. So, but, I think that nothing in life that is good is easy, everything has its process, right? And the learning, the knowledge is good, however, it will make it difficult, the process will be difficult, but it is ... I remember that when I grow up, we have something that people when they go to ... to learn another language, they have the need, you have to learn because if you don’t find a job and you just... you need to learn, right? It has it, it has it, itself, you have to go back and be ready and forget. So, for example, about us, the one who talks least is me (E: Hence? Do you think?) Yeah, I think, my cousin speaks very well, Rafaela speaks well, my husband does not speak much, but we listen to things around, we see that the boy knows. I was the one he most, for example mine cousin tells me that I am lazy, I am, but I don’t have enough effort, effort, so that I too can learn (E: Why?) I don’t know, I think I think too to practice, right? And sometimes, for example, sometimes you don’t want to be in

the notebook doing things.]

Loredana emphasizes the fact that learning Portuguese is *sine qua non* for finding work. She mentions the reason behind the effort to learn Portuguese, which is the necessity. She shares that learning is a necessary process, which is beneficial but hard and demanding. In her narrative, her cousin, who speaks better than she does, blames her for being lazy, and she justifies it by saying that she finds studying the written language with a notebook tiring.

E: E não tem brasileiro pra falar?

L: Isso é outra coisa que falo, porque não tem com quem eu falar o português, porque eu trabalho, mas eu sou muito calada no meu trabalho, eu não falo, não gosto porque o trabalho é muito puxado, se (*o gerente*) olha você falando um pouquinho... assim "limpa aqui", pra que você não fale, então o horário não dá pra eu falar com a pessoa que gosto.

[E: And there is no Brazilian to speak?

L: This is another thing I say, because there is no one to speak Portuguese with, because I work, but I am very quiet at my job, I do not speak, I do not like it because the work is very hard, if (the manager) look at you talking a little ... like "clean here", so that you don't talk, so the time is not enough for me to talk to the person I like.]

In her narrativa, Loredana does not see a way to practice Portuguese at her work. At the time of the interview, she was working at one of the American fast food restaurants in João Pessoa. The manager, according to her description, managed not only the restaurant, but also language in that particular domain. Spolsky (2012) argues that the workplace is a domain where participants play different social roles who share language agreements and understand who has more power to influence language use, which in this case it is usually the boss. Her narrative depicts an environment with a very restrictive language policy, where her boss not only establishes language policies, but also watches employees to make sure the policy is implemented, which prevents her from socializing with whom she identifies in whichever language, it be Spanish or Portuguese.

5.2.2 Reception of Venezuelans in Conde

A prominent theme that emerged in the data collection constantly was the reception of Venezuelan refugees in Conde. During my contact with them, either inside or outside the classroom, I could observe the excitement of the reception phenomenon.

The PMC's representatives were concerned with how refugees were going to be received due to the conflicts observed on the border and promoted society's awareness including on local television programs. Paulo shared:

E: E o que você tá achando da recepção dos paraibanos?

P: Até o momento tem sido boa, e gente tinha medo é...poderia desencadear algumas atitudes de xenofobia, nós tínhamos algum receio com isso porque sempre há medo do diferente, do desconhecido, mas as parcerias a gente também divulgou a importância da acolhida, desse gesto humanitário, até agora não tivemos nenhum problema, a gente diz até agora porque essas coisas podem se desencadear a qualquer momento, a gente sabe que esse medo do diferente está em cada um de nós, e a partir de falas de alguns, essa xenofobia pode ser suscitada, então a gente procura estar atento a isso, pra minimizar alguns conflitos e enfim, tentar seguir colaborando pra que eles encontrem oportunidades pra eles conseguirem reconstruir suas vidas e isso se dá através do trabalho, é a única coisa que eles querem né, possibilidade de trabalhar e reconstruir seus sonhos.

[E: And what do you think about the reception of the Paraíba?

P: So far it has been good, and we were afraid it is ... it could trigger some attitudes of xenophobia, we were afraid of that because there is always fear of the different, of the unknown, but the partnerships we also disclosed the importance of welcome, of this humanitarian gesture, until now we had no problem, we say until now because these things can be triggered at any time, we know that this fear of the different is in each one of us, and from the statements of some, this xenophobia can be aroused, so we try to be aware of it, to minimize some conflicts and, finally, try to continue collaborating so that they find opportunities for them to be able to rebuild their lives and this happens through work, it is the only thing that they want, right, the possibility of working and rebuilding their dreams.]

Paulo refers to the fear of the unknown that may cause xenophobia and how the PMC's representatives are aware of the possible conflicts that may arise due to estrangement from the locals. However, refugees' comments on the process were somewhat surprisingly positive. Maria da Guia shared:

M.G.: Quando eles saem e andam pela comunidade e vão na praia e começam a falar, teve um rapaz que disse ontem, "olha, quando eu tava no ônibus que comecei a falar, a pessoa chegou e me pediu um autógrafo porque eu falo diferente". Eu falei: "não, também já tá aumentando", mas foi uma forma de ele dizer que quando ele fala diferente, as pessoas "ah, você é daquele grupo de venezuelanos, como é lá?" e isso faz com que eles se sintam importantes. E da tragédia nasceu... eles tão conseguindo enxergar isso de outra forma, isso é bom pra eles, porque eles vão superando.

[MG: When they go out and walk around the community and go to the beach and start talking, there was a guy who said yesterday, "look, when I was on the bus that I started talking, the person arrived and asked me for an autograph because I speak differently". I said: "no, it's already increasing", but it was a way for him to say that when he speaks differently, people "oh, you are from that group of Venezuelans, how is it there?" and that makes them feel important. And tragedy was born ... they are able to see it in another way, this is good for them, because they are overcoming.]

Language is, therefore, a mark of difference among Venezuelan refugees who attract attention when they speak in public spaces in Conde. This attention, however, they perceive as positive and there is sense of being “celebrities” as they perceive Brazilians’ curiosity. Maria da Guia perceive their excitement mean they feel important and that helps them overcome tragedy. Soraya has shared a similar experience Maria da Guia observed. She said:

So: Fui ao supermercado, en el camino, la gente olhava admirando, e preguntan, “você é colombiano?” “No, soy venezolana”. E empieza e decir que viu em la televisión. As meninas querem namorar ele, quando ela ta na escola, todos os meninos ficam abraçando. Escola, supermercado, quando você sai, todo mundo fala: bienvenido. Muito melhor aqui do que Roraima. Em Venezuela, não é como muitas pessoas pensam, que todos son males, no, os venezuelanos são muy calorosos também, son muy buenas personas también. Mí pays acoleó muitas personas, acoleó chileno, peruano, uruguaio, chino, cubano, muitas pessoas acoleó mi pays. Há muitos brasileiros também, conheço um que prefere morar lá en Venezuela. Lá tem muitos brasileiros com comércio.

[So: I went to the supermarket, en el camino, people looked around admiringly, and asked, "Are you Colombian?" "No, I'm Venezuelan". And empire and decide that you saw on television. The girls want to date him, when she is at school, all the boys are hugging. School, supermarket, when you go out, everyone says: bienvenido. Much better here than Roraima. In Venezuela, it is not as many people think, that all are ills, however, Venezuelans are very warm too, they are very good people too. Mí pays acoleó many personas, Chilean acoleó, Peruvian, Uruguayan, chino, Cuban, many people acoleó mi pays. There are many Brazilians too, I know one who prefers to live there in Venezuela. There are many Brazilians with trade there.]

Soraya portrays the same attraction of the use of Spanish among locals. She also portrays how locals try to guess their nationality through associating Spanish to Latin American countries. The resorting to local television is reflected in Soraya’s comments also. She also compares Conde to Roraima and recognizes how she feels more welcome in Conde. Soraya uses narratives of comparison to enhance Venezuela’s welcoming character, which shows both her sense of being welcomed in the new context and locals’ enchantment with the newcomers. Daniela also shared how locals tend to guess to which nationality her Spanish belongs. She said: “As pessoas têm muita curiosidade. ‘Você é boliviana?’ ‘Não, a gente é da Venezuela’. ‘E aí? Vcs vão morar aqui ou estão só de férias’. Eu digo, ‘as duas coisas’. Ai ele, ‘Ah tá, muito legal, seja bem-vindo’.”

Ramón also shared how Spanish attracts locals, he said:

S: Em espanhol, todo mundo fica ouvindo nós. Quase todo mundo pergunta, todo canto que nós vamos e falamos, por exemplo, ontem saímos a praia tava um cara que tem as cadeiras, quando escutou nós falando perguntou na hora, “você são de onde?” “Somos venezuelanos”, “Tá aqui há quanto tempo?” “E aí? Você tão gostando daqui?” A mesma coisa que todo mundo pergunta, “De onde são?”, “Quanto tempo tem?”, “E aí? Tá gostando?” (risos). Sim, e todo mundo fala “seja bem-vindo”. Com certeza quero voltar pra visitar.

[S: In Spanish, everyone is listening to us. Almost everyone asks, every corner we go and talk to, for example, yesterday we left the beach there was a guy with the chairs, when he heard us talking he asked at the time, "where are you from?" "We are Venezuelans", "How long have you been here?" "What's up? Are you enjoying it here?" The same thing that everyone asks, "Where are they from?", "How much time do you have?", "So what? Do you like it?" (laughs). Yes, and everyone says "welcome". I definitely want to go back to visit.]

Ramón shared how having a different accent opens space for locals to engage in conversation. The interest is related to the origins of the immigrants and to their experience in the country. Both Daniela and Ramón feel they are living a temporary situation and Ramón shared he wants to return to visit after he is back in Venezuela. Rafaela also commented on how Spanish and her accent soon gets locals wondering her origin, she said:

E: E quando você sai na rua as pessoas têm alguma reação?

Sim, muito, quando eu saio com meus amigos, quando nós saímos a gente da rua fica olhando, quando a gente fala, eu falo assim, a gente nota meu acento, porque ainda não é melhorado meu acento. A gente sai e fala espanhol, aqui na casa é tudo em espanhol (...) Meu feedback é pouco, né? Meu acento não sei porque mas a gente nota que sou de fora, quando falo a gente, “Você não é de aqui?” Se eu falar três quatro palavras, a gente fala, “Você não é de aqui?”.

[E: And when you go out on the street do people have a reaction?

Yes, a lot, when I go out with my friends, when we go out, people look at the street, when we talk, I talk like this, we notice my accent, because my accent is still not improved. We go out and speak Spanish, here in the house everything is in Spanish (...) My feedback is little, right? My accent I don't know why but we notice that I am from outside, when I say to you, "Aren't you from here?" If I say three or four words, we say, "Aren't you from here?"]

Although the sudden curiosity upon listening to a different language signals Venezuelans are from outside, they did not portray feeling as outsiders, on the contrary, their identities as foreigners functions as an integrating force. Petrolina said:

P: Sempre me perguntam, “De onde é seu sotaque?” Porque trabalho também numa pousada, dois dias, na sexta e no sábado, e a maioria deles sempre pergunta, “De onde é seu sotaque?” (risos) “Da Venezuela”, e eles, “Ah, viajei pra Venezuela, fiquei muito tempo lá, morei lá, trabalhei lá..”

E: Você gosta quando perguntam ou não?

P: Sim, é bom porque são minhas raízes, não deixo elas não, porque são parte de mim.

[P: I am always asked, "Where is your accent from?" Because I also work at an inn, two days, on Friday and Saturday, and most of them always ask, "Where is your accent from?" (laughs) "From Venezuela", and they, "Ah, I traveled to Venezuela, I stayed there a long time, I lived there, worked there .."

E: Do you like it when you ask or not?

P: Yes, it is good because they are my roots, I do not leave them, because they are part of me.]

For Petrolina, being perceived as different is positive because it is a way she maintains her roots, which are part of her identity she does not want to lose. Although Paraíba has been receiving many immigrants lately, with an increase of Chinese stores owners and employees, for example, it has received much less immigrants than other states in Brazil, such as São Paulo and currently Roraima. Newcomers, identified by the way they sound mostly and not by the way they look, according to this study's data, are a pleasant change to the landscape and not an addition to a chaotic situation, which is how they feel they are perceived in Roraima, due to its crisis. The sense of being positively attracting is also related to the policies' discourses on migrants being contributors.

5.2.3 Facing (language) prejudice and xenophobia: languages, accents, and skin color

Although the Venezuelan participants had an initial phase of excitement over how welcomed they felt in Conde, compared to the struggles they were facing in Boa Vista, they also shared they faced a lot of discrimination both in Roraima and in Paraíba. Rafaela said:

Ra: A maioria sempre son bons, a maioria.. é estranho encontrar alguém que faz mala cara (na Paraíba), é melhor que Boa Vista. Em Boa Vista foi horrível, eu entrei uma vez num lugar, num restaurante, pra pedir emprego, e o senhor tava passando o chão, o chão? Pano de chão (E: humrum) e ele falou que eu saía de su restaurante, porque o restaurante... como se eu fosse um cachorro, e foi horrível, eu não gostava. Depois desso fiquei vendendo, eu trouxe umas coisas de Venezuela e fiquei vendendo meias, calças, coisas assim, até que saiu viagem pra cá. Aqui foi melhor, porque houve uma melhor recepção, a gente ajuda, né? Dá diária, em Boa Vista eu nunca fiz uma diária, e eu saía perguntando "a senhora tá precisando de diária?" E eu saía muito, caminhava muito.

[Ra: Most are always good, most ... it is strange to find someone who packs expensive bags (in Paraíba), it is better than Boa Vista. In Boa Vista it was horrible, I went to a place, a restaurant, to ask for a job, and were you passing the floor, the

floor? Ground cloth (E: humrum) and he said that I left his restaurant, because the restaurant ... as if I were a dog, and it was horrible, I didn't like it. After that I was selling, I brought some things from Venezuela and I was selling socks, pants, things like that, until the trip left here. It was better here, because there was a better reception, we help, right? It is daily, in Boa Vista I never did a daily, and I went out asking "do you need a daily?" And I went out a lot, walked a lot.]

Rafaela tells a situation in which she was treated without any respect when she was trying to find a job in Boa Vista. She then decided to work autonomously. Petrolina's comments echo Rafaela's view of Boa Vista. She shared:

E: Qual o lado negativo daqui?

P: Se você falasse Boa Vista, com certeza teria uma resposta, mas aqui não..

E: Boa Vista?

P: Lá foi assim, aquele medo que tem dos venezuelanos, que de certa forma tem razão porque tá chegando todo mundo, não limita pra ninguém, porque pra eles é uma emergência, e quando é emergência pode passar, e eles ficam assim, o que chamam, xenofobia.. então isso foi um pouco difícil, e se aproveitar das pessoas só porque veem naquela situação, então "Ah, vem cá limpa aqui que te dou dez reais".

[E: What's the downside here?

P: If you said Boa Vista, you would definitely have an answer, but not here ..

E: Boa Vista?

P: There it was, that fear of Venezuelans, which in a way is right because everyone is arriving, does not limit anyone, because for them it is an emergency, and when it is an emergency it can pass, and they stay like that, they call it, xenophobia ... so that was a little difficult, and taking advantage of people just because they see that situation, then "Ah, come here clean and I will give you ten reais".]

Petrolina shares the negative memories she has about Boa Vista and reveals how Venezuelan refugees were treated almost like slaves. She tries to justify some of the xenophobia by explaining how refugees keep entering the city without any limits (due to refugee protection international agreements), but also shares how hard it is to be there. Although most refugees from Venezuela have an agreement when it comes to how they faced xenophobia in Boa Vista and much less in Paraíba, Daniela shared an episode where she suffered explicit xenophobia in Paraíba:

D: Aqui tem muitas pessoas boas, nós conhecemos uma pessoa que diz: "O que você precisa? Bora pra praia, bora pra lagoa. Brasil tem xenofobia, mas aqui em Paraíba é muito pouco, tem em Boa vista porque tá pertinho da Venezuela. Mas aqui tem xenofobia. Tive um caso já, em janeiro ou fevereiro, não lembro bem. Eu levei minha documentação para ir para a ginecologista. Eu tava sentada chegou uma menina e disse, ela disse: "tem uma pessoa que é da Venezuela aqui, verdade?" Eu "sim, fale". Ela disse: "O que você tá fazendo aqui em Brasil?". Eu fiquei assim, porque não entendia, ela não especificou. Eu falei: "To aqui com minha família". Ela disse: "Brasil não tem trabalho pra gente quanto mais pra vocês." Eu fiquei... eu não falava nada. Ela disse: "Volta pra Venezuela, eu não to entendendo porque o Brasil não fecha a fronteira pra ninguém mais da Venezuela vir pra cá. O Brasil tá dando demais pra você!" Eu falei: "O que o Brasil tá dando pra mim? Eu pago

aluguel, água, luz, internet, pago tudo, não tá dando nada.” Ela disse: “Tá dando, porque tá deixando você entrar e você não pode vir aqui não”. Ninguém falava. Ela disse: “Volta com sua menina e seu marido. Fora do Brasil, você tá tirando nosso trabalho todinho. Depois veio uma menina e falou: “O que você tá falando para ela?” Uma menina brasileira ela. Ela é professora. “Não, to falando pra ela ir embora do Brasil que não tem nada que ficar aqui.” Ela (a professora) disse: “Você não tem que falar nada pra ela, porque você também é ser humano, o Brasil não tem preferência”, ela disse: “você cale sua boca que não to falando com você.” Eu fiquei assim.. a menina disse: “Mas você é uma grosseira, você tem que perguntar o que tá acontecendo, perguntar porque ela está aqui e não mandar ir embora.” (A mulher) “Cale sua boca que não to falando com você, se não vou bater em você”. Eu fiquei chorando, eu sempre dizia pra Ramón “O que vou fazer se algo acontecer?”. Ele dizia, “Não vai acontecer nada”. Mas depois as outras pessoas disseram, “Não chore não, ela que está doida, você é muito legal, seja bem-vinda aqui”, eles falaram tanto, que eu fiquei... tá bom, eu sei que o Brasil tem gente muito boa, mas eu fiquei mal. Foi muito difícil, eu não queria mais ir no posto de saúde.

[D: There are a lot of good people here, we know a person who says, “What do you need? Let's go to the beach, let's go to the lagoon. Brazil has xenophobia, but here in Paraíba it is very little, in Boa Vista because it is close to Venezuela. But here is xenophobia. I had an affair already, in January or February, I don't remember well. I took my documentation to go to the gynecologist. I was sitting, a girl came and said, she said: "there is a person from Venezuela here, right?" I "yes, speak". She said: "What are you doing here in Brazil?" I stayed like that, because I didn't understand, she didn't specify. I said: "I'm here with my family". She said: "Brazil has no work for us, much less for you." I stayed ... I didn't say anything. She said: “Go back to Venezuela, I don't understand why Brazil doesn't close the border for anyone else from Venezuela to come here. Brazil is giving too much to you! ” I said: “What is Brazil giving me? I pay rent, water, electricity, internet, I pay everything, it's not giving anything. ” She said: "It's okay, because I'm letting you in and you can't come here". Nobody spoke. She said: “Come back with your girl and her husband. Outside of Brazil, you are taking our work out. Then a girl came and said: "What are you saying to her?" A Brazilian girl she. She's a teacher. "No, I'm telling her to leave Brazil that she has nothing to stay here." She (the teacher) said: "You don't have to say anything to her, because you are also a human being, Brazil has no preference", she said: "you shut your mouth that I'm not talking to you." I was like this ... the girl said: "But you are a rude person, you have to ask what's going on, ask why she is here and don't tell her to leave." (The woman) "Shut up, I'm not talking to you, if I'm not going to hit you". I was crying, I always said to Ramón “What am I going to do if something happens?”. He said, "Nothing is going to happen." But then the other people said, "Don't cry, she is crazy, you are very nice, welcome here", they talked so much, that I was ... okay, I know that Brazil has a lot of people good, but I looked bad. It was very difficult, I didn't want to go to the health center anymore.]

The heated conversation revolved around the lack of jobs, border situation etc. Daniela narrates herself as very frightened and quiet, but not alone. She narrates she was defended by a woman, who was a teacher, who fought against the xenophobic woman for her. Even though many people comforted her when she was crying,

Daniela shared she got so sad with the situation that she did not want to go to the Clinic anymore. Therefore, being discriminated against functioned as a barrier in the integration process as she became afraid to go to that public space again.

The Congolese participants also shared how they went through discriminatory situations in the U.S. Arnauld like Daniela, also silenced. He said:

A: Here it's not like that. I told the world called sarcasm, here there is.. if they say you're African, they gonna do something like you ain't important to them, you ain't a person to them.. they do the thing, you ain't a person, that's not your country, when will you go back to your country?

E: Have you ever heard that?

A: Yes, I did. Yes I did.

E: What did you say?

A: I thought that was stupid, I cannot react for that, if I react, we all gonna be at the same level. You know? I went to school, have been graduated for Computer Sciences in 2009, have my education, have my... I cannot do everything *downstreet* as the people are doing, I cannot.

Arnauld shared there is sarcasm in the U.S., which can be used as a linguistic strategy for xenophobia. In Arnauld's narrative, he also chooses not to respond or react and uses his professional identity as a marker of his dignity and superiority in the situation.

López, Erwin, Binder and Chavez (2018) argue, under the scope of Critical Race Theory, that racism greatly exceeds individual acts and is present systematically and structurally in multiple levels of societies. Solange also narrates a discriminatory situation from when she had just arrived in the U.S. She shared:

E: Have you ever experienced it?

S: Yes, when we came here in 2012, the first church we went, it was in.. there was one family, the woman, the mom for this family, she was like, when she would sit in the chair, if we came with my husband and we sit there, she moved, she goes to another one. It's no good.. "why did she go away?" "do we stink?" Every day she did the same thing, and one day, because my second one he was a baby, very clear color, light very light, one they, she saw him, she didn't know he was mine, it was one white woman holding my baby, she comes "this baby is beautiful, let me hold him", I said "No, don't touch my baby, you don't like me, don't touch my baby". I said "Yes, because every time we come to church, if we sit on the same, near you, you go away. Why you don't like me and my husband? You cannot touch our baby".. she was like "Sorry, it's not like you think". I said "No, every time you leave our place, we come from Africa I know. But we are people like you, we are human like you", she was like, "sorry sorry" (I said:) "It's not one day, it was many days, every time you did that, we didn't feel good, and I'm surprised today you wanted to hold my baby, no you can't" I said "Because my baby is light, why you think he's from here, no, he's from Africa too, don't hold him" I said. She said "No, I'm so sorry".

Solange shares a situation in which she suffered prejudice for being from Africa. In her narrative, she portrays herself as a brave woman who stood up for her family. In her perception, the woman in question only complimented her baby and tried to hold it because of its fair skin, therefore she perceives the woman as not only xenophobic, but also racist. When she first moved to the U.S. and did not speak English, she also faced prejudice but this time due to her lack of fluency in English, as she shared:

S: Another thing, when we go the first time to the W. program in Illinois, they were asking about vaccination “Did your son get this vaccine?” I said “I know in French, if you speak to me in French I’ll understand, but if you speak to me in English...”. The lady was laughing.

E: Was she laughing at you?

S: Yeah, one time.. I read in French, she laughed. For that, I said nothing, because this time, one person said to us, “You know, this one is an official, the first time we came here people laughed at us because we don’t know how to speak English”, (I said:) “You don’t understand, they were making me angry” (the person said:) “Don’t be angry, don’t be mad even if they laugh, just watch them”.

In Solange’s narrative, she was laughed at because she did not speak English and because she asked to speak in French. This portrays the idea of an underachiever immigrant who can be laughed at because of her lack of English fluency. The fact that she was advised to control her anger by a person who had gone through the same, shows how that might be a recurrent situation. Like Daniela and Arnould, she reports she chose to stay quiet and that might have occurred because of their lack of confidence in the host country’s language. This was the case for Loredana, she did not to speak up in a situation she really wanted to express herself, because of her lack of confidence in Portuguese. She said:

L: É parecido um pouco (*espanhol e português*), mas o jeito, porque primeiro como falei, primeiro o que ajuda-nos é a necessidade, o que primeiro aprendi foi entender, posso entender o que você fala, mas às vezes não posso responder tudo que gostaria de falar pra você. Tive no trabalho uma dificuldade assim, eu tava nesse Mc Donald por um tempo pra arrumar outro pra eu ficar, ele (*chefe*) tava me chamando atenção pra uma coisa, eu quis falar e não pude. Eu penso agora que foi melhor, quando as pessoas tem coisas em su mente, queria falar pra ele que ele tava errado, ele tava me chamando atenção, porque na área onde ele tava não pode chamar atenção só a mim, mas de todos, e terminei chorando, eu deixei ele falar e depois fui ao banheiro, porque uno fica com raiva, mas hoje penso que foi o melhor, porque não dá..

E: Se fosse espanhol, você teria respondido?

L: Acho que teria feito ele entender meu ponto, mas penso que foi o melhor porque, eu por exemplo, fala que é melhor, às vezes.. a pessoa estando certo, você faz um mapa pra mostrar que ela tá errando mas ela não aceita, ele era uma pessoa assim.

[L: It is a bit similar (Spanish and Portuguese), but the way, because first as I said, first what helps us is the need, what I learned first was to understand, I can

understand what you say, but sometimes I cannot answer everything I would like to say to you. I had a hard time at work like this, I was at this Mc Donald's for a while to find another one for me to stay, he (boss) was calling me to something, I wanted to talk and I couldn't. I think now it was better, when people have things in mind, I wanted to tell him that he was wrong, he was calling my attention, because in the area where he was, he could not call attention to me, but to everyone, and I ended up crying, I let him talk and then I went to the bathroom, because one gets angry, but today I think it was the best, because I can't.

E: If it were Spanish, would you have answered?

L: I think it would have made him understand my point, but I think it was the best because, for example, I say that it is better, sometimes .. the person being right, you make a map to show that he is wrong but he does not accepted, he was such a person.]

In her narrative, if she had the chance to use Spanish, the story would have been different. However, in her perception, whether making her point or not would have not made any difference because the interlocutor was a type of person who does accept to be wrong and that made her feel better. Petrolina silenced instead of expressing herself freely but because she did not want to show her identity through her speech. She said:

P: O jeito de falar, de se comunicar com outras pessoas, de me expressar livremente, lá (em Boa Vista) não dava não, que se não iam se aproveitar de mim, eu tinha medo até de falar que era venezuelana, com medo de que alguém quisesse se aproveitar.

[P: The way of speaking, of communicating with other people, of expressing myself freely, there (in Boa Vista) it was impossible, that if they would not take advantage of me, I was afraid to even say that I was Venezuelan, afraid that someone wanted to take advantage of.]

Petrolina did not to speak, so people would not recognize and take advantage of the fact that she was a refugee from Venezuela. She did not feel free to express herself and to communicate with other people either in Spanish or in Portuguese, because using the latter could also reveal her accent, and therefore her identity. This portrays the monoglot language ideology that assigns not only languages to nationalities, but also accents. Additionally, it shows how there is a systematic marginalization through the silencing of immigrants' and refugees' voices during the adapting process. Although in the narratives, immigrants report they are choosing themselves to silence, they are adapting to a new habitus (BOURDIEU, 1991) in which expectations of what it means to be a refugee or an immigrant are embedded in discourses that demeans them.

Maths, on the other hand, did not share any situation that happened to him, but his own observations on the society structure that he perceives as racist. He said:

M: I have good consideration for the people in America. Sometimes, I see the difference, the black people and the white people, I don't know, I look at the families and I see wife white, husband white, so it's rarely I see wife white and husband black, I don't see that, I don't see that.

E: Why do you think it's like this?

M: It's difference, I don't like. Yeah, you know in my country, U.S. is very good for the, you know discrimination?

E: Yes

M: In my country I think the United States the big justice, the best integrity, the best everything, when I see sometimes the difference between black people and white I don't like. I see that and I'm confused, I can say if I study too I can't find the job because maybe the job boss is a white man.

E: Do you think it can be difficult?

M: I don't know.. I think the white people are good people maybe the black people, I don't know, I think the black people abuse, I can give you my consideration, my confidence, if you abuse, you know I'm tired, you took my confidence you can keep that, I don't like.. I don't know maybe the white people are bad people. You know Bangala street? There are many people, many black people, so rarely I see the white people over there, so I say "why?". Many people I see over there are black people. Where I live I see only white people, not too many black people. I think they separate the neighborhoods, I'm so sorry about that.

E: No, you can say anything, don't worry!

M: It's no good, it's no good. Because I'm afraid, everybody white, only me black? Why? You know, if I see that black people over there, it's ok because everybody take the confidence, because I see black people over there, I see white people there. I feel better when everybody is mixed together, it's good. I don't see that here, teacher last semester only white teacher, this semester, only white teacher, I don't see a black teacher.

He did not expect to encounter so much segregation. He shares that he does not understand how the country he perceived back on Congo as just to present this characteristic. He observes neighborhoods and families that all members have the same skin color, either white or black. He feels insecure where he lives because he is the only one who is black. He shares he would feel better if people were more mixed. My following field note portrays a situation that echoes his observation.

My family was invited by Marta to spend Christmas at her house with her family and friends. We went there and it was very nice, but one thing caught my attention at the moment we got there. We live in the same complex building, so we just crossed the street and were there. As we approached her apartment, we saw some kids outside that I hadn't met. As soon as they saw me, one of them asked "what are you doing here?", to which I answered: "I am Marta's friend, I came to spend Christmas with her", as soon as I answered, the kid went running inside shouting "There is a white woman here, there is a white woman here". I do not identify myself as a white person, but of course my skin is lighter and that's how he perceived me. But for me, his words and expressions showed having a white person there is rare. (Field note, December 26th, 2018)

The fact that my husband, my daughter, and I were the only non-black persons in her house tells a lot about how the kid felt when he saw us. He did not expect and was not used to seeing white people in the events of his parents' friends' homes. As Maths shared, mostly black people lived in the neighborhood I lived in, and mainly from Congo. African Americans also lived there but on the last building of the complex, closer to the highway. However, among Africans and Americans, most of my neighbors were black. Abigail lived on the building next to mine. When asked about whether she improved her fluency in English by talking to people, she said:

E: Did you improve at school or talking to people?

A: Not really, because I would say talking to people, here we are like only us, it's like we are in Africa, where am I going to practice? It's really difficult for some people to speak English because they are going to speak English, when he or she comes back home, we go back to Africa, it's difficult to speak English.

Abigail's comments echo Math's observations. She shares how she feels African people are isolated in the community and do not have any opportunity to practice English by conversing with English speakers. Another episode that I was able to capture was the grappling of the gate in one of the neighborhood churches that follows:

Figure 1 xenophobic vandalism



The act of vandalism reveals a circulating idea that Africans are inferior, depicted as animals. As I talked to the people I knew from the community about this episode, the church leaders and the Center's staff, they all talked about how things got worse

since Trump was elected and how that was not something I would have seen before. However, it shows the neighborhood is composed mostly by Africans and it shows that there are racist people that might feel more empowered to express their racism and xenophobia, but it is probably not something that came about only because of a change in government. Therefore, it also supports Math's observation on the neighborhood in question. These feelings of being segregated is connected to E. J. Johnson (2006) argument about how U.S.'s language debates' underpinning ideologies illustrate schools used as tools to isolate and position immigrants speakers of minority languages into the margin.

In the same neighborhood block, however, I also found the sign that follows:

Figure 2 Neighborhood sign



The sign above became popular when in 2015 pastor Mathew Bucher from a small town in Shenandoah, Virginia, made a wooden sign with the phrase in Figure in the three languages, Spanish, English and Arabic. He felt inspired to do so after watching a presidential debate and hearing a rhetoric against immigrants. His town, Harrisonburg, has a large Latino community and a growing population of refugees, which about half come from Iraq, thus the choice of languages. The person or group who put up the sign probably disagrees with sending Africans home and is

welcoming of immigrants. However, the sign do not represent Congolese immigrants who are largely present in River Street.

For Adrienne, there is favoritism among minority groups because of the skin color. She shared:

Ad: Dans notre pays, tout le monde parlent français, tout le monde parlent lingala. Les américains sont racistes, meme si au travaille, tu connais T? Il y a beaucoup de gens qui sont les Spanish, tu est la, tu ne parle, des Spanish viennent demander quelque chose, tu dit tu est de Brésil, ils refusent, ne voient toi, ils préfèrent les Spanish, parce que il y a beaucoup de gens qui dirigent qui sont les Spanish. Beaucoup de racisme, T food, il y a beaucoup de racisme. Mais il y a partout, il y a du racisme des américains, des Spanish. Si le Spanish est blanche, ils vont privilégier.

[Ad: In our country, everyone speaks French, everyone speaks Lingala. Americans are racist, even if at work, do you know T? There are a lot of people who are Spanish, you're here, you don't speak, Spanish people come to ask for something, you say you're from Brazil, they refuse, don't see you, they prefer Spanish, because there are many people who run who are Spanish. Lots of racism, T food, there is a lot of racism. But there is everywhere, there is racism from the Americans, from the Spanish. If the Spanish is white, they will prefer.]

In her narrative, there is favoritism in the U.S. based on languages spoken by potential employees, contrary to her perception of Congo, where everybody speaks the same languages and therefore has the same chances. She also points out that there is racism among minority groups; Hispanics prefer to hire other Hispanics rather than Africans. She also pointed out racism is everywhere and how whites are privileged. Hence, for her, languages and color of the skin can define who has more chances to get into the job market. Garcia, Lopéz, and Vélez (2018) argue that “small gains in racial justice are achieved if they overlap with the interest of whites” (p.151). Her narrative shows the idea that an ideal immigrant not only speaks English, but is also white. Her comments also show the tension that exists in the U.S. among not only Americans and immigrants, but also among minority groups.

The ideal immigrant narrative was one of the naturalized propositions found in the policies in Chapter 4. This idea, together with others such as “The U.S. is monolingual”, shows how normative discourses in official texts are powerful enough to affect not only participants’ language perceptions, but also their living experiences. In chapter 6, I address the type of language policy I chose to call “integrating language policy”, which is created informally and spontaneously,

serving purposes that include the resistance to “assimilating language policies” impositions and discourses.

CHAPTER 6: INTEGRATING LANGUAGE POLICIES – CREATING, NEGOTIATING, AND INTERPRETING LANGUAGE POLICIES AND PRACTICES

In this chapter, I present analysis of data related to language policies that affect adult immigrants and refugees' processes of integration the most. I deal with the question regarding the types of language policies involved in immigrants' and refugees' integration process, language learning, and social practices.

The policies addressed in this chapter are unofficial, but they are a concomitant result of immigrants and refugees' search for belonging. They are part of immigrants and refugees' routines, therefore, day-by-day language impositions, choices, and decisions. Educational policies have a powerful effect on immigrant families' language use and an assimilating impact on adult immigrants' adaptation process, but while children's language repertoires are directly affected by these policies, I argue adult immigrants are most affected by informal language policies created from the ground due to adapting circumstances. The following policies, therefore, aim integration.

6.1 Integrating language policies

Language policies that suppress or encourage immigrants and refugees' language use must be examined in order to better attain an understanding of the integration process. I present here language policies that most affect and are an intrinsic aspect of participants' social integration experiences. Also, looking at language policies that affect immigrant adults means understanding the creation and interpretation of language policies that are usually informal and always relevant in the daily lives of community members.

Participants are submitted to, create and interpret various language policies. Language policies that affected immigrants and refugees include family, community and neighborhood language policies, interpreters, translations (in churches, schools, workplaces etc.), and language classes at the centers (although they complained about not having much time to attend).

6.1.1 Creating language policies in the families: role of mothers

Spolsky (2012) says that the family domain is critical because, to understand family language policy, researchers need to unravel the changing levels of commitment to learning the dominant language as well as to keeping the multilingual realities. Each individual in this research present varying levels of commitment when it comes to maintaining their native languages, as they have different goals and perceive languages differently. There are additional complex factors regarding these immigrants and refugees' efforts to both keep their language repertoires and incorporate host languages. In the case of the Congolese participants, they are multilingual, meaning they use about four languages (different for each families) within their nuclear family only. Congolese immigrants have languages, in the plural, which makes their language choices even more complex. Regarding the Venezuelan participants, complexity arises due to the perceived similarity between Spanish and Portuguese, which can facilitate assimilation, once the host community might ignore the necessity for Spanish language services.

Another important aspect of these families' language policies is that not only are they influenced by other domains but also by other mothers in the community. In Solange's narratives, she explains how she tries to interfere in Marta's use of languages and how she shows herself and her kids as models:

S: I told Marta, "no no". Most of the time she speaks English with her kids. I see that yes, one time I asked her, "Why are you speaking English? They have to keep speaking French. Also, when they grow after school, if they speak two languages or three languages, they can find a job. It's easy for them." But she says, "Oh, when I talk to them in French it's understandable why I speak English. It helps to learn." I say, "We are different, I'm like, learn English too, I use YouTube or some reading, but with my kids, I speak French." They speak French, now the first one, he can read French too. And he speaks and reads English perfectly.

Sallabank (2012) argues that gender issues, women's practices and attitudes are essential for language maintenance. Solange believes her kids should be able to use French fluently and makes it a language policy in her family. She finds other ways to learn English so that she does not depend on her kids to practice it and advises Marta to do the same. She imagines identities for their children's futures (multilingual

and able to get good jobs), she knows she has an important role in building those identities, and knows the importance of language maintenance in the process. Solange was a teacher in Congo and she not only demands her kids to speak French, but she also teaches other skills such as reading.

Marta manages her kids' language use differently. The eldest is the only one who was born in Congo and he speaks Lingala. She speaks Lingala with him, and he responds to her in Lingala as well. The middle child who is four years old speaks English at home, although she understands French. Marta uses French and English with her, and she responds to both languages in English only, and although it makes Marta upset (mainly because she wants her to be able to speak to her family back in Congo), she allows it because it is how she has the most access to the host language. Her youngest kid, who is under two years old, speaks a few words in French, such as "attendez" and "de l'eau". Marta speaks to her mainly in French but also uses English. To her husband, she speaks Tshiluba.

M: Yes, I need learning English with my kids. Now, I'm talking English with my kids and my kids are forgetting how to talk in Lingala and French. They teach you English but they forget Lingala.. They forget Lingala, French.. I don't like it. ... Like [the middle child], you talk to [her] in French, [She] not talking in French. She is listening. She understands but no talking, only listening and talking English.
E: What about your husband?

M: My husband no speaking English, no. Sometimes I have a problem. "Marta, can you talk to her?" You can go only to Marta, for writing, for talking... My husband likes talking to me in Tshiluba, not French. French is for the kids. Kids French or Lingala. [The middle child] is not talking Tshiluba is not talking Lingala.[The youngest] is not talking in Lingala, only [the oldest] is talking Lingala, is listening the French, is talking not too much in French.

Solanges' narratives show that English is not only dominant, but also erasing the other languages at Marta's home. However, Marta's family language policy is much more complex. Spolsky (2012) argues that "the home language choice is influenced by the sociolinguistic ecology inside and outside the home and by the parents' beliefs about the best strategy." English is a complex and conflicting addition to the variety of uses she established in her house. Participants play different roles based on the different languages they use. The husband keeps the language of his tribe alive. The oldest kid does the same with the "lingua franca" of Congo. The use of French is carried out by the relationship between the mother and the youngest child who is

still learning how to speak. Finally, the middle child helps Marta learn the dominant language. Of course, this is only what happens between the mother and the other significant participants. They choose languages differently, for example, the two older kids speak English to each other and English to the youngest, possibly influenced by school practices and policies. The addition of English is conflicting because, although it is an opportunity for Marta to learn it, it also means that her children are missing the opportunity to learn Congolese languages. Besides, her husband's communication with the middle child is limited once he does not speak English and Marta plays the role of an interpreter helping him at home and in other matters.

Therefore, although Marta's strategy to both keep Congolese languages alive and add English to her language repertoire works (even though fragmented; each member uses different languages), her decisions regarding language use are connected to the climate of opinion in which she is embedded. Spolsky (2012) argues that "where there is explicit language management inside the home, we can assume that it is to be accounted for by some belief or ideology on the part of the manager that comes from outside (...) encouraging members of the family to assimilate into a new culture." (p.25). Marta is aware of her language choices in her home and even though she does not try to control the sociolinguistic environment by attempting to be absolute, she manages it by speaking to each kid using a different language. I argue it is a type of explicit language policy, however it is influenced by outside forces. Her own workplace explicitly requires her use of English, and that alone is a force affecting her family language practices. External forces, nonetheless, also play an important role in maintaining those languages (SPOLSKY, 2012). For example, language policies that occur in the other families in the community, the influence they have on each other (such as Solange's advices to Marta) and language policies created among these families.

Marta influences her family's language repertoires and maintain her native languages use through speaking a different language to diverse members of her family. Soraya's strategies to keep Spanish alive in her household are different. She

reserves different schedules during the day for the practice of both Spanish and Portuguese. Her girls go to a public school and are fluent in Portuguese. Soraya became worried her children would forget Spanish and established they must speak Spanish every day during the evenings, after her husband comes home from work. During the rest of the day, they are expected to speak Portuguese. Even though Soraya claims she also speaks Portuguese during that time, I have observed otherwise. Follows a field note I took during one of our encounters.

Soraya passou o dia falando com as meninas em espanhol, e mesmo quando ela não fala, ou seja, só expressa o que deseja por meio do olhar, as meninas respondem em espanhol. As meninas são fluentes nas duas línguas por igual, ao meu ver, e falam com a mãe em espanhol e com brasileiros em português com a mesma facilidade. (Nota em campo, 13 de dezembro, 2019)

[Soraya spent the day talking to the girls in Spanish, and even when she doesn't speak, that is, she only expresses what she wants by looking, the girls respond in Spanish. The girls are equally fluent in both languages, in my opinion, and speak with their mother in Spanish and with Brazilians in Portuguese just as easily. (Field note, December 13, 2019)]

Although I made that note on the kids' fluency in both languages, Soraya is worried the girls are making mistakes in Spanish, therefore she makes sure her kids practice the language not only among the family members, but she also looks for different strategies. She found an app for learning different languages, the same app Marta also uses to learn English, and she makes her kids study Spanish on her cellphone. She explicitly regulates language use among her daughters.

In Leo's perspective, parents should teach their languages to the kids once there is only English at school. He said:

L: I mean, being in the US, and English is the only language taught at school, maybe parents are the ones who are supposed to learn English as well. Yeah, and learn English and keep talking to the kids in their preferred language. Not English. Because I want my kids to keep their identities.

[L: I mean, being in the US, and English is the only language taught at school, maybe parents are the ones who are supposed to learn English as well. Yeah, and learn English and keep talking to the kids in their preferred language. Not English. Because I want my kids to keep their identities.]

He associates English language to being American, and therefore he associates speaking his native languages to being Congolese. He makes sure his kids keep their Congolese identities by demanding they must speak Swahili. He shared:

L: Cus I have, my last one is eight, when we came she was only one and some months, she has difficulties speaking Swahili. But she understands, she communicates. Sometimes she comes to me and says, "Daddy, you know what?" "Guess what?" and then I just change (*to Swahili*), "Yeah, talk to me" and when she starts talking to me in English, "Hummm, I don't understand." "Daddy come on?" "Tell me in Swahili please, tell me what you want to say in Swahili." When she goes in English, I say, "No, tell me what you want to say in Swahili." Oh, she can struggle sometimes but end up telling me what she wants to say, because kids unless we try to push, they really really like, I mean they like to going with the current situation, I mean being here for almost seven years. Yeah, she's more fluent in English than in Swahili. She feels free talking in English than in Swahili. So, I have to keep reminding her.

In Leo's narrative, he uses two strategies to manage his child's language use when speaking to him. He pretends he only understands if she speaks to him in Swahili, but at the same time, he also demands more firmly, saying, "No, tell me what you want to say in Swahili." He claims imposing his native language in order to keep their cultural identity is hard because kids "like to go with the current situation"; everybody at school speaks English and she prefers to speak English. Therefore, he has to keep reminding her by pushing Swahili. Leo also has a desire to return some day to Congo with his family and that feeling also encourages him to maintain Swahili alive. He said:

L: Culture, there is when there is a conflict, because you have to remind them of who they are and who they are... "Yes, you are American, but you have this origin," and you have to keep reminding them, "Don't be so American, because you have an origin where you came from and one day, we will go back there. And we should communicate with the people."

E: Do they speak?

L: Yeah, I make sure they speak Swahili, because at least everybody when we go home, everybody, even not my family members will talk and communicate.

E: French no?

L: Not really, French they wouldn't, they have to go to school for it, and French is so difficult, it's not like English.

E: Swahili is easier?

L: Swahili is easier. Yeah,

E: And they speak Swahili and English?

L: Yes, and now my daughter who is at the university now, she wants to take some Spanish. She speaks some Spanish.

Although Leo considers his children American, he wants them to comprehend they are also Congolese and speaking Swahili not only keeps their identity alive but also enables their return to Congo where they should be able to communicate with family members and friends. Leo went to the U.S. as refugee and his background includes many difficulties, French being an institutional language does not represent his

culture and community in Congo. Pennycook (2010) argues that language use is an agentive act and “a semiotic restructuring as a claim to a particular identity” (p. 70). The way he manages his family’s language use is mainly connected to his cultural identity and social capital. Spanish appears as a “foreign language” that does not represent a threat to their identities and therefore its mention is not problem-related.

Solange also sees the addition of Spanish as an unproblematic “foreign language”, even though related to their new realities. One of our encounters resulted in the field note that follows:

Mesmo quando os pais forçam os filhos pra falarem a língua que eles desejam, seja por investimento ou pela questão da identidade, eles trazem as línguas que desejam para dentro de casa. Eles me mostraram a comida deles, makaiabu, que é o bacalhau com peanut butter e caterpillar, fica como se fosse uma pasta, o fufu que sempre tem, outra com quiabo que é o vegetal que eles gostam muito, mas aí um falou: “minha mãe falou que se a gente comer a janta hoje toda, amanhã ela vai fazer burrito pra gente”. E um deles falou que queria aprender espanhol. Então a empolgação pela comida mexicana e também o desejo de aprender espanhol, fora as línguas que já falam, achei interessante. E Solange ouviu os meninos como quem estava gostando.

[Even when parents force their children to speak the language they want, whether for investment or for the sake of identity, they bring the languages they want into the home. They showed me their food, makaiabu, which is cod with peanut butter and caterpillar, it looks like a paste, the fufu they always have, another with okra, which is the vegetable they like a lot, but then one said: “ my mother said that if we eat dinner today, tomorrow she will make burrito for us ”. And one of them said that he wanted to learn Spanish. So the excitement for Mexican food and also the desire to learn Spanish, apart from the languages they already speak, I found it interesting. And Solange heard the boys like he was enjoying it.] (Field note, September 8th, 2017)

Spolsky (2012) argues that “external domains enter the home by changing values assigned to language and varieties.” Therefore, although English is dominant (together with French) in the children’s language repertoires, Spanish is influential enough to also enter the houses. Some participants have shared they listen to Spanish at work more than they listen to English. Besides, Spanish signs surround this community, as will be presented soon.

Daniela and her husband Ramón influence their family language use. In Ramón’s narrative, the family members speak Spanish all the time.

E: Qual a língua que vocês usam aqui com a filha de vocês?

R: Espanhol.

E: Espanhol o tempo todo?

R: Todo tempo falando espanhol.

E: Quando ela for pra escola vocês pretendem continuar falando espanhol?

R: Português.

E: Quando ela for pra escola?

R: Sim.

E: Por quê?

R: Porque pra que ela aprenda mais, sim, aprenda português, agora porque lá, eu falo uma coisa e ela não compreende, ela sim fala algumas coisas, eu por exemplo, quando vou falar alguma coisa pra ela, eu falo português em algumas situações.

[E: What language do you use here with your daughter?

A: Spanish.

E: Spanish all the time?

A: All the time speaking Spanish.

E: When she goes to school do you intend to continue speaking Spanish?

A: Portuguese.

E: When she goes to school?

A: Yes.

It's because?

R: Because for her to learn more, yes, learn Portuguese, now because there, I say something and she doesn't understand, she does say some things, for example, when I'm going to say something to her, I speak Portuguese in some situations.]

In Ramón's narrative, he speaks Portuguese only in some circumstances. He noticed that when he speaks Portuguese, his daughter who does not go to school yet, does not comprehend. His plan is to speak only Portuguese as soon as she goes to school so she can learn. However, Ramón leaves for work early in the morning and goes back home in the evening and has one day off. Daniela, who stays all day with her daughter, perceives their family's language choices differently. She said:

E: Com sua filha vocês falam que língua?

D: Os dois. Porque quando ela fala algumas coisas, falo "também se fala mamãe", "também se fala assim". Passo o dia com ela e falo mais espanhol. Fernando fala português, eu digo: "É que você ama português." Porque ele chega contando o que aconteceu, mas ele só fala português, eu fico olhando e digo: "Por que você só fala português?" "Ah, porque eu esqueci." "Você não tem que esquecer, fale espanhol agora!" Eu digo: "Fale português com as pessoas, mas em casa, você tem que falar espanhol!" Ele diz: "Só um pouquinho mulher, fique tranquila, fique calma!" E então eu digo: "Fale espanhol agora!"

E: E sua filha?

D: Ela fala já português, fala "papai", "mamãe", "bora", "segura", "pega ali", "deixa ali", "oxe."

[E: What language do you speak with your daughter?

From both. Because when she says something, I say "you also say mommy", "you also say it like that". I spend the day with her and speak more Spanish. Fernando speaks Portuguese, I say: "It's just that you love Portuguese." Because he arrives telling what happened, but he only speaks Portuguese, I look and say: "Why do you only speak Portuguese?" "Ah, because I forgot." "You don't have to forget, speak Spanish now!" I say: "Speak Portuguese to people, but at home, you have to speak Spanish!" He says: "Just a little woman, be calm, be calm!" And then I say, "Speak Spanish now!"

E: And your daughter?

D: She already speaks Portuguese, she says "daddy", "mommy", "bora", "safe", "take it there", "leave it there", "oxe."]

In Daniela's perception, her daughter speaks Portuguese, she exemplifies with some vocabulary that includes a regional expression, "Oxe". However, she finds it important to keep speaking Spanish and demands that from her husband who brings Portuguese home from work. In her narrative, she uses imposing expressions, such as "fale espanhol agora" (speak Spanish now) and "mas em casa, você tem que falar espanhol" (but at home, you must speak Spanish) in order to establish Spanish as the language that must be used by the family. Her narrative corresponds to a discussion they had at the end of Ramón's interview:

(*Ramón em relação à Daniela*): Não, é porque ela quando fala errado, ela fica com raiva de mim, porque eu falo "Amor, é assim," ela tá acostumada a falar a palavra "eles" "ellos", aí eu digo, "Amor, é 'eles'". Aí ela: "Que tu queres saber más que eu", e eu falo "Pra que você tem mais aprendizagem."

E: Vem cá, quando ele falou "amor", tu achou ruim (*ela havia feito uma careta pra ele na hora*), ele não fala "amor" não, é?

D: Ele quando vai falar, não fala assim não.

R: Eu sempre falo "amor" pra ela, não falo desse jeito quando ela fala errado.

D: Ele diz, "não se fala assim não, se fala assim."

(*Ramón in relation to Daniela*): No, it's because when she speaks wrong, she gets angry with me, because I say "Honey, it's like that," she is used to saying the word "they" "ellos", then I I say, "Honey, it's 'them'". Then she said: "It's because you want to know more than me", and I say "So that you have more learning opportunities."

E: When he said "honey", you thought it was bad (*she made a face at him at the time*), he doesn't say "honey", does he?

D: When speaks, he doesn't speak like that.

A: I always say "honey" to her, I don't say it that way when she says it wrong.

D: He says, "you don't talk like that, you talk like that."]

This episode agrees with Daniela's narrative and shows there is tension regarding which language to use in the household. Daniela spends the day with her daughter at home and practices Portuguese with friends and neighbors. However, she finds important to maintain Spanish at home and demands that from her husband who thinks otherwise. It also shows Daniela's persistent character and her important role in keeping Spanish alive in the family. Although Ramón corrects Daniela's Portuguese and influences the family language use, he does not require that his family members speak Portuguese as Daniela does with Spanish.

King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) argue that “public discourse regarding (‘good’ or ‘bad’) parenting thus also potentially influences parental beliefs and practices.” Ramón conforms to the idea that the family should speak Portuguese because they are in Brazil, probably due to his own responsibilities at his workplace, involving language comprehension. However, the parents who are more committed to establishing family language policies, mainly mothers, seem to be producing a response to the climate of opinion and an attempt to resist the sole influence of the dominant languages in the household.

6.1.2 Creating language policies in the community: role of fluent women

Abigail’s family became responsible for helping the community with translations and interpretations since her family speaks English. Abigail and her husband lived for fifteen years in South Africa. Although, they still use Congolese languages on the daily basis, they are more fluent in English than most of their neighbors.

Even here, people come with like documents, “read for me I don’t understand, read for me”, “buy for me”, “I want to travel”, “I don’t know anything about it”, “call someone in English”, “I don’t know how to speak English, can you call for me” “help me call this people! Just pretend you are me”. You see? He [her husband] does help lot of people. Most of people here, they are really trying to speak.

Even though she elevates her husband’s role in the community, she is a stay at home mother and the one other mothers in the community resort to when they need help related to the English language. Abigail also helps newcomers and older friends to understand the new culture. For example, during one of our encounters, she helped a mother who had just arrived in the U.S. from DR Congo and did not speak English. She translated a note one of her kids had brought from school (Figures 3 and 4). Interestingly, the school had sent the note in French, and the woman in question was a schoolteacher in Congo and was fluent in spoken and written French. However, the translation to French did not translate the sociocultural meanings of the note.

Figure 3 Fête d'hiver

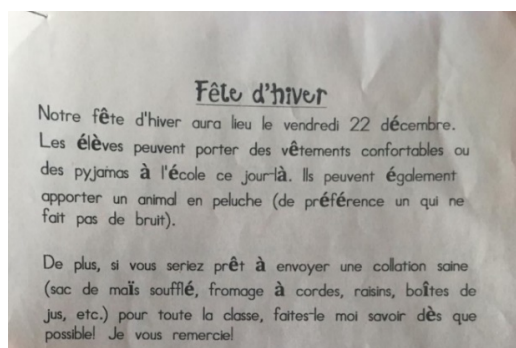
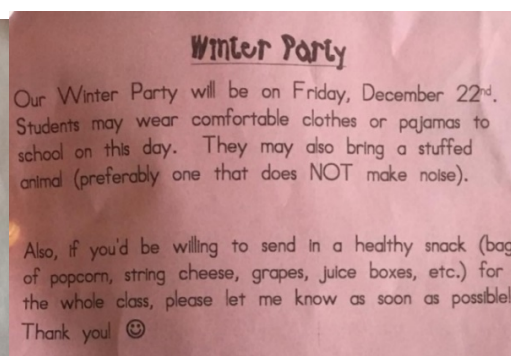


Figure 4 Winter party



Although she knew the language and understood it as a code, she did not understand the cultural and social aspects embedded in the content. Abigail took some time to translate the note to her and spoke both in Lingala and in French as the woman kept asking questions and looked puzzled. She asked questions such as “What does a winter party mean? Why wear pajamas for school? Should I send snacks for the whole class or not?” Abigail tried to respond to all the questions even though she herself looked a little confused. However, during this encounter it was noticeable the powerful role Abigail plays in the community and the command of English gives her a great responsibility of helping the other members, especially mothers, make important decisions. I later met the woman in question and her family. I was hers and her husband’s English tutor. Although she did not speak or understand English, her husband did and was one of the students at the center who mastered the language the most. Nevertheless, even though he could communicate in English and Abigail’s husband got a better job because of his fluency in English, the stay-at-home mothers were the ones having to deal with finding ways to translating school related matters and, therefore, managing their kids’ language practices and integration into the school system.

In Brazil, Petrolina’s fluency in Portuguese also gave her a big role in helping the community members navigate different spheres in the society. She became a go-to person for translations and interpretations for both Venezuelans and Brazilian volunteers at the center. She believes her help is necessary especially when they need to go to public clinics. She said:

(...) porque faço como tradutora em vez com eles, que precisam de alguma coisa, precisam ir no posto de saúde e precisam de tradução então tem alguma coisa a ver (...) num posto de saúde, pra traduzir, bem é difícil, mas é necessário porque não entendem o que ele tá falando, ele não pode expressar livremente o que tem ou não tem.

[(...) because I do it as a translator sometimes with them, they need something, they need to go to the health center and they need translation so it has something to do (...) at a health center, to translate, well it is difficult, but it is necessary because they do not understand what he is talking about, he cannot freely express what he has or does not have.]

Although translating is hard, Petrolina helps expressing what they feel since they cannot do it on their own. It involves being prescribed medicine, therefore, it is important that doctors understand thoroughly what they feel. In Paraíba, there is not translations or interpreters in public spaces and they need to create their own strategies in order to allow community members' participation. Although one of the Center's volunteer speaks Spanish, understanding symptoms or even diseases can involve the comprehension of cultural background and experiences. She said:

(...) porque tem pessoa que vem com uma doença de lá, uma história que precisa explicar, tem que ter alguém pra ajudar eles, já fui com algumas pessoas, quando alguém acha bem necessário, quando acha que a história é bem complicada de explicar, eu vou.

[(...) because there is a person who comes with a disease there, a story that needs to be explained, there has to be someone to help them, I went with some people, when someone thinks it is necessary, when they think the story is very complicated to explain, I will.]

For that, the Brazilian volunteer cannot give the support Petrolina is able to give. She tries to translate sociocultural meanings even though she herself is still in the process of figuring out the local context. However, she is the one both Venezuelans and Brazilian volunteers resort to when complexity is higher and when there is the need for full comprehension. When I was at the Center, I could observe how much community members request her and how she seemed always happy and ready to help. Nevertheless, it meant a lot of work. She is so active in the community that she became now part of the staff team of the Center and is paid to do the work that emerged organically out of community's necessity.

Petrolina's and Abigail's cases might explain why, in both contexts of research, participants view interpreters as negative (as will be discussed later on).

The U.S. official policies that require children not to take the role of interpreters for their parents dismiss the fact that interpreters paid by the state might not have the sociocultural knowledge important for meaning making.

6.1.3 Centers' language policies

Although both centers aim at assisting the immigrant and refugee communities, they provide different services and therefore their language policies and practices influence and are influenced differently. In the U.S., the Congolese immigrants and refugees live in Bangala street, right where the VNOC is located. They do not live in the center, however, they are assisted in various ways, including with education and food.

6.1.3.1 Hosting Center in the U.S.

The VNOC is also a small elementary school that receives students from the neighborhood, therefore, there are American born students, but also African and Mexican born. Although it is not a bilingual school, its staff members' language use and signs reflect students' multilingualism. The center provides other services directed to adults, from which I participated and observed closely two. The ESL classes and food distribution.

The ESL classes took place on Mondays in the evenings, from 6pm to 8pm. I was a volunteer for two semesters. On the first day, there were about 30 students mostly from Congo, but also from Latin American countries. Their English level was assessed through an English written test and they were placed accordingly. I would tutor students who found the beginners' level too challenging, but would also assist other teachers when my students would not make it to class. The main reason they would be late or would not show up was the time. They, especially women, either got home very late from work or had to do something for their families at the time of the class. The non-profit project's leader was also the main teacher. She shared the following about her initiative:

Eu conversei com Helen sobre o Projeto dela e ela falou algo bastante interessante. Ela relatou que ela e os outros voluntários eram professores de escola e também tiveram experiências como professores de ESL. Ela disse que escolheu deixar a

community college, que dava aula para dar início ao projeto voltado para imigrantes porque discordava de como a aula passou a ser dada nos contextos mais formais. Há uma decepção em relação ao tempo de aula, ao ritmo e à falta de trato individual mais humanizado. (Nota em campo, 9 de outubro, 2017)

[I talked to Helen about her Project and she said something very interesting. She reported that she and the other volunteers were school teachers and also had experiences as ESL teachers. She said she chose to leave the community college, which was giving classes to start the project aimed at immigrants because she disagreed with how the class came to be taught in more formal contexts. There is a disappointment in terms of class time, pace and the lack of more humanized individual treatment. (Field note, October 9th, 2017)]

Therefore, initiating this project was a form of resisting language teaching approaches with which she disagreed. Although these classes happened due to a non-profit initiative, it was supported by the city. I met the city representative on the first day of class, the only day she showed up. They provided support, such as the textbooks (which students could not borrow, they would use them in class and write answers on notebooks or on single papers). Helen shared the following:

Helen told me the city partnered with her Project in order to provide English training to parents of children enrolled in public schools as required by federal policies. Therefore, instead of initiating a Project from zero, they benefit from one that already exists by supporting it to respond to federal expectations. (Field note, September 4th, 2017)

It was good for both parties, the city and Helen's project. However, I found there was lack of checkup. On the first day, there were more than thirty adults willing to be enrolled, but as time went by, two thirds of that number dropped. In addition, I did not think two hours a week and on only one evening was enough.

As I tutored few students, they felt free to ask to change the class subject into something they felt was of immediate need. Follows two pictures with sentences and vocabulary I did not prepare, but was a result of one of those changes:

Figure 5 Work vocabulary

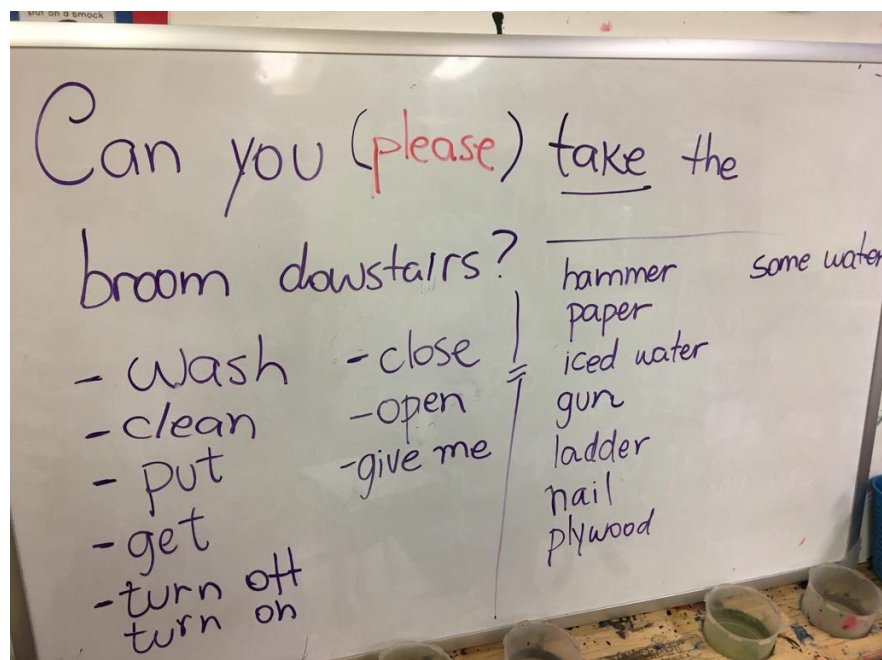
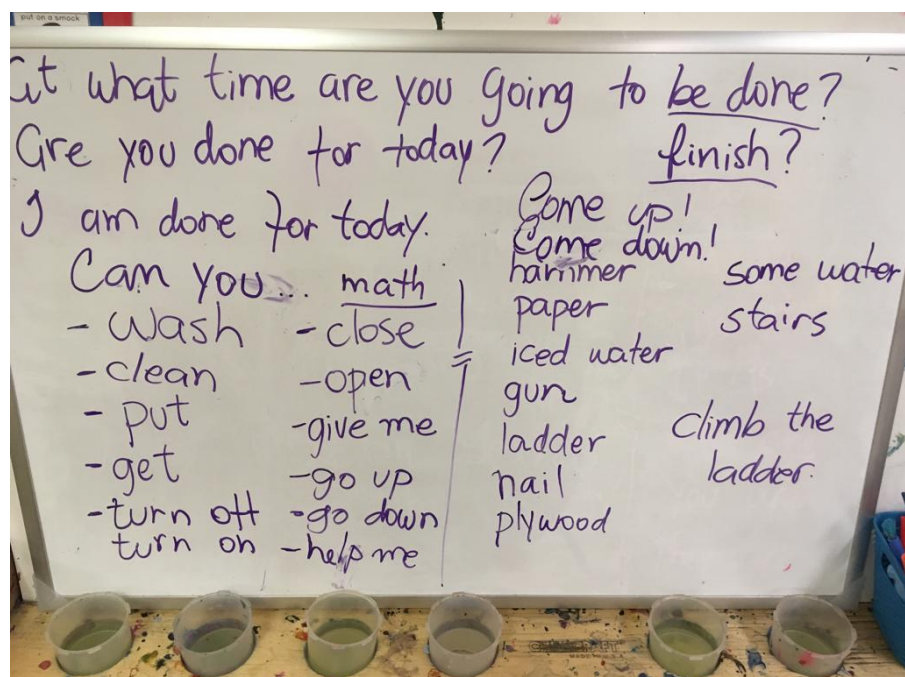


Figure 6 Work vocabulary 2



I added, erased and edited the content on the whiteboard as questions rose. On that day, I was tutoring a man who worked in construction. Norton (2013) states that learners' investment in language and in classroom practices are linked to learners' imagined identities, that is, the desired virtual future identity connected to imagined communities, also constructed virtually. In this case, the student's investment in English was connected to his practiced identity, constructed "through the social processes of concrete practices." (XU, 2012, p. 569) His concerns, however, were not related to what he wanted to communicate in the social field, but mostly what he needed to understand. He shared some men were not patient with his lack of comprehension at his work and that he needed to be able to understand in order to keep it.

Helen spoke Spanish and Mandarin as additional languages and was always thinking about adding volunteers who spoke different languages to help with students' comprehension. She used many translations in class and when she did not know students' languages, she would take some time explaining vocabulary thoroughly. I could be of some help to the Congolese students who spoke French.

The center provided dinner on that afternoon at 5pm, an hour before the class started, but little would come this early to eat, many times only one woman, her daughter and some of the center staff members. The center's staff members were very diverse, there were people spoke the languages of Congo, Mexico, Iraq, Brazil etc. The leader responsible for the center was American but spoke Spanish. The receptionist was Mexican and spoke Spanish and English. Leo worked with the families outside the center, but when he was at the center, he would always speak Swahili and French with Congolese children and adults who would go there. Salete, a Brazilian social worker who also worked in the neighborhood with the families, was assigned to work with Latino families. I have seen her speak to Latino women many times and she would mix words from Portuguese and Spanish, but did not have communication problems. She was also assigned to work with one family from Angola, which adults spoke Portuguese as well. Therefore, there was this concern on the part of the center of having language diversity among the staff members so

they could better assist students and families. The center's signs also reflected these concerns.

Figure 7 VNOC's signs



Figure 8 VNOC's signs 2



The signs above portray English sentences, with Spanish and Arabic translations. However, the translations show language mixing. The sentence “gentle touches” is translated as “toques suave” in Spanish. The word “suave” goes to plural in Spanish and the formal correct sentence would be “toques suaves”, nevertheless, the person responsible for translating adapted the sentence to English grammar. The chosen pictures that go along with the sentences portray ethnic diversity, which is present at the center.

6.1.3.2 Hosting center in Brazil

In Brazil, Venezuelan refugees live at the center for as much as six months while they find jobs and are able to afford a place to live on their own. The Center provides everything for their basic needs, such as food and hygiene products. Among other types of assistance, as juridical support, refugees are also provided with Portuguese classes. I had just gotten back from the U.S. when the representative of the refugees reception in the state arranged to bring and host Venezuelan refugees. She knew of my work with refugees and contacted me to assist with Portuguese language classes. She and the other volunteers responsible for the PMC had language training in mind before their arrival because they understood language is the first step that allows integration. Maria da Guia said the following about the established language policy for speaking only Portuguese in the center:

M.G.: (...) essa do português nós pensamos inicialmente porque era uma forma também de ajudá-los, porque na minha concepção um dos primeiros elementos é a língua, se você não consegue se comunicar você não consegue se integrar. [this one from Portuguese we thought initially because it was also a way of helping them, because in my conception one of the first elements is the language, if you cannot communicate you cannot integrate.]

For her, knowing Portuguese is a condition for being able to integrate. I have also echoed the same idea. On the day refugees arrived, there was a reception with food, talks and they even had media coverage. Several volunteers were asked to answer some questions either live or recorded to go on air on the next day. Questions were asked during the filming and there was no prior preparation. I agreed to be filmed and said the following: “Afim de contas, a língua é fundamental nessa integração social deles e cultural e eu tô muito feliz de fazer parte” (After all, language is

fundamental in their social and cultural integration and I am very happy to be part of it). I transcribed this from the video that was shown on the local TV and that is available on their website. Therefore, not only the volunteers perceived language as essential, but I also portrayed its relevance publically. I did not consider discussing about the data I had already collected and analyzed in the U.S. nor about the questions of language similarities or social and cultural identities. I reproduced a commonsense idea about language and integration. In this sense, the initial language policies had language as a propellant element in the process. About that, Maria da Guia shared:

MG: Foi a primeira vez que eu entrei em contato com imigrantes e na condição de refugiados, e a pastoral daqui também. Bom, assim como era tudo muito novo pra nos enquanto equipe nos procuramos partir de algum lugar, a pastoral já tem esse trabalho em outras regiões, Sul e Sudeste do Brasil, então a gente procurou beber dessas fontes já concretas, fui à SP conheci algumas casas de acolhida, algumas pessoas foram na fronteira conhecer a realidade específica dos Venezuelanos, e partindo dessas experiências, a gente sentou, conversou e “vamos estabelecer algumas regras que no geral já existe nas outras casas,” e aí foram surgindo outras regras que nós fomos criando mesmo, (...) então nós combinamos com eles e como eles já tinham uma vivência no Brasil de três quatro meses, não era tão difícil pra eles entender o português, falar é mais difícil mas entender não é, e aí eles aceitaram né, só falar o português.

[MG: It was the first time that I came into contact with immigrants and as refugees, and pastoral care here as well. Well, as it was all too new for us as a team we tried to leave from somewhere, the pastoral already has this work in other regions, South and Southeast of Brazil, so we tried to drink from these concrete sources, I went to SP I met some shelter houses, some people went to the border to learn about the specific reality of Venezuelans, and based on these experiences, we sat down, talked and “we are going to establish some rules that in general already exist in other houses,” and then there were other rules that we created, (...) so we agreed with them and as they already had a four-month experience in Brazil, it was not so difficult for them to understand Portuguese, speaking is more difficult but understanding is not, and then they accepted, right, just speak Portuguese.]

Due to the incipient character of the project, they decided to get awareness of the hosting practices from other centers in other states from the same institution. Then, they established initial language policies influenced by both existing language policies from other centers, from their understanding of refugees' harshened situation and from what they perceived leads to integration. Maria da Guia claimed it is not difficult to establish policies when there is negotiation instead of imposition. She said, “Eles não tem dificuldades de conversar, se a conversa passar por eles e eles aceitarem tudo bem, eles não aceitam se a gente impuser. Se a gente chega e

impõe, eles acham ofensivo. Mas se conversa, eles aceitam.” Therefore, these initial language policies were formed through a process that involved conversation and some kind of mediation. Paulo, one of the leaders of the center, speaks Spanish and during his talk on the first day, he spoke Spanish on the first part and then Portuguese and justified it by stating they should speak Portuguese to facilitate refugees’ integration.

When they arrived, each bedroom of the house had instructions on the wall about the rules they were expected to follow. They were all in Spanish, such as the ones that follow:

Figure 9 PMC’s signs

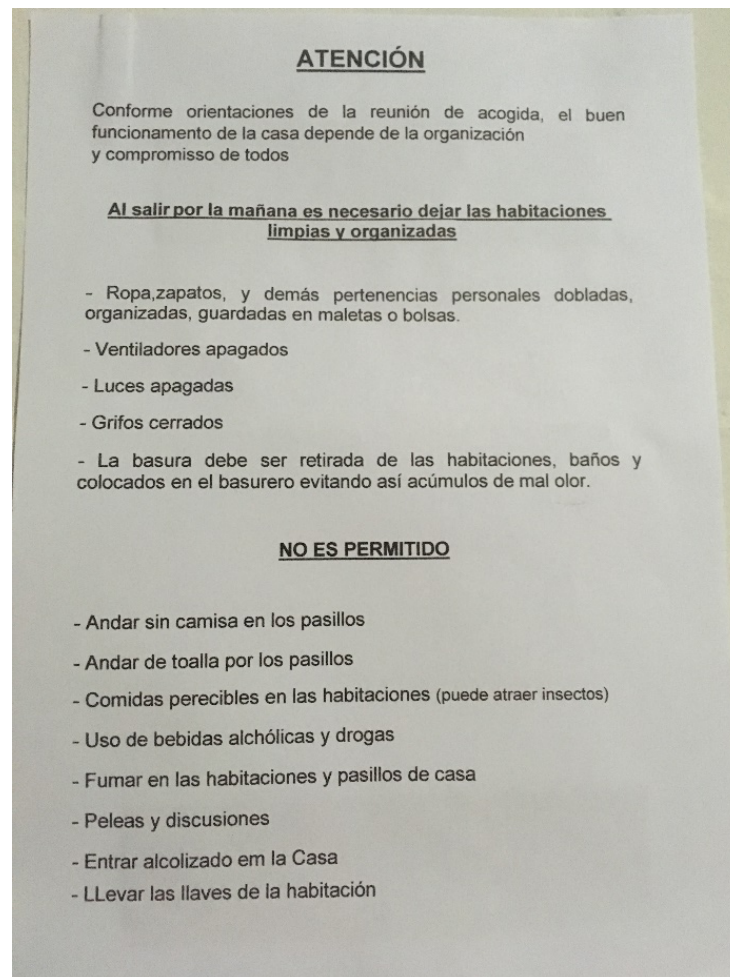
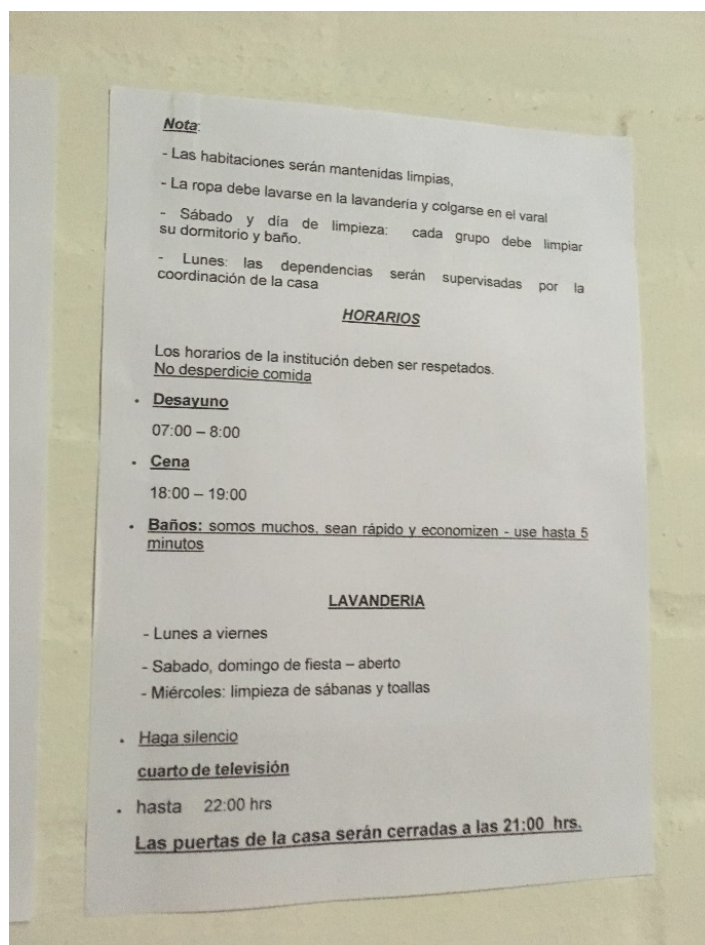


Figure 10 PMC's signs 2



Imara, a woman who was one of the people responsible for articulating their arrival and shelter helped with the language of the signs. The staff explained rules of what was necessary for refugees to do, such as keeping their personal things and bedrooms organized. The rules also expressed what was prohibited, such as smoking and consuming alcohol. They also explained schedules for meal times, laundry and the time the center would close its doors. Those basic instructions were expressed in Spanish even though the language policy was supposed to be the use of Portuguese only, probably because staff members needed them to comprehend in order to follow the rules.

The Portuguese classes were held on Saturdays in the morning from 9am to 12pm for two reasons, one was that we thought refugees would be working during

the week and would have the weekends off and because the Center is far from João Pessoa and the ride at nighttime can be difficult. However, contrary to what we thought, many refugees found jobs on Saturday mornings, especially on the beach where bars hire them for the weekend when they have the most attendance. In addition, some of the ones who stayed in the house would sometimes prefer to do their laundry at that time. Therefore, every Saturday I would have a different small group of students and very little would be present assiduously. Some would complain they would like to attend the classes but could not due to their work schedule, but some would prefer to sleep on until later or just take a walk at the beach. The ones that would be always present would usually be mothers that had to stay at home taking care of their little children.

Later on, volunteers found necessary to change the policies to be more restrictive in regards to what was mandatory and not facultative. However, they waited for this group to leave the house and started implementing changes with the second group, as they claimed they found easier to establish rules in the beginning rather than changing behavior refugees had gotten used to already. One of the things was the time for the Portuguese classes and the mandatory attendance. After almost a year, classes started to be held during the evenings of two days of the week with a male teacher and all recently arrived refugees were obliged to attend them.

Although the established policies seem to create a monolingual atmosphere where Portuguese language use erases Spanish, in reality, staff members, from leaders who decide policies to the cleaning man who is paid to work at the house began to learn Spanish vocabulary and put it into practice. Maria da Guia said the following:

M.G.: Tem sido muito rico pra gente essa troca de experiência com as línguas, eu por exemplo não falo espanhol e pra mim tá sendo uma oportunidade de conhecer o idioma, vou pra Argentina agora e algumas palavras eu já conheço, então assim tem sido bom essa troca, e quando a gente entendeu que se a gente fala devagar, eles compreendem tudo, aí a gente já estabeleceu isso também, quando a gente chama eles pra conversar, é sempre devagar, pausadamente e sempre perguntando se eles estão entendendo, e eles entendem tudo.

E: E quando eles falam vocês entendem?

M.G.: Entendemos, assim, alguns falam devagar e depois eu entendi que depende de onde eles vêm no país, tem umas... como aqui por exemplo, Sul, Sudeste, cada um tem um sotaque, isso também existe lá, então alguns têm uma forma de falar

diferente dos outros, eles entre eles acham diferente o jeito que o outro fala, imagina pra nós, né? Que não temos essa convivência, aí alguns falam bem rápido, outros mais devagar que dá pra entender, No começo, eu não entendia nada, nada nada nada mas parece que você vai treinando sua escuta, aí você vai filtrando as palavras que você já sabe o significado e isso vai reproduzindo automaticamente, Hoje eu já consigo entender.

[MG: It has been very rich for us this exchange of experience with languages, I for example do not speak Spanish and for me it is an opportunity to know the language, I am going to Argentina now and some words I already know, so it has been good this exchange, and when we understood that if we speak slowly, they understand everything, then we've already established that too, when we call them to talk, it's always slowly, slowly and always asking if they understand, and they understand everything.

E: And when they speak, do you understand?

MG: We understand, so, some speak slowly and then I understood that it depends on where they come from in the country, there are some ... like here for example, South, Southeast, everyone has an accent, that also exists there, so some have a way of speaking differently from others, they find the way that the other person speaks differently, imagine for us, right? That we don't have this relationship, then some speak very quickly, others more slowly than you can understand, At first, I didn't understand anything, nothing at all, but it seems that you are training your listening, then you are filtering the words that you already know the meaning and it will reproduce automatically, Today I can understand.]

Maria da Guia describes one important strategy for communication they use, which is speaking slowly. However, they do more than that. They not only speak Portuguese at a slower pace, but also express themselves by adding Spanish words. My observation of Roberto, the handyman who is paid to work at the Center and sleeps there, follows:

Roberto estava falando com os venezuelanos e eu observei que ele usava palavras como “sí”, “no”, “acá” etc. Eu perguntei se ele já estava falando espanhol, e ele respondeu sorrindo que já havia aprendido, que entendia e falava algumas coisas. Ele falou com um tom de riso e certo orgulho do feito. Eu acho interessante como ele, sendo uma pessoa simples e sem educação superior ou em língua estrangeira, se sente confortável para se expressar em espanhol (ou seria portunhol?) com confiança. (Nota em campo, 12 de janeiro, 2019)

[Roberto was talking to the Venezuelans and I noticed that he used words like “sí”, “no”, “acá” etc. I asked if he was already speaking Spanish, and he replied smiling that he had already learned, that he understood and said some things. He spoke with a tone of laughter and a certain pride of achievement. I find it interesting how he, being a simple person with no higher education or in a foreign language, feels comfortable to express himself in Spanish (or would he be Portuguese?) With confidence. (Field note, January 12, 2019)]

Spolsky (2009) argues that the multidimensional character of language policy has practices as its most powerful dimension, once practices are what happens in reality either conforming to or rejecting manifest language policies. Roberto learned and

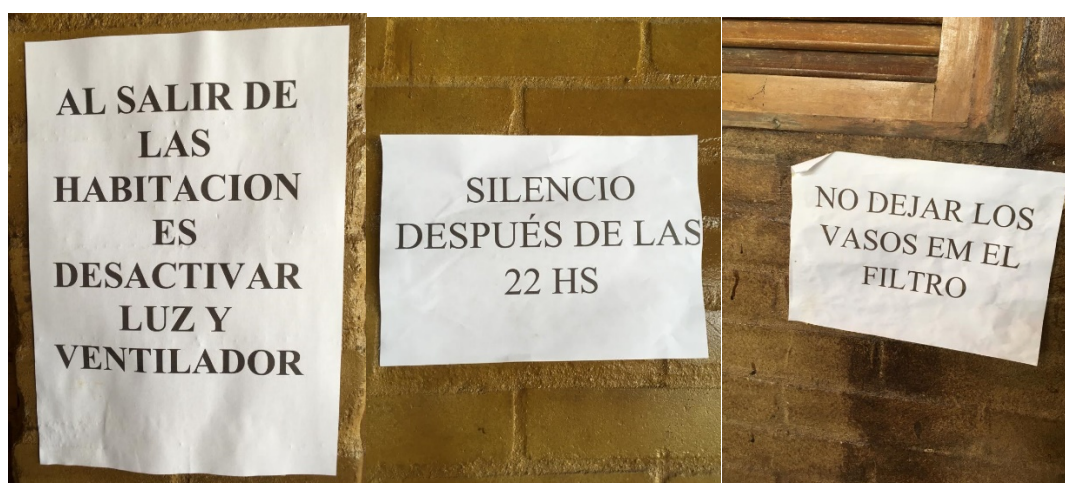
expressed himself using Spanish words in spite of the center manifest language policy of Portuguese only. He probably learned it by socializing since many times he would be the only Brazilian at the house, when I would get there.

This mixing of both languages could be observed in residents' speeches and in signs. Over time, staff members felt the necessity to put up additional signs, not only inside the bedrooms, but also in the other areas of the center, including common areas, kitchen, staff office etc. Follow some examples:

Figure 11 Additional sign

Figure 12 Additional sign 2

Figure 13 Additional sign 3



It is possible to observe the mixing of the languages on both the first and third images. On the first one, there is dropping of the definite articles “la” and “el”, which turned the sentence more similar to the same informal sentence in Portuguese, “Ao sair dos quartos, desligar luz e ventilador.” On Figure 13, there is the preposition “em” in Portuguese instead of “en” in Spanish. Although it can be argued that those are mere typos, I argue it reflects the community’ members’ strategies to communicate, which involves mutual learning of the two languages through socialization.

This mutual comprehension, however, can lead to frustration due to the fact that they find hard to delimitate which vocabulary is from which language.

L: porque as pessoas aqui acham que entendem espanhol, o que não entendem é que nós falamos o que nós conhecemos no português, falamos sem sotaque, as

palavras no português sem sotaque (*regional daqui*), e por isso que elas acham que entendem. As pessoas ficam, “Tô aprendendo espanhol,” eu penso, “Eu não tô falando espanhol. À medida que você vai falando, vai conhecendo mais, aqui eu nem sei quando falo português ou espanhol, pero uno vai trabalhando.

[L: because people here think they understand Spanish, what they don't understand is that we speak what we know in Portuguese, we speak without an accent, the words in Portuguese without an accent (regional here), and that is why they think they understand. People are like, “I'm learning Spanish,” I think, “I'm not speaking Spanish. As you speak, you get to know more, here I don't even know when I speak Portuguese or Spanish, but one goes on working.]

At the same time that Loredana perceives Brazilians as innocent in regards to their belief on learning Spanish, she herself cannot tell when she is speaking one language or the other. Paulo echoes Loredana's perception on the mixed use of both languages that makes it hard to delimitate when one finishes and the other one begins. He shared:

E: A língua próxima ajuda eles aqui, na questão do trabalho?

P: A questão da língua é sempre uma dificuldade a mais, é muito próxima ao português, mas não é a mesma coisa, por ser muito próxima, às vezes a gente pensa que sabe falar espanhol e eles pensam que sabem falar português, mas assim, em termos de trabalho, os que têm boa vontade conseguem desenrolar e seguir em frente, não é um empecilho, não é uma condição, ninguém apresentou até agora.. o contrário, né? Às vezes pelo fato de eles falarem espanhol pode ser um atrativo a mais, sobretudo para aqueles que forem trabalhar na rede hoteleira, em restaurante, as pousadas começam a aproximar a época da temporada mais forte, começam a procurar, então não tem sido um impedimento.

[E: Does the next language help them here, when it comes to work?

P: The issue of language is always an additional difficulty, it is very close to Portuguese, but it is not the same thing, because it is very close, sometimes we think we can speak Spanish and they think they can speak Portuguese, but so , in terms of work, those who have good will manage to unfold and move on, it is not an obstacle, it is not a condition, nobody has presented it so far .. the opposite, right? Sometimes, due to the fact that they speak Spanish, it can be an added attraction, especially for those who work in the hotel chain, in a restaurant, the inns begin to approach the time of the strongest season, they start looking, so it hasn't been an impediment.]

For Paulo, Brazilians think they can speak Spanish and Venezuelans think they can speak Portuguese, but that type of language use does not impede them of entering the job market and Spanish is actually seen as resource. What Loredana and Paulo see as a miscomprehension of languages' limits, I see as efforts made by the community's members for achieving mutual comprehension through the addition of vocabulary and spelling into their dynamic and changing linguistic repertoires.

6.1.4 Churches' language policies

Spolsky (2012) refers to religious language policies as the choices of languages and forms of expressions assigned to different religions based on diverse beliefs. While the author cites religions such as Christianity and Judaism as examples, he also argues for the attention to be cautious about over-generalizing and to focus on individual synagogues, mosques, or churches. For this study, I argue it is crucial to analyze churches as reception places where language policies occur. In Brazil, most of the churches Venezuelans went to did not have any translation or interpretation to Spanish. This is probably due to their recent arrival. However, some interesting events are worth adding to the present analysis.

The center that receives Venezuelans in Paraíba is part of an organization by the Catholic Church. Most festivities in Brazil are related to the church and the center always sets celebration events that involve food, dancing, and a moment for praying, reading the Bible, and for being grateful to God. However, everyone is welcome to participate regardless of her or his faith. Most Venezuelans that came to Paraíba are Christians with an evangelical background so they enjoy being part of the festivities. In all these events, there is always a symbol from both countries, Brazil and Venezuela, represented by decorations, music, flags, and language use. The following picture of the decoration of the cakes for the São João celebration party portray this idea well:

Figure 14 Cakes' colors representing Brazil's and Venezuela's flags



The cake on the left has yellow, green and blue frosting, representing the Brazilian flag; the frosting of the second cake is red, blue and yellow, in reference to the Venezuelan flag. The cupcakes' frostings have the colors of both flags, but are displayed in a mixed way, representing not only the harmony, but also the mixture of cultures. This image reflects Gilberto Freyre's (1962) concept of integration as transformation directly connected to the convergent pluralism he exemplifies with the Brazilian considerable miscegenation. It also correlates with Darcy Ribeiro's (1970) notion of "new peoples", that is the fusion of diverse cultures through a process he calls deculturation. Additionally, social practices that culminated on the event's decorations are also a result of the perception of immigrants as an additive blending of cultures to the collective idea of Brazil's formation.

The decorated food, however, is supposed to be enjoyed after the main part, which is reserved for worshipping and praying. On these days, other people from church come to help and they often bring a priest to say some words. They often provide handouts in Portuguese and Spanish so Venezuelans can follow the short service, like the one that follows:

Table 15 Lectura del Evangelio

LECTURA DEL EVANGELIO	
San Lucas (Lc) 9: 18-24	
18	Un día en que Jesús estaba orando solo, y sus discípulos estaban con él, les preguntó: "¿Quién dice la gente que soy yo?"
19	Ellos contestaron: "Algunos dicen que eres Juan el Bautista, otros dicen que eres Elías, y otros dicen que eres uno de los antiguos profetas, que ha resucitado."
20	"Y ustedes, ¿quién dicen que soy?", les preguntó. nY Pedro le respondió: "Eres el Mesías de Dios."
Jesús anuncia su muerte	
21	Pero Jesús les encargó mucho que no dijeran esto a nadie.
22	Y les dijo: "El Hijo del hombre tendrá que sufrir mucho, y será rechazado por los ancianos, por los jefes de los sacerdotes y por los maestros de la ley. Lo van a matar, pero al tercer día resucitará."
23	Después les dijo a todos: "Si alguno quiere ser discípulo mío, olvídense de sí mismo, cargue con su cruz cada día y sígame."
24	Porque el que quiera salvar su vida, la perderá; pero el que pierda la vida por causa mía, la salvará.

They also pray Our Father Prayer in both Portuguese and Spanish, and invite Venezuelans to talk as well. On the São João event, before the service started, there was a short pilgrimage through the center, with both adults and children, both from Brazil and Venezuela, carrying a Brazilian and Venezuelan flags, Venezuelan dishes, a passport and a Bible. The symbols were set at a table where service took place. Follows the picture of the table:

Figure 16 Brazil's and Venezuela's symbols



During service, we prayed in both languages, listened to testimonials from Brazilians and Venezuelans about the shared experiences, read the Bible passages in Portuguese and Spanish and sang to songs in both languages. Some Venezuelans got very emotional during the service, as they prayed, sang and talked. I wrote a field note about one of their speeches:

Achei muito interessante o que um dos venezuelanos falou agora durante a missa. Ele disse que estava muito feliz e grato aqui na Paraíba, que tinha sofrido muito em Roraima com xenofobia e que aqui ele se sentia confortável até com o sotaque que, segundo ele, era bem mais parecido com espanhol do que o sotaque de Roraima. (Nota em campo, 30 de junho de 2019)

[I found what one of the Venezuelans said during the mass very interesting. He said he was very happy and grateful here in Paraíba, that he had suffered a lot in Roraima with xenophobia and that here he felt comfortable even with an accent that, according to him, was much more similar to Spanish than the accent of Roraima. (Field note, June 30, 2019)]

Roraima is a border state and its residents have always been used to crossing the border to go to Venezuela and to receiving Venezuelans as well. They are, for instance, more familiar with language from both borders. However, after the crisis, this organic and natural movement of people stopped and gave place to the forced exit of people from Venezuela and entrance to Brazil. Although Paraíba is on the other side of Brazil and shares borders with the ocean only, he (and other Venezuelans who reported the same idea) felt languages were more similar. I argue they felt more well received in Paraíba and their good feelings reflected on how they perceive Portuguese as it is spoken in Paraíba.

After the service, which is always very emotional, it was time for dancing. Even though there was constant reference to Venezuela in the party decorations, its main theme was São João, with colorful flags, outfits and choreography related to the *forró* music that was playing. Brazilians and Venezuelans danced to *forró*, as the following picture shows:

Figure 17 Forró dancing



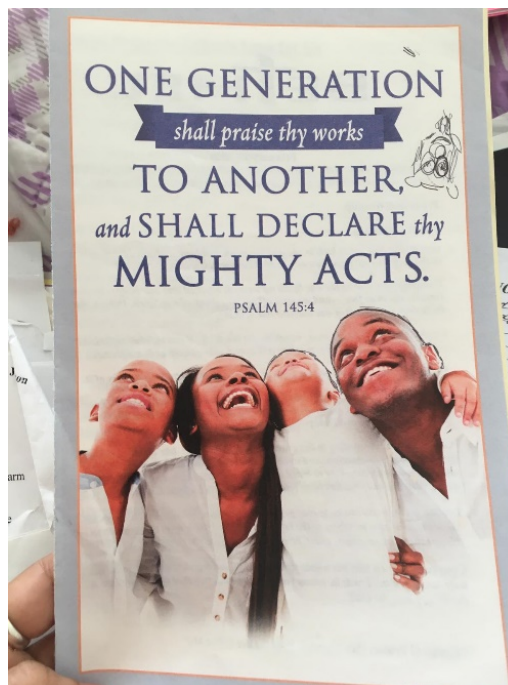
The checkered shirts and hats that can be seen above are part of the usual garb worn at this time of the year. It is important to note that Venezuelans, who have already moved from the center and are living by themselves elsewhere, usually attend these

types of festivities when they have the possibility (work hours are the main impediment).

In the U.S., on the other hand, the Congolese community has been formed for longer and it is possible to find it reflected on White American churches' language choices in the neighborhood and by its own Congolese churches. By White American church, I mean a church where most members are White Americans and the language that prevails is English. By Congolese church, I mean most members are Congolese and English is the third option of language that is used in service. Additionally, there is an Africa American church whose members are mostly black Americans born in the U.S. and they have English as the medium.

When I started researching on churches in the U.S., the first church that I visited was the African American church, which existence dates back to the 1800s. I expected to see Africans there and African language in translations. However, as soon as I got there I realized it was not directed at African immigrants but at black Americans. There were handouts and signs but they were all in English only, such as the one that follows:

Figure 18 African American church's handout



The family in the picture that goes along with the written text is African American but probably born in the U.S. Additionally, the preaching theme was related to African Americans' struggles in the country. Follows a field note I took during one of the visits:

It is interesting how the sermon is based on the Bible but directed at the audience they have, who are mostly black Americans. The pastor is talking about the difficulties black Americans face in the U.S. and questions of social justice. It sounds very political in my view. They are very welcoming and received us (my family and I) with warmth, but I did not see any person with African clothing, any reference to African immigrants nor any language other than English. (Field note, November 5th, 2017)

My note on African clothing is connected to the experience I was having on living door to door to Congolese people. They often wore clothes from Congo, especially to go to church. On Sundays, I would see many people living their apartments wearing traditional clothing, such as those in the following picture that were given to me by some of the Congolese women participants as farewell gift:

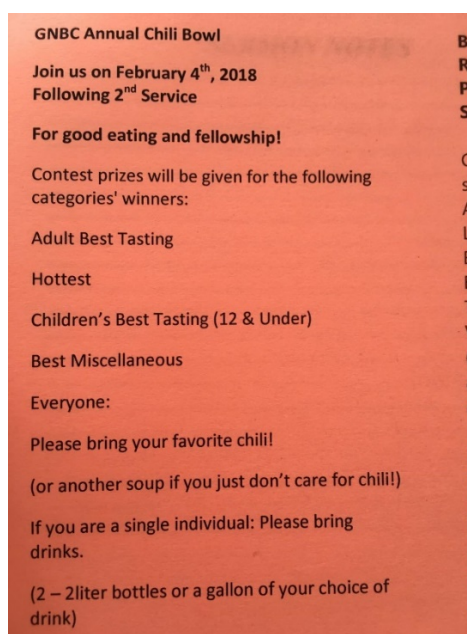
Figure 19 Farewell gift



Not only have I seen them wear traditional clothing at the African churches, but also at the American church in the neighborhood. Therefore, I used this as strategy to spot Congolese members in a church just by observing.

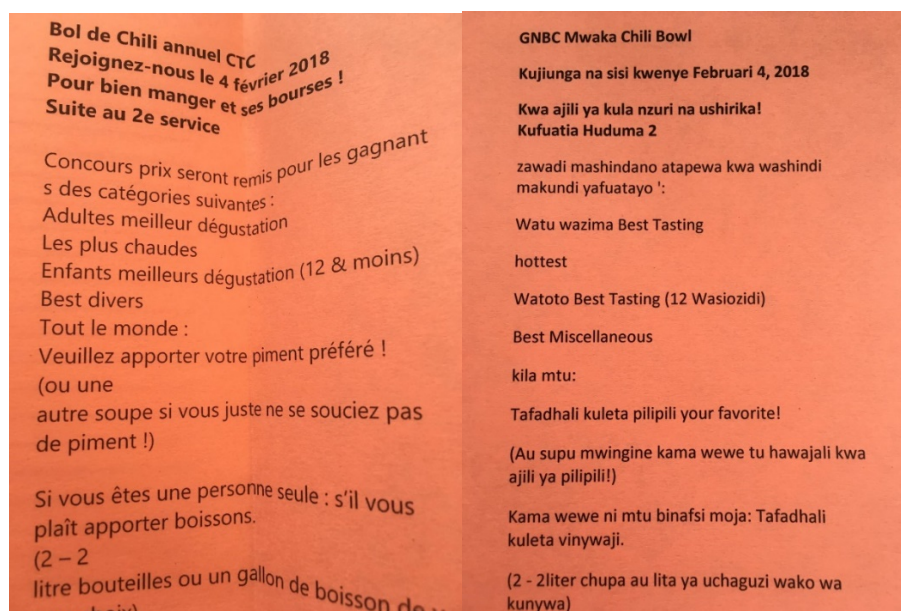
On the White American church around the corner where we lived, English was prevalent there was use of French or of other African languages in some occasions, especially when they needed members to really understand instructions for an upcoming event, for example. The services were conducted in English, prayers and songs as well. Every Sunday, they followed the same ritual during service, and one of the things they did in the beginning, was to allow people to pray from where they were sitting. At that moment, some Congolese would pray sometimes code switching from English to French, for example. However, regarding spoken language, that was the only moment I listened to the interference of other languages. Nonetheless, in written texts, other languages appeared more frequently and especially African. Every Sunday, the church distributed a handout with the detailed service of the day, who was supposed to pray and the theme, verses of the Bible we were supposed to read, songs we would sing, church actions and upcoming events. Translations would be present related to the latter. Follows an example of its occurrence:

Figure 20 Church's handout in English



This is the information in English and the two following pages were translations. The first one to French and the second to Swahili.

Figure 21 Church's handout in Swahili



As seen above, English also appears on both translations. On the French one, it says “best” instead of “meilleur”. On the second translation, English comes up more times. Some expressions were not translated, such as “Chilli Bowl”, “Best tasting”, “hottest”, and “your favorite”. I argue these expressions might be more often used in the American culture and although it might have translations to French, official but exogenous language of Congo, it might not have translations to Swahili, or Swahili speakers in the U.S. understand better if the terms are used in English since they might already use a mixed language.

I did not see translations to Spanish in this church, although there are many Spanish speakers in the neighborhood and the language is present in its linguistic landscape, such as the pictures that follow:

Figure 22 Language landscape



Figure 23 Language landscape 2



Figure 24 Language landscape 3



Shohamy (2006) argues that linguistic landscapes are, in most of the cases, under strict laws that select certain languages and enforce their use. That might be the case of the language in the bus on Figure 24, where English comes first and Spanish translation follows, probably a result of social and political pressures associated to the large Latino community. However, the author states that exploring whether the linguistic landscape changes language behavior and language perceptions are necessary for the field of LPP. Figure 22 is connected to the Latino community and their church practices. Figure 23, however, shows a sign in a store (not Latino) where language was used aiming the selling of products. Therefore, in this case, the public signs in Spanish reflected the use of Spanish in private places for economic purposes. The White American church, nonetheless, did not reflect the linguistic landscape but rather reflected the language of its members. I argue that the church

did not have a sufficient number of Latino members that caused it to establish a policy that involved Spanish.

I visited a Latino Christian church, also in the neighborhood, where the service was conducted in Spanish with a probable interference of English but the only one I could capture was the word “background”. Worth noting was the content of the sermon and testimonials that portray the situation of the immigrant community in the U.S. under the current administration. Follows the field note I took on that day:

O assunto principal que o pastor está pregando é relacionado à autoestima. Ele tem dito repetidamente que os membros da igreja não precisam se sentir mal, ou menos valiosos porque eles também são filhos de Deus e devem se valorizar. Esse assunto eu nunca escutei na outra igreja (igreja Americana) e eu acredito que tem a ver com um sentimento de inferioridade que tem atingido os latinos devido a discursos que os rebaixam. (Nota em campo, 3 de dezembro, 2017)

[The main topic that the pastor is preaching is related to self-esteem. He has repeatedly said that church members need not feel bad, or less valuable because they are also children of God and must value themselves. I never heard this subject in the other church (American church) and I believe it has to do with a feeling of inferiority that has reached Latinos due to speeches that demean them. (Field note, December 3, 2017)]

Besides this field note, I took another one towards the end of the service that can be associated with the main theme discussed on that day.

A menina sentada na minha frente estava chorando o culto inteiro, aí agora no final o pastor a chamou na frente pra contar da sua situação e pedir ajuda. Ela é uma adolescente nascida no México que ainda frequenta a escola e morava só com o pai que foi preso pela imigração e está para ser deportado. O pastor pediu uma oferta só para ela e relatou que ela não tinha como se manter, pois o pai pagava tudo, inclusive aluguel, e ela precisava que alguém a abrigasse porque ela não tinha nem o que comer. Algumas pessoas se prontificaram a ajudar, fora as ajudas na forma da oferta. Ela só chora, com a cabeça baixa, nem consegue falar. Muito triste mesmo. (nota em campo, 4 de março de 2018).

[The girl sitting in front of me was crying the whole service, so now at the end the pastor called her in front to tell her about her situation and ask for help. She is a teenager born in Mexico who still attends school and lived only with her father who was arrested by immigration and is about to be deported. The pastor asked for an offer just for her and reported that she had no way to support herself, as her father paid for everything, including rent, and she needed someone to shelter her because she had nothing to eat. Some people volunteered to help, apart from aid in the form of the offer. She just cries, with her head down, she can't even speak. Really sad. (Field note, March 4, 2018).]

The theme and situations described are powerful examples of the social context and practices affecting self-esteem (SCHNITTKER, 2002). The harshened climate of

opinions on immigrants portrayed in official discourses influences not only their perceptions of self-worth, but also their living experiences, therefore, their practiced identities (XU, 2012). The observations show the harshened reality irregular immigrants are facing in the U.S., which lowers their self-esteem, but it also shows the role churches have in supporting immigrant communities' members. Tsang (2015) argues that churches are places where stability for immigrants is provided as well as other services that favor the integration process, including social and job network and vital services such as housing.

The two Congolese churches I visited were not in the neighborhood, but many Congolese who lived there attended one or the other. I felt less comfortable in taking notes during those sermons because the churches were much smaller than the ones described previously. Therefore, I would record myself talking about everything I would have observed and felt was worth noting for my research as soon as I would leave the churches. I will describe them based on those voice memos.

The first African church I visited follows the American prophet William Marrion Branham. I was invited by Thereza, but went there with Marta's husband, who was also a member but went by himself since Marta rejected attending the church. Branham was an American minister whose messages of healing revival were very influent during the 1940s and 1950s. Although his controversial doctrines were highly criticized, after his death, he left followers and his legacy continues today in many parts of the world, including Congo. The church I went to had a picture of this man together with a picture of Christ on the wall behind the pastor. There was also a flag from Israel, which many evangelical Christians use to make reference to the people of God. As soon as I arrived in both Congolese churches, someone joined the pastor as an interpreter. The entire service was translated from French to English mostly. However, sometimes the pastor says a sentence in English and the interpreter automatically translates it to French, back and forth effortlessly. Even though I also noticed that the pastor would get upset sometimes with some translations. Follows a transcription of one excerpt of my voice memos:

As músicas todas eram em francês, mas quando teve apresentação de uma menina, ela cantou uma música em inglês e depois em francês e as mulheres começaram a

dar gritinhos enquanto ela cantava em francês, como se tivessem de identificado mais com a música ou com a língua. Aí teve uma hora que essa menina que cantou e havia completado 18 anos, levou uma cartinha escrita em inglês. Ela falou na carta lida pelo pastor que queria oração, que tava grata a Deus por esses anos, e ela queria ser batizada pelo espírito santo, aí no final da carta tinha, “Da sua amada irmã, Fulana”, quando o cara foi traduzir pro francês, o cara falou “da irmã, Fulana” daí o pastor irritado, “não, não, isso é importante e tem que traduzir certo, ‘da sua amada, Fulana’”. (Nota em campo, 11 de março de 2018)

[The songs were all in French, but when a girl performed, she sang a song in English and then in French and the women started screaming while she sang in French, as if they had identified more with the song or the song. language. There was an hour when this girl who sang and turned 18, took a letter written in English. She spoke in the letter read by the pastor who wanted prayer, who was grateful to God for these years, and she wanted to be baptized by the holy spirit, then at the end of the letter there was, "From your beloved sister, So-and-so", when the guy went to translate to the French, the guy said “about his sister, So-and-so” then the angry pastor, “no, no, this is important and it has to translate right, 'from your loved one, So-and-so’”. (Field note, March 11, 2018)]

On this day, we listened to one of Brenham’s Messages (the way his speeches are called by his followers) in French. This eighteen-year-old woman lend me her phone where there was a transcription of the one hour and six minutes Message in the original, English. At the end, children would come and speak to me in English and the pastor spoke some Portuguese, besides French, English and other languages from Congo. I found the church’s language policies very welcoming, as they were ready to provide interpretations and translations as soon as they spotted someone who they judged did not speak French. Christians rely on written texts and French is the institutionalized language of Congo, therefore I found that the use of French was expected. There was one thing the pastor of that church said that called my attention and I wrote down. He said: “Nous sommes un petit groupe, mais nous ne sommes pas un groupe politique mais un groupe chrétien.” I argue he said that because the Christians gathered in that church are linguistically and ethnically similar and are part of a minority in the country, which meetings can be perceived as political. Nonetheless, he emphasized intentions of the group were spiritual and not political.

On the church I went to with Adrienne, there was a similar language policy regarding the sermon’s interpretations. On one occasion, I observed that as soon as I entered the church, the pastor who was speaking in Lingala, switched to English and a man who was sitting at the audience walked towards the pastor, got a

microphone and started translating to Lingala. I had the same feeling of the other church; that the pastor got irritated with the interpreter.

Most members on this church were originally from Congo, and I spotted many of my neighbors there. They sang and danced throughout most part of the services. However, at this church, most songs were sang in Lingala and then French. I captured English in one song as the second translation. The lyrics are “Nzambe malamu, Dieu est bon, God is good” (Field note, 8 de abril de 2018). During service, the pastor would speak English and Lingala and the interpreter would translate to both back and forth. However, when the pastor would read the Bible, he would tell me the Book, chapter and verse in English so I could follow, but would read in French with no interpretation. Whenever he would go back to preaching, the interpreter would start translating again. Although these were smaller churches and I did not encounter handouts or signs, their language repertoires were very rich and diverse. The quick action of pastors switching the languages and of interpreters in positioning themselves upon listening to the change seemed very professional. However, even though they had established a language policy that defined who the interpreters were and which languages were to be used, this is a practice very common and almost natural to Congolese speakers. I watched sermons my Congolese neighbors showed me on YouTube and they usually have someone interpreting to French, Lingala, Swahili etc. In addition, the documentary “Makala” about a Congolese worker shows a scene of him going to church, in which the same interpretation service is filmed. I argue having an interpreter or someone to translate is commonplace because Congolese are multilingual and although there are languages considered Franca, such as the national languages and the official language, most families have a different and unique language repertoire and many people in Congo have not have the chance to attend school to learn French. Therefore, out of communication necessity, they create and establish language policies that are integrating because they directly affect churches’ members’ ability for intercomprehension. Spolsky (2012) argues that the religious domain’s key participants are the Divinity, the minister, and the congregants. Nevertheless, these examples demonstrate that in these Congolese churches there is a forth key

participant who is the interpreter. Interpreters have a crucial role of not only welcoming and integrating new members who are not Congolese, but also of navigating through the different languages of Congo achieving members with diverse linguistic repertoires.

On this occasion, the interpreter was wearing a large USA scarf. It was blue, white, and red, with the country's initials.

Figure 25 Congolese church's interpreter



Although the Congolese community have formed churches where they worship similar to what they did in Congo, live close and support each other, they integrate the U.S. culture to their practices.

6.1.5 Interpreting language policies

One type of language policy that is present in these families' lives and recurrent in the women's narratives is the provision of translations and interpreters in

institutional domains. Institutions that they interact frequently, such as at their workplace, at hospitals, at church, at their kids' schools, etc. provide this support. Although this resource is meant to be helpful, they have negative and positive views on it. Rilive believes that she has more opportunities to learn English than her husband because he spends most of his day at work where interpreters are provided:

R: We came here, only one month, we stayed home, after one month my husband went to [company]. He went at 5am and came back maybe 7pm. Over there in [company] there are interpreters. If you have the problem, you need to go to office, you take an interpreter. It's different for me. I stay home. I can go to the English class, I can go to office, WIC, the school for my children. And I speak a little bit of English.

Her husband's workplace does not require English and many other men and women in the neighborhood work there. They reported there are people from different backgrounds who speak different languages, as Spanish speakers, but the number of Congolese people who work there is high. Therefore, they communicate a lot in French or Lingala, and when they need to speak to someone who does not speak French, there are interpreters available. For Rilive, having the time to navigate different domains in the society where English is spoken without the help of interpreters gives her an advantage over her husband.

Solange has a similar interpretation of this language policy. She feels liberated that she no longer needs this support.

S: Like, when I go to hospital, for now, I don't need translator. I go by myself. I explain my pain. Also when I want to apply for job, I do it myself. if my car doesn't work, I can call a taxi myself., When I have a problem, even if the person doesn't speak my language but I can give a little explanation in English, they can understand me. Even if people talk to me I can understand. It's different. Now we are good.

She does not view this type of language policy as blocking her language learning, however she feels empowered by the fact that it is not part of her life in the U.S. anymore. She feels autonomous and that she can perform many tasks without the help of translation. She becomes aware of the language use in the hospital, for example, as she is able to express herself and communicate with other participants, such as doctors and nurses.

Although I consider Marta speaks English just as well as Solange, she feels insecure and that she still needs to improve her English so she can be understood. When Marta was being tutored in English at the Center, she would always redirect the content of the lesson to her linguistic needs at her workplace. Her imagined community was her workplace, but in order to be really a part of it, she had to achieve her imagined identity that was that of a fluent speaker of English who would be given more respect. Her workplace did not have interpreters available, but there were strategies created in order to communicate “better”.

M: He say, “Ok, Marta, come to office”. I say, “why?” [He says] “Come to office”. I go to office. I began talking, my English is no good. He is white; he is talking in the phone in English and translating to French and I’m talking in French and translating to English. He said: “Marta, this is not working, this job. Marta is looking at the phone, Marta is playing on the phone”. I said: “the phone? What’s in the phone? I don’t have internet in this phone, I don’t have Facebook, I don’t have Whatsapp, I don’t have nothing in this phone. Did you see I’m playing? Did you see I’m calling somebody in the phone? I’m looking the time.” Now it is finished and I said, “Ok, thank you, you just do this because I’m not talking English, because I am the African people. I am a black, you tell me these things. Now you always tell me come to office, come to office” [Manager says]., “Oh ok, are you finished? Ok. You can go”. After all I said he said that. I said “ok”. (...) African people in [company]. suffer, yes.

In this narrative, Marta portrays a conversation she had with her boss. She tells the story by adding utterances. Those utterances might come from what she actually remembers from the conversation or how she imagines the conversation should have gone. She felt like her boss did not make an effort to try to understand her English as he pulls the phone as she begins to talk, but she also blames herself for not speaking “good” English. In this narrative, Marta shows herself as a brave woman, as she tells him how she feels and why she thinks she is being treated this way. She positions herself as African people and mentions that he is white and that she is black, therefore for her there are questions of race involved in the fact that he is calling her attention at work. The translation strategy employed is not portrayed as helpful, but as a sign of disinterest; the manager wanted to get his message across and was not interested in her point of view.

Even though they have a negative interpretation of this type of language policy, translations and interpretations, they also see it as creating possible future professional identities for their children. In Rilive’s narratives:

R: If my children speak very well English and French, too, they can have many money here. yeah, it's very money. Because French is important. Interpreter is a work, you stay home, you work in phone. That's why they should learn [French].

Rilive, Abigail, Solange and Marta consider French important for different reasons; because they want them to be able to talk to their family relatives, because it is the language of education in Congo, so their children can become interpreters in the future etc. They imagine a different future for their children and they recognize their children's advantage in the pursuit of the imagined identities they project to them through the fluency in different languages, especially French.

For the community in Brazil, provisions of interpretations and translations belong to the realm of informality. Hospitals, for example, do not provide this type of service. Therefore, I did not find in the data, the desire of parents for children to learn Spanish in order to become interpreters or translators. When asked about it, Rafaela said the following:

E: Você gostaria de intérpretes?

R: Eu prefiro que falem o idioma (*português*) assim me ajuda a praticar, é melhor que fale assim porque me obriga a entender, e até que eu não more aqui ou não viva aqui, mesmo que eu volte, é bom aprender português de toda forma.

[E: Would you like interpreters?

A: I prefer to speak the language (Portuguese) so it helps me to practice, it is better that you speak like this because it forces me to understand, and until I don't live here or don't live here, even if I return, it is good to learn Portuguese from every shape.]

Rafaela echoes Rilive's perception that not having this service available to them means they have more opportunities to learn the local languages. Rafaela describes interactions in which she learns through the help of Brazilians. She said:

R: Por exemplo quando eu não entendo alguma coisa, a gente repete e volta a repetir, porque hay palavras que son muito locas e ainda não compreendo, então a gente volta e fala, volta e fala, e quando a gente vê que não entendo, eles voltam e explicam. Explicam de outra maneira e ajuda, e a gente como que gostam quando não entendemos porque eles gostam de buscar um jeito de explicar.

E: Porque você acha que eles gostam?

R: Não sei, porque a gente vê que somos de fora. Pouca gente não gosta, a maioria gosta, sempre tem boa recepção, onde estou, no trabalho, nas tendas ou na lan house, é estranho que não gostem.

[A: For example, when I don't understand something, we repeat it and repeat it again, because there are words that are very crazy and I still don't understand, so we go back and talk, go back and talk, and when we see that I don't understand ,

they come back and explain. They explain it in another way and it helps, and we like it when we don't understand why they like to look for a way to explain.]

In Rafaela's perception, Brazilians like when she does not understand something so they can find a way to explain and she believes it is because she is from abroad. Even though she said she can tell when someone does not like her. These interactions with this amount of repetition, for Rafaela, is an opportunity to learn and with interpreters that would not happen.

Petrolina, who takes the role of community interpreter and translator, finds the provision of this service necessary. She said:

P: No meu caso não (é necessário intérpretes), mas no caso deles.. e já fui com eles num posto de saúde, pra traduzir, bem, é difícil mas é necessário porque não entendem o que ele tá falando, ele não pode expressar livremente o que tem ou não tem porque tem pessoa que vem com uma doença de lá, uma história que precisa explicar, tem que ter alguém pra ajudar eles, já fui com algumas pessoas, quando alguém acha bem necessário, quando acha que a história é bem complicada de explicar, eu vou, porque na verdade aqui tem uma coisa que a pessoa faz o esforço de explicar pra você, lá em Boa Vista não acontece não, eles ficam zangados "ah, não quer repetir? Não entendeu?".

[P: Not in my case (interpreters are needed), but in their case ... and I went with them to a health center, to translate, well, it is difficult but it is necessary because they do not understand what he is saying, he cannot freely express what they have or don't have because there is a person who comes with a disease there, a story that needs to be explained, there has to be someone to help them, I've been with some people, when someone thinks it is necessary, when they think the story it is very complicated to explain, I will, because actually there is something that the person makes the effort to explain to you, there in Boa Vista it does not happen, they are angry "oh, don't you want to repeat? Did not understand?".]

Petrolina finds it important for immigrants to have someone to explain not only symptoms, but also entire background medical experiences that might help understanding the cause. This is what she does when she takes on the role of interpreter. However, she echoes Rafaela's words when describing how patience can be more effective in interactions than fluency in the language. The interview continued:

E: Os médicos fazem um esforço pra explicar aqui?

P: As pessoas em geral na saúde ou em qualquer outro canto, eles fazem o esforço de explicar, de repetir o que um não entendeu, assim.

E: Mas espanhol não tem?

P: Não, só aconteceu uma vez que fui com um deles e a doutora ela tinha morado já em Peru, então ela disse "eu entendo, só que não dá pra falar, mas eu entendo o que ele tá falando". Lá em Boa Vista, tem mais possibilidades de encontrar alguém que fale espanhol do que aqui, porque já chegou tanta gente, tem vários anos

chegando venezuelanos, aqui não, mas aqui o pessoal tem mais paciência, porque dá pra sentir que a pessoa quer fazer isso, isso já faz uma sorriso, então um sente que dá pra rir, que dá pra compreender por senhas, por escrita, o que seja, e isso já faz uma amizade. Já um se sente que tá sendo integrado.

[E: Do doctors make an effort to explain here?

P: People in general in health or elsewhere, they make the effort to explain, to repeat what one did not understand, like this.

E: But isn't there Spanish?

P: No, it only happened once that I went with one of them and the doctor she had already lived in Peru, so she said "I understand, but you can't talk, but I understand what he's talking about". There in Boa Vista, you have more chances of finding someone who speaks Spanish than here, because so many people have arrived, Venezuelans have been arriving for several years, not here, but here people have more patience, because you can feel what the person wants to do this, this already makes a smile, so one feels that you can laugh, that you can understand by passwords, by writing, whatever, and that already makes a friendship. One feels that he is being integrated.]

Although Petrolina helps with translation, similarly to Rafaela, she perceives doctors from Conde as more patient to understand and explain what leads to a friendship and the sense of integration.

When they were asked about the provision of translators and interpreters, they responded with professionals in mind. They did not think of their own community's members or family members, therefore, they thought of someone distant from their personal experiences. In this sense, most of them reject top-down language policies of interpretations and translations, but accept and foment the same language policies initiated in and for the community. In this chapter, I addressed the dynamic and multiple types of language policies created by and for the communities with integrative purposes. I showed how "integrating language policies" are complex and dependable on participants' language perceptions and living experiences. I also showed the powerful role women, particularly mothers, take in both maintaining theirs and their families' linguistic repertoires and in integrating their families and communities into the host countries. In chapter 7, I address key processes that are language and identity-related implicated in building the sense of belonging, crucial for feeling integrated.

CHAPTER 7: IN SEARCH FOR BELONGING – LANGUAGES, IDENTITIES AND SOCIAL CONNECTIONS

In this chapter, I present data related to the feelings of *belonging*. I find integration is not necessarily a crescent movement where immigrants and refugees start from 0 (society's non-participants, therefore not aware of social rules and language agreements) all the way to 10 (society's significant participant who can navigate all social domains through adequate language use) (SOUSA, 2015). Rather, the social integration movement is more malleable and dynamic. In this chapter, I address the relevant processes involving languages and identities, which are implicated in the sense of belonging to the host countries.

I start from participants' language learning strategies and move to their negotiation of identities and imagined or mobilizing of social capital in search for belonging.

7.1 Strategies for learning languages

Participants use different strategies for learning the host countries' languages. Some have the opportunity to learn in formal environments, such as at English and Portuguese classes, others resort to technology, some learn by talking to host countries' members, and some others combine two or more strategies. Those approaches are chosen out of their necessity and in accordance to what is or is not available to them.

Petrolina's parents were immigrants in Venezuela from Portugal, therefore, she claims it helped her with the language when she arrived in Brazil. She shared:

E: Quando você chegou aqui já falava português?

P: Sim, porque sou filha de portugueses, então, tinha essa facilidade, meus pais são migrantes na Venezuela de português, é minha segunda migração. Mas nasci na Venezuela.

E: Você já entendia então?

P: Já entendia, tem muita coisa que muda, do português, tem muita diferença, mas dá pra entender muita coisa, já pra falar não era tão igual mas ia.

[E: When you arrived here, did you already speak Portuguese?

P: Yes, because I am the daughter of Portuguese people, so I had this facility, my parents are Portuguese migrants in Venezuela, it is my second migration. But I was born in Venezuela.

E: Did you understand then?

P: I already understood, there is a lot that changes, from Portuguese, there is a lot of difference, but you can understand a lot, it was not the same to speak, but I was going to.]

In Petrolina's narrative, because her parents were from Portugal and spoke Portuguese between them, she found it easier to understand Portuguese from Brazil, despite the differences. She not only recognized the differences between her mother's language and Brazil's, but also noted regional varieties. She said:

E: E o próprio espanhol, tem muita diferença entre as regiões?

P: Sim, muda. É como aqui também, acontece, lá em Boa Vista é de um jeito, aqui de outro. Lá (*Venezuela*) tem um estado no sul, que até eu que falo espanhol, se falasse com eles "ah, ah, ah, pára!" Porque eles têm uma forma bem... mas tem a ver, dizem que tem a ver com se a pessoa mora na praia, se a pessoa mora na montanha, se a pessoa mora na roça, na cidade.

E: Quando você chegou aqui seu português era de Portugal, e você adaptou, foi?

P: Era, foi. Em Boa Vista, aqui adaptei de novo.

[E: And the Spanish himself, is there a lot of difference between the regions?

P: Yes, it changes. It's like here too, it happens, there in Boa Vista it is one way, here another. There (*Venezuela*) has a state in the south, which even I who speak Spanish, if I spoke to them "ah, ah, ah, stop!" Because they have a very good shape ... but it has to do, they say it has to do with whether the person lives on the beach, whether the person lives on the mountain, whether the person lives on the farm, in the city.

E: When you arrived here, your Portuguese was from Portugal, and you adapted it, did you?

P: It was, it was. In Boa Vista, here I adapted it again.]

Petrolina claims she adapted her Portuguese twice, once when she first entered Boa Vista and then when she moved to Paraíba. In order to adapt socially, she reports she chooses to adapt her accent. Therefore, the normative discourse that assigns languages, varieties and accents to nationalities directly influence the adapting strategies. The feeling of belonging is measured by how close to the sounds immigrants are able to speak the host countries' languages.

Because of her fluency, she plays a key role in the community's Portuguese practicing strategies. She shared:

E: E vocês aqui, vocês falam entre si em português ou espanhol?

P: Espanhol. Só se a pessoa pedir pra falar português pra praticar. De resto, espanhol

E: Mas eles pedem?

P: Tem vezes. Aquela minha amiga, aquela queria aprender que ela não sabia nada, então ela me pedia pra falar em português, que lesse pra ela em português, assim, pra ela ir escutando, porque até o professor de português fala isso, que não adiantava muito porque eram só duas aulas por semana, e o resto eles não leem, não escutam música em português, então não dava pra avançar, então ela queria isso.

[E: And you here, do you speak to each other in Portuguese or Spanish?

P: Spanish. Only if the person asks to speak Portuguese to practice. Otherwise, Spanish

E: But do they ask?

P: There are times. That friend of mine, that one wanted to learn that she didn't know anything, so she asked me to speak in Portuguese, to read to her in Portuguese, so that she would listen, because even the Portuguese teacher says that, it didn't do much because there were only two classes a week, and the rest they don't read, don't listen to music in Portuguese, so it wasn't possible to advance, so she wanted it.]

In her narrative, the group did not practice the language outside the classrooms where they met only twice a week. Although she claims they did not use strategies such as reading or listening to music, I have been present in several occasions where the group members were listening and dancing to Brazilian songs. I wrote the following field note:

Before class today, students were gathered under the shade in front of the house singing and the kids were dancing to a song in Portuguese I didn't recognize. I asked them about the singer and they told me it was Aldair Playboy. The Brazilian man who works at the house was surprised I didn't know the apparently famous singer from João Pessoa. I find interesting how they were singing the lyrics by heart and dancing to a song by a singer from the state. I asked the little girl's mother where her kid learned how to dance like that and she said she learned from watching Brazilian girls dance in Boa Vista. (Field note, August 18th, 2018).

I talked about Aldair Playboy during the class after that and I brought the song lyrics, which they knew the lyrics better than I did. José asked to sing the song in Spanish. He translated the Portuguese lyrics into Spanish while singing. I recorded his singing. It follows:

Abre el juego, acabó. ¿Para qué esconder este falso amor? Yo confié, me entregué, mi corazón luego se danó. De noche a mi lado quedo imaginando ¿Pero cómo podría caer en esta farsa de amor? Felicitaciones para ti que me hace entender que mi pasión no eres tu, gracias por demostrar este amor falso, y felicitaciones para ti que me hace entender que mi pasión no eres tu, obrigado por demostrar este amor falso.

[Come clean, it's over, why hide this false love? I trusted, I surrendered, my heart was soon broken. Night by my side, I stay here wondering. But how could I fall for this farce of love? Congratulations to you, who made me understand, that my passion is not you, thanks for showing this false love.]

José not only demonstrates he comprehends the song lyrics, but he also translates it into Spanish while his classmates applaud him with excitement. I am not sure about whether he did the translation beforehand or whether he did it in class, however listening, comprehending and translating the song to Spanish was a strategy he used to learning Portuguese. In the last sentence, however, Toni uses “obrigado” in Portuguese instead of “gracias” in Spanish, showing he portrays the message using the mixing of languages as resource.

Rafaela observes how people around her learn Portuguese and believes this is what is missing for her own learning. She said:

A Nairy não (*tem dificuldade na língua*), porque ela tá mais prática no português, porque ela fala com pessoas de fora, de dentro, com todo mundo, ela tem lo, que fala, lo feedback, o dialecto de Nairy tá muito melhor, o meu não tá melhor ainda porque eu não tenho esse feedback que ela tem. Meu feedback é pouco né? Meu acento não sei porque mas a gente nota que sou de fora, quando falo a gente “Você não é de aqui?”. Se eu falar três, quatro palavras, a gente fala, “Você não é de aqui?”.

[Nairy doesn't (*have difficulty in the language*), because she is more practical in Portuguese, because she speaks to people from outside, from inside, with everyone, she has it, she speaks it, she has feedback, Nairy's dialect is much better, mine isn't even better because I don't have that feedback that she has. My feedback is little right? My accent I don't know why, but we notice that I am from outside, when I say to you “Aren't you from here?”. If I say three, four words, we say, “Aren't you from here?”]

Rafaela believes Nairy is good at speaking Portuguese because she practices with many people and therefore has someone to help her out by providing vocabulary or translations. Rafaela came up with the word *feedback* in English to explain herself. She argues her lack of feedback explains why people always notice her accent is from abroad. She is confident she speaks well but wishes she had more opportunities to talk to Brazilians like Nairy has.

Loredana takes advantage of Nairy's fluency in Portuguese and practices it with her, by “playing” of having conversations. She also talks to her sister who is living in Roraima in Portuguese. She said:

E: E como você faz pra praticar o português?

L: Na verdade, é de estudar, é pegar um tempo muito pouco, eu faço mais que tudo, assistir, escutar e às vezes fico brincando com minha prima falando, e com minha irmã, minha irmã que está em Roraima, ela sim fala muito mais.

[E: And how do you do to practice Portuguese?

L: Actually, it is to study, to take a little time, I do more than anything, watch, listen and sometimes I am playing with my cousin talking, and with my sister, my sister who is in Roraima, she does speak a lot more.]

Although Loredana claims she does not like to study with a notebook and ends up not putting enough effort to learn Portuguese, she approaches the language informally by playing games and pretending she has conversations in Portuguese with her cousin and sister. Loredana and her cousin once played a game in which each one would take turns as being “the boss” and would interview each other. This practice allowed both of them to feel more secure at the actual job interviews and they were hired. Follows a field note I took about it:

Maria told me both Loredana and Nairy spent several days practicing for job interviews in the classroom (*at the NPO house*). They sit one in front of the other and ask questions they think employers might ask and then exchange seats and practice repeatedly. I find this a good way to prepare for the interview, which is oral. Nairy, however, already got a job and the volunteer of the house told me the employer did not notice she was not Brazilian. In her view, it was something positive. (Field note, August 25th, 2018).

Nairy was the first one to get the job. Later, Loredana got a job at the same company.

Ramón attended Portuguese classes but lists as first approach to learning the talk he does with Brazilians at work. He said:

E: E como foi aqui o português?

R: Eu aprendi conversando e assistia a aula de português, eu também, no trabalho, no restaurante, foi muito bom porque é todo dia falando, falando no meio das frutas legumes, tudo aprendi as comidas.

E: Você continua estudando ou pratica só conversando?

R: Conversando, e no meu trabalho eu trabalho na câmara fria e eu tenho que escrever o nome que o pessoal da churrasqueira quer, eu pego, por exemplo chega nova mercadoria, eu escrevo, tudo que vou tirando da câmara, eu vou escrevendo tudo.

[E: And how was Portuguese here?

R: I learned by talking and watching Portuguese class, I also, at work, in the restaurant, it was very good because it is every day talking, talking in the middle of fruits and vegetables, everything I learned about food.

E: Do you continue to study or practice just talking?

R: Talking, and in my work I work in the cold room and I have to write the name that the barbecue people want, I take it, for example, new merchandise arrives, I write, everything I get from the camera, I write everything.]

In Ramón's narrative, language is relevant to the job he does, he needs to comprehend when his co-workers tell him what they need and he needs to write down when new products arrive. By doing that, he claims it was good because he learned a lot, especially vocabulary related to food. Although he studied Portuguese formally, he now practices it just through conversations. However, this type of learning does not give him the confidence formal learning does. He said:

R: Eu não sei se falo português bem ou ruim, porque lá no restaurante a maioria das pessoas são do sítio, então sempre as pessoas do sítio falam errado, eles falam que falam errado, eles dizem: "você vai falar errado porque fala como nós." Sim, eles falam de verdade. E também que eles falam que o nordestino fala errado o português, eles falam que São Paulo e Rio falam melhor.

[A: I don't know if I speak Portuguese well or bad, because in the restaurant most people are from the farm, so people from the farm always speak wrong, they say they speak wrong, they say: "you will speak wrong because you speak like we." Yes, they speak for real. And also that they say that the Northeast speak Portuguese wrong, they say that São Paulo and Rio speak better.]

His comments portray a disseminated idea that people who live in rural areas are less educated and therefore do not speak the language correctly. He is lead to question whether he speaks the language well because of the origin of the people with whom he interacts. Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009) argue that normative discourses are forms of domination "made to seem natural or inevitable" (p.769). Therefore, the locals with whom he socializes believe their variety is incorrect and advise him to learn from another source. Another commonsense idea perceived as unquestionable truth is the one about varieties portrayed in his speech, which diminishes the variety from the Northeast of Brazil and elevates the ones from São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro, states with economic relevance in the country, showing how prestigious language and varieties and economic capital are related (BOURDIEU, 1991). His insecurity about his fluency in Portuguese is, therefore, directly related to climate of opinions reinforced by his own beliefs and by the beliefs of the members of the host society.

For Daniela, Ramón's wife, practicing with Brazilians was harder because while he worked she stayed at home with their daughter. She used the strategies she had available to her, she said:

D: Assim, porque Ramón ia falando, é assim é assim. Eu ficava sozinha em casa e falava: tenho que aprender. Aí colocava no celular “clases de português”. Aí anotava no caderno e assim foi, mas foi difícil demais. [D: So, because Ramón was talking, this is how it is. I was alone at home and said: I have to learn. Then I put “Portuguese classes” on my cell phone. Then I wrote it down in my notebook and that was it, but it was too difficult.]

At first, Daniela used strategies also used by people who are not immersed, such as watching lessons on the internet and taking notes. However, soon Daniela started practicing with her neighbor while they watched their kids play outside and she had to be an interpreter for her little daughter. She shared:

D: Algunas cosas, ela (*a filha dela*) mistura e ele (*o filho da vizinha*) fica... Su mamãe (*a vizinha*) disse “Tradutor!!!” Ela disse: “você é o tradutor, traduz agora!” Nós vamos lá fora (*do prédio*) e eu e a mãe dele falamos português, mas ela quer aprender espanhol, ela pede pra eu ensinar o básico. Eu disse: “vou ensinar depois”, ainda não ensinei. Quando falo pra menina alguma coisa em espanhol, ela vai aprendendo, fica repetindo. Ah é assim. Ela é interessada.

[D: Some things, she (*her daughter*) mixes and he (*the neighbor's son*) stays ... His mama (*the neighbor*) said "Translator!!!" She said: "you are the translator, translate now!" We go outside (*the building*) and his mother and I speak Portuguese, but she wants to learn Spanish, she asks me to teach the basics. I said: "I'll teach later", I haven't taught yet. When I say something to the girl in Spanish, she learns, keeps repeating. Ah, it is so. She is interested.]

Her neighbor asks her to be the “translator” for her son because Daniela’s daughter code-switches. Even though Daniela considers she has not taught her neighbor Spanish yet, because teaching a language, for her, occurs through the written process, there is practicing going on of the two languages. She does not include these conversations as her practicing of Portuguese but, unaware, uses this strategy to learn and teach.

Arnauld, on the other hand, considers conversations a crucial step in the process of learning a language.

A: In Congo, you can speak French without going to school.

E: And here?

A: Here? Speak English without going to school? I think you can but, you can or you cannot, because let me tell you something, we don’t have enough time, we don’t have enough time, and you have to meet the native speaker to teach you that language, so, if you haven’t enough time how do you gonna meet the native speaker? That’s a problem.

Not having time to practice English with a native speaker, for Arnauld, is problematic in the learning process. The belief that one can only improve English

skills through practicing with English speakers is present also in the speech of volunteers who teach the language. I found the following announcement on the Center:

Figure 26 English class announcement



Although the announcement promises practicing conversation with Americans as a way of improving English, it uses the word “practise” from the British variety. Nevertheless, his belief about learning and the announcement portray once again the language ideology, which selects English varieties and accents as standards and the ones accepted in society. Arnould holds this belief about learning, even though he practiced English with his friend from Congo, as soon as he arrived in the U.S. He shared:

A: I have got a friend, he lives now in Cedar Rapids, he taught me some English words, I said OK, he told me, YouTube, you can go to YouTube and you can find many courses in English, so you can learn when you're home. So, you gonna get some knowledge about English before you gonna get to College. And then I did, so we went to Kirkwood community college, uh.. I signed up for my courses, I made my test, computer test for which level they can get me, so when they got me my level, I said OK, and then I started to learn right there, they got me level two of grammar, reading, writing.

Arnauld's friend not only practiced English with him but also advised him to learn English through the internet before getting into College (where he would learn English formally). His informal learning preceded the formal one. Although Thereza's husband is the interpreter at the Congolese church (Lingala/French/English), she also resorted to the internet to learn English. She said:

E: How did you learn English?

T: TV, book, YouTube, I studied English on YouTube, I write in French "how to learn English" and I get the lessons, I went to school for 6 months but I stopped because of my baby, nobody takes care of my baby, so I stopped. (...) I learned a little bit, at home, sitting, watching TV, I listen, I listen, I listen, now I can understand and speak everything.

Like Daniela, Thereza touches on the matter of social support lack. Many women have shared they wish they had their families nearby to expand their possibilities in the new countries, including learning the languages. This lack of assistance affects how mothers approach learning and some have the most access to the host countries' languages through their children. Marta is an example, she said: "Yes, I need learning English with my kids". Although she claims she learns from her children, she actually practices it the most with her daughter who is the middle child. She wants to keep the other languages alive in her home and uses this strategy, but feels bad they might forget Congo's languages and not be able to communicate with her relatives back in Africa. She shared:

M: I don't like because I'm talking in English, this is a stop to Lingala, she's not talking more Lingala. She's not talking more French.. only the English.. English. Now, sometimes, I need to go to Africa, I'm taking my kids, what languages are they talking? Now, I'm talking English with my kids, when they need to go visit Africa, my mom and my dad, what language my kids are talking? Only English? My dad is not talking English, my mom is not talking English.. Now, I don't know.

Marta's strategy to learn English implicates less practicing of Congo's languages and therefore, less possibilities of communicating with relatives. Tuominen (1999) found that children of multilingual backgrounds socialize the parents instead of the opposite. She argues that "they are teaching their parents to 'speak the same language' as the rest of America." (p.73). This predominance of English in at least the middle child's repertoire is problematic not only for communicating between

countries but in her own home, once Marta's husband does not speak English. She said:

E: What about your husband?

M: My husband no speaking English, no.. sometimes I have a problem, "Martine, can you talk to him?" You can go only to Martine, for writing, for talking,

E: He wants you to write and speak for him..

M: I don't have time and he doesn't have time.

E: And where he works..

M: He can listen to English but he doesn't speak.

E: You help him?

M: Before I came here, he said he studied English, after I came, he stays at home, he has to stay with the kids. He doesn't have much time.

Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009) argue that an approach to language policy as practice looks closely at the social spaces where normative policy discourses, languages, and interests are negotiated politically and socially. Marta negotiates language use, learns and practices English in her household. She practices with her kids and functions as an interpreter for her husband who, although comprehends some English, does not speak it. She takes on a greater role in the family speaking for herself and for her husband.

Thereza's relatives in Congo, on the other hand, practice English with her children. She shared:

T: (...) like my dad speaks English, I have two brothers who speak English better than me, they learned in Congo, they speak and write very well, so they speak "Hi, uncle, how are you doing?". They want to speak with them in English so they practice.

Even though Thereza is a stay-at-home mother and uses the internet to learn English, she gets surrounded by the language through her children and the interactions they have through the phone with their Congolese relatives. In this case, instead of practice and keep alive the Congolese languages over the phone, the relatives practice and add English to their language repertoires in Congo.

Rafaela also practiced Portuguese with kids when she stayed with a Venezuelan family who live Brazil. She said:

R: (...) porque a casa que llegué, porque a mim me recibieron lá, né? Meus amigos, por temporário né? Enton, eles me recibieron, eles tenían una criança e a criança você sabe, as crianças son como a esponja, né? Absolve tudo, eles falava muito

bem, perguntando, falando, eles iban na escola, né? Ele tava muito prático, entences ele falava frases e eu iba aprendendo, né?

[R: (...) because the house I arrived in, because they received me there, right? My friends, temporary, right? So, they received me, they had a child and the child you know, children are like a sponge, right? Absolve everything, they spoke very well, asking, talking, they went to school, right? He was very practical, so he spoke phrases and I would be learning, right?]

Rafaela took the advantage to learn Portuguese from her friends' children. She believes children are like sponges who learn very fast and paid attention to their speeches so she would become more familiar with Portuguese. For Leo, however, children learning faster than their parents can be problematic. He said:

L: The kids do understand, the kids do learn English. Yeah, they do go to school and learn English. (...) in fact most of them get help with their kids, the kids help them reading letters, and they do help and sometimes they mislead them.. yes, because they have a letter from school saying: "Your child misbehaved".. yes, if I'm your child and I get a letter saying that your son did abc in school and I brought you the letter than I ask you to sign, "What is this?" "It's a letter saying I'm doing great." You see? That's a problem.

E: Do you think it creates conflict? Do you remember any conflicting situation the kids speak English and the parents don't?

L: Yeah, it creates kind of a conflict but parents.. even here at our Center, we have kids whose languages is like French, or Spanish, or Swahili or Lingala, when they get here, six months later, those languages disappear. Because mom and dad at home, when they go home, turn the TV on, the only language is English, come to school the only language is English, no one is talking to them in their language, do you think they are going to use that language? No. The language start disappearing.

E: And how do they communicate with their parents when the parents don't speak English?

L: The parents will talk to them in the languages, the kids understand, but they are not replying. It becomes an issue.

The question of keeping the Congolese identity is very important for Leo. One of his jobs at the Center is to visit Congolese families to monitor children's development, including their language acquisition. I observed on several occasions that when he is at the Center, he makes sure to welcome the children who are going there for classes by speaking to them using Swahili, Lingala or French. He also claims he makes sure his children speak Swahili. Therefore, watching children who can understand but are silent in their parents' languages is upsetting to him. In his narrative, English prevalent in families equals problems.

7.2 Negotiating new identities

The “working” theme was very prominent in the participants’ comments. The Venezuelan refugees have work as their main goal especially so they can send money back to Venezuela. I observed this as their main focus as soon as they arrive. They have the support of the PMC, where they can live and eat for as long as six months until they adapt and find jobs. However, they (except women with little babies) are very willing and ready as soon as they arrive. The house they stay is close to a beach in Conde where there are restaurants and bars. Men often find job opportunities in construction and women just go out of the house with a backpack and walk on the streets that lead to those restaurants offering their workforce in each house in the way. Many return only after they clean a house or a bar and get paid for it (even though they complain people take advantage and pay less than they should). As they do not speak Portuguese, they resort to the PMC’s volunteers to ask how to say basic sentences in the language. Congolese immigrants also share how much they need to work upon arrival and how they need to postpone or put on hold other plans, such as studying. Nancy shared this reality as follows:

When I came here I thought life was all ok, easy, but it’s not like I was thinking about, because you work hard to have money, if you don’t work hard, you can’t have money to pay the bills. Because in my country I was just at home, I would sleep, go to school, come back home.. here I go to work, I don’t have time, work sleep work sleep, it’s not easy, it’s difficult. If you don’t work you don’t have money and you have a lot to pay, you must go to work, it’s not easy.

Many times, they also need the money not only to support themselves and their families, but also to send back to their families and friends in need in Venezuela and in Congo. Marta said:

Ma: I came here for looking, my family is very difficult in Africa, you know? You have money, you can save, sometimes you can send money for the family, sometimes it’s ah... c’est quoi? Malade?

E: Yes, sick?

Ma: Sick, you send the money, sometimes for eat, food, you send the money, sometimes, somebody dies, you send the money, always difficult in Africa, in Congo.

Therefore, in the beginning, they end up taking jobs that will provide them with money to survive and to help their family and friends, however, as time goes by they

realize these jobs are not a fulfillment and start missing the lives they had back in their home-countries.

Soon after the first assimilative wave through the job market, immigrants and refugees begin to reassess the roles they are taking on in the host countries and the adaptation process shift from trying to survive to searching for new dignified identities. In order to comprehend identity search, however, it is crucial to understand languages from the participants' perspectives.

7.2.1 In search for professional identities

Most of the immigrants and refugees in this research have had professions in their countries of origin. Among them, there are doctors, nurses, university professors, schoolteachers etc. Nonetheless, upon arrival in the host countries, they come to realize they will not work anytime soon in their professions.

Professional identity is central in building in them a sense of dignity and self-worth that they believe will lead to the sense of belonging. They end up working for longer than expected in low-skilled jobs they did not anticipate and this is reason for frustration. Rilive shared:

R: My husband is a biologist in Congo, we went to the university. If I speak very well English I can be a nurse here, I like my job.. oooh, I miss it. Here it's different, the nurse for children, nurse for maternity, adults. I was general, nurse for everybody... I studied three years and my husband five in the university. He can work everywhere there, he is a biologist, he checks the products, here if he speaks very well English he can have many jobs.. he wants to learn but he doesn't have the time, the problem is the time, we have the children, we have to take care of them, pay the bills, if you don't work you go to class, but where do you take the money for the children to pay the bills?

Rilive portrays this frustration. She misses her professional identity as a nurse and the identity of her husband as a biologist. She perceives investing in English as the solution; if they are fluent in the language, they can regain their professional identities. Norton (2013) argues that the language investment is intertwined with the target community, which can be "a reconstruction of past communities and historically constituted relationships" (p.13). However, for her, achieving the goal of being fluent in English is hard due to lack of time to learn. Her husband needs to

work to pay the bills, she has the children to take care of, and there is not any time left for studying. Rilive was a student at the Center (during Monday evenings), she was very interested and would never skip a class even though she was in the late weeks of her third pregnancy. She was placed with the intermediate group after she took the English written test. Therefore, even though she believes she needs more time to study in order to speak English “very well”, she is committed to learning it whenever she can, because she believes the language will allow her to identify herself as a nurse again in the new context. Norton (2013) argues that learners’ relationship with their imagined identities might affect their learning processes. Rilive’s future imagined community is the workplace, where she will practice her imagined identity as a nurse and her investment in English in the present has direct connection with her imagined future. Her imagined professional identity for the new context is also connected to her prior identity in Congo. Concomitantly, struggling to achieve her imagined identity, she avoids being frustrated by hoping for a better future through their children’ success, she said:

E: Did you come with the lottery?

R: Yes, I was happy for my children go to school, my daughter like, if she’s studying, she finishes school, she can work here, it’s good. I’m here for the children, for me I don’t know English, if you have the job.. the job excuse me I’ll tell you in French, C’est comme si quelq’un qui n’a pas étudié (It’s like someone who has never studied). Yeah.. the jobs we take here.. I don’t have the.. I don’t choose because I need to pay the bills..

She prioritizes her kids’ education and possible successful futures over her own plans and sense of belonging to the workplace. She uses French, the language with which she is comfortable, to explain her feelings in regards to it. She knows she is not “someone who has never studied”, but that is how she perceives herself, and how she is misrecognized in society (BOURDIEU, 1977), while doing low-skilled work. She also points out the fact that she does not have a choice regarding jobs options. Not exercising their prior professions in the country, therefore, builds in them dissatisfaction. Solange said:

E: How did you pay your trip to get here?

S: My husband paid, it was expensive, it was all money, we spent 12 thousand dollars, my husband was a university professor, over there they get little money, we were saving the money, we wanted to buy the house while we were saving the money, and when we won the lottery, we used that money to pay for the trip.

E: What did he teach?

S: He was teaching about work psychology..

E: What about you?

S: I was a teacher, I was teaching two levels, I had to different schools.

E: Your husband is a professor, and what does he do here?

S: Here, he works at factory, because one time he went to Illinois to ask about what he could to keep his same job, they told him, “you have to study four or six years, if you want to keep the same profession, you have to study all 4 or 6 years”. For now it’s not easy for us, we have little kids. We have to work, combine work.. he misses his job so much, specially if he made a hard job that day, when he gets home “Aah I miss my job”. We have nothing to do.

E: You too? Do you miss your job?

S: Yeah, I miss my job, but here the job I do lifting lifting, and standing, standing is a little bit good but lifting 50 pounds, 40 pounds all day, it’s not good. But for now, I stopped with work.

Here, Solange shares hers and her husband’s prior professional identities. She also shares how it is hard for them to work in the current jobs that require a lot of their physical strength but less of the intellect. Her husband tried to find a way to keep his profession in the U.S., but there are many obstacles to achieve that, including having little kids. Difficult days makes her husband look at the past more and miss his profession, but they do not have choices. Arnould echoes Solanges’ comments on the type of work that requires a lot from their physical strength:

A: In Congo, we have plenty of time, in Congo, I’m telling you, the kind of job I am working here, if they put that in Congo, I think, they’re gonna get maybe 20% of the people is gonna come up to work right there. Because the job we have right here is very difficult, here first of all, when I came here, I started to work at T and I got sick, Had being to hospital for four days..

E: Because of work?

A: Because of work, have never been up for ten hours. I mean have been ever and never up for ten hours. Do you understand what I am saying? In my daily life, when I lived in my country, I cannot stand up for ten hours just working.

E: Everyday?

A: Every single business day.

E: What do you do at T?

A: I work at the production. Everybody who works right there 99% of the people work standing up.

E: Do you need to speak English?

A: Either you speak English neither you do, you have to be up working. It depends on the kind of job you got, but that’s why I said 99% of the people work standing up. That’s it.

For Arnould, the work requires so much from his physical strength to the point he got sick from working when he first started. Speaking English does not make any difference. He speaks English and he worked doing the same as people who did not. As Solange shared, they work long hours standing up, whether they speak English,

whether they are men or women, whether they have higher education in their home countries or not. Arnould also has higher education, as he shared:

E: What's your goal right now?

A: My goal is to become I told you I did computer science when I lived in Africa, right? So, right here, I got my diploma but right here I cannot work with it, so that's why I am going to school, to get another diploma for computer science and to make more research about computer science, to get a job to my major you know? To get a job to my major. That's it.

When referring to goals, immigrants and refugees often direct their goals to achieving a professional career, they either plan or dream about working on the same field they did before in their home countries, or they plan on pursuing another career or a better job. Either way, their sense of fulfillment and belonging are also related to their professional identities.

Daniela also has as a goal to be able to go back to her former job. She worked for the Army in Venezuela, but she does not think she can have the same type of job in Brazil. She shared:

E: Qual sua meta agora?

D: Ai Diós, porque eu, eu gosto aqui de Brasil, mas eu aqui em Brasil não tenho muita ilusón não, como cualquier persona quiero ir para Venezuela e cumprir minhas metas lá e facer o que eu fazia lá, trabalhar.

E: Você fazia o quê?

D: Eu trabalhava no exército. Sim, então, eu quero fazer o que eu fazia porque eu amo, sinto muita saudade. É lo que eu gusto, mas muita gente diz: “você é doida”, pero é algo que não tem, é algo así, que para eu, é o melhor que hay no mundo, facer o que eu fazia.

E: Vocês têm objetivo de voltar pra lá?

D: Se Maduro sai, nós vamo... se for agora, nós esperamos até janeiro do ano que vem. Fernando és médico, ele sente falta, muita. O trabalho que tem aqui é muito diferente. Mas ele quiere trabalhar de médico.

[E: What is your goal now?

D: Ai Diós, because I, I like it here in Brazil, but here in Brazil I don't have much illusion, as any person I want to go to Venezuela and fulfill my goals there and do what I did there, work.

E: What did you do?

D: I worked in the army. Yes, so, I want to do what I did because I love it, I miss it a lot. That's what I like, but a lot of people say: “you are crazy”, but it is something that you don't have, it's something that, for me, is the best thing in the world, doing what I did.

E: Do you have a goal to return there?

D: If Maduro leaves, we will ... if it is now, we will wait until January next year. Fernando is a doctor, he misses a lot. The work you have here is very different. But he wanted to work as a doctor.]

Daniela thinks her work is the best thing there is in the world, even though many people thinks she is “crazy” for loving that type of job. She does not make plans in Brazil concerning a professional career, instead, she plans on returning and achieving her goals in Venezuela. Her old job is the main reason for her to want to return, as her family later joined her in Brazil while she kept the same goal. She also refers to Ramón’s (her husband’s) wish to work on his profession again and therefore returning is a plan they have together.

Ramón found a job at a restaurant in João Pessoa and soon moved there. He was able to bring his wife, his daughter and, more recently, his wife’s mother and three brothers. They all live together in a three-bedroom apartment and he is satisfied with the fact that he is now independent and can afford to live on his own.

E: Você se considera bem sucedido até agora?

R: Sim. Sim, porque nós na Venezuela, ou seja, aqui temos coisas que na Venezuela tinha que trabalhar muito ou era impossível, nós moramos na casa da minha mãe, por exemplo, lá eu comecei a trabalhar, mas não podia comprar nada, nem casa, nada. Aqui também temos dificuldades mas pensamos muito em voltar pra lá porque se voltamos pra lá vamos morar na casa da minha mãe de novo, vamos deixar tudo que temos aqui, temos pouca coisa, mas estamos melhor.

[E: Do you consider yourself successful so far?

A: Yes. Yes, because we in Venezuela, that is, here we have things that in Venezuela had to work hard or it was impossible, we live in my mother's house, for example, there I started to work, but I couldn't buy anything, or home, nothing. Here we also have difficulties but we think a lot about going back there because if we go back there we will live at my mother's house again, we will leave everything we have here, we have little, but we are better.]

Ramón’s independence from his mother gives him doubts on whether to return to Venezuela or not. He feels discouraged to return to Venezuela because he might lose self-reliance. However, one element that restores his confidence and makes him want to go back to his home country is the recovering of his professional identity. He said:

R: Outra coisa que pensamos mas como aqui também estou com dificuldade de fazer a revalida porque estou sem a documentação, se a Venezuela melhorar, não posso continuar a trabalhar em restaurante eu tendo meu profissão, meu diploma que posso exercer lá. Eu era médico, sinto falta da minha profissão, queria exercer aqui, mas a dificuldade da documentação. To sem a documentação pra legalizar meu certificado. É difícil porque as instituições públicas lá na Venezuela não está

liberando os documentos, o governo tem tudo bloqueado para que os profissionais não saiam do país.

[R: Another thing that we think but as here I am also having a hard time doing the revalidation because I am without the documentation, if Venezuela improves, I cannot continue to work in a restaurant with my profession, my diploma that I can exercise there. I was a doctor, I miss my profession, I wanted to practice here, but the difficulty of documentation. To without the documentation to legalize my certificate. It is difficult because public institutions in Venezuela are not releasing documents, the government has everything blocked so that professionals do not leave the country.]

In Ramón's perspective, if Venezuela's situation improves, he cannot abandon his profession. He misses being a doctor and he does not see a way to revalidate his diploma in Brazil, because he does not have the documents that prove his studies. Ramón is very engaged in the events offered by Paraíba Migrante, always the first to get the microphone and give testimonials on how grateful and happy he is to be in Brazil.

Nevertheless, the loss of his professional identity is increasingly a determining factor that makes him miss Venezuela and feel less connected to Brazil. He uses strategies to be reminded of his prior identity. For example, he shares with people about the work he did before and post pictures from that time on social media. His public profile picture follows:

Figure 27 Saudades da Medicina



On Figure 27, there is a subtitle that says: “saudade da medicina” (“missing medical career”), followed by two emoticon sad faces and a Venezuelan flag. This is a way of showing that his identity is made up by factors not only from the present, but also from the past. He uses Portuguese, and the word “saudade” that does not have any similar word in Spanish. It shows he is interested in portraying the information to Brazilians, showing his new friends and/or co-workers his “real” identity despite his new practiced identity. These feelings cause immigrants and refugees to turn to the past in search for confidence, which might hinder the adaptation process. Working in low-skilled jobs is one of the factors that lowers the most their sense of dignity and hinders building the sense of belonging. Additionally, the refugee status is embedded in cultural normative discourses, which define the individual not only under the Law and Human Rights, but mainly in the social arenas. While his past and imagined future identities are of a respected doctor, this status and profession do not fit the identity of a struggling person who does not have access to economic capital. All the characteristics associated with the refugee personae help build a type of misrecognition (BOURDIEU, 1977), in which refugees are perceived as people who will fulfill low-skilled jobs.

Immigrants and refugees are also often exposed to “ideal” professions in textbooks when in language classes. Usually they learn how to pronounce and spell professions such as doctor, nurse, firefighter, cook, housekeeper etc.

Figure 28 Professions

1 WRITE the occupation. Use *a* or *an*.

housekeeper	salesclerk	nurse	construction worker	police officer	office assistant
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2 WRITE. Complete the sentences. Use the singular or plural of the noun.

- (server) Mei is a server.
- (cook) Tomas and I are a cookers.
- (doctor) Daniela is a doctor.
- (actor) Sam and Bill are an actors.
- (teacher) Julio is a teacher.
- (firefighter) You and Ana are firefighters.
- (student) We are students.
- (housekeeper) I am an housekeeper.

3 CIRCLE the correct word.

- Two child / children are students.
- One child / children is not a student.
- Three man / men are firefighters.
- One man / men is not a teacher.
- One woman / women is from China.
- Four woman / women are from Canada.
- Two person / people are married.
- One person / people is single.

Unit 1

Norton (2013) argues that struggling to relate language practices in the classroom and imagined identities can decrease language investment. In this case, immigrants do not connect the language practices to their practiced identities (XU, 2012) and that can also be reason for frustration. Strategies they use to survive and the low-skilled jobs that require more from their physical than from their intellect are not covered or discussed in textbooks used in host languages classes, and that can give them a sense of being excluded.

Rafaela is unsatisfied with her current job because she cannot identify herself in the positions she now occupies. She shared:

E: Você sente falta da sua profissão?

R: Sim porque é meu meio de viver, né? É o que eu sei fazer, aqui eu tenho que trabalhar de quase qualquer coisa que encontro, por exemplo, fazer faxina é muito difícil pra mim, eu não tava acostumada, eu não fazia nada disso lá, limpar, cozinhar, essas coisas eu não fazia isso, e é difícil, mas aqui eu trato de adaptar.

[E: Do you miss your profession?

A: Yes because it is my way of life, right? That's what I know, I have to work almost anything I find, for example, cleaning up is very difficult for me, I wasn't used to it, I didn't do any of that there, cleaning, cooking, these things I didn't do that, and it's difficult, but here I try to adapt.]

Rafaela is a nurse in Venezuela and misses her profession. She finds it hard to work in low skilled jobs, but she claims she adapts. She added she feels incomplete in Brazil because she cannot work as a nurse:

R: É o que mais quero, minha carreira, porque minha carreira me custou muito trabalho para sacar ela. É como você ler um livro, que não interpreta, que não pratica, né? Então me sinto incompleta, acho que a coisa da felicidade é estar num lugar que eu quero, né? Que eu quero é ter a vida que eu tinha em Venezuela aqui ou em qualquer país, só Deus sabe porque trabalhar como estou trabalhando não gosto, o que eu tô fazendo é pela necessidade mas não gosto, eu acho que pra minha felicidade ta completa eu preciso de trabalho e minha carreira (...). mas eu tenho esperança porque tenho documentação. Eu acho que vou a sentir feliz assim, né?

[R: It's what I want most, my career, because my career has cost me a lot of work to get it out. It's like reading a book, that you don't interpret, that you don't practice, right? So I feel incomplete, I think the thing about happiness is being in a place that I want, right? What I want is to have the life I had in Venezuela here or in any country, only God knows because working as I am working I don't like it, what I'm doing is out of necessity but I don't like it, I think for my happiness it's complete I need work and my career (...). but I have hope because I have documentation. I think I will feel happy like that, right?]

Rafaela believes happiness means being able to have the life she had in Venezuela and in order to achieve that, she must be working as a nurse. The job she is currently doing is out of necessity but does not fulfill her or gives her a sense of belonging to Brazil. However, she says she has hope, and that feeling helps her adaptation process as she understand the situation she is in is temporary. She has been granted the possibility to validate her diploma by studying for a year at the university and that makes her optimistic. She shared:

R: (...) mas agora que saiu essa oportunidade que havia estado esperando graças a senhora Imara, né? Eu vou fazer um intento, tem que fazer um intento (...) eu tuvo uma oportunidade agora, porque você sabe que yo soy profesional, enton, aqui não posso trabalhar se não revalido, ni o público, ni o privado, enton eu meti com a senhora Imara uma solicitude na universidade federal, e na universidade federal me ligaram, faz hace como uma semana atrás, me falaram que a minha solicitude foi aceitado, enton eles me falaram que vou começar esse semestre agora, al final deste mês. Vou estudar dois semestres porque me falaram que, pra igualar, eles falam que tenho estudo, né? Tenho base, mas eles falam que é um pouquinho diferente porque, apesar que eu sou superior, eu no posso dar classe, né? Eu posso fazer um complemento de dos anos, um ano, dos semestres pra nivelar. Mas o problema é que vou estudar durante no dia, então vou precisar de um emprego à noite, de garçonete, de cualquier coisa que encontro.

[R: (...) but now that this opportunity that I had been waiting for thanks to Mrs. Imara has left, right? I am going to make an attempt, I have to make an attempt (...) I have an opportunity now, because you know that I am professional, so here I cannot work unless revalidated, the public, the private, so I I asked Mrs. Imara with a request at the federal university, and at the federal university they called me, a week ago, they told me that my application was accepted, so they told me that I'm going to start this semester now, at the end of this month. I am going to study two semesters because they told me that, to match it, they say I have a study, right? I have a base, but they say it is a little different because, although I am superior, I cannot class, right? I can make a complement of the years, a year, of the semesters to level. But the problem is that I'm going to study during the day, so I'm going to need a job at night, a waitress, whatever I find.]

Rafaela is hopeful her life will improve after she is able to practice her profession in the country. She emphasizes her professional identity by saying, “soy profesional”. This emphasis can be related to the misrecognizable values (BOURDIEU, 1977), culturally and socially attributed to the refugee identity. Although, she is excited with the opportunity she has been waiting for, she recognizes her life will get harder and busier during this year, because she will need to arrange time for working as well since she needs to pay her bills and be able to support herself.

Petrolina considers she is working in her field now in Brazil. Working in her area of studies had not been possible in Venezuela for a long time. She said:

P: (...) mas a certeza é que por exemplo, a juventude não tem futuro lá, eu posso estudar, o que vou trabalhar se não tem emprego? Já quando eu tava lá, assim, eu sou graduada, e trabalhava com outra pessoa que só tinha ensino fundamental, ganhando na mesma porque a empresa já não tinha pra pagar a minha profissão então ou trabalhava isso igual a ela, apesar dos anos que trabalhei pra estudar pra me graduar ou não trabalhava.

[P: (...) but the certainty is that, for example, youth have no future there, I can study, what will I work on if I don't have a job? When I was there, like that, I'm a graduate, and I worked with someone who only had elementary school, earning in mesma because the company no longer had to pay for my profession then or worked like that, despite the years I worked to study to graduate or I didn't work.]

In Brazil, however, Petrolina considers she is working in her area.

E: Aqui você tá trabalhando na sua profissão?

P: Sim, poderia ser que sim, porque eu trabalho numa pousada e pousada tem a ver com turismo, só que eu trabalho de garçonne, e aqui também tem alguma coisa porque faço como tradutora em vezes com eles, que precisam de alguma coisa, precisam ir no posto de saúde e precisam de tradução então tem alguma coisa a ver.

[E: Are you working in your profession here?

P: Yes, it could be, because I work in an inn and inn has to do with tourism, only I work as a waitress, and here is also something because I do as a translator

sometimes with them, who need something, they need to go to the health center and they need a translation so it has something to do.]

She has studied Tourism and now she is working both at the NPO and at a hotel. At the hostel, she feels like she is working in her field because of the place itself, even though she is a waitress. At the NPO, because she is needed for translations and interpretations, she considers it has to do with languages and, therefore, with Tourism. Even though both jobs are not directly related to her prior profession, she finds a way to related her practiced identity to her imagined identity. She shared about the hostel:

P: (...) é incrível, eu já trabalho com turismo há vinte anos, e a primeira vez na minha vida que eu vejo que a pessoa respeita meu trabalho e até se sente agradados, ou seja, “obrigado”, “oh, muito amável você”, me ajudam até para pegar os pratos quando tá na mesa, que não acontecia assim quando trabalhei em outros cantos, as pessoas ah como que superior a mim, ou acha que eles são mais, lá é uma coisa que eu to surpreendida com isso, eu não sei se é uma coisa que eles sentem que eu to atendendo eles, to sendo cúmplice da sua liberdade, que eu não to julgando eles, eles me veem, “Oi, Petrolina”, porque tem uns que vão com frequência, ou falam com qualquer carinho, respeitam, eles ficam na sua, eles não tem problema não, comigo assim, que vão me ofender, que vão me maltratar porque eu sou a que atende.

[P: (...) it is incredible, I have been working with tourism for twenty years, and the first time in my life that I see that the person respects my work and even feels pleased, that is, "thank you", "oh , very kind you ", they help me even to pick up the dishes when I'm at the table, which didn't happen like that when I worked in other places, people ah like that superior to me, or think they are more, there is something I I'm surprised by this, I don't know if it's something they feel I am attending to them, I am complicit in their freedom, I am not judging them, they see me, “Hi, Petrolina”, because there are some who are going often, or speak with any affection, respect, they stay with you, they have no problem, with me like that, they will offend me, they will mistreat me because I am the one who attends.]

Petrolina shares she has been treated better at the nudist hotel she is working than during the prior twenty years of her profession. Xu (2012) found that external institutional factors seem to cause imagined identities to be negatively replaced by practiced identities. However, in Petrolina’s case, it seems that she intertwines her imagined and practiced identities and views the latter positively. She attributes the good treatment to the fact that she respects their different lifestyle and they act reciprocally. She said:

E: Então gosta de trabalhar lá?

P: Gosto sim, porque até, por exemplo, eu vou na boate, danço, não que me misturo com eles não, vou atender eles, vou dançando, vou pra lá, e nenhum pega em mim ou falta o respeito, nenhum até agora já vou fazer dois meses, e quem trabalha há muito tempo também diz que não.

[E: So do you like working there?

P: Yes, I do, because even, for example, I go to the club, dance, not that I mix with them, I go to meet them, I go dancing, I go there, and none of them catch me or lack respect, none until now I'll be two months already, and those who have been working for a long time also say no.]

She likes working there because she can be herself, she can dance while attending them being sure nobody will harm or take advantage of her. She shared most of the hostel guests are Brazilians, so I asked about her language use:

E: Então você nem precisa falar espanhol lá?

P: Ah, esse fim de semana, vieram quatro paraguaios, e no outro fim de semana vieram dois argentinos. Então pra eles é ótimo, porque eles não compreendem não, aí me chamam, “Petrolina”, aí vou lá, falo com eles e é tão lindo porque eles me abraçam, “ela fala espanhol”, como se fosse minha família “ah, me posso expressar”, então tem sido lindo pra eles, pra mim, pra quem trabalha lá, e pra quem vai se hospedar, é linda.

[E: So you don't even need to speak Spanish there?

P: Ah, this weekend, four Paraguayans came, and the other weekend came two Argentines. So for them it's great, because they don't understand, then they call me “Petrolina”, there I go, I talk to them and it's so beautiful because they hug me, “she speaks Spanish”, as if it were my family “ah, I can express myself”, so it has been beautiful for them, for me, for those who work there, and for those who are staying, it is beautiful.]

For Petrolina, the guests, her co-workers, future guests and herself all benefit from the use of Spanish in her workplace. She says that the fact that she speaks Spanish is great for the guests who can be understood, and because they identify with her through the language, they treat her with a lot of affection. Therefore, the times she speaks Spanish are, as she said, beautiful moments. Her language is appreciated and she feels very good about it. However, she is the one in control of the language use, she is the one who comprehends all interactions conducted in both Spanish and Portuguese, her fluency in Spanish is needed, and she does the translations and interpretations. She allows the guests to express themselves in the way they feel comfortable by speaking Spanish to them. Spanish empowers her. Language capital both in Portuguese and in Spanish, therefore, gives her status and facilitates her way in the job market, converting it into economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986).

Although Bourdieu (1986) considers cultural capital as institutionalized and dependable on host society's decisions on whether it is convertible to economic capital or not, this study shows that cultural capital able to generate money can also be represented outside the institutional realm. Some women found ways to make money outside the job market and inside their own communities. Rilive, for example, braids other Congolese women' and girls' hair. She was able to fulfill a necessity of her own community and make profit out of it. For doing so, she needed to have not only expertise as a hairdresser, but mainly a cultural understanding of hairdos only women within the community have.

Marta also took advantage of this type of expertise and found a way to make money among her community members. Marta sends money to her mother so she can buy food in Congo, send it back to her in the U.S. so Marta can sell it to other Congolese. Food both from Congo and Venezuela is an element most participants shared they miss; therefore, selling it is very profitable. In 2017, in the month of November, Marta received the food her mother sent and I took the following pictures

Figure 29 Fumbua Figure 30 Dzombo Figure 31 Makayabu Figure 32 Dakala

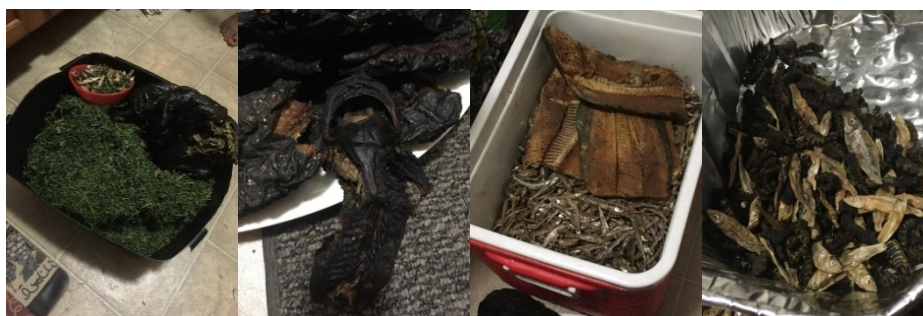


Figure 33 Bimdzo



She named each food above as follows: fumbua, dzombo, makayabu, dakala, and bimdzo. I have seen my women neighbors cooking fumbua, dakala and makayabu. However, they claimed the ingredients they bought at the African store nearby did not taste like the ones Marta buys straight from Congo. Therefore, Marta has a cultural comprehension of which ingredients will more likely be sold and transforms cultural knowledge into business generating economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986).

Loredana also found a way to make money in Brazil by selling a Venezuelan dish. She was having a hard time to find a job in the beginning and decided to sell a desert called “marquesa”, from Venezuela to Brazilians. Follows a picture of the desert:

Figure 34 Marquesa



She sold the desert by advertising it as a Venezuelan treat. She decorated the container in which she carried her products with the Venezuelan flag and its colors. It follows:

Figure 35 Doce da Venezuela



Loredana wrote in Portuguese “Doce da Venezuela” (Sweet from Venezuela), but wrote the name of the desert in Spanish and marked the Venezuelan identity. By doing so, she was also marking her own identity while making money out of her cultural expertise, to help with her living costs. Therefore, in this case as well, cultural capital related to social practices was convertible into economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986).

Rilive, Marta and Loredana were able to convert their cultural knowledge into money and Petrolina found ways to exercise her prior and desired professional identity in Brazil. However, the process of feeling appreciated and dignified in the new country, which might later lead to a sense of full integration, is also connected to how immigrants and refugees negotiate and understand their new selves through their gendered identities. Women especially, in this research, have shared their difficulties in trying to adapt to new gendered roles.

7.2.2 Negotiating gendered identities’ practices

The great distance immigrants and refugees might encounter between the gender roles in their home countries and those in the host countries may cause them to feel uneasy and resistant to integrate. These feelings are also reflected on their criticism towards the behavior of women and men in the new context. They comment on how they view the way American and Brazilian women dress as inappropriate, Rilive said, “But I don’t like this city. I need to change. I see many people naked in summer, oh my God, people are crazy, only in underwear, women, I saw here.” During the hot weather, she observes Americans wearing less clothes, but she emphasizes the women, revealing how it is more problematic for her when women are acting inappropriately. The dressing makes her so uncomfortable she wants to move to another city. This conflict, therefore, is reason enough to hinder the integration process. Loredana echoes Rilive’s comments when she criticizes the way women and men in Brazil dress:

L: Outra coisa, antes eu podia falar que, es que acá, por exemplo a roupa, yo penso que acá son playeira, né? (E: Uma cidade praieira?) Porém a pessoa tem más... olhando más... vestirse um pouco más así, por exemplo nosotros lá, vestidos assim no son muito, nós somos más de calça.

E: Aqui, você tá vestindo? (*Ela estava de vestido durante a entrevista*)

L: Porque vestido, você usa vestido, mas si você vá a una festa, una cosa assim, mas se você vá sair, você bota calça e dependendo da pessoa, hay pessoas que usan só falda... como que é? (E: Saia.) Saia, dependendo, né? Aqui as mulheres usam vestido, acá os homens sai muito de bermuda, lá não, só calça, bermuda se é um domingo e vai en casa de su irmão e tem carro, né? Porque... o short es para você ir, por exemplo, você por aqui para comprar pertinho. (E: Shopping?) No, no, shopping não, você vá com calcinha e arrumado. Não sei como você chama esse cantinho que compra refrigerante, pequenininho, se fica perto, você vá com el short, mas se você vai para outro canto, você muda. Essa sandália só para isso que to falando, só cosas perto e su casa, aqui vocês usam pra tudo, se eu vou para trabalhar, preciso de sapatos que sean fechados, mas aqui todo eso, até minha prima já gostou, ela arrumou otras que son más fechadetas mas vai, eu não, eu não gosto no, não mudei, porque para mi, essa (*sandália*) aqui é só pra casa ou canto así pertinho, por exemplo, mas canto longe, se vou para sua casa, vou procurar otro sapato.

[L: Another thing, before I could say that, whatever it is, for example the clothes, I think that acá son playeira, right? (E: A beach town?) However, the person has bad ... looking bad ... dressing a little bad there, for example in the others there, dressed like that a lot, we are bad in pants.

E: Here, are you wearing it? (*She was wearing a dress for the interview*)

L: Because a dress, you wear a dress, but if you go to a party, something like that, but if you go out, you put on pants and depending on the person, there are people who only wear clothes ... how is it? (E: Get out.) Get out, depending, right? Here women wear a dress, here men go out of their shorts a lot, not there, just pants, shorts if it's a Sunday and he goes to his brother's house and has a car, right? Because ... the shorts are for you to go, for example, you around here to buy nearby. (E: Shopping?) No, no, not shopping, you go with panties and tidy. I don't know what you call this corner that buys soft drinks, little one, if it is close, you go with el short, but if you go to another corner, you change. This sandal just for what I'm talking about, just close and your house, here you use it for everything, if I go to work, I need shoes that are closed, but here all of that, even my cousin already liked it, she got others that son bad locks but go, I don't, I don't like it, I haven't changed, because for me, this (*sandal*) here is just for home or I'm close by, for example, but I'm far away, if I go to your house, I'll look for another shoe..]

In Loredana's perception, Brazilian women and men dress in an informal way. They break all the rules from Venezuela. Dresses are for going to parties, not for everyday life, pants should be worn when going out and not shorts. Sandals are only for staying at home, shoes should be worn for going out. She brings a set of rules that do not apply in the new context. She says she did not change and keeps wearing clothing and shoes the way she did in Venezuela. Nevertheless, even though she claims only her cousin has adapted, she is wearing a dress in a non-party context, during the interview. Solange went further and commented on the behavior of American married women.

Also, marriage, like here if you are married, you can get boyfriend or girlfriend. In my country, no. Especially women, when you are married you can't never go with another man, no. But here people do that. Even people from my country, They change, yeah, I know some woman who is married like me, after that, we see her.. "why did you do it?" "Hey, you don't know, you still think like in Congo, here everything changes, you can get a boyfriend and you're still married." No! In my country, it's not like that. Women have to respect their husbands, husbands the same.

In Solange's narrative, she is assured that the new context is the factor changing some Congolese women's behaviors, simulating American women's attitudes towards marriage. She criticizes it and chooses to preserve the social rules and values that she considers to be of her country. At the same time, she recognizes the freedom women have in the US due to State's protection:

Some husbands know, and they say that in the United States, women are protected, if you try to beat or yell at her, she can call the police, the police can come. They tell "go away to church, you can save your marriage." Yeah.. it's different.

In her view, men's authority is reduced, and women's liberation is extended because of the U.S.'s mechanisms of protection. She also refers to the possibility of working on the marriage after a cheating episode, which probably would not be part of the social rules in Congo. Adrienne portrays a similar idea. She said:

Ad: La différence est que les femmes sont supérieures aux États-Unis, supérieures que les hommes, la gens en Afrique.. comme ças, ici ils sont la même chose les hommes et les femmes, c'est bon, les hommes travaillent beaucoup, les femmes aussi travaillent, mais c'est pas comme ici, en Afrique, les femmes travaillent... elles enseignent, dans l'hôtel, au bureau, ici elles travaillent carrying beaucoup de kilos..

E: Les hommes au Congo sont supérieur?

Ad: Oui, en Afrique les hommes sont supérieur, les hommes travaillent beaucoup. Les femmes don't carry that much weight. Ici, si une femme obeys des hommes, sit tu vois une femme qui obéissent le mari, c'est son character, son comportement, d'autres femmes obey or not, c'est la dépend du comportement, d'où tu viens, ta famille, c'est la meme chose que ici.

[Ad: The difference is that women are superior in the United States, superior than men, people in Africa .. like that, here they are the same men and women, it's good, men work a lot , women also work, but it's not like here in Africa, women work... they teach, in the hotel, in the office, here they work carrying a lot of pounds.

E: Are men in Congo superior?

Ad: Yes, in Africa men are superior, men work a lot. Women don't carry that much weight. Here, if a woman obeys men, if you see a woman who obeys the husband, it is her character, her behavior, other women obey or not, it depends on the behavior, where you come from, your family , it's the same as here.]

In Adrienne's perception, women are superior in the United States, because they occupy the same positions men do in the workplace. They carry the same weight men do, while in Congo, men do this type of heavy work. For her, while obeying the men is a rule in Congo, in the United States, obedience to the husband will depend on various factors related to the woman's character.

Petrolina also comments on Brazilian women behavior as opposed to Venezuelan women, but relates the behavior to each countries' state protection (or lack of it):

E: Tem alguma diferença?

P: Sim, tem sim, aqui usa roupa mais curta, lá se chamaria sexy, que mostra mais o corpo, em Boa Vista também, aqui é menos que lá.. não tenho problema com isso porque já tinha visto isso na televisão, não é normal na Venezuela, lá se uma mulher coloca um short, nem tão curto quanto o daqui já eles ficam falando besteira pras mulheres, isso aqui não é permitido, isso já faz a diferença, lá se colocar uma roupa daquela, é bem difícil sair na rua porque tem um homem atrás do outro falando besteira, aqui não, não é permitido lá em Boa Vista ainda é pior, dizem que se um homem fala alguma coisa pra uma mulher, se chamar a palavra linda, e ela vá e chame a polícia, bate nele.. isso eu gosto, adoro daqui isso, porque lá os homens acreditam que tem o direito de falar o que eles querem. A mulher aqui é mais respeitada, você pode colocar a roupa que quiser, ninguém tem o direito a olhar pra mim estranho, me dizer coisas obscenas, só porque eu coloquei aquela roupa, eu sou livre pra usar aquela roupa, lá não é não. Eu me visto igual lá na Venezuela, mas é porque não gosto muito curto. Mas me sinto no direito, por exemplo, eu vou sair da minha casa até a praia, que é quatro ruas, eu posso ir já com a roupa de banho aqui em cima e só colocar embaixo alguma coisa e dá pra ir pra caminhar na rua sem problema, lá já ficaria mais complicado por isso porque os homens faltariam com respeito, sim, eles são assim, se sentem na liberdade de falar pra mulher o que querem.

[E: Is there a difference?

P: Yes, there is, here she wears shorter clothes, there she would be called sexy, which shows more of her body, in Boa Vista too, here it is less than there .. I have no problem with that because I had seen it on television, no it's normal in Venezuela, there if a woman puts on shorts, not even as short as the one here they are already talking nonsense to women, this is not allowed, it already makes a difference, there if you put on one of those clothes, it is very difficult to leave on the street because there is a man after another talking nonsense, not here, it's not allowed there in Boa Vista it's even worse, they say that if a man says something to a woman, if he calls the word beautiful, and she go and call the police, hit him ... I like it, I love it here, because there, men believe they have the right to say what they want. The woman here is more respected, you can put on the clothes you want, nobody has the right to look at me strange, tell me obscene things, just because I put on that outfit, I am free to wear that outfit, there is no. I dress the same way there in Venezuela, but it's because I don't like it too short. But I feel right, for example, I'm going to leave my house to the beach, which is four streets away, I can go with my bathing suit up here and just put something down and I can go for a walk on the street no problem, it would get more complicated there, because men

would lack respect, yes, they are like that, they feel free to tell women what they want.]

For Petrolina, the fact that women dress in “sexy” clothes is directly related to their freedom due to state protection. She says she loves that about Brazil and states women wear like that because they have the right to do so. She comments on Brazilian women gendered identities as opposed to women in Venezuela who suffer attacks from men if they choose to wear in that manner. For her, the lack of state protection towards women in Venezuela created a culture where men are free from responsibilities, which makes her prefer to date Brazilians or men from other nationalities. She shared:

P: Mas pra mim é preferível uma pessoa que não seja venezuelana, porque na cultura venezuelana o homem é muito mulherengo, gosta de muitas mulheres, então tenho filho com essa, com a outra tem outro, e vai com a outra, aí no final pergunta: “quantos filhos tem você?” “Ah, tenho 7, um com cada.” E lá não tem lei que obrigue a pessoa a pagar pra cuidar do seu filho, ou seja, mentira, tem a lei, só que lá ninguém obriga a obedecer essa lei. Só que aqui você é bem obrigado, se você tem um filho, você tem que pagar pra ele. Lá não, ele some, sumiu, cadê o pai dele? Sumiu.

E: Será que os que vem pra cá entendem que não podem fazer isso?

P: Sim, porque explicam pra eles, “você não pode andar por aí”, se fosse como lá, eles já teriam muitos filhos aqui, porque é até conveniente, “ah, vou ter um filho que nasceu aqui”, na mente deles, que eu sei que não é assim, “a nacionalidade vai me apoiar aqui, a lei vai me ajudar mais porque tenho filho aqui etc.”, mas como tem que pagar, a conta não é boa pra ele. Eu prefiro um daqui ou de outro lugar, não gosto da cultura venezuelana nesse caso, dos homens.

[P: But for me, a person who is not Venezuelan is preferable, because in Venezuelan culture the man is very womanizing, likes many women, so I have a child with this one, with the other one has another, and goes with the other, then at the end asks: “how many children do you have?” “Ah, I have 7, one with each.” And there is no law that obliges the person to pay to take care of their child, that is, a lie, there is the law, only there no one obliges to obey this law. Only here you are well obliged, if you have a child, you have to pay for it. Not there, he's gone, gone, where's his father? It's gone.

E: Do those who come here understand that they can't do this?

P: Yes, because they explain to them, “you cannot walk around”, if it were like there, they would already have many children here, because it is even convenient, “oh, I will have a child who was born here”, in their mind, which I know is not like that, “nationality will support me here, the law will help me more because I have a child here etc.”, but as he has to pay, the bill is not good for him. I prefer one here or elsewhere, I don't like Venezuelan culture in this case, men.]

She states Venezuelan men do not act the way they do in Venezuela when in Brazil due to the mechanisms of women protection. Not only the country has the law, but

also the men are forced to obey it. This case illustrates how not only the states' actions and normative discourses contribute to the production of the prevailing climate of opinion in a society, but also the states' neglect on a subject gender-related. Nonetheless, gendered identities are not disconnected from immigrant identities and one situation Petrolina went through in Boa Vista clearly shows that. She said:

P: Agora me lembrei, aconteceu duas vezes, eu tava numa praça lá (*Boa Vista*), e lá é quente demais, muito mais quente que aqui, não tem nada a ver com o calor daqui, eu tava na praça embaixo de uma árvore pra pegar o fresco e tava um grupo de idosos lá fazendo exercícios com uma professora lá e eu olhando só de fora. Aí todo mundo saiu embora e ficou um senhor bem velhinho, com um óculos enorme, com uma bengala, chegou lá perto de mim, chegou bem bem perto, "você é venezuelana?", "sim", e cada vez vinha mais pra cá, tava falando aqui em cima, só que achei que era um idoso e não tava escutando bem, então ele continuava, já pegando em mim, porque a lei é que não pode pegar numa brasileira, mas numa venezuelana pode. Por isso perguntou, "você é venezuelana?" Porque podia pegar em mim, numa brasileira, se ele pegasse, ela ia bater nele e começou a me tocar, olhei pra ele, "não me toque, me deixa", e ele continuava, "você é venezuelana?" e chegava mais perto, "se você continuar eu vou bater em você, se afasta de mim", mas foi horrível pra mim a experiência, então isso foi horrível, me senti como violentada, sim porque pra ele a venezuelana é igual a ser uma prostituta e sim com certeza tem muitas lá, com certeza que lá tem muitas mulheres que se dedicaram a isso, mas não é o meu caso, e aconteceu duas vezes, é aquela coisa toda de eles faltarem o respeito só porque sou Venezuelana.

[P: Now I remember, it happened twice, I was in a square there (*Boa Vista*), and there it is too hot, much hotter than here, it has nothing to do with the heat here, I was in the square under a tree to get the fresh and there was a group of elderly people doing exercises with a teacher there and me looking only from the outside. Then everyone left and a very old man, with huge glasses, with a cane, got there close to me, came very close, "are you Venezuelan?", "Yes", and he came more and more here, he was talking up here, but I thought he was an elderly man and he wasn't listening well, so he went on, already taking me, because the law is that you can't take a Brazilian, but a Venezuelan can. So he asked, "Are you Venezuelan?" Because she could catch me, in a Brazilian, if he did, she would hit him and start touching me, I looked at him, "don't touch me, leave me", and he continued, "are you Venezuelan?" and came closer, "if you continue I will hit you, stay away from me", but the experience was horrible for me, so it was horrible, I felt like I was raped, because for him the Venezuelan is like being a prostitute and yes, there are certainly many there, certainly there are many women who dedicated themselves to it, but it is not my case, and it happened twice, it is that whole thing that they lack respect just because I am Venezuelan.]

Petrolina has been violated in the country she admires for its protection towards women. She attributes this to the fact that the law exists for Brazilian women and not for her. Her narrative shows her as a strong woman who defended herself and threatened the man who was trying to abuse her. Notwithstanding, she felt unprotected and undignified. The law that works for women in Brazil does not work for her the

same way. In this sense, her gendered negotiation process goes through rethinking her role and rights as a woman and as an immigrant woman. Rafaela, on the other hand, interprets men's behavior differently, for her, Brazilian men are "cold", she said:

E: Lembra de alguma outra situação?

Ra: Brasileiros são curiosos mesmo, só que eu não tenho muita relação com eles, eu vejo que os homens são muito frios. Quando a gente passa eles ficam parados, são muito frios.

E: E lá na Venezuela eles são como?

Ra: Mais abertos, falam qualquer loucura que eles pensem, por exemplo, lá na casa onde eu trabalho vi os homens trabalhando consertando alguma coisa, e eles faziam um escândalo, cantando, acho que não eram daqui, acho que eram de fora, porque eu não escutava porque tavam longe, porque se fossem brasileiros ficavam calados, porque são frios, os homens. Por exemplo quando chegamos aqui, os homens estavam tomando algo, como que cerveja e falando, quando passamos eles ficaram calados, muito frios. Eu não gostei. Eles ficam calados, na Venezuela eles ficam falando, mas acho que aqui são diferentes nisso, aqui são mais frios, mais distantes. Mas todos não são assim né? A maioria é assim.

[E: Do you remember any other situation?

Ra: Brazilians are really curious, only I don't have much relationship with them, I see that men are very cold. When we pass they stand still, they are very cold.

E: And in Venezuela are they like?

Ra: More open, any madness they think, for example, in the house where I work I saw the men working fixing something, and they made a scandal, singing, I think they were not from here, I think they were from outside, because I didn't listen because they were far away, because if they were Brazilians, they would keep quiet, because they are cold, men. For example, when we got here, the men were having something, like beer and talking, when we passed they were silent, very cold. I did not like. They keep quiet, in Venezuela they keep talking, but I think they are different here, here they are colder, more distant. But not everyone is like that, right? Most are like that.]

Both Rafaela and Petrolina perceive a difference in men's behavior, but they interpret it differently. Petrolina thinks Brazilians fear state protection and control their speech around women, but for Rafaela, not saying anything shows distance and coldness. Rafaela does not agree with the fact that Venezuelan men are more sexist, mainly because of what she sees on the news in Brazil. She said:

Ra: (...) aqui he visto que tem problemas, he visto que tem más que tudo problema com a mulher, que tem que eu acho que maltrata muito, cada vez que olho na notícia, levaram una facada, uno havia.. é, é, tem ciúme dela, tem coisa assim né? Mas lá, como meu país, no, e é triste.

[Ra: (...) here I see that there are problems, I see that there are more problems than everything with the woman, that I think I mistreat a lot, every time I look at the

news, they took a stab, there was one .. yeah, yeah, she's jealous of her, there's something like that, right? But there, like my country, no, and it's sad.]

Marta, in turn, perceives the influence the new context has on her own marriage. She chooses not to go to church with her husband on Sundays even though he disapproves of it and despite his jealousy, she loves wearing eyelashes when she goes to the mall. This gender conflict due to the mobility and a gender role's adaptation process can be perceived in the field note that follows:

I asked if Marta is joining us [her husband and I] to the church and she told me she used to go to church in Congo and went a few times to church here in the U.S., but now she doesn't go anymore. She said her husband doesn't like it, but she said she doesn't like the church, and she chooses not to go even though he gets upset. (Field note, December 13th, 2017)

On the other hand, Rilive thinks differently of the State's protection. On one occasion, when I was visiting her newborn and we were talking about baby food, the following occurred:

Rilive and I were talking about baby food, and I asked her whether she was going to introduce Fufu to her baby. She gave me a very agitated answer: "No!! If I do that, the police comes and arrests me". I asked her why and she went, "because the doctors say babies get constipated if they eat Fufu". I then asked her whether mothers give Fufu to 6 months-babies in Congo and she tells me that they do, that all babies eat Fufu in Congo and that it doesn't make them constipated there. (Field note, March 5th, 2018)

Rilive has probably been oriented about which foods to introduce to her baby and Fufu, a traditional dish from Congo was probably ruled out. Follows the picture of a Fufu dish made by Marta:

Figure 36 Fufu



It is a dough made of Semolina flower and water, from which you make balls with hands and dip into a fish sauce. These women while in the U.S. eat it almost every day. She sees her decisions about her own children controlled by the State, capable of arresting her if she does not follow the doctors' advice. This portrays Foucault's (1972) argument on the medical discourse that exceeds the analysis of the human body and is intertwined with power interests. Her authority as a mother is reduced and she has to negotiate her identity and adapt to the new context.

Adrienne's comment echoes Rilive's perception. She said: "Si tu n'es pas pour la éducation de les enfants.. si il est bien éduqué, il ne va pas 'hey, hey' (shouting), ici parce que l'école, si votre mama va te taper, "call the police, appelle la police." Adrienne believes mothers need to dedicate themselves more to their children's education in the U.S. because strategies she was used to apply in order to control their children in Congo, such as corporal punishment, are not allowed in the new context.

Solange's narratives show her struggles to adapt to the new gender roles by comparing language agreements in regards to women in Congo and in the U.S.

S: For example, if I'm little (*younger*) and see an older woman I'm sitting. When she comes, she doesn't have to tell me "stand up", no no. I have to stand up and give to her the place. Here no. Call people by names in my country no. If some people is the same age of your parents, you have to call them "madam" or "mom", "mom Emny", you have to respect like she's your mom, in my country it's like this. You respect all moms like your own. But here it depends on the people, I know where we work, there's some. You see little guy call some old [people] "Hey, hey, you, you". There is no politeness. But in my country if you do that, everybody will have their eyes on you "Look! There's no politeness", you can't feel good.

Solange describes her workplace and imagines how it should be. Using "Hey, hey, you, you" to an older women violates her imagined language agreements and, for her, there is a depreciation of the woman's identity as this use of language shows disrespect. She says that in her country, people would have accusative eyes on the person who made the offense. Those language practices and social agreements, such as the use of the vocatives "madam" or "mom" when the speech is directed at older women, demonstrates courtesy. In her view, a mother should be recognized as such by any younger person and not only her own children. She imagines mothers having

honorable identities and these identities depend on how language policies and practices occur in different domains, including the workplace. Norton (2013) argues that imagined identities affect language investment and involvement in communities' practices. Nevertheless, Solange's narratives illuminate imagined identities that are intertwined with what I choose to call "imagined language practices".

For Solange, mothers should be regarded as authoritative figures and should have more power over younger people, regardless of their gender. According to her, this can be conveyed through language practices. Solange imagines different language agreements that would indicate different identities for her and the women around her, not only mothers, but women in supposedly positions of power:

S: In the school, when kids in the school do bad things, the teacher can punish the kids, like "stay on your knees for 30 minutes!" You see? You have pain on your knees, next time you won't repeat again. But here it's different. Stand on your knees no (...) If the kids do bad things, the teacher can punish them, and next time they won't do it again. I was a teacher. But here, kids they are like free. One time I went to a conference at school, and it was one kindergarten and the principal told this little boy "Go to your class, don't!" The problem is that he yelled [back] at the teacher, saying bad things to the teacher. The teacher had nothing to do. She can't punish him, just tell the boy, "go sit in the office, we're gonna call your parents". In my country, it's different. If you do like this you have to be punished.

Through narratives of comparison, Solange imagines how her kids' school should be. Once more, she points out the misuse of language directed to a woman who should be regarded as a significant participant of authority in the school domain. Further, Solange states that the teacher is powerless, as the only ones responsible for punishing the kid are their own parents. The freedom of the young, in her view, hinders older women's performances and diminishes their prestige in society. As they imagine language policies and practices, they are also imagining identities (NORTON, 2013), identities of women with dignity and respected by others.

Rilive also shared about changing her identity as a wife in the U.S. She said, "it's different because my husband goes to work, me too I go to work, because in Africa, I don't go to work, I stay at home". She can no longer stay at home and it changes the role she plays as she now shares responsibilities outside the family domain. Abigail echoed her comment when she said:

A: In America also it's not easy, because in America you have to work. A husband a wife you have to raise an amount of money, for dealing with things, paying this, paying this, paying this. But we just sacrifice, me and my husband think, we can't sacrifice our kids' lives because of money, or jobs, or what. No. "Let me work, just sit and take care of the baby, it will come a time that those kids will go to school and you'll have a time to do whatever you wanna do." It's not like we're enjoying this life, I'm at home, but me I am enjoying, my husband is enjoying because in Africa. He doesn't want me to work, he said: "I'm a man, I'll do whatever I need to do to make sure we are ok."

For Abigail, it is not easy because both women and men have to negotiate and reinvent their social roles and changing is sacrificing. For her, Americans sacrifice their lives over jobs and money. What it means to be a man also affects what it means to be a woman. In this sense, her husband still holds on to what he believes to be a man's role, which is providing for the family and leaving the wife at home with the kids even though they are paying a price. However, Abigail imagines herself outside the roles restricted to her family, and pictures herself as a student and having a job in the future.

Gendered identity conflicts do not regard only men and women, but host societies' different gender classifications also cause estrangement. One of the reasons Leo moved from California to the city he lives now was the greater cultural difference he claims he encountered there. Questions of gender roles, and more specifically, questions of sexual orientation, are a disturbance for him, especially concerning his kids' upbringing. He said:

E: Why didn't you like it?

L: Ah.. first of all getting a job is not that easy, finding a job in California. Sometimes, with my cultural and my faith, I didn't like living in California because.. I didn't like especially when it comes to bringing out your kids.. I thought no, I don't think it's the best place.

He claims it is a practice from the U.S. and not from Africa, therefore this matter belongs (or used to belong) to the realm of the undiscussed in Congo. However, he also affirms there is fight in Africa over the subject. About that, Leo shared:

L: I mean that's one of it, and then the belief, practice here in the U.S., like this LGBT, we never had this in Africa, it's people are fighting there over it, in Africa, it's really hard to accept. I don't believe in it. It's hard to accept.

Nonetheless, even though his oldest daughter left Congo when she was eleven years old, her siblings and she have a great role bringing up the subject into discussion. Leo shared “(...) I always talk about it with my family, with my kids. They say, ‘Daddy, you need to accept.’, ‘Yes, I’m not saying no, but it’s something hard for me to swallow’.”. Therefore, the children can have a decisive role in discussing the values from the new culture with the parents whom accepting or not, might listen to different perspectives and rethink preconceived ideologies, gender roles and practices.

Rethinking values and ideologies while facing prejudice and discrimination can be the hardest task. Many participants have shared they have suffered prejudice because of their origins as well as because of their lack of fluency in the host countries’ languages.

7.3 The effect of social capital in the sense of integrating

Participants’ concepts of what friendships mean vary due to their social and cultural background, and personal experiences. Friends are expected to fulfill different roles according to these different concepts. However, in general, for all participants having a friend means having someone with whom to go out, keep company, and talk. One of the themes that emerged during data collection and analysis was the feeling of loneliness. Although the feeling is certainly connected to the fact that immigrants and refugees are distant from their childhood friends, relatives and families, and have to start their social lives anew, they also link the feeling to the fact that they do not have local friends. In addition, the ones that have opportunities to develop close relationships with locals have their feeling of loneliness minimized and their sense of belonging increased.

7.3.1 Lack of time and confidence in the host countries’ languages and lack of local friends

One of the themes that emerged from the Congolese participants was the lack of time. They claim Americans are time-oriented and favor work over social encounters and therefore lead stressed lives. Their comments are linked to their own experiences

in the U.S, where they work long hours and have little to no time for other activities. Maths shared he goes out to church, but does not have time for other social activities. He said:

E: Do you have any extra to go out? Have some fun with your friends?

M: Go out? What does it mean? Sometimes, I go to church, African church. The pastor is African, he preaches in French and Lingala. Sometimes, we have one person for English, if interpreter not coming, he speaks only French, but there aren't many Americans, if some American comes, they translate to English. I think it's good, it's my church, its ok, I like it. (*But friends*), I don't know, I don't have time. I work ten hours, sometimes I leave home and go to school. So, last semester, my teacher told me "No problem, if you need to make a friend here, no problem," my teacher told me that, but I don't know, it's difficult to make friends if you are different languages. Even in Congo, for example, if you can't speak... I think it's the same here, I can't speak English, I don't know English.

They divide their time into working and studying, imagining they will achieve better futures. Maths left his wife and children in Congo and works hard to be able to bring them to the U.S. However, he imagines himself making friends. His narrative shows he reached out to his professor in search for local friends, but his narrative also shows that he does not believe he speaks English well enough to be able to make friends with an English speaker.

Marta echoes Maths comments on the lack of time to make friends. She shared:

E: When it's hot here do you go outside? Meet with friends?

M: No, sometimes I go take my kids to a park, go play, I come back, but I don't have time, because I go to work, I come back, I need to cook, today I'm cooking, I cook on Sunday and Monday because Sunday and Monday are my days off. I'm cooking, now, you come back, I'm having the pain, because I woke up at 2am, I go to work, sometimes I'm tired, I don't have time to go outside.. and the kids go to play.. only my kids go play outside, I stay here, sometimes I call them "come back", but I stay here because I'm tired.

Marta goes to work very early in the morning, and at the time of the interview, she still woke up to nurse her daughter twice during the night. She shared how it was hard for her even to see her husband because they worked during different shifts. On her days off, she also takes care of her family by preparing meals. She usually cooks Congolese dishes, which require some elaboration (chopping vegetables, greens, boiling, stirring etc.), and separated dishes for her husband who was not eating salt at the time. She also took her family's clothes to the laundry place, but did that with

Nancy, her Congolese next-door neighbor. Therefore, she met with her friend while doing home shores. She said:

M: Like, now, you stay in the home, you go to work, you come back home, you don't go outside, you don't sit outside... like in Congo, you go outside, you go to the bar, you buy a beer, you talk, you work.. sometimes you go to parties, you go to church.. I don't go to church here..

E: Why?

M: I don't have time, I no have time, the church is a long way, Now I need the church close to me.. I could go.. I don't know if the church is different here (*on the corner*) because I don't understand what the pastor says, sometimes you can go to a church where the pastor speaks French.. now is no French, only English.. sometimes it's difficult. I stay in the house.. it's different because in Congo everybody goes to church, goes to pray, goes outside, goes play.

In Marta's narrative, she does not have time to go to a French-speaking church because it is far from her house. Her husband used to go and I went with him several times, the drive is about twenty minutes long. The church she was referring to was next to where we lived and although did have Congolese members and some occasional translations, its Pastor was American and the preaching was conducted in English only. She claims she did not understand his preaching, which language must had been too formal for her. Therefore, she was not encouraged to be a member in that church even though it was closer to her.

Nancy shared it was hard to make friends in the U.S. because Americans have busy lives and therefore the time she sees her friends are restricted to the times she is at school and work. She said:

E: Do you have English speaking American friends?

N: No, I don't have. I don't have friends, just at school and work. They don't come here, I don't go to their houses. At school I have friends from China, the Sudan, Guinea, Kenya, Mexico.. at work, I have friends from here.

E: Is it difficult to make friends here?

N: Yeah

E: What about Congo?

N: No. you can make friends, because here people are busy, they don't have time to see each other, that's why, but over there people are not busy.

Visiting each other's homes is one of the characteristics of a friend for Nancy, and therefore she considers she has school friends and work friends, meaning she meets them only at those places. She also believes lack of free time from school and work are decisive in preventing her from finding more friends.

Nancy's mother, Carole, also describes her daily life as going from home to work and back, which stops her from meeting people, something she really wants. She said:

E: Do you have English-speaking friends? American friends?

C: No, only from Congo, because I don't know any American friend. I don't go out, just work and home. I want to speak English here. I like to speak English, I want to speak with you. In work, if you don't speak English, somebody, American, smile for you, but I can't speak. Some Americans don't understand French and they don't understand the English we speak. If we spoke good English we would have friends because we would understand each other. I want that.

E: Is there anything else you want to share?

C: The Congolese have difficult only for language English.. food we have some African food here.. my life is better here, but not too much better because I have no friends. I have no boyfriend. Sometimes, I am stressed, I need a boyfriend.

Nancy believes the English Congolese speak sounds so differently from native speakers that Americans do not understand her. She also believes, speaking "good English" would allow her to have friends. She claims she has enough in the U.S. but her life could improve if she had close relationships, such as friends and even a boyfriend. She believes her stress levels would decrease if she connected to local people. Bourdieu (1991) argues that language functions as symbolic capital that can be converted into economic capital. Therefore, the commonsense belief that English leads to success has success associated to financial achievement. However, Nancy's narrative shows a belief that English proficiency and native-like sounding also guarantee an increase of social capital.

In one of my visits to the Congolese church, the Pastor also brought up the matter of time. One of the field notes I took from that day follows:

Começou a tocar uma música que eu tinha escutado na casa de Rebecca antes de ir e uma pessoa na casa dela tava traduzindo pra mim, então foi muito interessante porque ela olhou pra mim e comentou "Ah, tava tocando lá na maison" e a gente começou a rir. Todo mundo tava dançando e cantando bem empolgado, dançando mesmo, rebolando até o chão, aí o pastor quis falar alguma coisa, pra ele interromper e acabar o culto, aí a pessoa que tava cantando falou "eu sei que estamos nos EUA e que aqui é muito difícil, ninguém tem tempo, então vou parar de cantar agora." (Field note, April 8th, 2018)

[A song started that I had heard at Rebecca's house before leaving and someone at her house was translating for me, so it was very interesting because she looked at me and commented "Ah, I was playing at the maison" and we started laughing. Everyone was dancing and singing very excited, dancing really, rocking to the floor, then the pastor wanted to say something, for him to interrupt and end the

service, then the person who was singing said “I know we are in the USA and that here it's very difficult, nobody has time, so I'm going to stop singing now. ” (Field note, April 8th, 2018)]

Therefore, the singer had to stop the service even though everybody seemed very enthusiastic about it, because of the hard time they have in the U.S. due to lack of time. This echoes Leo's comment about worshiping in the U.S., he said, “There (in Congo) we have time to worship, people here I don't know, they are time-oriented, we have to go, twenty minutes of preaching you go home.” Although Congolese community members found a way to worship in a manner more similar to what they did in Congo, by creating a Congolese church, they cannot reproduce their practices in the new country due to the changes they need to make to adapt to the new culture with new expectations, including regarding schedule.

7.3.2 Bonding social capital: Family equals sharing responsibilities and time left for fun

Another theme that emerged constantly among especially women from Congo and from Venezuela was the lack of family support mainly when it comes to helping with the children. Adrienne shared:

Congo you have more.. is good, maybe you have your family, your sister, your brother, you have.. for my country I don't take baby.. you have your family, you have your sister, you leave the baby, you go.. everybody helps, everybody is happy for the baby, for you, you go, you eat, you finish eat, you take shower, I go to the city. The big difference for here, you have six, maybe four kids, everywhere you go, maybe the store, you have to take the kids. You go for the, you need dancing, you need to take the baby, maybe the baby, comment tu vas danser? I don't know.. yeah.. maybe for my country, you have your sister, you call “hey, give me the baby, I stay with the baby, you go out”.

Adrienne misses the family support she could have if she was in Congo. At the time of the interview, she had just had twins, a boy and a girl, and she had three older kids. The baby girl was in the hospital for a month because of delivery complications, but Adrienne went there every single day to visit her baby. Her husband worked all day, so every day she went to the hospital, in the afternoon, after her kids came from school (I believe at visiting hours). In her comments, she complains about not having a family member to share the responsibility of taking care of the children. Little things like finishing eating are hard for her and things she

considers important for her wellbeing, like going out for dancing, are nearly impossible.

Adrienne also shared language difference can be a problem for developing relationships with locals, but not because of lack of communication on her part, but because of locals' lack of interest. She said:

E: Tu as des amis américains?

Ad: Il y a des gens qui aiment parler. Mais il y a d'autres gens qui n'aiment pas, si tu dis "I speak French", (*they respond*) "I don't speak French, I don't speak Lingala", ils te parlent catégoriquement qu'ils n'aiment pas votre langue. Il y a des américains qui parlent français, mais il y en a d'autres on appelle ils sont des racistes, si tu me dis que moi je speak French, "I'm sorry, I don't understand French", she goes... Mais Il y a d'autres gens qui you speak French, "Oh, you need to show me, you teach me French and I teach you English".

[E: Do you have American friends?

Ad: There are people who like to talk. But there are other people who don't like, if you say "I speak French", (*they respond*) "I don't speak French, I don't speak Lingala", they categorically speak to you that they don't like your language. There are Americans who speak French, but there are others we call they are racists, if you tell me that I speak French, "I'm sorry, I don't understand French", she goes ... But there are other people who speak French to you, "Oh, you need to show me, you teach me French and I teach you English".]

In response to the question whether she had American friends, Adrienne brought up the racism issue. She associated racism with language indifference and disinterest. She gives as example of not racist people, the ones that appreciate her languages and want to exchange linguistic experiences.

Although many similar themes emerged between the two groups, lack of time did not emerge from the interviews with Venezuelans. Daniela claims she has time to go out and have fun, however she also misses the times she could leave her daughter with her mother and go out dancing. She shared:

E: Vocês têm tempo pra sair? Se divertir?

D: Sí, pero la familia.

E: Os três?

D: Sim, os três. Nós dois não. Eu gostaria... nós deixávamos ela com minha mãe na Venezuela, então nós saíamos. Queria ir pra festa dançar, mas não pode não, fica aqui, hoje nós estávamos ouvindo música de lá e daqui, e estávamos dançando também com a menina, ai Diós, só em casa. Ai Diós.

[E: Do you have time to go out? Have fun?

D: Yes, for the family.

E: The three?

D: Yes, the three. We don't. I wish ... we left her with my mother in Venezuela, so we went out. I wanted to go to the party to dance, but you can't, stay here, today we were listening to music from there and from here, and we were also dancing with the girl, ai Diós, just at home. Ai Diós.]

Having time for them either alone or with their partners is something they miss and consider important in the host countries, but it is hard to achieve because they do not have their families with them. Therefore, having the family around and being able to have free time to enjoy themselves not only gives immigrants support but also a sense of satisfaction.

Arnauld also left his wife and kids in Congo. In his narrative, he leads a very busy life doing everything by himself. He said:

I cook by myself, I am doing everything by myself, and then I go to bed at 10 pm or 10:30pm, so but if I went to bed at 10:30, I have to be up by 4am. I stay up at 4 am, take a shower, figure out everything, and drive from my house to work, it takes almost 45 minutes, and I start to work at 6am and I work until 5 something. I come home, take shower and go to school.

Arnauld misses having his family around for support and for fulfilling his role as a father on education and loving his kids. He makes up for it by talking to them over the phone every single day. He shared:

E: Do you talk to your family?

A: I talk to them every single day, my wife, I talk to her every single day, if I have free time, we can talk, and before I came here, because I haven't lived here as my friend has, so before I came here today, I talked to them.

E: Do you miss them?

A: I miss them so much, because we have to live close to our family. Because we have to educate our kids, and to give them affection, to love each other, and then when God gives us a way to stay alive, you have to love your family, our kids, wife or husband, whatever. Because that's I think that's my home *street* it has right by myself, if I don't give them education, they gonna be gangster, or I can do nothing to my life because I didn't educate my family. One day, I'm gonna be died, so I have to make street, they can say, ok we had our parents, our father, he was a good man, our father has, you can do this, you can do that, he sent us to go to school, to study, you know? It's very important, because my parents educated me, I have to educate my kids too.

Not having his family around, gives Arnauld a feeling that he is missing on his children's education, which can lead to his kids becoming criminals or not recognizing him as a good man like he probably does with his own father. Being apart from his family, leaves Arnauld with a busy and lonely life he wishes to change.

For Rilive, it is hard to be away from people who speak her language and are from her same tribe in Africa, because they are culturally expected to act as if they were family. On one occasion, we were on our way to visit an older lady from Congo who was mourning her husband's death. I knew them because the couple attended English classes at the center, but they were not my students. Rilive insisted I had to go because she said in Congo, everyone must visit the widow (I thought I was not a close friend enough). Bourdieu (1977) argues that the reproduction of economic capital as the bases of group existence is not more vital than the reproducing of inevitable established relations imposed by kinship through symbolic events, including "visits or courtesies". Kinships, however, are culturally defined. On the occasion, Rilive shared about her sister who lived in another neighborhood and with whom she met occasionally. I was surprised to know she had a sister. My field note from that day follows:

Rilive's definition of family members is different. We were talking about who here speaks the same languages she does and she said only her sister. I did not know she had a sister and was caught by surprise, she shared she has a sister who lives in a town nearby and who supports her a lot with her newborn, by giving diapers and other things she needs. After a while into the conversation, I found out the sister was not what I would consider a sister, they call each other sisters because they come from the same tribe in Congo. Then, I realized Abigail is not actually Marta's husband sister, they come from the same tribe and speak the same languages. I told Rilive my insight, that they are actually friends from the same origin and she responded very firmly that it is wrong to call them "friends", you need to call the people who come from your same tribe, even if you do not know them personally, sister or brother. (Field note, February 17th, 2018)

Being from the same tribe and speaking the same languages are important components in defining family membership. I had known Abigail was Marta's husband sister for a long time, but thought they actually shared the same parents. These "siblings" are expected to support each other even more than friends would, which gives them a sense of security and family in the U.S. This illustrates how the influence of the Doxa that establishes Congolese kinships define relationships' unaware agreements even outside Congo. Bourdieu (1977) argues that the Doxa is distinguished from orthodox or heterodox beliefs because the latter imply recognition of different opposing perceptions. For Rilive, siblings' meaning was so obvious she did not consider explaining to me the difference and was upset I did not grasp the difference between the notions of "friend" and "sibling". This illuminates

how the Doxa also influences adapting experiences as it belongs to the realm of the undiscussed and its linkage to the Habitus turns its implications highly complex to be submitted to any logical criteria. This causes the individual to not understand and not be understood because particular cultural classifications are perceived by both immigrants and locals (and whoever else from a different background is involved in the adapting process) as natural therefore obvious.

7.3.3 Bridging social capital: Connecting locally builds a sense of belonging

Some participants shared they connected with locals and were able to cultivate close relationships, which helped them cope with the fact they are away from friends and relatives from their countries of origin. Ramón (and later his wife, Daniela) came with a large group of Venezuelans, about fifty people, with whom they developed camaraderie (Ramón found a job for Loredana's husband and they work together, for example). However, they connected more deeply with Brazilians. Daniela shared:

- E: E você fez amizade aqui?
 D: Sim, tem duas meninas que são minha amigas, boas pessoas, moram nos B.
 E: Aí você conversa em português com elas?
 D: Sim, hoje elas vem aqui em casa, vem dormir com eu.
 E: Elas vem hoje?
 D: É.
 E: Elas têm tua idade?
 D: Uma tem 25 e a outra como 28.
 E: E elas são solteiras?
 D: Casadas.
 E: Mas os maridos vêm também?
 D: Não (risos), elas vêm com as filhas, cada uma tem dois meninos.
- [E: And did you become friends here?
 D: Yes, there are two girls who are my friends, good people, live in B.
 E: So you talk to them in Portuguese?
 D: Yes, today they come here at home, come to sleep with me.
 E: Are they coming today?
 D: Yes.
 E: Are they your age?
 D: One is 25 and the other is 28.
 E: And are they single?
 D: Married.
 E: But do husbands come too?
 D: No (laughs), they come with their daughters, each has two boys.]

Daniela became friends with her neighbors while she was living in another neighborhood in João Pessoa, but when she moved to another neighborhood, they kept the relationship. Later that day, I wrote the following field note about the meeting:

Daniela said that she and her two Brazilian friends meet very often, I was actually surprised that they are coming to spend the night with her. She said they like to go on Fridays or Saturdays because that's when Ramón works the night shift, so they do not have to be around him (who they consider very serious), and they can talk about everything. When I asked what they talked about, she responded "fofoca", which is a Brazilian word for "gossip", and laughed. (Field note, May 6th, 2019)

Daniela connected to Brazilian women who she considers her friends in a level where they can talk about everything. That type of connection locally gives a sense of belonging helps participants enjoy the present despite their traumas and ongoing difficulties. Spolsky (2012) argues that there is a tendency of speakers of the same variety to live in the same neighborhood. However, this was not observed among Venezuelans in Brazil, as soon as they leave the PMC, they tend to spread around and live in different neighborhoods. This might be a facilitator in the process of developing relationships with locals and of creating a sense of belonging. She said:

D: Eu me sinto muito bem aqui. Quando eu morar na Venezuela de novo, quero voltar aqui pra visitar. Bora pra João Pessoa, que a gente deixou muito amigo que temos que visitar. Em Jacumã, Maria da Guia, você, a gente sente falta.

[D: I feel really good here. When I live in Venezuela again, I want to come back here to visit. Let's go to João Pessoa, that we left a lot of friends that we have to visit. In Jacumã, Maria da Guia, you miss us.]

The desire to return to visit the many friends she claims she will leave in Brazil, upon returning to Venezuela, shows Daniela feels that she belongs to the place she was forced to live.

Although Daniela's friends thought of Ramón as a serious man, he himself made many friends as well. He shared:

E: Você tem amigos aqui?

R: Sim, tenho. Temos aqui, tenho no trabalho que são como minha família, a mãe de uma mulher que trabalha lá que é amiga minha, ela mora em Picuí, ela fala que nós somos seus filhos, X. (*a filha dele*) é sua neta, ela sempre vem, quando a filha dela que trabalha comigo vai pra Picuí, ela manda carne, bolo, ela deu aquele triciclo pra A., na verdade, é uma pessoa muito querida.

[E: Do you have friends here?

R: Yes, I do. We have here, I have at work who are like my family, the mother of a woman who works there who is a friend of mine, she lives in Picuí, she says that we are her children, X. (his daughter) is her granddaughter, she it always comes, when her daughter who works with me goes to Picuí, she sends meat, cake, she gave that tricycle to A., in fact, she is a very dear person.]

Although she also helps the family by sending food and toys for X., Ramón listed as first characteristic that makes her dear to him the fact that she considers them family, him and Daniela her children and his daughter, her grandchild. He claims not only this co-worker, but also his other friends at work are like his family with whom he also meets outside the workplace. He shared:

E: Você tem tempo pra se divertir?

R: Sim, quando chega o domingo de folga, vamos à praia, esse domingo fomos à praia, levamos a menina no parque, pela noite e no dia anterior saímos a comer hambúrguer, saímos normalmente pra praia.

E: Mas vocês saem só os três ou com mais pessoas?

R: Com mais pessoas.

E: Venezuelanos ou brasileiros?

R: Brasileiros.

E: Vocês têm amigos venezuelanos aqui?

R: Pra sair não, temos conhecidos, mas pra sair não. Aquele pessoal que trabalha no restaurante (*brasileiros*), são duas famílias, eles sempre chegam pra cá, nós fazemos comida, eles nos levam pra sua casa, saímos pra lagoa, pra praia, essas coisas assim.

[E: Do you have time for fun?

R: Yes, when the Sunday off comes, we go to the beach, that Sunday we went to the beach, we took the girl to the park, in the evening and the day before we went out to eat hamburger, we usually go out to the beach.

E: But do you go out only with the three or with more people?

R: With more people.

E: Venezuelans or Brazilians?

R: Brazilians.

E: Do you have Venezuelan friends here?

R: Not to go out, we have acquaintances, but not to go out. Those people who work in the restaurant (Brazilians), are two families, they always come here, we make food, they take us to their home, we go out to the lagoon, to the beach, these things.]

On his day off, Ramón goes out with or receives in his house two families of co-workers. He also takes the time to go to the beach, take his daughter to a playground etc. Therefore, even though Ramón works a lot and has only one day off, he takes the time to relax and have fun with his family and friends. During his interview, which was separate from his wife's, he echoes his wife's comments on the wish to come visit in case they returned to Venezuela. He said:

Se maduro cair, acho que voltamos pra lá. Mas venho visitar. Vamos visitar de novo aqui. Aqui fica muitas pessoas que já são como família, a verdade é que é muito carinho que temos por eles e eles por nós, é como uma família que vamos deixar aqui.

[If Maduro falls, I think we'll go back there. But I come to visit. We will visit again here. Here are many people who are already like family, the truth is that it is a lot of affection that we have for them and they for us, it is like a family that we will leave here.]

Friends, for Ramón, can become family when there is mutual love. The fact that he considers the possibility of returning to visit the family he made in Brazil shows he connected to the point of feeling he belongs.

Petrolina claims made friends with locals as soon as she arrived in Conde when she started teaching Spanish to a neighbor of the PMC. She said:

E: E você fez amizade aqui desde que chegou?

P: Sim, sim, até dei aulas a um senhor aqui por perto, um vizinho lá embaixo, dava aulas de espanhol pra ele, porque ele gosta de viajar, então tava dando aulas de espanhol pra ele ir pra Peru pra... dei aulas pra ele, muito boa pessoa, muito educada, só que agora ele já foi.

E: Ele não é daqui?

P: Ele é de João Pessoa.

[E: And have you made friends here since you arrived?

P: Yes, yes, I even taught a man around here, a neighbor down there, gave him Spanish classes, because he likes to travel, so I was giving him Spanish classes to go to Peru to ... I gave classes for him, very good person, very polite, only now he's gone.

E: Isn't he from here?

P: He's from João Pessoa.]

Petrolina took advantage of Spanish in some occasions explored in last chapter. Her language also gave her the opportunity to build relationships in Brazil. The interest of the man in learning Spanish for travelling gave her the chance to not only make money, but also meet a local person. However, her local friend changed how she felt about herself in Brazil. The friend is a volunteer who works in PMC and invited Petrolina to spend a month with her in her hometown, Campina Grande. Campina Grande is known as the city that hosts the biggest São João parties. The festival is related to the nativity of St John the Baptiste, on June 24th. It also involves the celebration rural life, with typical food, dance and clothing, stronger in the Northeast of Brazil. The festival in Campina Grande lasts more than thirty days. The city provides free festivities with free concerts every single day of the month of June.

Petrolina spent June in Campina Grande and shared about what the experience did to her:

P: Lá em Boa Vista e até aqui no princípio, quando vim de lá, porque morei num abrigo, então fui ficando com aquela energia de migrante “Ah, a minha vida é pobre, tô cheia de necessidades, tudo falta na minha vida, a minha profissão ficou por trás, o que eu tinha feito ficou por trás, tô iniciando do zero...” Então, tudo isso tem uma carga bem forte, eu me livrei já com certeza de tudo, quando eu saí daqui, que fui pra Campina, senhora L. facilitou isso pra mim, ela falou comigo, ela achou interessante se eu queria ir pra casa dela lá só pra sair daqui, pra mudar minha energia, porque dava pra ver que eu ficava naquela, o que to chamando a energia do migrante. Quando eu fui lá, tive aquelas festas, me integrando com outras pessoas, me senti como quando viaja pra qualquer lugar que chegava de turismo, ou chegava a morar lá, era eu morando em outro país, não era aquela pessoa pobrezita que saiu correndo de lá com aquela necessidade toda pra obrigação do governo, é uma carga que todos que chegam aqui vem com ela, é uma energia que é pesada. E aí quando fiquei na casa dela, um mês, tudo mudou, tudo mudou, porque aí já não tinha relação com nada a ver com a migração, (...) Aquilo me fez fazer esquecer que não sou uma pobrezita migrante e que sou um ser humano vivendo essa experiência, aí tudo iniciou a mudar (...) e o máximo foi sair pra outra cidade que não tinha nada a ver com migração, porque em Campina, já não era Petrolina venezuelana migrante, já era Petrolina, só Petrolina, estrangeira sim, mas só Petrolina. Interessante foi como minha vida mudou a partir daí.

[P: There in Boa Vista and even here at the beginning, when I came from there, because I lived in a shelter, so I started to be left with that migrant energy “Ah, my life is poor, I'm full of needs, everything is missing in my life, my profession was behind, what I had done was behind, I'm starting from scratch ...” So, all of this has a very strong burden, I got rid of everything for sure, when I left here, I went to Campina, Mrs. L. made it easier for me, she spoke to me, she found it interesting if I wanted to go to her house there just to get out of here, to change my energy, because I could see that I was in that one, what I'm calling her migrant energy. When I went there, I had those parties, integrating with other people, I felt like when I traveled to any place that arrived from tourism, or came to live there, it was me living in another country, it wasn't that poor person who ran out of there with all that need for the government's obligation, it is a burden that everyone who comes here comes with it, it is an energy that is heavy. And then when I stayed at her house, one month, everything changed, everything changed, because then I no longer had anything to do with migration, (...) That made me forget that I am not a poor migrant and that I am a human being living this experience, then everything started to change (...) and the best thing was to go to another city that had nothing to do with migration, because in Campina, it was no longer a Venezuelan migrant Petrolina, it was Petrolina, only Petrolina, foreign yes, but only Petrolina. Interesting was how my life changed from there.]

In Petrolina's narrative, her friend had the sensibility to realize Petrolina would feel better by taking her to her hometown for a month of festivities. This action changed Petrolina's view of herself completely and she claims it was enough to change her energy and help her thrive. Petrolina's notes on what she called “the migrants' energy” portray how the label “immigrant” gave her an identity of a person in need

that does not deserve to overcome the problems. This energy is created upon being embedded in repeated irrefutable statements that constitute normative discourses, creating a negative climate of opinion about refugees. When she moved to Campina Grande, away from the refugee shelter, she claims that her energy changed and she felt herself again, as she said, “just Petrolina”, without the immigrant label. Even though Brazilians recognized she was foreign, she felt like a tourist and that changed her perspective on what she was able to accomplish in Brazil. This illuminates how cultural normative discourses serve “the reproduction of inequality, hegemony, and subordinated political subjects” (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009, p. 774). Not only that, institutionalized discourses reflected in public opinion fit individuals in labels that directly affect self-esteem, causing them to fail both economically and emotionally in the host society. Therefore, when she returned to Conde, she finally got two jobs with which she feels very satisfied. I asked about how she would classify her new energy, and she answered the following:

E: Você falou que a energia do migrante é pesada, qual sua nova energia?

P: Livre? Sim, lá tanta restrição faz com que se sinta num cárcere. Aqui me sinto livre de falar, de fazer, de sonhar, de curtir, de tudo e é incrível que as pessoas que chegam, no princípio, chegam nervosas, com as coisas novas, e tá passando o tempo, acho tão lindo ver a mudança deles.

E: Você vê essa mudança neles?

P: É.

E: Você acha que é algo interior somente ou o contexto?

P: O contexto. Porque eles falam “Ah, as pessoas daqui, um pode falar com eles que eles não fazem mal nenhum, aqui, em Boa Vista já é outra coisa, aqui eles veem que podem falar com as pessoas. “Saí, pra caminhar com um senhor e ele falou pra mim que tem um emprego” e se sente mais.. e vai passando o tempo e você tá vendo que eles vão avançando, vão mudando até o rosto, há uma sorriso, eles têm medo até de falar “obrigada” quando chega aqui, já não, porque tão dando conta que as pessoas aqui não vão bater neles, lá batem neles, é bem agradável ver a mudança, se tão livrando daquela energia de lá, tanta restrição.

[E: You said that the migrant's energy is heavy, what is your new energy?

P: Free? Yes, there is so much restriction that makes you feel in prison. Here I feel free to talk, to do, to dream, to enjoy, everything and it is incredible that people who arrive, in the beginning, arrive nervous, with new things, and the time is passing by, I find it so beautiful to see the change their.

E: Do you see this change in them?

P: Yeah.

E: Do you think it is something interior only or the context?

P: The context. Because they say “Ah, the people here, one can talk to them that they do no harm, here, in Boa Vista, it is something else, here they see that they can talk to people. “I went out, to walk with a gentleman and he told me he has a job” and he feels more... and time goes by and you see that they are moving forward, they are changing up to the face, there is a smile, they have I'm afraid to say “thank you” when you get here, no longer, because I realize that people here

are not going to hit them, there they hit them, it is very pleasant to see the change, getting rid of that energy there, so much restriction.]

In Petrolina's narrative, it is possible to see her change from a victim to a witness, as she describes the changes she observes in the refugees that arrive. She describes even a physical change, which signals they eliminated the "migrants' energy" from their lives. Being able to talk is an important step, in Petrolina's account, for the change and the context is decisive. She recounts refugees' experiences in Boa Vista as harshened and her narrative shows they go through a silent state and move to being able to express themselves and that allows them to build their own identities and not be perceived only as a label that brings all kinds of negativities, including xenophobia.

Although Solange have shared about a racist situation she faced at church, her narrative also demystifies an idea of all Americans being racists. She said:

E: Do you have any American friends ?

S: Yes, at church, I go to first Baptiste church, we go Sundays, sometimes on the week too, Bible class.

E: Is it in English ?

S: Yes, it's in English. Everything is in English. It helps.. haha it helps yeah

E: Is it easy to make friends here?

S: For that, American people they are open to people, some of them like... but most are open to people, if you go to them, try to talk to the, they want to help you, yeah.. we get friends from church, like when we moved to here we just talked to our friends, "We wanna move, but we need to rent a car," it was that weekend, they all organized, "we come to pick your chair, your fridge etc." Yes, and our friend from our country was "white people help you?" I said yes, because you know some think like about discrimination.

The same environment where she felt discriminated against, she also made friends, who were ready to help her when she was in need. Solange must have moved to the U.S. with the same thoughts her friends from Congo had on white people, and although she recognizes there is racism in the country, she knows people on whom she can count, which contributes to her feeling of belonging in the country.

Rafaela imagines herself having many friends who are the same age and share the same interests. She said:

E: Você tem amigos aqui?

R: As personas que conheço son maiores, por exemplo a senhora que conheço é casada, enton, a diversão dela no é sair, né? É só ficar com o marido dela, enton é outra perspectiva, né? Mas por exemplo, agora que eu vou começar a facultad de novo, puede ser que faça né? Porque vai haver gente a mi misma.. (E: Faixa etária)

faixa etária, que quer divertir, que quer sair, que quer... namorar (risos) no sé, que quer tudo, né?

[E: Do you have friends here?

A: The personas I know are bigger, for example the lady I know is married, so, her fun is not going out, right? Just stay with her husband, so it's another perspective, right? But for example, now that I'm going to start college again, I could do it right? Because there will be people a mi misma .. (E: Age group) age group, who wants to have fun, who wants to go out, who wants ... dating (laughs) in the see, who wants everything, right?]

Rafaela is excited with the possibility on studying to revalidate her diploma from Venezuela in Brazil not only because she will be able to work in her profession again, but also because she will be able to socialize and date locals. The recognition associated to the professional identities emerged as an important aspect of building a sense of satisfaction and belonging to the host countries throughout interviews with participants of both groups. This chapter showed how identity negotiations, and more specifically, gendered identity negotiations, are crucial aspects to comprehending refugees' and immigrants' integration process. It also showed the similar relevance of social capital, both bonding and bridging (LANCEE, 2010), that is, the fundamental role of both families and locals in the process. Imagined identities are associated with participants' investment in both Portuguese and English and the strategies they use to learn them were depicted in this chapter as well. In the next chapter, I discuss findings and implications.

CHAPTER 8: DISCUSSION

This research showed that integration is a complex and mobile process that involve questions beyond the entrance to the job market (NEKBY, 2002; BARRET and DUFFY, 2008), the ability to transfer cultural capital (EREL, 2010; FERNANDO and COHEN, 2016; AKKAYMAK, 2017), or fluency in the host languages (SKEHAN, 2009; TEGEGNE, 2018). This study pointed out to four main elements that are intrinsic parts of immigrants' and refugees' adapting experiences to the host countries, which are language policies, climates of opinions, identity negotiation, and capital. Languages are important because they interconnect the four aspects.

This dissertation addressed suggestions made by Hornberger and Johnson (2011), Blommaert (2013), Spolsky (2012), Levinson, Sutton, and Winstead (2009). I paid attention to the limits of what language policy can be, I considered the sociocultural environment outside schools, I contemplated women's practices and perceptions seldom present in discussions about language policies, and I took an approach to policy as practice. Two main language policies emerged in this study were assimilating and integrating language policies. I separated the two categories because I noticed that assimilating language policies were not part of immigrants and refugees' daily routines but affected them indirectly through a family member, usually a child who attends school, or through attitudes of societies' members generally influenced by climate of opinions, normative discourses, and ideologies. The climates of opinion, which are commonsense ideas, perceived as truth, emerged in the texts through recurrent ideologemes (ANGENOT, 1977; 1982), as well as in the ethnographic data, showing the relationship existent between dominant discourses, language perceptions, and living experiences. Contrary to Tollefson (1991)'s notion of language policies as mainly reproducers of linguistic injustice, I found that there are language policies, even ones targeting fluency in the host languages, that have an integrating character.

8.1 The normative discourses and the types of language policies involved in immigrants and refugees' integration process

8.1.1 Climates of opinions and assimilating language policies

In Chapter 4, I describe the assimilating language policies represented by official educational policies and official politicians' speeches. Therefore, all are *top-down*, *overt*, and *explicit* language policies. The findings show that the monoglot ideology is present in texts from both countries. Both Portuguese and English are powerful elements representing the nations' identities. While the Brazilian texts silence immigrants' and refugees' voices, the texts from the U.S. attempt to control them through placing English as main goal.

This chapter shows that normative discourses, identified by recognizing recurrent statements with truth value throughout the texts, form climates of opinions that constitute realities composed by cultural and ideological classifications that awaits immigrants and refugees. I found the following ideologemes, which represent the connected propositions that structure commonplace ideas circulating among the texts (ANGENOT, 1977; 1982):

- Brazilian identity as the mixture of the three matrices (Indigenous, African, and European);
- Brazilians speak Portuguese only;
- Foreign languages in Brazil means English language;
- Americans are English proficient; Immigrant students as underachievers;
- Ideal immigrants in the U.S. speak English; and
- The U.S. improves immigrant' lives.

I found that the texts and speeches in Brazil are filled with symbols representing the Brazilian identity, which is directly connected to the nation's ethnic formation; the mixture of the three matrices (Natives, Africans and Europeans) that unify Brazil. The Portuguese language, however, unifies this mixture of ethnicities. The *de jure* documents tend to value cultural elements from each ethnicity, (including languages, art, and religion) as a way of moving from a Western perspective and allowing space

for minority cultures, but portray migrants from a historical distant perspective associated with the three matrices, however, from the ethnic perspective only and not linguistic. This climate of opinion agrees with Gilberto Freyre's description of Brazilians as the plural people fused together and Darcy Ribeiro's depiction of them as "new people", who came together in unfair circumstances, with the European culture prevailing as dominant and standard.

The ideology of English as 'lingua franca' has been extensively discussed (PHILLIPSON, 1991; PENNYCOOK, 1994; BOYLE, 1997) and it appeared in the Brazilian policies as the inevitable foreign language that should be studied at schools. English as a pathway to success and the West as a model to be achieved were also identified in discourse. Nevertheless, languages other than Portuguese, including English and Spanish, outside the school domain and in social practices, appeared as a threat to the country's unity.

In the U.S.'s texts, English prevails as main element of unity. Not only that, it functions the symbolic purpose of representing the main ladder leading to success and immigrants' advance in the country. The lack of English proficiency by not only students but also by their families represents failure and is perceived from a deficit perspective.

Trump's comments on how every nation benefits from learning English is part of the dominant discourses that position the language not only as main element of the U.S.'s identity, but also the most important language globally. Evidently, this kind of ideology that awaits immigrants have a powerful effect in their relationship with the language and their sense of integration. This climate of opinion builds in immigrants the sense that they need to master the language as well as locals do, causing them to set English as main goal because they understand it is the bridge for achieving their imagined identities (NORTON, 2013).

Nonetheless, most participants provided semi-structured interviews, commenting on complex questions involving different times, spaces and feelings, using English, meaning they achieved practiced identities (XU, 2012) who master English. This disconnect between what they want to do with language and what they

actually do with it is explained by how high they set the goal to not only be proficient in English, but also sound like locals. This goal is a reflection of normative discourses that impose high English standards in the educational realm and outside of it. The way they perceived their relationship with language, is the result of policing processes as an intricate “set of interdependent sociocultural practices” (LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009, p. 768).

Norton (2013) argues the need to rethink old terms used in second language teaching and learning, such as motivation and communicative competence that are embedded in struggles and power relations. She suggests the following:

theories of communicative competence should extend beyond an understanding of the appropriate rules of use in a particular society to include an understanding of the way rules of use are socially and historically constructed to support the interests of a dominant group within a given society (Norton, 2013, p.56)

Most Congolese immigrants either did not list English as a language they spoke or they emphasized they spoke it “a little bit” because competence is an ideological construct and having the language skills needed for communication in different domains of society is not enough to be perceived as proficient by the same society. Participants chose to silence in face of discrimination not because they have introverted personalities, but because of the powerful normative discourses that demean their linguistic repertoire. The impossibility to achieve the unrealistic goal of reproducing locals’ linguistic varieties and repertoires leaves them with a frustration feeling that they do not move on due to the language barrier.

8.1.2 Integrating language policies

In chapter 6, I explore the other type of language policies found, which I chose to call Integrating language policies. These policies are *de facto* language policies, therefore, in practice. They present both *bottom-up* (communities’ interpreters’ spontaneous selections regardless of the existence or not of state paid professionals) and *top-down* (mothers’ imposing voices in the household managing which languages are to be used). The integrating language policies are also both *overt* (churches’ policy establishing the use of English every time a non-Congolese

member attends service), and *implicit* (Roberto adding of Spanish to his vocabulary in spite of the *top-down* PMC's monolingual language policy).

Hence, integrating language policies emerge in diverse types. Nonetheless, I argue they do not intend to conform to a normative discourse nor to silence immigrants and refugees, but they open ideological spaces for expressing themselves in their preferred languages and accents, while providing opportunities to add the host languages to their repertoire allowing a diversity of varieties and accents, important for building in them a sense of belonging. Integrating language policies, however, should not be regarded as flawless spaces where languages live in harmony; rather, they are spaces where immigrants and refugees are able to resist to assimilating language policies and decide which language practice will allow integration. Family language policies, for example, are powerful ways immigrants, especially women, have to maintain their cultural identities.

This study helps illuminate how language policies can be created by and for the community and how family practices, employed mainly by immigrant women, and more specifically, mothers, play important roles in integrating not only themselves, but also their children and neighbors into the host culture. For Sallabank (2012), gender issues, women's practices and attitudes are essential for language maintenance. These immigrant parents manage their families' language policies differently according to their needs and objectives. They have in mind their children's possible future needs, such as teaching children French in order to guarantee an advantage in the job market, facilitating the way for them to become interpreters in the future. They also manage which languages their kids are allowed to use at home, envisioning their kids' and their own language learning, such as Marta who allows her middle child speak English in order to practice it with her. They keep languages alive also because they plan to return to their countries of origin, like Daniela, who insists on using Spanish in the household in the face of her husband's resistance. These mothers also advise each other regarding language use and they also resort to and trust women more fluent in English and Portuguese in the community for interpretations and translations.

Nevertheless, these are not easy tasks; they face great challenges at home, in the community and outside of it. Teaching other languages rather than English to their children is hard because of the influence the assimilating language policies have on the kids; therefore, they tend to speak the host countries' languages to each other and speak other languages only when directing their speech to their mothers. Translating is also a challenge for Abigail since she has to understand and explain social and cultural crucial aspects embedded in the language. Petrolina finds translation easier when locals are willing to comprehend refugees patiently, through speaking in a slower pace. In fact, she perceives this behavior more beneficial than the provision of an interpreter fluent in Portuguese and Spanish, but who is not willing to cooperate for the communication to occur. Congolese women also recognize the difficulties some husbands face at work not having the time and opportunity to study or practice English.

The centers' language policies had Portuguese and English as main languages, however, both not only had open spaces for the use of different languages and varieties, but they both overtly and covertly encouraged it. The staff members' language repertoires were diverse and they were free to express themselves in whatever language and varieties they chose to (the VNOC's receptionist would always use Spanish with Latino families, Leo would welcome families and children in the center by using both French and Swahili, and Imara when in the PMC would always converse with Venezuelans in Spanish).

Families' and language decisions, therefore, are in constant interaction with the community and other spaces such as hosting centers and churches. I argue that the language policies established in these domains are integrating language policies because they include languages with an apparent unproblematic character, according to members' necessities. In the churches' services, for example, there is an involving atmosphere where immigrants and refugees are not only allowed, but also encouraged to express themselves through speaking, singing, or dancing in the preferred language and more in accordance to how they are used to worship in the countries of origin. The church services in Brazil emphasize the bond between Brazil

and Venezuela through acts of symbolic representations with the addition of discursive and concrete objects from both countries creating an atmosphere of cultural fusion. In the U.S., the addition of diverse cultural elements was conducted more subtly, opening spaces for diversity through language. The White American church established a language policy that included Congolese members through providing translations in Swahili and opening spaces for language diversity during prayers. U.S.'s identity symbols, in turn, were present in Congolese churches also subtly, represented especially by the inclusion of English, but also through songs, clothing, and the relationship with time. These examples illustrate how, contrary to Spolsky's (2012) description of the main participants in churches' language policies who are the Divinity, ministers, and congregants, the interpreter takes an important role being one of the most relevant participants without whom the service might be compromised (especially in the Congolese churches' case). While multilingualism is perceived as a problem (RUIZ, 1984) that need to be solved through English training and assessment tests in the assimilating language policies analyzed, experiences handled by churches in the U.S., more specifically the Congolese, portray an inclusive character, preserving communities' languages and adding English to the repertoire out of empathy for new members.

8.2 The reflection of official discourses in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries

In chapter 5, I depicted a scenario in an attempt to illustrate refugees' and immigrants' harshened and somewhat similar prior and post arrival experiences and struggles. I also addressed the how climates of opinion and ideologies were reflected in immigrants' and refugees' living experiences and language perceptions in the host countries.

The elements that favor or hinder the integration process start even before immigrants and refugees arrive in the host countries. Experiences such as starvation and abuse push them to find better and dignified lives outside their lands but also leave deep psychological traumas. Notwithstanding, the initial phase of their integration process is closely connected to their sense of dignity, many times, their

sense of dignity loss that pushed them to embark in a courageous journey of mobility. The ways they imagine their future identities might be blurred by stereotypes internationally portrayed by the media about the host cultures. Those stereotypes, created for example by Hollywood regarding the U.S., make them expect and plan for a country that actually does not exist.

Having faced so much struggle before moving, they perceive the host countries as reliefs, but soon realize there are new obstacles they need to face. The integration process starts as soon as they arrive and are faced with new laws and social rules they need to adapt to. Therefore, even though they might disagree with some social agreements, they need to respect the new laws and therefore readily fit. Discrimination towards participants' nationalities, the colors of their skin, and their languages, accents, or lack of fluency in the host countries' languages is another disturbing obstacle for feeling integrated they need to face. Therefore, languages rise almost implicitly, but are intertwined with dignity loss, gain or search. Immigrants and refugees used narratives that portrayed themselves as ones who choose to silence, or speak up to defend themselves in face of prejudice. Climate of opinions created and fomented in academic, political and policies' discourses were reflected in participants' narratives on language and on experiences.

The U.S. as a monolingual country was an observation portrayed by Congolese participants, even having reported the coexistence of other languages in the domains outside their neighborhoods, to which they have access. The perceived monolingual character, pointed out as main U.S.'s characteristic by Nancy, exists also in the face of the surrounding linguistic landscape of the Bangala, where Spanish prevails. The languages of their own large community were not considered languages of the U.S. either. This is also a reflection of the policies that state English as not only the only language of instruction, but the only language of the U.S. and the goal for students and families. English is perceived as language of success, and its immigrant speakers as ideal immigrants.

The normative discourses that define who the ideal immigrant is were also reflected in immigrants' language perceptions and social practices. Abigail's husband not only was perceived as a better immigrant because of his English

proficiency, learned during the years he lived in South Africa, but he was guaranteed a higher position at his workplace. In this case, language capital was converted into a new job, which represented economic capital (BOURDIEU, 1986).

The “sounding native-like” ideology was also present in immigrants’ living experiences. It is associated directly to the standard English (both written and spoken), which is expected to be mastered by immigrants. Although Abigail also learned English in South Africa, in her perception, those years of practice had a negative impact on her accent, which sounds very different from the standard accent in the U.S. Solange also portrayed the same idea when speaking about her kids and how they, differently from her, spoke English perfectly.

Venezuelans’ languages and accents both marked immigrants positively and negatively depending on the context, which allowed immigrants to both express themselves freely and to silence, respectively. The social and political context in the border made Petrolina wish she was not recognized as Venezuelan, while the welcoming atmosphere encountered in Conde made her not only feel free to express herself, but also to uncover her identity to locals. The reported “Brazilian curiosity” upon hearing Spanish or Venezuelan accents in Conde served as a powerful integrating force, opening spaces for bridging social capital (LANCEE, 2010) between refugees and locals. Therefore, this illuminates how powerful the social context is in lowering or elevating language self-esteems (SCHNITTKER, 2002). Conde provided a more welcoming atmosphere and refugees’ languages and accents actually functioned as catalyst for socially integrating. Tsuda’s (2000) study shows that Brazilians spot Japanese descents as different because of their phenotype. The author argues that Japanese descents and immigrants are admired by locals as a result of several reasons, including Japan’s economic position and influence globally and the Japanese image in Brazil as hard working people and economically privileged. This research, however, showed that Brazilians act similarly when spotting the difference upon listening to Spanish and Venezuelan accents, even though Venezuela does not occupy a place of prestige internationally, quite the opposite. Both groups faced discrimination and xenophobia. The racial element, however, was stronger in Congolese experiences. The social distance between the white and black

skin color spectrums, reflected in racialized neighborhoods and workplaces, affected the sense of belonging due to feelings of segregation and isolation.

Some of the Venezuelans portrayed a similar feeling of willing to sound like the local accent so their nationality would not be recognized. This is especially true during the time they spent in Roraima. However, contrary to studies that show that sounding native-like increases chances for integration (SONGHORI, MAAREFVAND, FEKR-AZAD, and KHUBCHANDANI, 2017) Conde provided a more welcoming atmosphere and their accents were perceived differently. Locals' estrangement functioned as a powerful force allowing social capital bridging, once participants shared it always started a positive conversation. Expressing themselves in Spanish or sounding like foreigners also left them under the impression that they were free to show their roots in the host country.

8.3 Languages' and identities' processes implicated in the sense of belonging

In chapter 7, I address the relevant processes involving languages and identities, which are implicated in the sense of belonging to the host countries. Participants consider host languages crucial in pursuing better lives. They claim they need fluency in the languages to navigate different domains in the societies, especially to find better jobs and pursue their professional identities. This research found that for Congolese participants, speaking the English means sounding as close as possible to native speakers, what will result in their future imagined identities, associated with the workplace and social domains. On the other hand, the study showed that Venezuelans tend to be more concerned with grammar rather than with sounds and speaking Portuguese like native speakers might not be ideal because of the locals' devalued variety.

There are several studies exploring integration as the entrance of immigrants to the job market (NEKBY, 2002; BARRET and DUFFY, 2008) and this study shows this accomplishment is relevant to building in immigrants and refugees' the sense of dignity. However, being able to work in their prior professions or imagined professional identities is of fundamental importance in building in them a sense of

belonging. The diplomas and credentials that constituted their cultural capital (BOURDIEU, 1986) and helped shape their prior professional identities, and therefore, gave them status in their home-countries, are nearly invisible to the new societies' members. Therefore, they need to cope with the fact that they will be not working in the field of their careers for a while and this greatly affects their sense of satisfaction and belonging. Both communities' members revealed how they miss their lives even though they faced uncountable adversities because even in the face of suffering, they had a status that gave them a dignified position in the society. Most immigrants and refugees now occupy low-skilled job positions in the host countries' job market, which does not impede them to bond locally but does not fulfill their sense of being themselves completely. They feel they are living a life not meant to their intellectual abilities, therefore, they sense their accumulated cultural capital is worthless.

Nevertheless, this study's findings also show that cultural capital accumulated outside the institutional realm and connected to immigrants' and refugees' habitus (BOURDIEAU, 1977) can also be converted into different capital, including economic and social. Therefore Marta's knowledge of Congolese dishes and ingredients attracted her neighbors' interest; Rilive's knowledge on how to braid the women's and girls' hairs also offered her both bonding opportunities and financial return; and Loredana's Venezuelan culinary expertise gave her the possibility to make money by selling the desert "marquesas" to locals.

Although the two groups under analysis presented several similarities regarding their adapting experiences. The Congolese immigrants had greater opportunities to access bonding social capital because of their larger and more traditional community. However, they had little to none bridging social capital, as they felt isolated from the local community. This left them with a sense of not being part of the larger community therefore a sense of not integrating, as well as it left them with the feeling of being responsible for having to learn English to be able to build relationships with locals. Morrice (2007)'s study shows that opportunities for informal language learning and for building social networks leaves a greater sense

of integration than other traditional aspects usually explored in integration studies. Venezuelan refugees were able to build relationships with locals and develop a sense of family and belonging to the host country. Their language and accent functioning as an attracting force allowed them to meet people more often and engage in conversations with locals. The perception of the host country as time-oriented was unique to the Congolese group as well and was perceived as a barrier both to practicing English and to meeting locals.

Technology takes arguably a great role in social integration. The access to internet not only gives participants more opportunities to learn the host languages, but to connect with people in different parts of the world. As Blommaert (2013) argues, social integration must be looked at taking the internet into consideration, which changed integration from nation-state to worldwide. The data shows it is a big part of both accessing the host countries' languages and communicating with relatives and friends from their countries of origin. However, while Blommaert's work is looking at undergraduate students who have known people or have lived in different parts of the world, most of the participants in this research have not had the same opportunities. Their constant communication with relatives from Congo and Venezuela must be taken into consideration when analyzing their sense of belonging, but the lack of resources (Internet for instance) from relatives and their own lack of time for calls and for keeping distant relationships must also be taken into consideration. Although they do study the languages through using apps and electronic devices, not bonding personally seems to have a negative effect in their sense of integrating. On the other hand, when they do connect locally, by building both bonding and bridging social capital (LANCEE, 2012), regardless of how well they consider they use host countries' languages, they develop a sense of belonging and satisfaction. Additionally, having their family and people of the same origin who speak the same language around can give them a sense of safety as well as a sense of sharing the many new responsibilities, including financial.

8.3.1 Cultural, gender or generational differences?

Gilberto Freyre (1975) argues that countries in Latin America are nationalities within a set of diverse cultures but with dynamic similarities and Darcy Ribeiro (1978) lists both Brazil and Venezuela a result of deculturation processes and diverse ethnicities that came into contact. Although Brazil is a continental country and with greater economy in Latin America, it divides borders with Venezuela, have historical perceived similarities, and romance languages. DR Congo and the U.S. have greater differences, which are manifest culturally, linguistically, territorially, and economically. However, I argue that the estrangement these Congolese mothers are bewildered with when adapting to new gender expectations is not only the product of cultural differences, which is more of the case in relation to the Venezuelan women, but also of generation adaptation. There is a substantive body of research on inter-generation adaptation among immigrants (KWAK and BERRY, 2001; PYKE, 2005; RUMBALT, 2006; IJAZ and ABBAS, 2010). These studies, however, revolve around differences and similarities among first and second generations of immigrants in the host country. I argue, though, that these Congolese immigrants face generation differences not in the conflicting coexistence with older or younger relatives, but individually in the process of leaving Congo and adapting to the U.S. Western values, climates of opinion and ideologies have been imposed in Africa for centuries; the writing and school systems, for example, are products of West domination. These ideas do not stay in Congo, but remain with Congolese and are reproduced and passed on to younger generations in the churches, for example.

Therefore, narratives about “cultural differences”, revealed here through critique of language use, are actually descriptions of Western older climate of opinion. Remarks about how teachers should treat students actually align with conservative values still in practice in the U.S., since some states still allow corporal punishment at schools (GERSHOFF and FONT, 2016). Moral comments about the dressing codes, about fidelity and about sexuality have direct relation to Christianity introduced in Congo by missionaries who actually named Congo’s then lingua franca, Lingala. This perspective, therefore, helps to demystify the discourse of exoticism linked to foreigners and to their material and immaterial cultural products (BOTELHO, 2011), and fight against metaphors of “immigrants as animals”

(SANTA ANA, 1999), found in this study in the act of vandalism insulting Africans. Additionally, it counteracts ideas of abnormalization associated with immigrants (BLOMMAERT and VERSCHUEREN, 2002), and show that they experience adaptation struggles that may resemble difficulties faced by locals themselves.

Nonetheless, one should not make the mistake of over simplifying these participants' struggles, experiences, desires, and the force their own cultures have in defining their gendered identities. Norton and Pavlenko (2004) see gender as a contextualized social construct and state that classrooms are spaces where different cultural worlds meet, providing unique opportunities for teachers "to engage with cross-cultural differences and the social construction of gender and sexuality" (p. 509). Gender roles then depend on collective and situated social agreements that involve language use. Cultural differences are revealed in Rilive's comments about introducing Fufu to her daughter; while in Congo Fufu is administered to 6 month-old babies without any harm, in the U.S., it causes constipation. Harmful dishes then are defined in more connection to cultural normative discourses rather than only with the actual ingredients used. The medical discourse, therefore, is constructed in language and practices, reflecting social structures and power relations (FOUCAULT, 1972).

Additionally, there is a narrative of women empowerment. Treating all mothers as if they were your own and calling them "moms" demonstrates Solange's wish for societal respect towards older women and motherhood. Furthermore, it reveals a foundational collectivist character of her Congolese culture, in which there is a sense of shared maternity that, for Solange, portrays mothers' identities recognized as important. Norton (2013) describes identity as a complex relationship between past, present and future. These participants' imagined identities connect with their practiced identities, with broader societal practices and language use in the adapting process.

8.4 Conclusions

This study reveals that the immigrants' and refugees' processes of integration is related to their sense of dignity and belonging in the host countries. These subject

feelings are constructed through their experiences, which involve 1. the opportunities they are offered to overcome the problems that pushed them away from their countries of origin; 2. how they are perceived by host societies' members; 3. whether they feel free to express their cultural and linguistic identities; 4. whether they have access to education or work linked to their desired professional identities; 5. whether they are able to receive support from their own communities and families and 6. whether they are able to connect with locals. Language impositions, decisions, negotiations, and interpretations are intrinsic to adapting experience. Immigrants and refugees are awaited in the host countries by a set of assimilating language policies that reproduce ideas of unifying identities, which either ignore immigrants and their languages or attempt to control them. Immigrants and refugees resist homogenization by engaging in integrating language policies created by and for their communities as well as by host societies' members in a process of adapting negotiation.

The present research identified in official texts recurrent propositions that constitute commonsense ideas so naturalized among speakers that they acquire values of truth (ANGENOT, 1977, 1982). Those commonplace ideas help produce misrecognition (BOURDIEU, 1977) and are products of recurrent (in time and space) cultural normative discourses (FOUCAULT, 1972; LEVINSON, SUTTON, and WINSTEAD, 2009). This cross-cultural study allowed me to show systematically how these perceived as part of the natural world propositions are arbitrary and both culturally and ideologically situated. I also demonstrated how they directly affected immigrants' and refugees' language perceptions, social practices, and living experiences.

However, discourse is also produced outside the political and governmental spheres. Park's and Burgess' (1925) definition of immigrant neighborhoods as "little colonies" each associated to a nation can be associated to Math's and Abigail's descriptions of the current living situation in Bangala street. The act of fusing Brazil's and Venezuela's symbols in the religious event is in accordance to Freyre's (1962) and Ribeiro's (1978) descriptions about Brazil's nation's formation. Now,

questions remain. Do discourses over different social fields contribute to producing social realities? Can discourse travel cross-culturally to produce similar realities? Are there inevitable aspects to the human adapting experience? Some of the truth-values can also circulate cross-culturally, such as the arbitrary elements that constitute nations, present in comments of participants of both groups. Nevertheless, this study helps illuminating the adapting experience also by providing sets of different and similar elements between the experiences and perceptions of each community studied. These elements are portrayed in the following diagram:

Table 6 Differences and similarities

Brazil	Both countries	U.S.
• Perception of Spanish and Venezuelan accent as positive elements of attraction; • Perception of Brazilians as curious; • Fear of forgetting Spanish because of languages' proximity; • Development of meaningful relationships locally; • Trauma from border's experiences.	• Language discrimination; • Xenophobia; • Desire to return to countries of origin; • Missing of food; • Missing of professional identities; • Desire to keep in contact with and bring family members; • Gender roles conflicts; • Desire to keep languages and identities alive; • Both resentment and satisfaction over state protection; • Feelings of Gratitude; • Perceptions of host countries as monolinguals; • Expectations about the host countries not meeting living realities.	• Feelings of loneliness; • Desire for kids to become interpreters; • Tiring work; • Perception of the country as time-oriented; • Feelings of isolation; • Racism; • Perception of English as savior; • Presence of ethnic and multilingual churches; • Provisions of translations in different domains; • Linguistic landscape that include minority languages.

Although the diagram above presents elements that were very particular to the experience of each communities in the different host countries, it presents a higher number of elements that portray similar experiences. There are variables that might account for the differences, such as differences in cultures and linguistic repertoires, in communities' sizes, the type of jobs they found, the set of opportunities both social and financial they encounter, host societies' different social organizations, their phenotypes and the phenotypes they encounter in the host societies, and amount of refugees and immigrants.

However, even though the present research aimed at analyzing very particular communities through ethnography, the number of similarities despite so many differences between the two groups are worth the attention. Would they point to a generalizable adapting experience individuals in the condition of refugees and immigrants go through? Further cross-cultural studies are needed to respond this question.

8.4.1 Contributions to the field of Language Policy and Planning

This research's contribution to the field of Language Policy and Planning starts by the choice of under explored themes. Venezuelan refugees' experiences in Brazil have been analyzed from the perspectives of History (MILESI, COURY, and ROVERY, 2018) and of Law (SOUZA AND SILVEIRA, 2018). Within the Justice Studies, Hoagland (2019) analyzes the refugees' policies in South America, particularly the 1984 Cartagena Declaration. I did not find any comprehensive study attempting to investigate this group's integration process.

Although there has been a bulk of research on Latino immigrants in the U.S. (E. J. JOHNSON and CASTRELLON, 2015; GALLO and HORNBERGER, 2017; HORNBERGER and SWINEHART, 2018; SÁNCHEZ, GARCÍA, and SOLORZA, 2018), outside Warriner's (2004, 2007, 2016) publications, little attention has been given to Sub-Saharan African immigrants, especially Congolese.

I fill the two gaps by offering a comprehensive look into these two communities of refugees and immigrants in contexts where their social, cultural, and

linguistic experiences need to be shed light due to current immigration processes and ongoing integration problematic. This study also innovates by providing a cross-cultural analysis of two very distinct groups and their adapting experiences in two different contexts, with different policies, languages, and cultures.

This research pushes the field of Language Policy and Planning forward by providing a multidimensional analysis, involving various types of language policies across a diversity of domains. I consistently show how normative discourses in official language policies affect and influence social practices, living experiences, and perceptions about languages. The ethnographic methodology deployed and the approach to language policies as social practices allowed the investigation of families', communities', hosting centers', and neighborhoods' multiple types of language policies being created and interpreted influenced by external forces, but also by the communities' own necessities, beliefs, and cultural expertise.

I offer two main types of language policies that belong to the adapting experiences. The first type I chose to call "assimilating language policies", which are official documents and discourses that affects refugees and immigrants through host society's attitudes, formation or/and reproduction of language ideologies, climates of opinion, and societies' labels. The second type I called "integrating language policies", which most affect immigrants and refugees they are present in their routines and living experiences and they belong to the daily lives, usually informal and created by and for the community out of adapting necessities. The latter type include families' and communities' language policies and challenge concepts used in the field such as "macro", "micro", "top-down", and "bottom-up".

The study also illuminates refugee and immigrant women's, particularly mothers' roles in integrating themselves, their families and communities into the host societies, while maintaining multilingualism through the creation, interpretation, and imagination of language policies and practices.

8.4.2 Implications

The present research offers important implications for the field of Language Policy and Planning. Researchers in the area have suggested and demonstrated the importance of using ethnography in LPP. However, focusing on school environments (MCCARTY, 2011; E. J. JOHNSON, 2011; MORTIMER, 2013; PEARSON, 2013; D. C. JOHNSON AND E. J. JOHNSON, 2015) fails to capture language policies, practices and living experiences of individuals outside the school system. I have proposed contrasting documents and practices through a qualitative ethnographic research that takes into consideration multiple relevant domains where decisions about languages are being made daily in connection to participants' desires for integration or for resisting assimilation. Furthermore, conducting cross-cultural research in the field reveals common elements that likely drive top-down and bottom-up language policies. Having a larger cross-cultural understanding of the integration phenomenon allows anticipating some of the struggles and strategies reproduced by such groups.

This study, therefore, have carved out implementational space for policymakers and community agents to create and/or reform programs and policies that enhance the life experiences. For example, any attempt to promoting bilingual or multilingual education for the children of the Congolese community have to take into account that there is a possibility of policy makers having to decide one language among many, in accordance with some parents' imagined futures but also disagreeing with others'. In addition, policy makers need to abandon literal translations from one language to another without the consideration of the socio-cultural aspects imbedded in languages. The school-note Abigail translated was in French and it was targeted at African parents, but the perception of language as code left the mother bewildered. Also, it is important to consider whether French changes in the U.S. from a colonial language to a minority language or whether choosing French reiterates the language as dominant in both Africa and the new context.

Results have showed that more than a linguistic concern, integrating Venezuelan refugees with minimal traumas require they are relocated outside Roraima, which crisis not only hinder their integration process, but also infringes

their fundamental rights as human beings. More than providing language and socio-cultural translations and interpretations, there should be provided social awareness to redeem empathy from host societies' members, especially the ones in areas where the amount of Venezuelans cause social change. Language policy implications have been also carved out in this study, involving firstly the recognition of immigration in documents as an ongoing phenomenon rather than the Brazilian first settlers. There must be recognition of immigrants who come from diverse parts of the world and their languages should be regarded as additions to Brazil's linguistic repertoire and not as foreign distant languages. The appreciation of cultural identities and languages in both contexts might increase refugees' and immigrants' selfesteems and give them a sense of integration through maintaining an environment of multilingualism, and of equity, and through seeking solutions inside and outside educational spaces and that consider the role of women in the process.

This research focused on the communities' language policies that most affected the adults. A closer look into the school domains that affect these adults through their children can provide a more detailed understanding of the relationship between parents and children, their language decisions, and the role of school agents in the process. In addition, an extension of the work with the participants can provide a longitudinal comprehension of how they integrate into societies and into their imagined communities, how they continually maintain their languages and identities, and how they reach imagined identities.

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