***Becoming Brazuca: Brazilian Immigration to the United States*. Edited by Clémence Jouët-Pastré and Letícia J. Braga. Cambridge: DRCLAS/ Harvard University Press, 2008.**

Twenty-two scholars have authored these research and theoretical articles selected among those presented at the First National Conference on Brazilian Immigration, which took place at Harvard University in the Spring semester of 2005. In her astute "Prologue: The Diasporic Experinece," Carola Suárez-Orozco calls attention to today's intense, unprecedented flows of migration, and to the fact that at the onset of the twenty-first century the world has over 200 million immigrants and refugees. The United States alone has been receiving more than one million new residents annually. According to the U.S. Census Bureau data from 2006, writes Suárez-Orozco, this is the nation of "35.7 million people who were born abroad" (v).

Though the 2000 U.S. Census accounted for only 212,000 Brazilians and their U.S.-born children, the Brazilian Consulate in New York City estimated in 2003 that about 300,000 Brazilians resided just in its consular district. That's the same five-state area where, as Maxine Margolis points out, the Current Population Survey counted only 20,000 Brazilians in 1999 (340). In the shadows of such an invisible community, ranging in size from 800,000 to 1,1 million people (according to Eduardo Salgado in a 2001 *Veja* article), a fictional character and an ethnic stereotype emerged from the 1970s onward: the Brazuca. In her elucidating study on the two newspapers that helped sediment the Brazilian immigrant's identity in the United States, New York's *The Brasilians* and San Francisco's *Brazil Today*, literary critic and cultural studies professor Else Vieira explains this term, which was employed in satirical pieces on "The Adventures of Zé Brazuca," penned by Jota Alves and published in *The Brasilians*, about a handsome shoeshiner from Rio de Janeiro who emigrated to Manhattan. Vieira believes that "the early Brazuca can be seen as an internationalized version of the folkloric *malandro*, swinging to-and-fro between order and disorder, as first studied by Antonio Candido" (87). The Brazuca today, she adds, can be, in general, any Brazilian migrant outside Brazil. In particular, though, the neologism results from the same phenomenon that "created the Brazilian entrepreneur

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abroad, the transnationalization of the national culture and economy, and, for that matter, the transplantation of the Brazilian sharp division of classes" (87).

This collection of essays attempts to explain the birth, growth, and current profile of the Brazuca. Suárez-Orozco's prologue serves as a theoretical and comparative gateway. The applied psychology and immigration studies scholar contends that contributions from a variety of disciplines are essential to capture the complexity of the Brazilian migratory experience. All of the social sciences have "explanatory value," but the insights "gained from the arts, including literature, poetry, plays, film, and music, also shed important light on the experiences both in the point of origin as well as in the diaspora" (viii). Organized into three sections—"The Art of Seduction: Images of Brazil and the United States in the Twentieth Century," "(In)Visibility: Community and Belonging," and "A New Generation of People and Research"—the collection of fourteen chapters in *Becoming Brazuca* nevertheless devotes much more attention to the perspectives and subject matters from the realm of the social sciences than from those of the arts and humanities.

A very well-informed study by historian Darién Davis on the first Brazilian immigrants to the United States, the actors and musicians who came between the 1930s and the 1950s, has the honorable role of opening the series. Anthropologist Bernadete Beserra's short but convincing essay is next. Based on interviews with Brazilian women immigrants, the author contrasts their self-images vis-à-vis the stereotypical notion of the sexy Latin American female propagated by the movie, tourism, and fashion industries. This is as close as the volume gets to examining artistic representations of the Brazuca experience. The book is undeniably rich in its variety of data on generational, linguistic, and educational disparities; in its poignant reflections on health care and housing and work issues; and in its multiple approaches to the financial, legal, religious, social, and psychological challenges facing this new but fast-growing community in the United States. Anthropologist Ana Ramos-Zayas's take on the "culture of excess" and the "commercialization of culture" among Brazilian and Portuguese communities in Newark, for instance, is particularly enlightening.

The volume closes with Margolis's compelling essay, which certainly results from her wide and profound understanding of immigration issues and

her reading of the other contributions to *Becoming Brazuca*. Readers may not agree with the total extent of some of her generalizations, however. She argues that "Brazilians only become fully conscious of their identity after they leave Brazil" and that "[in] Brazil, Brazilian national identity is taken for granted; it is an abstraction that is rarely a signifier since those one meets on a daily basis are all likely to be Brazilian" (343). She then quotes her own words from a different article: "while national identity in Brazil is a given and seldom noticed, Brazilians abroad are classified as foreigners from a distant and exotic land" (343).

Despite the partial truth of such observations, here are a few questions to ponder: In their supposed unawareness of themselves, are Brazilians in Brazil really different from other nationals living in their home countries? How much did European colonizers in Brazil and their colonized subjects shape and reshape that Brazilian "abstraction" of national identity? Wasn't it written long ago that the New World tropics were hot and promiscuous? What about the interplay between Brazilians and Japanese immigrants, or between the host nation and the 2.9 million Europeans who arrived in Brazil between the 1860s and the 1930s (data included in the editors' introduction)? What role have foreign movies and daily television series played with regard to the negotiated self-images of Brazilians? Or the abundant exchanges, through e-mail and social media, between Brazilians in Brazil and Brazilians anywhere else on earth? These are questions that remind us of another well-founded remark by Suárez-Orozco: researchers on the Brazuca identity and other national abstractions "should consider the historical, political, economic, social, and cultural forces at work not simply within the host country but also in the sending countries" (vii).

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