

STRANGENESS AND IDENTITIES.

Human Rights, Citizenship and the Migrant Representations in Texts*

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This text is about migration, emphasising themes related to human rights and citizenship. It combines reflections and a research in newspaper texts, focussing more on headlines published between early 2003 and February 2004. In diagrams shown at the end of this article, are newspaper headlines, indications of contradictory but complementary movements: the highest diapason of voice and assumption of sentiments against the other, the migrant, and the growth of sympathetic movements and protests, including those led by the migrants themselves. Besides the media, literary essays are presented to indicate how the concept of migrant and the foreigner might assume different meanings. At the end the concept of strangeness is revisited to discuss the borders between the migrant and the native as a socially built one.

Key-words: Migration; Human Rights; Citizenship; Strangeness

Focalizo representações sobre o migrante, com ênfase em temas de direitos humanos e cidadania, debatendo tais conceitos. Combino reflexões e pesquisas em textos de jornais, entre início de 2003 a fevereiro de 2004 em diversos países. Classifico manchetes, indicações de movimentos contraditórios mas complementares, quais sejam: a mais alta diapásão da voz, e da assunção de sentimentos contra o outro, o migrante, pelos ditos nacionais, principalmente em países da União Européia e dos EE.UU. e a ampliação dos movimentos de solidariedade e dos protestos, inclusive articulados pelos próprios migrantes. Antes do capítulo sobre o migrante na mídia, algo sobre a representação do migrante na literatura, ilustrando a plasticidade quanto a sentidos dos conceitos de migrante e estrangeiro. Ao final reflito sobre o conceito de estranhamento, questionando fronteiras entre nacionais e migrantes.

Palavras-chave: Migrante; Cidadania; Direitos Humanos; Estranhamento

1. Concepts of human rights and citizenship, introducing the text within the texts.

There is a paradox relating to the debate about human rights and Citizenship: the recognition of different identities, their challenge by institutional violence, globalized inequalities and control over views of national security, and the right of the state to infringe on basic rights of privacy and the biopolitical integrity of citizens. This violation is regarded as necessary, since it is directed against another, a stranger, the potential terrorist, the foreigner, the migrant who is in an “irregular” situation – formerly referred to as the “un-documented”, a further demarcation of barriers.

Increasingly, however, the other, is becoming “me” – or “us” – and the frontiers between the “regular” and the “irregular” are being blurred, as we with the certification of tourists at airports in the U.S., and in the methods used to document those formerly designated as “peripheral” in police stations.

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We can anticipate a further blurring of the lines between identities, since, in the future, potentially, the “dangerous class will be the whole of humanity”, as Agamben (2004)¹ warns.

The migrant, particularly one without papers, whilst an ancient historical figure, is, in the majority of texts, and according to the most varied records, styles and political tendencies and the most diverse purposes, a throw-back, a construction of intentions which depend on the interests of the time. Whether such a construction is motivated by the defence of his/her rights; by speculation about his/her capacity to confront the Empire or globalization, or as a new subject of the revolution (Hardt e Negri 2000), or by the prescription of his/her control and incrimination, as the representatives of the new right in Europe and the United States propose, he/she is generally represented as the “other”, the stranger, denuded of subjectivity.

Such remoulding of social meanings occurs in texts related to the defences of human rights, as much in legally promulgated constructs of civil citizenship, as in those ethically agreed among nations, via the U.N. and even with the “utopian idea of respect and tolerance ... from the denunciation of different forms of violence ... to varied and specific notions of what people and groups, with their cultural peculiarities, regard as human rights” (Catella 2001: 36). The problem is that with that representation of the rights of others, the first article, instituted in the Declaration of Human Rights, approved by the United Nations in 1948, is compromised – this being the right to a voice, and thus, the acknowledgement of diversity and the right of individuals to defend their own rights.

But, how can such an article not be undermined when the immigrant finds him/herself on the borderline between the rights of human beings and the rights of the State, without papers, without the protection of the State, without legal citizenship, obliged to depend on representation by third parties? This is one of the pit-falls of liberal thinking, in which the notion of human rights and citizenship are inscribed.²

Whilst I am not entirely comfortable with the use and abuse of the concept of citizenship today, I do not reject it outright. Beyond the modish liberal terms and outbursts of the *mea culpa, ex- gauche* variety, which resort to the concept of citizenship as a substitute for the concept of class, I recognise that, on other hand, in the use of such a concept there is the suggestion of a search for a *savoir faire* with emphasis on popular participation, ethnic nuance, a recognition of the “right to have rights” (as Hanna Arendt put it, in 1994) and a rejection of the economic reductionism of human needs. This would signal a movement towards “respect, rights, and dignity”, according to Fraser and Gordon (1994).

The concept of citizenship, like that of human rights, in its current use, is freighted with good intentions – some, I insist, reformist, liberal but also progressive, valid and necessary for the times in which we live. However, they require reference to the place of discourse, that is to say, identification of who is speaking, where – i.e. from what theoretical and political position – and when (at what political moment).

¹ Agamben, Giorgio in Folha de São Paulo, January 18, 2004: “The bio political tattoo imposed by the US on us to enter in its territory might be a signal of what will be asked to all in the future as a normal inscription of identity of a good citizen for the State. That is why we should oppose to it”

² “If the discussion about the rights of man began in the 18th century, as a State-ordained legal obligation, in the 19th century, and was consolidated, with the establishment of the bourgeois order, which found its ultimate expression in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, in 1789, one of the conquests of the French Revolution, it is only in 1948, with the end of the Second World War and the creation of the UN, that human rights find their way onto the international agenda.” Valente, Ana Lucia “A proposito da Comissão de Direitos Humanos da Associação Brasileira de Antropologia” in Novaes, Regina (org.) “Direitos Humanos. Temas e Perspectivas” Ed Mauad, Rio de Janeiro, 2001-28-35, p 29. (Original in Portuguese.)

According to Bart Van Steenberg (1994:20) “citizenship is a problematic concept. It’s meaning was never univocal”.

Some authors consider that the problem with the concept is that it implies a passive citizenship – in which it is up to the State to extend and redistribute a stock of rights, when there should be a focus on “active citizenship”, through the creation of rights and the redefinition of the relationship between civil society and the State, which would revolutionise or salvage what for Gramsci is the potentiality of the concept of citizenship, which is to reshape the State, through the creation of a force against the Hegemonic (Adamson, 1980; and Turner in Steenberg 1994).

Currently, in the realm of active citizenship, it is the subject who is fulfilled. We live in a time when gender, race, nationality have become cultural and political languages of other life-styles. The influence of cultural expressions of migrant groups such as salsa, “Caribbean sound”, “Creole” cuisine, the music of Santana, in New York, funk, in Rio, as well as the influence of vocabulary, ways of dressing and moving, illustrate a cultural dynamic, beyond rights and privileges, at the melting-pot level, “rocking the boat”, though not necessarily to the extent of remoulding the State.

The North American census of 2002 reported that there were 38.8 million Latin Americans in the U.S. comprising 13% of the total population. People of Hispanic origin represent 8% of the registered electorate and their votes are considered decisive in states such as Texas, New Mexico, California, New York and Florida. Whilst such votes tend to be cast for the Democrats, Republicans are growing in influence.

In addition, according to many specialists, the announcement at the end of 2003, of the new immigration reform, reviving the *braceros* ou *guest workers* agricultural reform, which is to say, the regularisation of migrants with guarantees of work from their bosses, for a period of three years, was announced by President Bush, with an eye on the Latin vote, as the majority of beneficiaries are Mexican workers. But, as the pro-human rights activists observed, such legislation, would once again leave migrants at the mercy of exploitation by their employers and dependent on them.

One of today’s biggest “cultural” icons – in both the Latin American community, and North America generally - is the U.S.-born Puerto-Rican, Jennifer Lopez, one of the best-paid singers and actresses, the face of Louis Vitton – “symbol of the moneyed public and white North America” (Canzian, 2003)³. Bearing in mind that very few Latin Americans in the U.S. have access to such opportunities and that the experience of Jennifer Lopez is exceptional, and quite different to that of the majority of first or second generation Puerto-Rican immigrant women, it is debatable whether, as one headline about the singer suggests, that the “Hispanics in the U.S. are in power”. As it is equally questionable whether such a reference can be illustrative of an active cultural citizenship.

1.1. Citizenships

It is common to begin an academic debate, once the basic definitions of the concept of citizenship have been established, by making reference to the classic work of T.H. Marshall, “Citizenship and Social Class”(1949 in Steenberg 1994), written in England, in the period of euphoria about the possibility of improving social conditions and the growth of the Labour Party, the party which defended the creation of the Welfare State. These were times of high expectations favourable to capitalist modernisation. For Marshall, the concept of citizenship was dynamic, the author identifying, historically, three kinds of citizenship: civil citizenship, rooted in the 18th century,

³ Canzian, Fernando “Invasão do Sul: Americanos assimilam hábitos culturais de grupo que até 2025, atingirá 65 milhões de pessoas no país. Explosão da população hispânica muda EUA” In Folha de São Paulo, A24, 13 de julho de 2003.

with emphasis on laws regulating rights and responsibilities, in particular those conceived as “rights necessary to individual freedom such as the right to property, personal liberty and justice” (Steenbergen 1994: 2). In the 19th century, another kind of citizenship would be added to this – political citizenship, which is to say, the right to participate in the political process, to vote and be voted for. For Marshall, the most elaborate form of citizenship would be realised in the 20th century – social citizenship. With this citizenship, all individuals would have rights to economic and social security and participation in the accumulated wealth of the nation guaranteed. Such citizenship would provide a material basis for the free exercise of other kinds of citizenship. The model would be the Welfare State. Only through social citizenship would the individual enjoy the conditions to fully participate in the community.

In Marshall’s work, unlike in subsequent studies (such as those by Turner, for example, in Steenbergen 1994), class and citizenship were neither differentiated nor considered mutually antagonistic. On the contrary, in class, citizenship would gain materiality, without being diluted. According to Marshall (op.cit), social citizenship would not only guarantee the right to minimum economic collaboration (in exchange) for social security, but would also pay respect to “participation in the total social inheritance and allow people to live a civilized life in accordance with the standards prevailing in a given society” (cit in Fraser e Gordon 1994: 92). Universal education and health care services would, according to Marshall, be basic means of dissolving the cultural disadvantages imposed by class inequalities and would work to provide a “unified civilisation”.

The controversy provoked by Marshall’s formulations rages today in the absence of a consensus about the concept of citizenship. Turner (1990), for example, counter-charges, suggesting that citizenship would be subject to various ideological gradations, these being: passive citizenship, conferred from above, through the State, and another, active and revolutionary, from below, through autonomous local institutions, or through affirmation from alternative sub-cultures. There would thus be a conservative citizenship – passive and private – and another revolutionary one – active and public. (Turner 1990).

Furthermore, for Turner, Marshall ignored criticism of the “culture of subjects”, since the Englishman would be more subject than citizen, much like the criticism of English imperialism, which disdained the notion of rights in English colonies (Vieira 1997: 23/24).

Fraser and Gordon (1994) point out that the historic chronology of Marshall’s concept of citizenship, is based on the experience of the white European male worker. They also warn that with the debate about citizenship, Marshall’s project would be “the erosion of class inequalities and protection against market forces, without however reflecting on other axes of inequality and other mechanisms or tools of dominance” (Fraser e Gordon 1994:93).

Authors who focus on women, gay people, blacks and migrants, in addition to the paradigm of inequality, and whilst seizing on the capacity of the excluded to construct an alternative history (e.g. Fraser and Gordon, 1994), generally attach more importance to the relationship between social and cultural citizenship, reclaiming themselves from political citizenship, not as reflected in the right to participate in the formal political process, but in that of creating new processes or forms of political activity. Such authors, together with other academics, stress that they work with the concept of “global citizenship” (Falk in Steenbergen 1994) and ecological citizenship (Steenbergen 1994), the strengthening of networks, transnational militancy related to localized actions, and in social movements.

Today, almost 50 years after Marshall’s work, many authors refuse to accept that social citizenship is the highest stage of citizenship and at the beginning of the 21st century reference is being made to other forms of citizenship.

Among others, I can cite cultural citizenship, or the right of an ethnic-cultural group to have its own references, those of its historical inheritance, not necessarily common to the dominant media or nation-state.

In fact, in multi-ethnic societies, divided by intra-territorialized politico-cultural frontiers, culture, tradition, and memory are constructs of identity and resistance. The uterus space is bifurcated: firstly, in a symbolic, idealised homeland – mother Africa or “The Island of Puerto Rico”, for example – for blacks and Puerto Ricans in the U.S., and secondly in a homeland defended as “our land”, reconstructed, made immediate in various indicators, such as language, the rhythmic movement of the body, dance, sensuality - indicators which are not necessarily confused, but on the contrary, place themselves in opposition to the those identified with the hegemonic, post-colonial state.

Among such indicators, such places of resistance, is the figure of the “*barrio*” for Puerto Ricans and other groups of Latin immigrants in the U.S. (see Castro 2001, Laó-Montes and Dávila 2001, Benmayor 1994 and Flores 1993).

In this sense, in the reclamation of cultural citizenship there is no appeal to the original “passivity” of the concept of citizenship, i.e. of participation as a synonym of integration. On the contrary, citizenship has become the recovery of the alternative, rescuing the perspective of “activeness” through singularity (Turner 1990).

In New York, it is the Puerto Ricans who are reclaiming the cultural space from the authorised post-colonial space (Flores 1993), to affirm the identity of their people.

However, such affirmation of cultural citizenship, if divorced from other kinds of citizenship - civil, political and social in its variations - can be experienced as resistance, though in most cases this means ending up in tolerated ethnic ghettos, or being sold as merchandise – as in the case of Jennifer Lopez.

The question of cultural citizenship, cultural rights and cultural politics is complex and, depending on time and place, acquires specific references. For example, for colonized groups who are territorially imprisoned or ‘encapsulated’ by the dominant cultural/political colonial power, the question of cultural citizenship, the right to one’s language, symbols, customs, the perpetuation of an identity implies marking out the borders of a nation, recalibrating cultural signifiers, which end up as political/civil/economic barriers. This is the case, for example, of the Irish, the Basques - who, through other projects, not of autonomous disintegration or political-territorial separation, fight for selective integration, with autonomy – and of “Latin” groups in the U.S. – culture reterritorialised in customs, symbols, imagistic, performative, and language – in the case of the Gallegos in Spain.

It is noted that, if for some ethnic-political groups, identity and otherness have the connotation of fixed axes, through an identification of similarities and differences – the antagonistic differentiation of others – for other groups, identity is a process, which allows for negotiations and movements. Indeed some authors (such as Eagleton, 1990, for example) claim that the greatest subversion is in open identities, non-identities, or de-identifications or through a third space (Homi Bhabha 1990).

But, I insist, the term cultural citizenship, in addition to access to the production of culture or the right to be a producer of culture, also refers to the right to the use of symbols, to self-identification. It is complex and subject to disputes which go beyond the divisions between left and right, but foreground the debate about the importance of dating and locating the question of human rights – be it universal, or specific – as well as blurring the parameters of ambiguous political interests.

Thus, many of those who participated in the debate about the right or not to the use of the “veil” by muslim girls in schools and public offices in France – at the end of 2003 and the beginning of 2004

– argued against it, stressing the principle of laicality, or the separation of church and state (considered a universal right in the West) and the defence of women’s rights (a focussed human right), considering the veil a tool of inequality and differentiation. However, if Muslim women spoke up, there wouldn’t be a univocal position on the issue.⁴

Tourraine, one of the members of the Stasi commission which advised the government, recommending the prohibition of the use of religious symbols in schools in France, defended his position, quoted specifically the question of cultural rights but establishing limits for these, in the name of criticisms of differentialisation and the primacy of universal values, thus redefining citizenship as the antithesis of what is known as “communitarianism”.

In this understanding of citizenship there exists a notion of the state shaped by certain parameters, in this case, western, rational, secular and uniform or totalitarian.

In almost all the countries of the world, the question of cultural rights is placed at the centre of social life, a question which affects the right which each one has to be recognised by society, not just as a citizen or worker, but also as the representative of a culture, that is to say, of a language and a religion, as much as of a familial system or of culinary traditions. It is true that many countries, and France in particular, criticised, often with good cause, the risk of ‘differentialisation’, but also refused to recognise cultural pluralism.

The concern prompted everywhere by the so-called “case of the Islamic veil” shows how difficult it is to reconcile respect for cultural pluralism with the resistance to communitarianism that threatens the idea of citizenship (Tourraine 2004)⁵.

Other authors, taking a position opposed to that of the French government, remember that the prohibition of the veil cannot be attributed to general principles, ignoring the fact that it occurred at a specific historical time and place – the period of expansion of “Islamophobia” in France; of racist provocation against Arabs in various countries of the European Union; of the warning about the growth of the Muslim population in France (estimated at 3.7 million in 2004, compared with 2.5 million in 1993); when the Muslim religion boasted the second largest number of followers in France; of consternation about the occupation of Iraq by western forces; of the tendency of public opinion to identify Arabs as terrorists; and of the identification of many young people with the symbols of Muslim culture, as an express means of taking a critical position on such occupation (data and reference to “Islamophobia” and the Muslim religion in France in Charles and Lahouri, who challenge the argument of secularity as a basis for the prohibition of the veil in schools).⁶

1.2. The Migrant? And This Text?

I insist on the previously mentioned reservations about concepts of human rights or citizenship, that is to say, that they are concepts that do not challenge the frontiers of the system, circulating through inclusions, mainly in the legal field. There is, on the other hand - something which underlines the recognition that it is one of the gains of modernity, in more recent phases - the dialect between

⁴ Hanan Touzani, a Muslim woman of 31 years of age who has lived in Madrid since she was 14, told a reporter that when she went through the streets in a veil, she could feel eyes upon her and was subject to abuse. But that this was not a widespread attitude. According to the woman: “Without the veil I feel naked. But [it] attracts attention and with what is happening in the Arab world they consider me a terrorist.” In Guilayn, Priscila “The Cultural Shock of Spanish Muslims”. O Globo, 22.6.2003.

⁵ Tourraine, Alain, “The Veil and the Law” in Folha de São Paulo, January 11 2004, located at boletim-ceao@yahoo.com.br.

⁶ Charles, Gilbert e Lahouri, Besma “Les vrai chiffres: 3,7 millions de musulmans en France” in Lê Nouvel Observateur, 5/12/03, accessed at niem_rj@yahoo.com.br.

human rights in general, which take humanity as a reference, and the specific human rights of many people, as much in terms of negative vulnerabilities, as much as in terms of their own possibilities, experiences and languages.

It is when one departs from the classic turn-of-the-century concepts of social, civil and political citizenship, to address such references and reflect on the inequalities of the class system, that the debate about cultural citizenship opens up, binding them together, and recognising the singularity of many of them.

It is when one finds oneself making reference to the human rights of women, gays, indigenous peoples, migrants, children, young people, the old and so many other sectors of society who, through social constructions rooted in inequalities and social iniquities of class and others, would be the other of the other of the other and, thus, rendered more negatively socially vulnerable than the others.

It is when the generality implicit in the definition of identities in itself is questioned, such as that of being a migrant, and when the social diversity implicit in the term is considered.

In times of violations of the basic principles of respect for human life, and, in the case of the migrant, predominantly dark-skinned, who might be taken for an Arab, particularly in the aftermath of 9/11, and the attack on the twin towers of New York, it is important to rescue concepts of human rights and the rights of a variety of kinds of citizenship, even be it through voices of third parties, such as the media, even if restricted to a “passive” citizenship, that is to say, with limited references to a right of inclusion, and to be treated as “regular”, natural and, thus, with class limitations.

All this as much for the commitment against the expansion of the authoritarianism of the state, which spreads in the confusion over the definition of who is the terrorist, the invader against the state – or, rather, against a certain state, in particular the U.S., the European Union or the West – as for what such a tendency has come to mean in the everyday lives of so many people: fear of deportation, insecurity, the endless wait for a visa or for the normalisation of a situation which takes such a long time in so many countries, the increasing vulnerability of the migrant in the face of organised crime, the trafficking in human beings, victimisation as a result of attacks of a racist or xenophobic nature, the prohibition of one’s religious customs and cultural expression – antagonism and prejudice now legitimised by a climate of national defence and the nature of the modern western world. We live in times in which to be liberal is to be radical which, on the other hand, requires care to be taken with the extent of such a posture.

This text is influenced by such a position, and gives more space to the migrant, emphasising themes related to human rights and citizenship. It combines reflections and research into newspaper texts (of wide circulation as well as activist media) in two recent periods: one, related to the period 1995-1997 and the other, focussing more on headlines published between early 2003 and February 2004. The intention is to demonstrate the relevance of 9/11 in the more explicit adoption by states – mainly in the U.S. and Europe – but calling attention to a longer complex process building of cultural policies against the other. Policies not necessarily anti-immigrant, but designed to serve the instrumental interests of controlling the labor force (migrant and non migrant) and the international relations between developed and developing countries, and at the national level, dividing under the name of the nation-State the non riches between us and the others, the strangers, and so oiling the wheels of capitalism and controlling it. But, on the other hand, it is precisely in recent years that we have seen an increase in the number of studies about violations of various human and civil rights, and the growth in visibility of politics, organisations and parties with anti-immigrant manifestos and politics of control – mainly in the U.S. and the European Union. In diagrams shown at the end of this paper, are newspaper headlines, indications of contradictory but complementary movements: the

highest diapason of voice and assumption of sentiments against the other, the migrant, by national expressions, in those countries, and the growth of sympathetic movements and protests, including those led by the migrants themselves. Such movements highlight the fluidity of the borders between the other and the broader 'I', making possible, more than the friendly gesture, a class perspective.

The recognition that, amongst all this strangeness, an immigrant is emerging – a political subject – more willing to exercise an active citizenship, protesting, organising, demanding – should not be confused with the thesis which considers the migrant a nascent revolutionary, due to his/her capacity to destabilise 'localisms' and become the herald of a global citizenship.

On the other hand, I maintain that migration is a theme that must be of greater interest to critics on capitalism, even without the 'instrumentalisation' of the migrant, which is to say, as a new subject of the revolution. For Marx, the migrant is one of the numerous people's of capital, a subject within class, not necessarily a subject for class. The migrant may or may not be the subject of a class in his/herself, but migration integrates the movement and reproduction of capital and it is not by chance that states are becoming increasingly concerned about it and redoubling their efforts to control it.

Migration inserts contradictions into localised and even global capitalism, due to the varied loyalties of the migrant. However, the horizon of the migrant does not necessarily go beyond the liberal right to do justice to wealth, services and goods accumulated and 'territorialised', which already, in itself, can cause obstructions (not revolutions) to the centric capitalist system, through its limits on the inclusion of the excluded.

Before the chapters on the migrant today, as seen in the media, it follows something about the literature more closely related to migrations and policies and the representation of the migrant in literature, which illustrates the plasticity in terms of the meanings of concepts of the migrant and foreigner.

2. Literature about International Migrations

2.1. Migrations, Social Sciences and Policies – Some Brief References

A quick glance at the literature of social sciences and texts concerned with the development of policies on international migration suggests that, in the 1970's, prominence was given to theories which related mobility of work to the mobility of capital, to the production and reproduction of economic policy (see, amongst others, Gaudemar, 1978), to the different phases of integrated global capitalism (Amim, 1974, amongst others), as in the 1980's, and to the diffusion and strengthening of the globalisation of the economy, to the formation of "global cities" (Sassen, 1991). Similarly, there are studies from the 1980's which drew attention to social networks (those who stayed and those who left – transmigration) and the diversity of subjects and experiences of migrations.

New agents, such as women and young people, shed their invisibility, till that point submerged in the media and general statistics, with the scrutiny of the private and the relationship between the public and private, the importance of the work of female immigrants, at home and in the market place, their vulnerability to domestic violence and their representation in the trade in human beings, by prostitution networks. Female migrants were vulnerable to domestic and institutional violence, be it because of linguistic barriers – by the failure to incorporate themselves into society due to bureaucratic apparatus or distance from the family group – notwithstanding the benefits of migration, in terms of freedom of movement and autonomy in the face of community and familial repression and ties (Poggio, 2001 and Castro, 2000, among others). Thanks to the work of NGO's and feminist activists the trade in women is now being denounced.

On the other hand, it is in the literature of the 1990's that the states and territories, sites of transit and movement, are connected, not only with each other, but between planes, linking identities and states (see the works of Feldman-Bianco and Glick-Schiller, 1997, among others). Trans-national identities and transmigration are spoken of and transcultural responses (see Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc, 1993 and Feldman-Bianco, 1992, among others) and those on multiplicities of reference and cultural traffic, that is today, the circulation among identities (Benmayor 1996, Castro 2000, Laó-Montez and Dávila, 2000 among others).

A cultural perspective, which considers, on the other hand, economic scenarios and limitations, helps to ensure that more is invested, in particular, in new texts, as the founding documents of the Global Commission on International Migrations⁷ suggests. Thus, also contemporaneous themes, which emphasise, in the foreigner's favour, the question of funds being sent back to countries of origin and the pressure brought to bear by migrants on the nation-state of origin, in the resident country. According to a U.N. study, funds sent back by immigrants today represent one of the chief sources of some of the Caribbean countries GDP (National Council on Race, 2004). It is not by chance that bilateral agreements have been on the increase in recent years, driven by countries of origin, in favour of migrants, very often less by the pressure of solidarity of co-citizens by birth, in the migrants country of origin, than by transnational pressure. Symptomatic of the strength of such pressure is the growing voice of the migrant in the activist media, according to nationality, in the countries of migration. A new and positive development is the increased intervention by states of origin in the defence of their citizens abroad, as, for example, when the Brazilian government negotiated with the U.S. for less humiliating ways to repatriate around 1,000 'un-documented' Brazilians who were in prison in that country, in early 2004. Since the end of the 1990's, Mexico has played an important role through actions pursued in North American territory in defence of Mexican immigrants, pressing for more liberal immigration laws in for Mexican immigrants in the U.S., a point which was used effectively by Vicente Fox in his presidential election campaign. On the other hand, positions adopted by the Mexican government in defence of its nationals and against the infringement of their rights in the name of the repression of the drugs' trade by the U.S., have been defended not necessarily in the name of human rights but in terms of the negative impact on commerce between the two countries – an argument to which the Bush government is likely to be more susceptible.

The situation of Mexicans in the U.S. and the relaxation of restrictions on movement across the Mexican/U.S. border had been prioritised in Fox's campaign. Having been shelved in negotiations between the two countries around the time of September 11th (2001), and it was back on the agenda, with the elections in the two countries and Bush's new proposal – at the end of 2003 – for reform of migration policies, and for a programme of approved workers who would co-operate in the legalisation of mainly Mexican migrants – the latter having been attacked by human rights organisations who claimed it would increase the vulnerability of workers and their dependence on their employers. In reality, immigration is a subject which obliges states to engage in dialogue and bargaining on interests which have little to do with the human rights of nationals who migrate or return. Migration, in many cases, depending on the states involved, is the basic stuff of international relations, an arena of political and economic bargaining, as for example, in the case of relations between the U.S. and Mexico and the U.S. and Cuba.

It is the interests of the state, more than the circumstances of the migrants, which are to be found at the negotiating table, or under it. Migration quotas are contained or increased, guidelines about privileges or visa concessions have been changed throughout the course of the history of U.S. – imposed embargo of Cuba.

⁷ See www.gcim.org. The GCIM was created by suggestion of some countries under the mandate of the UN in 2004.

The positive value of the migrant is also recovered at the level of the symbolic and cultural, in the relationship between migration and identity, suggesting that the foreigner, the migrant tends not towards fixed identities but towards a search for identities and non-identities, open and negotiated.

Studies of migration today, range over various areas, from the possession of specific knowledge of specific groups, to dialogues with others, where they intersect with debates about races and gender, for example, in a concern with the critique of modernity, dichotomies, hegemonies and homogeneities.

In this disalignment, studies of migration gain in understandable compromise by relating themselves to current debates about racism and intolerance towards foreigners, drawing attention to questions such as alternative doxies, and reflection about ethics and humanism.

For those who circulate among migrants, without documents, experiencing problems related to identity cards, and visas that confer the right to be, Eagleton's reflection (1990) about creativity in the search for identities or non-identities, and of other critics of modernity, about trans-identities, could appear to be elucubration, intellectual elitism, rootless theory, lacking in social commitment. But they are necessary utopias and a challenge to the formulation of policy, engaging them with the here and now – services, programmes, laws – acts – and investment in processes, changes, long-term thinking – the 'projectum'. It is where culture and politics over-lap.

But one has to continue exposing living conditions, violations of human rights and the draconian tendency of migration-related legislation and expressions of imaginary anti-immigrants in the general population, in particular in the U.S. and countries of the European Union.

As I illustrate in the tables at the end, with migration-related headlines and themes highlighted in newspapers, added to the classic exploitations of the migrants' physical labour, are others, which also get confused with acknowledgement of the positive aspects of migration for the demographic, economic and cultural make-up of countries involved in migration.

Intolerance – a symptom of age-old movements like migration – even seeps into policies and 'strangements', the feeling of exclusion, of excess, of being out of place, which affects everyone, not just migrants.

In other words, what has been happening with migrations, and their codifications – even at state level, and which suggests that it could end up taking shape, as an alternative – overtakes the individuals directly involved in the migratory fluxes, regardless of how awful their experiences of dislocation, or how beautiful the adventures of the foreigners, the self-discoveries and otherwise of those who migrate. The different meanings for individuals, states and places, of migrations today are signs of the ambiguous times in which we find ourselves – as much in terms of recognition of diversity, the de-repressions of individuals, achievements in subjective terms – at the same time that barriers are being raised, restricting the power of individuals, especially those in excluded categories.

Such individual impotence before the State, and the State impotence to care for the welfare of native and foreign citizen is further complicated these days, by the fact that, in the name of national security, of counter-attacking terrorism and narco-traffic – issues which obviously demand attention – the security of people and immigrants is under assault, mainly of those with dark skin, and above all in under-developed countries which are, almost by definition, 'suspect'.

After the terrible events of 9/11, dark-skinned migrants have become more vulnerable and stigmatised in the name of national security – be it by the state or by their host society. But the efforts of Sassen (1999) to draw attention to the history prior to such a fact suggest that the tendency to intolerance and the general shutting down in relation to immigrants is a historical process which has been continuing for a long time.

Today, on the other hand, there are multilateral accords and public debates about the rights of migrants, but restrictive legislation is growing and support is on the increase in European countries for candidates who use anti-immigrant platforms to promote xenophobia and restrictive declarations of nationalism. The apparent paradox is such increasingly harsh laws controlling movement, the increase of cases of deportation and xenophobic declarations, even by statesmen, co-exist with a series of legal mechanisms, with an “institutional infrastructure”, which are being put in place to facilitate freedom of movement, in particular, if one is a member of the European Union.

The paradox is apparent because the racism and xenophobia and also the theory which blames migration for rises in unemployment, co-exist with demographic, with the replenishing of populations, in an effort to confront trends of ageing and low fertility, typical of various European countries, and economic interests related to cheap labour and high skilled migrants.

U.S. policies on immigration were, until recently, considered more liberal than those of countries such as France and Germany, but the U.S. model emphasises unipolarity of control, at the domestic level, whilst at the negotiating table, particularly as regards countries such as Mexico and Cuba, international migration is regarded as an element with a certain plasticity, as far as policy is concerned, and dependant on the collective interest. The immigration law of 1996 emphasises the non-reciprocal nature of the power of the U.S. (“unilateralism”), which, according to many analysts, is due less to a real threat of foreign over-population, than to internal pressures, from member states and their citizens. This is maintained in the strategic statute of immigrant issues in international relations.

Immigration has, for a long time, been considered, or rather, since before “D-Day” – i.e. 9/11 – a challenge “to the work opportunities of native-born [Americans], to American culture, and, in relation to its borders, to drugs and crime” (Sassen 1999), by the American authorities.

In addition to multilateral relations between states, analysts also consider - as symptoms of the age which could have a neutralising effect on the control and violation of the rights of immigrants by the state, at the level of international politics - the statute of human rights, with its universal nature, rendering all frontiers relative. Europe, for example, has greater experience of invoking institutions such as the European Court of Human Rights and such a court, within the European Community, has a jurisdiction which annuls the decisions of member states. On the other hand, institutions at the community level (those representing the EU) don’t necessarily have jurisdiction over those of the state. It is noticeable that the Shengen accord, at the same time that it relaxes requirements to increase the power of movement in the EU, principally of nationals of member countries, is more rigid in relation to requests for asylum and refuge – which has a bearing on recent European conflicts (such as the Balkans War) (Castro 2001).

Three new conditions – multilateral accords, the regime of universal human rights and the defence of citizenship – are considered in the case of the EU as supporting actors in a process of communitarian citizenship which, on the other hand, continues to be characterised by the exclusion of third parties, in particular those of dark skin – in the case of Moroccans – and subordinated to the interests of the free movement of goods.

The phenomenon of the un-documented migrant is extremely complex when it comes to the affirmation of human or citizenship rights. On the other hand, I’d like to draw attention to the relationship between tighter restrictions on immigration, the probable extension of commerce in people-trafficking and the stimulus to the constitution of the un-documented.

In response to the issue of un-documented immigrants, European states have developed two responses: regularisation, through amnesties, of the population defined as “illegal”, whilst reserving a series of conditions and measures which include deportation and penalties for the employers of such

migrants. The measures against employers date back to 1980. Some are further victimised, in the attempt to cross into other countries, by institutional violence or discrimination – very often, not only because they are foreigners, but because they are “darkies”, or have some other pigment or race-related difference, as in the case of blacks. The latter are doubly estranged, brother from brother, as much were black Africans, historically, by the culture of colonisation, and the interiorisation of the other, the stranger.

2.2. An overview of The Migrant in Contemporary Literature and the Media

International migration, warn various specialists, including experts committed to the status quo and driven by a logic of control, is a theme with symbolic implications and latent effects more far-reaching than they are visible, at the level of the state and the apparatus of the media. Whilst it deals, ultimately, with people, as individuals of flesh and blood, with fears and needs, anxieties proliferate at the level of common sense, more impressionistic and sensationalist constructions than experiences of the nature of migrations, or the experiences of migrants.

In regard to media and migration, Lorenzo Prencipe, director of CIEMI – the *Centre d’Information et d’Etudes sur les Migrations Internationales*, in Paris, criticises what he considers “exoticism” as an “expression of western ethnocentrism”; “stereotypes”, contributing to an idea that migrants are a homogeneous totality, mainly as regards to their precarious living conditions and needs; what is considered “different”; and the legitimisation of the “thesis of the migrant’s almost genetic predisposition to delinquency”. According to Prencipe (2002: 37):

(...) the approach that the media take to migration is characterised more by open questions than by effective responses ... The sickness of the media is a reflection of the sickness of society as a whole, which has still not accepted migration as one of the main elements of construction.

But another media is emerging, principally through organisations of solidarity, more concerned with addressing the tendencies of the discourse of state, accepted notions about migration, and exposing violations of human rights, through the affirmation of active citizenship, or reactions and protests of immigrants and entities defending the migrants’ rights.

In this article, a last section is devoted to a look at this sympathetic media, with reference to two distinct periods: in the first block, the material dates from 1995 to 1997 – focussing on certain texts, debates in the North American congress and the media, run in a monthly publication – Migration News – which monitors policies and actions related to international migration in different countries. I highlight the conservative thinking of Republican North America and the reactions of Latin American writers and groups in the U.S. – and Latins in the pre-Bush period. In the second block, the reference is various notes and articles run between 2003 and 2004 by the network on migration NIEM⁸, on the internet, which allow for an overview of the most important texts in the international media on the subject of international migration.

Preceding the analysis of the media, are brief references to the representation of the migrant in literature, in order to better emphasise the plasticity of the issue and, as announced at the start of the text, as the foreigner is an “other” represented by “others”, exemplified through a range of references.

2.1. The Foreign Migrant in Critical Essays

⁸ NIEM-Migratory Studies Interdisciplinary Nucleus of the University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ)-Brazil.

Whilst in essays of the human sciences, in philosophy and literature, attention is drawn to the strangeness and fascination exerted by the foreigner, not only because he/she brings something new, but because he/she helps us move beyond the borders of subjectivity, to the discovery of the other in ourselves (Kristeva 1988), in texts on policies on migrants, the impression implicitly given is that one is dealing with a law-breaker, one who pays taxes, works more for less pay, who comes from a country with a history of asymmetric exchanges in relation to the host country, beleaguered economies and concentric, growing debts, and who has, however, to demonstrate that he/she is not guilty. In the post 9/11 world, the foreigner, particularly the migrant, is considered to be synonymous with the terrorist suspect, and in many treaties and accords, more recently, reference is explicitly made to immigrants and terrorists.

When we look at different kinds of texts supposedly related to foreigners and immigrants, the impression is of one sole character changing labels, passing through appropriations, signifiers, masks of opposed meanings: the victim of macro-economic decrees, of political circumstances, the breaker of the laws of entry and residence in a state, the usurper of the rights of citizens by birth, such as social security, health care and education. The migrant is cheap labour, welcome in certain circles and sectors of the economy of developed countries during certain periods, but, at the same time, and in the same place, by other competent and powerful analysts or authorities. For some, he/she is ill-adapted, refusing to learn the dominant language, or inventing other languages, an *assimilao*, in the “Spanglish” jargon in the Puerto Ricans of New York, one who is “assimilated”, without identity, who mixes English with Spanish, for example. For others, he/she is an innovator, who enriches, diversifies and transforms monolithic cultures into hybrid trans-cultural cultures.

In the hands of certain researchers and journalists, migrants are frozen in attack, statistics about groups, numbers of positions, categorisation by sex, age, education, etc ...even today, when models of human capital are at a low and individual qualities do little to guarantee work. In the hands, or records of others, in the store, the migrant ends up being the case, history and story, *nostalgias*, (Feldman-Bianco, 1994), proofs here and there, stories of separation, pain, meetings, mutations.

The foreigner in literary texts and in essays of cultural criticism, is a metaphor of liberty, of search, of non-conformity.

Simmel (1974), at the start of the century, highlighted the foreigner’s freedom to come and go, and the symbolic relationship between spaces that the foreigner, the stranger potentialises. Whilst he is on foreign soil, the foreigner, according to Simmel, participates more intensely in the group he/she chooses, which welcomes him/her, bringing new qualities to the group and a unique interaction, since he/she is both near and far. Simmel remembers that the foreigner was the born disseminator of culture, like the market, bringing those products not produced by the group, from outside, “negotiating the new”, transfixing with creativity and mobility. Due to the fact of not belonging, of being from outside, he/she was elected, by some peoples, such as the Italians, to juries, in the belief that he/she would display greater objectivity. Proximity and distance create a particular tension in his dealings with the native group. Subjectivity and objectivity intersect in the foreigner. Objectivity defined as liberty, which would be redefined in subjectivities considered to be dangerous – foreign people, “agitators”(according to the beliefs of primitive peoples) or “innovators”, according to others.

Kristeva (1994), in an essay with a suggestive title, “Foreigners to us”, reflects on the importance of the figure of the foreigner in times of the search for and questioning of identities:

Strangely, the foreigner lives among us: he is the hidden face of our identity ... the foreigner begins where consciousness of my difference arises and ends where we recognise everyone as foreigners, rebels to connections and communities.(Kristeva 1994:9)

Caio Fernando Abreu (1977), in “Strange Foreigners”, in referring to the “ambiguity of exile”, to the “unravelling of the emigrant”, alludes to its sense of liberty, liberty not happiness, but of the emigrant suffering, space created and fed by the fraternities of the road.

In Camus’ “The Stranger” (1972), according to Sartre’s introduction, the exile is the common good and evil, related to the absurd, and the latter to “dislocation”. But the “Stranger” is also against the absurd (Sartre) and the character breaks down routine and order: “In a universe suddenly deprived of illusions and light, man experiences himself as a stranger. Such exile is without recourse, seeing as it is deprived of the memories of a lost country or of the hope of a promise land.” (Camus, cit in Sartre, Introduction, in Camus 1972)

Borreil (1993) also engages in reflection on the role of the transgressive figure of the foreigner, in order to question the doxy of modernity, the certainties about hegemonic and homogeneous reasons, but that the stranger – or near-stranger – would trouble everyone.

The shock of the strange, the shock of strangeness, the shock of the stranger. Above all it is the doxy that is affected, the opinion I have about myself, the opinion I have about “the other”. Tolerance is primarily the relationship between this comfort (a doxy) and this shock. We tolerate the change that it produces, or ... or what? There is no verb here to express the negative. ‘Intolerate’? (Borreil, 1993: 133)

...

The exile is that who passes from one island to another. The native country is an island, an isolation, a solitude and nationality the meaning forbidden by poetry. The translator is therefore he whose work is a passion, as passivity which passes. It is what Antoine Berman calls “the proof of the stranger”, this proof which comes face to face with nationalism and the colonialism of the entire culture and language – since all culture and language are colonialist in the sense that they tend towards homogeneity – and they expose themselves to the violence of strangeness, in the interval of a kind of suspension. (Borreil, 1993: 140)

The stranger in literary texts and existential essays is a metaphor for liberty, for search, for non-conformity. A curious passage occurs between the stranger, who travels and is free to come and go, and the migrant, who has to go or to stay. A strange mutation occurs and is differently represented in different texts, from the figure who attracts due to his difference, or to what he/she suggests to us about others, within us- the foreigner – and the recent immigrant, generally from areas referred to as the “third world”), associated with the figure of the usurper of hard-won rights, or rights reserved for the “natives”, the “res natura”.

2.2.2. The Migrant in Political Texts of the State – The Case of the U.S., 1995-1997

Passages of the speeches of President Clinton to Brazil (14th and 15th October, 1997) illustrate the liberal credo on the relationship between globalisation and the opening of borders, with emphasis on the end of protectionism and more open economies, in the North-South direction, even praising cultural diversity, brought about by migration:

We know that no country has found the ideal formula to integrate itself into the global economy and, at the same time to preserve and strengthen the social contract.

Globalisation is an irreversible process and protectionism only worsens things. We cannot go back on these changes but we have to control its power so that we can all profit from it, so that all the benefits can be distributed and the responsibilities shared.

...

In our country, in the schools of Washington that I see from the White House, there are children from more than 150 countries, speaking over 100 languages, in just one school district. The neighbourhoods of Sao Paulo are a window on the world. The colours of Italy animate the São Paulo neighbourhood of Bexiga. The flavours of Japan inspire Liberty {Liberdade- a neighbourhood}. The spirit of the Middle East fills the neighbourhood of the neighbourhood Bom Retiro. The rhythms of Africa are to be found in all the neighbourhoods.

So, when we take the greatest advantage of this era of opportunities we wonder which countries are going to do better in a globalised economy? The countries which have the world within its borders. (Emphasis mine. Passage from President Clinton's speech at Latin American memorial, São Paulo 15. 10.97, in Folha de São Paulo 16.10.97).

What follows are some texts from studies run by Migration News, relating to the debates and news about migrants and the Law of Immigration and the Act of Responsibility of 1996 (IIRIRA) in the U.S. – 1995 to 1997, which suggest another codification about diversity and migration, not that expressed in President Clinton's previously quoted speech. Heavy fines were introduced for situations considered to be irregular, such as bringing over relatives who did not fulfil the salary requirements set down. Deportation orders were expedited more quickly and failure to comply could mean a ban on re-entry of up to 10 years.

Solidarity groups described the desperate situations of old migrants and those with physical disabilities, following the April 1996 changes to the Welfare Law, which shut down various programmes of assistance. According to the welfare law, the refusal of assistance to legal migrants or those without documents, the so-called "illegals", was justified in terms of the "interests of state" and "making aliens more self-sufficient and thus eliminating one of the basic incentives to illegal migration, which had come to count on the availability of public service benefits" (in Migration News 5.1997).

According to Republican Senator E. Clay Shaw Jr., author of the welfare law of 1996, there would have to be a limit so that disabled and elderly immigrants would acknowledge the benefits of that law, taking a position against what they considered to be their previous experience, or to put it another way, there were 75,000 immigrants in the U.S. on August 22 1997.

In the plenary session, Shaw declared "the Social Welfare system in the U.S. has become a pension plan for Third World countries". The Governor of California, Peter Wilson, initiated a debate about welfare and immigrants, claiming that welfare services in the U.S. worked as "a magnet to pull aliens across our borders". In March, Wilson proposed barring immigrants from benefits offered by around 220 state programmes, including pre-natal care, treatment for drug-addicts, services for the mentally ill and access to fishing licenses (In Migration News, 7.1997). The attacks on the rights acquired by migrants formed part of a conservative global tendency against the poor and others in exclusion. For example, it was estimated that around 95,000 residents in Florida in 1997, would lose food stamp benefits to the value of US\$ 76 per month, and 54,000 would lose benefits related to supplementary social welfare, with changes to programmes of federal welfare, which came into effect in August 1997. In Massachusetts, half of the 77,000 adults helped by welfare programmes would lose such benefits within two years.

As regards the action of the authorities on immigration (then the Immigration and Naturalisation Service or INS), the following facts, run in Migration News also, in June 1997, are illustrative: it was suggested that the INS anticipated deporting 93,000 people in 1997, whilst, in 1996, 68,657 were deported, in 1995, 50,414 and, in 1993, 42,299. The immigration law (IIRIRA) would allow for the deportation of legal migrants. The scope of action of the INS, as much as regards the persecution of foreigners – considered perpetrators of criminal activities – as those involved in

migration networks, would expand as it globalised. On June 19, the INS announced plans to open offices in 12 different countries, and to launch Operation Global Reach, budgeted at \$ 8.2 million. The INS calculated that between 500,000 and 1 million foreigners would illegally enter the U.S. and Europe.

The relationship between the intensive anti-migrant campaign and the decrees of the political economy within the U.S. was, in that period of reference (1995-1997), highlighted by various authors, much like the arbitrariness of the selection of those eligible for visas, in the consulates and embassies, by the North American authorities, when gender and race were used against applicants. According to commentary in Migration News, in June 1997, one analyst of Operation Gatekeeper, initiated in October 1994 in the Los Angeles Times, concluded that the INS was effectively assuring North American employers of a docile, scared and unauthorised work-force.

Migration is a divisive issue and research from June 1997, according to Migration News, e.g. the Knight-Ridder poll which interviewed 1,314 adults, found that, while 45% declared that “migration benefited the nation”, 42% claimed to be against and 10% believed there would be both positive and negative effects. Whilst research conducted between 19th and 23rd of June, 1997, with 2007 adults by the Wall Street Journal/NBC News found that 49% of those interviewed emphasised the negative effects of migration. The social class of respondents influenced the nature of the response, reinforcing the theory of the transfer of blame amongst the excluded. Among those who earned more than S\$ 75, 000 a year, 56% stated that migration had more positive than negative effects for the nation, and only 34% felt that migration was negative. Whilst of those who earned less than S\$ 20,000, only 36% perceived the positive effects whilst 58% considered migration negative for the U.S. Amongst the common negative references to recent migration were statements such as “immigrants today are a burden on our country, because they take our jobs and our housing services and medical care”.

It is noted that for a long time the theory has been upheld that recent migrants, or those with less than 10 years residence, competed for the same jobs as white North Americans. The anti-immigrant voices, according to the Mexican ambassador in the U.S., Jesus Silva Herzog, didn't mention that according to the Mexican Central Bank, Mexican residents in the U.S. were responsible for \$10.3 billion dollars in savings in banks in the U.S. In April 1997, around 873, 700 Mexican workers were employed in *maquiladoras*, factories mounted in the border between the U.S. and Mexico, characterised by low salaries and scanty labour protection. For example, whilst income per head in the factories in San Diego is estimated at \$25,000 per year, for those in the “maquiladoras” in the frontier city of Tijuana is \$3,000. It is estimated that around 40,000 people were transported daily from the city of Tijuana to the neighbouring North American city to work there. Mexico is the source of around a quarter of immigration into the U.S. in the last 15 years, which many refer to as “The Reconquest”.

The rise of conservatism in the U.S. precedes the Bush era, albeit that it has acquired greater legitimacy, as is illustrated in the following section which focuses on media highlights relating to international migration. But it is insisted that “minority” protectionist programmes were already at a low level in 1997 and in numerous states affirmative action and quota programmes for blacks, women and legal migrants had already been abolished and migration laws were already more concerned with the interests of the state and the control of the workforce for capital.

2.2.3. Headlines about Citizenship, Violations of Rights and Reactions in Favour of the Migrant – in the International Press, 2003 to 2/2004

International migration has been a recurrent theme in the U.S. media and that of European Union countries for some time, but in recent years not only has the space devoted to it increased, but it

has also attracted attention in countries such as Brazil with a more recent tradition of migration. In the international media, there is frequent resort to sensationalism in the statistics recording movements and their growth, highlighting, on the one hand, the positive aspects of migration in counter-acting ageing and low levels of fertility, and on the other, suggesting “invasions” and the danger of migrant over-population and the possibility of the migrants’ becoming the dominant population in the near future. Thus, in a subliminal way, people’s fear’s about migration are fed (Prencipe 2002 and Deponti 2002). The tendency is also to focus on aspects of migration, “in general in a simplistic way, without providing more complete information which would allow readers to understand more fully the complexity of the migratory phenomenon” (Deponti 2003:31- on migration in the German press).

News about people-trafficking, refugees, requests for asylum and other negative aspects, such as the association between migration and rises in crime or gloomy representations of living conditions are also recurrent.

However, it’s worth consulting the more commercial media and others – which have been growing and aligning themselves with other parameters, produced by sympathetic organisations – since such material challenges the images produced for the broader public about this phenomenon. With this intention and not that of analysing the content of the material put out by the media, that is to say, of getting an overview of what is reported about migration in a range of different reading materials, I present some tables about news related to rights and citizenship of various models.

The following tables illustrate themes and headlines about various violations of rights and points towards the scenario of negative vulnerability or denied citizenships that has been on the increase in recent years, according to different specialists, due to deliberate controls imposed by the state and the effects of globalisation on workers and their movement (see, amongst others, Chideya, 2004 e Sassen 2004).⁹

News have been organised in an arbitrary way, with the aim of drawing attention to the range of citizenship exclusions or negations, which is to say, some vulnerabilities are linked to broader social dynamics, such as violence and unemployment and others, and to the condition of being a migrant, in particular one without papers, which suggests that there are typologies within the exclusions. With the institutionalisation of the European Union, the anti-terrorist ethos and the rise in the mobility of migrants, refugees and requests for asylum, the number of deportations, formal and “informal” migrations, asylum refusals– often in the face of international accords – have been increasing. The U.N. estimates that in 2001 there were 150 million people living as migrants, which represents 3% of the world’s population.

Although their importance, particularly to the economy, is noted – sending home currency and as a work force – it is much more common for the media to highlight the problems and ills suffered by the migrants themselves, which represents a partial vision of a complex social dynamic.¹⁰

⁹ Childeya, Farai “Fortress America” in AlterNet, 6/1/04, consulted at niem_rj@yahoogrupos.com.br on 3.2.04: and Sassen, Saskia “Migrações e Cidadania Transnacional” in Migration News, janeiro, 2004, consulted in niem_rj@yahoogrupos.com.br on 18.1.04.

¹⁰The same U.N. study suggests that of the total number of migrants on a global level, 80 million are workers who send \$ 77 billion to their countries of origin each year - cit in Folha de São Paulo, A-20, September, 2 , 2001

Table 1**Some Headlines and Themes about International Migrations, viz Vulnerabilities****Violations of Human Rights and Citizenship Denied due to Social Dynamics and by the Fact of being a Migrant Type - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)**

Theme and Headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
------------------------	---------------------------------

VULNERABILITY TO SOCIAL DYNAMICS

Recession and violence expels immigrants	(Argentineans - Israel)
------------------------------------------	-------------------------

Increase in requests for asylum	(Venezuelans – U.S.)
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Increase in illegal movement	(Latin Americans – European Union); (Chinese - Japan; South Korea); (Argentineans - Spain); Haitians- Dominican Republic); (Dominicans - U.S.); (Africans - Italy)
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VIOLATION OF RIGHTS DUE TO MIGRANT STATUS

Exploitation of illegal immigrants	(European Union); (Tadjiques - Kurgistan)
------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------

Accident with clandestine immigrants	(Italy)
--------------------------------------	---------

Death of immigrant exposes conditions of clandestine	(Chinese - England)
------------------------------------------------------	---------------------

TRAFFIC

Traffic in and exploitation of child labour	(Nigerians - Benin) ; (Albanians - Europe); (U.S.)
---------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------

European Union will “reward” immigrants who provide information about mafia	(European Union)
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------

Traffic of migrants; human contraband	(- Benin);(Colombia – U.S.); (Mexico-(- Australia));(Albanians – European Union) (- European Union)
---------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Immigrant slavery and traffic	(U.S.)
-------------------------------	--------

Action of "coyotes" (migrant traffickers) on the border	(Mexico – U.S.)
---------------------------------------------------------	-----------------

Families in the U.S. attempt reunion through traffickers	(U.S.)
----------------------------------------------------------	--------

Violence of Traffickers against migrants	(Mexicans - U.S.)
------------------------------------------	-------------------

Traffic in children and adolescents	(Brazil -);(- U.S.); (Moroccans - Spain)
-------------------------------------	------------------------------------------

Traffic and forced labour (- Benin) ; (Benins - Nigeria)
 Family problems – absence of parents due to immigration (- Ecuador)

 (*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá -
niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

Table 2 illustrates another indicator – the role of the state – which has played in increasingly important part in the area of the movement of people. Here, are shown headlines which illustrate its controlling role, exercised as much through policy as through restrictive actions on a variety of fronts. These kinds of actions exceed, in terms of headlines, those of a more positive kind, performed by citizens.

Table 2

Some Headlines and Themes related to International Migration, highlighting the role of the state - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)

Theme and Headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
CITIZENSHIP DENIED BY EXPLICIT ACTION OF THE STATE	
Government cuts help and access to services for refugees and asylum seekers	(U.S.)
Concern of ACNUR with policy on asylum seekers	(Cubans - Jamaica)
Restrictions on applications for asylum	(Australia)
Expulsion of Migrants	(Congo)
Deportation, repatriation of migrants in irregular circumstances	(Chinese – Koreans – South Korea)
Deportation of minors	(- Spain)
Deportation	(- Angola) ; (Brazilians – U.S.) (Africans – U.S.) ; (Haitians – U.S.); (Israel)
Detention of people without documents	(Ecuadorians – U.S.);

	(Philipinos - Israel); (Bolivia); (Moroccans - Spain)
Rise in detentions of clandestine immigrants	(Haitians, Dominicans and Floridian Cubans – U.S.)
Difficulties in conceding visas to immigrants	(Zimbabweans - South Africa) (Russians – Turcomens -Turkey)
Difficulties in conceding visas to students and foreigners	(U.S.)
Restrictions on visas for foreigners affect the arrival of students and company employees	(U.S.)
Reduction in the number of entry visas to the country	(Cubans – U.S.)
Increase in control of visas for artists	(U.S.)
New members of the European Union suffer limitations on emigration to the West	(Europeans from eastern Europe)
Poland becomes the “guardian” of the Union’s eastern frontier	
European against immigrants	(Poland)
Hungary receives support of the European Union against clandestine immigration	(Hungary)
Civil rights and treatment different for foreigners	(U.S.)
Anti-muslim prejudice among police	(Muslims – U.S.)
NEGOTIATION AND ACCORDS FOR THE CONTROL OF MIGRATION BY THE STATE	
Migration Policy	(U.S.); (Japan)
Criticism of Migration Policy	(U.S.)
Project for the regularisation of migrant agricultural workers	(U.S.)
Introduction of temporary visas represents reform of migration policy	(U.S.)
Asylum-seeking policy for minors	(- Belgium)
Official Policy of exportation of workers	(Philippines)
Policy of “guest labourers”- assessment	(- Germany)
Regularisation of un-documented migrants	(- Argentina)
Large-scale regularisation of clandestine immigrants	(Italy)
Migration policy due to lack of labour force	(- Canada)
Regularization of immigrants with job contracts	(- Italy)
Migratory accords between countries	(Ecuador - Spain); (Mexico - U.S.)
Repatriation accord signed	(India - England)

Israel organises immigration of Jews from Ethiopia	(Ethiopia - Israel)
Control of border movements	(Pakistan – Afghanistan)
Voluntary return programme for migrants	(- Spain)
Agreement between states for the reception of migrant workers	(Kurgistan – South Korea)
Negotiation of repatriation accords	(Albania – European Union); (Mexico - U.S.)
Bilateral accord – Creation of permanent body against traffic of	(Morocco - Spain)
Multilateral Accord - France, United Kingdom, Germany, Italy and Spain – decide on common front against clandestine immigration	(- European Union)
Proposal for unification of asylum concession policy	(- European Union)
Proposal for immigrant quotas and fund for repatriation of illegal immigrants	(European Union)
Quotas for entry of foreign workers for	(Italy)
Hardeing of rules against irregular immigration	(European Union); Italy)
Proposal for control of external borders	(European Union)
Policy for immigration and tolerance	(Holland)
Law restricting migration	(- Spain)
Study to close ports to immigrants from the east after the expansion of the European Union	(eastern Europe -Holland)
Influence of new immigration law	(Ecuadorians - Italy)
“Migration Zone” – collection of islands belonging to the nation reached by illegal immigrants and asylum seekers	(- Australia)
Creation of agency to address clandestine immigration	(European Union)
Creation of Forum on Migration among Mercosul countries	(Latin America)
Proposal for satellite monitoring of asylum seekers	(England)
Monitoring of illegal immigrants through electronic bracelets	(U.S.)
Discussion of banning of poor immigrants	(Holland)
Control of immigration	(Uzbekistan)
Introduction of “immigrant tax”	(Bulgaria)
Proposal to adopt biometric data technology to control entry	(European Union); (Germany)
New technologies to identify illegal crossings in the southern border	(U.S.)
New technology to control the entry of Palestinian workers into Israel	(Palestinians-Israel)
Asylum denied	(Colombians - Canada); (Holland)
Restriction of political asylum	(Austria)

Refusal of assistance to the sons of un-documented immigrants	(Haitians – Dominican Republic)
Immigrants prevented from applying to schools	(-Canada)
Police accused of brutality against foreigners – Amnesty International protest	(-Germany)
Prisons and pressure against immigrant communities	(Brazilians - U.S.)
 STATE AND CITIZENSHIP – POSITIVE ACTIONS	
Proposal for the extension of the right to vote to immigrants	(Italy)
Proposal for access to public services for agricultural workers	(Mexicans - U.S.)
Offering of citizenship to children of immigrants discussed	(Israel)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoa - niem_rj@yahoogrupa.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

The headlines shown in Table 3 seems to confirm the tendencies registered at other times – see previous section – and which are on the increase, in regard to the actions of the states of origin of the migrants in favour of their co-citizens abroad.

Table 3	
Some Headlines and Themes regarding International Migration, related to Efforts to Protect the Citizenship of Migrants by their Country of Origin - 2003 to 2/2004(*)	

Theme and Headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)

PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CITISEN BY THE COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN	
Latin American countries provide “consular registration” for illegal immigrants	(U.S.)
Latin American countries follow Mexico’s example and study the creation of identity cards	(Latin America)
“consular registration”) for illegal immigrants in the U.S.	
Govern requests “differentiated treatment” in immigration policy	
Remembering past of Spanish immigration	(Argentina - Spain)

Incentive (for Mexico) to contact emigrants via the internet	(Mexico -U.S.)
With the country of origin	
Support for emigrants abroad – creation of sub-commission in the House of Deputies	(Brazil -)
Brazil intervenes in favour of deportation	(Brazil – U.S.)
Polish government alleges support for north American foreign policy to ask for exceptional treatment of the Polish community in the U.S.	(Poland – U.S.)
Dual citizenship	(Mexico -);(Philippines); (Russia); (Turkmenistan)
Increase of right of citizenship	(Serbia, Albania and Kosovo - Macedonia)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004	
(1) Headlines shown in italics	
(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival	

The migrant's relationship with the dynamic of work and the production of wealth emphasised by different scholars does not go unnoticed by the media, and is a common theme in news stories about migrants and migration.

As is seen in Table 4, such a property attracts both negative and positive appraisals.¹¹

Table 4	
Some Headlines and Themes about International Migration, relating to the Employment Market and the Economy - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)	

Theme and headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)

EMPLOYMENT MARKET AND ECONOMY	
POSITIVE CONOTATION OR PROOF	

¹¹

“The importance of the migrant as a labourer is one of the dominant themes of literature about migration and attracts media attention, but which limits itself to numerical expressions and working conditions. According to Gillin of the Associated Press, immigrants who travel to the US, principally Latin Americans, are responsible for half of the growth of the labour market in that country between 2000-2003. In Gillin, Kelly, “Los inmigrantes lideram el crecimiento laboral”, consulted at <http://www.miami.com> on 19.1.2004

Migration and the employment market	(Germany) (Latino-americans – U.S.)
Domestic workers	(U.S.)
Migration of qualified workers and jobs growth	(- European Union)
Increase	(World)
Second generation of Latin American immigrants: growth and importance of jobs market growth and importance of jobs market	(U.S.)
Global fight for qualified immigrants	(U.S.)
Nurse recruitment	(Mexicans - U.S.)
Economic and social determinants of migration	(Turks – European Union)
Importance of savings sent home by immigrants	(Mexico - U.S.)
OIM opens in information centre on worker immigration	(Tadjiskistan - Russia)
Immigration and entrepreneurship	(Turks - Germany)
Importance of migration to the economy	(- Canada); (Italy); (Central Americans - U.S.)

NEGATIVE CONOTATION

Brain drain	(Argentina)
Work and exploitation of immigrants in agriculture	(European Union)
Overexploitation of illegal labour	(immigrants from eastern Europe - U.S.)
Foreign medical graduates are trained to work as nurses in the U.S.	(U.S.)
Immigrants and “informal labour”	(Italy)
Scarcity of work for refugees with professional qualifications	(U.S.)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

In the association between gender and migration, other identities reveal themselves, the media also highlight vulnerabilities such as the exploitation of women in the sex trade – it is estimated by the International Labour Office, for example, that 300 to 600,000 women are smuggled every year to Europe and the US to work in the sex trade (cit in Folha de São Paulo: 2001-A-20, op.cit.). But attention is also drawn to cases where gender or sex-related vulnerability was considered a violation of rights that would justify a request for asylum (see Table 5)

Table 5

Some Headlines and Themes about International Migration, related to gender - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)

Theme and headline 1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
MIGRATION AND GENDER	
Migration of domestic workers and “wives”	(Chinese - Taiwan)
Profile of domestic work of female immigrants	(Italy)
Gender oppression as justification of application for asylum by Latin American women	(Latin – Americans – U.S.)
Concession of political asylum to sexually exploited	(- Australia)
Prostitution	(Eastern Europe – European Union)
Network of sexual exploitation of immigrants	(South Koreans - U.S.)
Deportation of trafficked women as sex workers	(Nigerians - Italy)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupos.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

There have also been warnings about the rise in anti-immigrant outbursts, be it on the institutional level with the growth in parties with this kind of platform, or through hostilities declared or claimed by a variety of perpetrators, or through politico-economic-cultural forms, such as racism and intolerance. In Table 6, some headlines are collected which suggest the life-span of such dynamics in different countries, particularly in the key areas of immigration, such as in countries of the European Union and the U.S.

Research conducted in Spain in 2003, shows that immigrants represent 5.4% of the population, whilst in other research investigating people’s perceptions about this group, half of those Spaniards interviewed declared that “there were to many foreigners” and that only those who were coming to work should be allowed to enter”.¹² Numerous studies draw attention to the relationship between the electoral growth of right-wing parties in Europe and their declarations against immigration, highlighting, in this case, countries such as Holland – where research suggested that 60% were in favour of measures to restrict immigration - Switzerland, Denmark and Norway. In other countries, in

¹² Research conducted by FUNCAS, cit in La Nacion (Buenos Aires), 22.1.2003, consulted at niem_rj@yahoogrupos.com.br.

local elections, such views have also led to electoral gains, indicating a tendency towards an imagined threat of the migrant — in the cases of England and Germany.¹³ The journalist, Liz (see note 16) draws attention to the fact that anti-immigrant postures tend to be more often expressed and shared by people of the middle and lower classes, those more affected socially by unemployment and restrictions on consumption, blaming the people immediately below them on the social ladder - the migrant, the scapegoat - for their impertinent pretension, in the face of economic problems, for example.

Table 6, examines negative perceptions of migrants and combines with Table 7, which follows it, in which associations between migrants and terrorism are highlighted.

In fact, analysts often emphasise the negative repercussions on the everyday lives of migrants and the process of migration, of 9/11 — deportation, fear, open or covert hostility in the streets, visa delays, registration, disrespect of officials, and expressions of “anti-Arabism” or “islamophobia”, directed at those who physically resemble Arabs.¹⁴ In various reports, in fact, the tendency to lump together migration and terrorism is noted, which contributes to the stigmatisation of the migrant, causing him all sorts of difficulties. Table 7 features some headlines illustrating this spurious and lamentable association.

Table 6	
Some Headlines and Themes regarding International Migrations, related to Negative Notions and Perceptions of Migrants - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)	
Theme and Headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
NEGATIVE ASSOCIATIONS WITH MIGRANTS	
Migration and Aids	(Angola)
Criminality within the migrant community	(Brasilians - Japan)
Immigration policy associates foreigners with criminality	(- Japan)
RACISM	
Racism and migration	(- U.S.); (-Holland)

¹³ Fekete, Liz “Anti-foreigner politics make for extra Right gains across Europe” in IRR News, 14.1.2004; and in Expatica (Holanda), 14.11.2003, consulted at niem_rj@yahoogrupos.com.br. It is noted that Moser and Rech (2003) warn that expressions of anti-foreigner and migrant feeling are also registered in Brazil towards those from the Northeast, whilst not being of the same visibility and extent as those in Europe. But it is worth entertaining the notion that strangeness and ill-feeling towards the other, particularly those how are considered different, is not limited to developed countries.

¹⁴ “My department, .that of political science, organised a panel in 2001, at which we looked at the effects of the attack on relations between Arab countries and the U.S. I also took part in another forum about Americans of Arab origin and the discriminatory measures adopted by the Washington Government against this minority, with the arbitrary detention of passengers pulled off planes without justification, interrogations without the presence of a lawyer or arbitrary registration of people of Arab descent ... Anti-Arabism is on the rise, we’re running a risk like that of Macarthyism”. Hayat Alvi of the American University of Cairo in Folha de São Paulo, A-24, 12.14.2003

Racism in immigration policy	(- Canada)
Problem of racism against Muslims	(Northern Ireland)
Lawsuit against TV presenter and debates on Islamophobia and racism	(England)
PRESSURE, DISCRIMINATION OR HOSTILITY TOWARDS MIGRANTS FROM THE “HOST ” POPULATION	
Nationalist Catalans pressure immigrants to learn local language	(- Spain)
Immigration of Muslims worries Europeans regarding the inclusion of Turkey in the European Union	(Turkey)
Rise in Intolerance	(World)
Discrimination	(Arab – U.S.)
Rejection of migrants and gypsies by school	(- Spain)
Reaction to presence of foreigners	(- Spain)
Rise in rejection of immigrants	(U.S.)
Armed groups of volunteers patrol frontier against illegal immigrants	(U.S.)
Concerns about gypsy “invasion”	(gypsies from the East - Europe)
THE RIGHT AND INSTITUTIONALISED PROTEST ANTI-MIGRANT PROTEST	
Anti-immigrant extreme right-wing leader assumes office	(- Switzerland)
Right-wing protest against the possibility of votes for immigrants	(Italy)
Progress for xenophobic political parties	(- European Union)
Electoral growth of extreme right-wing and anti-immigration parties	(- European Union) (-Holland)
Anti-immigration party of Catalonia requests expulsion of Muslims	(- Spain)
Governments resist unified European policy of quotas for immigration	(- European Union)
Anti-immigration campaign promoted by TV and request of asylum	(Kosovo - Norway)
Assistance for immigrants and xenophobic rhetoric of extreme-right	(Italy)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

Table 7

Some Headlines and Themes regarding International Migrations, related to Migration and Terrorism - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)

Theme and headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
------------------------	---------------------------------

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIGRATION AND TERRORISM

Immigration policy and concern about terrorism	(- Australia)
Greater difficulties for asylum seekers following 9/11	(- European Union)
Internal security, civil liberties and immigration following 9/11	(U.S.)
Policy of reception of refugees affected following 9/11	(EE.UU.)
Suspicious about the entry of Arab and Muslim immigrants through Mexico	(Arabs - U.S.)
Control measures in airports against immigration and terrorism	(- European Union)
Proliferation of controls scares immigrants	(U.S.)
Controversy over new anti-terrorism controls	

for travellers to the country	(U.S.); (Brazil)
New rules on visas include discrimination of “degree of threat” of visitor	(U.S.)

Preparation to confront illegal immigration and terrorism at the Olympics	(Greece)
---------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on internacional migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogruppo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

Together with the articles which most emphasise the dangers, when referring to immigration, there are also expressions of recognition of affirmations of citizenship, illustrating the complexity of the category which, being social, incorporates various meanings. In Table 8, a range of headlines about various kinds of citizenship, both achieved and disputed that are brought together.

Table 8

Some Headlines and Themes about International Migrations, related to Various Kinds of Citizenship - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)

Theme and Headline (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS INVOLVING MIGRANTS	
Education - bilingualism	(- Angola)
Policy of integration in schools	(- Catalonia)
Integration of immigrants children into the national education system	(- Spain)
Islamic schools facilitate immigrant integration	(- Holland)
Rise in presence of foreigners in schools	(Italy)
Situation of students in schools	(Latin Americans – U.S.)
Immigrants, diversity and housing	(U.S.A)
Growth of Hispanic community and the advance of the Spanish language	(Latin Americans - U.S.)
Los Angeles comemorates 100 years of immigration in the U.S.A	(Koreans - U.S.)
Comemoration of Germanic immigration	(Germans – U.S.A)
Advance of Latin American culture in the U.S.	(Latin Americans - U.S.)
Transnational citizenship	(The World)
Immigration, integration and multiculturalism	(Arabs - Belgium)
Situation of migrants	("ethnic Germans"- Kazakstan); (- Germany); (- Canada) (Brazilians - China); (Italians; Haitians; Mexicans - U.S.)
Situation of migrant children	(Equatorians – Spain)
Problems of integration of immigrants	(Holland)
Problem of Jewish identity of immigrants	(-Ethiopia)
Means of communication and the Hispanic vote in elections	(Latin Americans - U.S.A)
Importance of Latin vote in California	(Latin Americans – U.S.)
Growth of Hispanic community and its role in elections	(Latin Americans – U.S.)
Hispanic community: statistics, electoral weight and the debate about the driving license	(Latin Americans – U.S.)
Assistance and evangelical cults	(Brazilians - England)
Migration and the prohibition of religious symbols in schools	(- Canada); (- France)
Debate about the veil and Islamic religious symbols	(- European Union)
Containing expansion of Islamic fundamentalism	(- Denmark)
Question of immigrants complicates religious problem	(Northern Ireland)

Growth of Islam due to immigration	(Italy)
Hispanic population as bastion of Catholic	(Latin Americans - U.S.)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

As I emphasise in other areas of this study, if these are times of hostility towards the other, the stranger, there are also reactions, expressions of solidarity, through alternative media and activist organisations which have been defending their rights. There have been an increasing number of cases where rights to union participation have been recognised, even of un-documented migrants.

In November, 2003, for example, the ILO formally asked the U.S. to recognise the right to union participation of 8 million undocumented workers, respecting the formal lawsuit initiated by the central North American AFLCIO in this respect. It is noted, however, that the U.S.A does not figure among the 142 countries who ratified the ILO convention on freedom of union association.

The following table illustrates, as the media record, those voices defending the human rights of migrants, and the expression of the migrant as subject of protests and affirmation of active citizenship, which, more than inclusion, covers rights (Turner in Steenbergen 1994).

Table 9

Some Headlines and Themes regarding International Migrations — Reactions to Violations of Rights - 2003 to 2/2004 (*)

Themes and Headlines (1)	Nationalities and Countries (2)
REACTIONS TO VIOLATION OF RIGHTS	
Refugees sent home – amnesty protest	(Colombians - Panama)
Fight against xenophobia and discrimination against foreigners	(Japan)
SOS Racism denounces impunity of xenophobic attacks on immigrants	(- Spain)
Protests of migrants and refugees of living conditions, situations of refugee camps, conditions of repatriation	(Butanese - Nepal)
Immigrants create baby sitters co-operative	(-Italy)
Immigrants in Italy create portal web	(-Italy)
Coalition policy favours legalisation of immigrant agricultural workers	(U.S.)

“Freedom bus rides” – alternative demonstration for rights of immigrants	(U.S.)
Protest against deportation	(Romany gypsies from the Balkans - Germany)
Protest against imprisonment of immigrants seeking asylum	(Haitians - U.S.)
Protest against treatment of Haitian refugees	(Haitians - U.S.)
Immigrants invade building	(Brazilians - England)
Newspaper involved in campaign to legalise immigrants	(U.S.)
OIT demands US recognition of union rights for immigrant workers	(EE.UU.)
Religious conference criticises immigration policy	(- Spain)
Jesuit service for refugee protest against detention of asylum seekers	(European Union)
Bishops block right of asylum and citizenship to immigrants	(- Italy)
Participation of Catholic Church in the integration of immigrants	(U.S.)
Denunciation of violence of authorities against illegal immigrants on the border	(Albanians - Greece)
Médecine Sans Frontieres criticises temporary detention centres for immigrants	(Italy)
European Social Forum criticises temporary detention centres for immigrants	(- European Union)
European Campaigning for Right of Workers to live as a Family	(- European Union)
ACNUR expresses concern of asylum legislation	(- European Union)
ACNUR pressures Italy on approval of asylum law	(Italy)

(*)Source – News from various media, run by the Network on international migration, edited by Helion Povoá - niem_rj@yahoogrupo.com.br - period 1.2003 a 2.2004

(1) Headlines shown in italics

(2) Country/nationality of Migrant – Country of arrival

Many entities in civil society have been working for a long time in the area of solidarity, helping migrants, in particular, those of a religious nature, of various denominations, and some targeting socialisation with forms of organisation and resistance. A 1996 publication lists 9,000 community support organisations, anti-racist groups, NGO’s and specialist agencies which work in solidarity and relation with migrants or are formed by migrants, in various countries. It is estimated that the majority of these are to be found in the U.S.

On the other hand, there is a tradition on the history of the North American working class of massive protest campaigns and methods of transnational collaboration, involving, for example, Mexicans in Mexico and in the U.S., developed by rural and other unions. In the 1960's, the Chicano resistance movement, known as La Raza, was famous for its work. And the Chicana women played a special role, even bringing feminist themes to the organisation's agenda (Poggio 1997). It is noted that, in 1911, the first Mexicanist congress was organised, when women introduced subjects such as sexual abuse, and non-sexist education, subsequently forming the *Liga Femenil Mexicanista*, committed to the fight "by the people for the people", thus adding identitary platforms (see Poggio, 1997 references to the participation of Mexican women in the U.S. in feminist social movements and Hispanic workers organisations, which date from the 1930's).

In 1993, the biggest US central union, AFLCIO, performed a historical about face, electing a Chicana woman as President (a Mexican born in the U.S.), giving priority to work with migrants and the unemployed. Today, the same organisation has been developing projects in support of anti-globalisation movements and local organisation of undocumented workers associations and unions, in particular, in the field of services.

Some Latin groups, such as Puerto Ricans, have access to transnational forms of migrant defence in the US, initiating protests and lobbies against restrictive legislation, in conjunction with authorities back home in Mexico and Puerto Rico. Scholars and activists in these countries are vocal in the defence of the rights of citizenship of those in North American territory – much more so since 9/11 –, a phenomenon less common in former times, even amongst left-wing groups who tended to condemn those who had left.

Activists are prioritising the creation of transnational networks of social movements for the defence of human rights, many temporary NGOs in the UN's Commissariat of Migrations, such as the "*American Friends Service*", which finances a newspaper for the feminist movement in the Philippines about multinational projects and exportation zones, and activities of groups of workers in Central America related to solidarity movements and those supporting migrants in that region of the US.

If movements of migrants, workers, darker-skinned people and women in the USA are vocal and visible, on the other hand, researchers believe that North Americans are abandoning the tradition of voluntary work, the "sense of citizenship" and solidarity, especially in relation to recently arrived foreigners from Latin America, Africa, and Asia, for example.

The hypothesis to be examined further is that, in the USA, the contours of class and interest groups inherited by migrants have become more marked, minimising the assistential nature of support groups of former times, and increasing the risk of isolation. Shown in the previous table are references to demonstrations organised by the migrants themselves against legislation to restrict their rights. In Spain, immigrant groups have made themselves more visible, through public marches against racism and the discrimination perpetrated against migrants. On the placard of an un-documented migrant on one of these marches, was written a claim for reparations, suggesting that, in addition to inclusion, on demanding citizenship rights, a historic debt was also being claimed.

"Documents for all, we are people. Our documents were paid for when Columbus discovered America"¹⁵

¹⁵ In "Imigrantes ilegais serão expulsos da Espanha", O Globo, 24.1.2001, p 33.

3. Final Reflections: Strangeness and Intolerance

The asymmetry between freedom of movement for capital and the closure of frontiers for those on the move, moved by this very mobility and the globalisation of culture, much like the growing intolerance of those who do not form part of our tribe, class, country or sex – that is to say, the “other” – in the face of the movement of multiple exclusions, derives from an increasing estrangement, curbing the free movement of the promises of creativity, of self-enrichment, suggested by literature and essays on the nature of the foreigner’s being and daring, and games in subjectivity.

Luckacs (1976 – “*Per L’Ontologie dell Essere Sociale*” – cit in Vieira Martins 1997) defines, as estrangement/alienation, the contradiction between the development of human capacity, an objective historical process characterised by the increase in potential to transform nature, and the abilities of the individual to deal with such situations.

Subjectivity and objective conditions collide:

The diffusion of estrangement brings with it a non-recognition of reality which the human species itself created. The transformation of the condition of the subject, of the active condition into an objectified condition is one of the most characteristic features of estrangement. It is in this way that men do not recognise themselves in that which they are and in that which they do. In advanced capitalism, the loss of the sense of responsibility for one’s own actions is dramatic ... in some way such a sense forms part of what Freud referred to as the “sickness of civilisation” (Vieira 1997: 127).

The paradox is that such estrangement, the sense of not enjoying the riches of the century, of not even being a citizen, or consumer, in the objective world, so rich, diverse, intimate, transculturalised, occurs in times of apology for individuality, and the rights of the realisation of the self. Marx drew attention to the breach between the objective world and the possibilities of individuals – or the majority of them – in being in that world.

The epoch which gives rise to this point of view, that of the isolated individual, is precisely that in which social relations (assuming, in this sense, a general character), reach their highest stage of development (Marx – “*Critique of Political Economy*” in Vieira, 1997: 202)

A challenge, an ordeal, a contemporary temptation is to invest in the human, to belittle alliances with others, not in the name of “natural” equality, but of differences which enrich and in the fight against the intolerable, injustices, thus maintaining the limits of communities. And who is not a foreigner? It would be appropriate to question broader estrangements, which affect so many, the almost others. Intolerance is fuelled by insecurity, estrangement, by the fear of discovering the “almost other”, which is to say that between “us” and “them” the borders aren’t as clear as we would like. Borreil (1993) reflects on the “almost other” and the utopia of reinventing the human in a philosophical text suggestively entitled “*The Absent Verb*” whose call for a platform of action is a seductive challenge, an intention which demands gestures.

The foreigner does not worry: he is somewhere else: the “almost other” is similar and different, close and always on the periphery. He is the figure of the worthless thief, of the doctor who confuses the boundaries between the public and the private (Borreil 1993: 133)

...

If tolerance and intolerance are linked to estrangement – of sex, behaviour, *ethos*, nationhood -, it is because they are linked to this radical incorrectness that is our lot and that we conceal with the ghost of a self and a belonging as if producing our own self, searching thus for our singularity there where we will not find it because “it is not there”, in the nomadisation of a permanent process, constantly vanishing as it reasserts itself, of rebirths without foundation. For this reason, it is on the

stranger that this refusal of self crystalises which makes intolerance vulgar, the hate of self perhaps, whilst the intolerable of what is one's own is tolerated. Because the foreigner is, effectively, that which leaves us naked, which shows us where we have been, where we are going, where we will go, through what exiles – us, who consider ourselves the legitimate owners of a self and a belonging.

Of this march of our exiles, of the human exile, we can propose different paradigms: the “migrant worker”, the “gypsy”, the “Jew”, [we could add the Black, the slave of the African Diaspora], the “savage”. This last term refers to the non French-speaking peoples whose territory was annexed by royal order and who had their republics, technologies and economies Frenchified ... As if we wanted to forget that France was formed by a series of annexations by force of arms and were conquered, and that the integration of these peoples went, from the start through their almost-otherness ... generations of these almost-others who succeeded ... (apud.: 147)

Intolerance is also fed by the arrogance of those hegemonic, non-confronted powers and to combat it, it's necessary to form pressure groups beyond fragmentation, complicated and not submerged in homogenisations of plurality between sub-alternatives, by projects for the safe-guarding of humanity. Another Brechtian strangeness is necessary, that of a rupture with the strange “real”, in a reinvention of a new mass-movement internationalism.

Thinking about humanity, not in the abstract sisterhood, but in terms of a project of breaking with subalternatives, leads us to appreciate, but also to place limits as much on well-intentioned works on migration which focus on specific groups, as on associations directed exclusively at certain groups, and loyalties constructed in the name of communities. Such studies and associations are important. They identify and collaborate in the building of self-esteem, support, in the welcoming of those near us, in stories, and shared cultures and characteristics. However, it is important to question further the invisibilities and games of power which are imposed in the name of communities. Women, for example, historically, always had their specific claims ignored in the name of the common good, of consensus against external hegemonic powers, when they weren't questioning themselves of submitting to domestic and other forms of violence. To think of humanity is to think of plurality. Going back to Borreil (1993: 150), to accept our destiny as humans is to accept that we will be affected by the plurality of others.

On the other hand, it is important to question further powers, the subtle manipulation of the representation of the other, and consider that the migrant, the foreigner, the most visibly different, is today uniquely stigmatised, at the level of national laws of developed countries, not only because of his\her national characteristics – albeit that this has to do with stereotypes, racism and prejudices towards those from other countries – but mainly due to communality, which suggests the destiny of humans, of the nomadism which the nationally protected can end up confronting, if not because of having to move through countries, perhaps due to employment and unemployment-related situations, between classes and changes in the nature of being *mestiço*, of circulation by gender, leaving ports, anchors and truths.

The migrant is a stranger who forces the native to confront his strangeness. The migrant is useful to states who legislate ways of controlling this other, this intruder, who blame him\her for his\her difference, hiding powers and interests in the defence of the search for riches. To combine identities, in negotiations with others, beyond tolerance, through common projects which challenge powers, to dare to search, to find new ways of dealing with estrangements, recovering the dreaminess of being foreign, in dis-identifications, is a challenge to subjects in the refusal of sub-alternatives.

The migration question today assumes a new profile, in terms of the relationship between the local and the global, between territoriality and the transnational. A more complex transnationalist

perspective is required, simply restricted to one nation State and to the economy or the migrant's role in the production of benefits, goods and wealth and remittances.

The foreigner belongs and enjoys not only the immediate experience of living. He/she brings with him/her a history which is not just the past, but which is rich in social interactions, which is a process. Very often the homeland of reference, of ancestors is an idealised homeland, an other, a third place. Such ambivalence of being, of projecting oneself, through arrangements or separations between distant places, confers a certain potentiality of "universal citizenship", (to which, among others, Hardt and Negri, 2000, refer, defending the subversive potential of the migrant subject to a new world order).

Such citizenship, is difficult for class based or solidarity organisations to understand – the latter, which, while well-intentioned, are more driven towards integration, adaptation, acceptance, insertion, on the labour market, for example, or designed to guarantee the satisfaction of immediate common needs or to have the worker as the freedom fighter, the revolutionary.

In fact, the greatest challenges, for humanists, for socialists, for those on the left, cannot be reduced, albeit that it is necessary for the construction of networks of solidarity, but refers also to investment in the potential of a globalised movement of those without economic, political and cultural properties and national references.

If migration is feared because it challenges loyalties to one nation-state, that of residence, it might also collaborate to the utopia of building up a network of nations, ruled by loyalties to humanitarian ethics, that of solidarity what goes beyond strangeness.

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