

1 Brands of Gender in the Jewish Immigration in Southern Brazil

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4

5 **Abstract**

6 The research from this study aimed to open the way to be possible to tell the history of
7 migration and the consequences of oppression and discrimination of the Jews who immigrated
8 to southern Brazil, which in its migration process have a particular ritual acculturation,
9 leading into account its importance in the formation of Brazilian society.

10

11 *Index terms—*

12 **1 Introduction**

13 his study aims to investigate the identity, culture, and gender in the process of Jewish immigration in southern
14 Brazil, from interviews already conducted with immigrants and descendants of Jewish immigrants, in the light
15 of the geography of gender and feminist geography.

16 The research from this study aimed to open the way to be possible to tell the history of migration and the
17 consequences of oppression and discrimination of the Jews who immigrated to southern Brazil, which in its
18 migration process have a particular ritual acculturation, leading into account its importance in the formation of
19 Brazilian society.

20 The social process of Jewish immigration in southern Brazil is a mosaic whose faces are written in each personal
21 account. Such process is collective, though it is a sum of the parts of each immigrant experiences, of the emotions
22 experienced in the departure and in the arrival and life in Brazil.

23 **2 II.**

24 **3 The Jewish Immigration in Southern Brazil**

25 Jewish immigration started from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to South America, specifically
26 for the countries of Argentina and Brazil, showing similarities with regard to the occupation of space, since both
27 had roots in colonization agriculture.

28 Jews have always suffered persecution. In Europe, more specifically in Russia, called pogromslooting and
29 destruction of houses -are part of the memory of this ethnic group and emerges in situations of instability and
30 violence ??Gutfreind, 2010). The consequence of the persecutions was the immigration process ??ICJMC, 1991).
31 Thus, in 1891, in order to help Jews facing persecution, was founded the Jewish Colonization Association (JCA
32 -called ICA) by Baron de Hirsch, to establish a methodical and orderly expatriation of Russian Jews.

33 Brazil was one of the countries chosen by the JCA. The beginning was made in the province of South Brazil,
34 seen as suitable for the establishment of rural settlements, with fertile land for agriculture, which were purchased
35 land for the creation of the Colony of Philippson, close to the city of Santa Maria, and the Author : E-mail :
36 brunakm.psic@gmail.com colony of Quatro Irmãos, near of the city of Erechin (Cruz, 2009). The beginning of
37 this settlement was in 1904, when the Colony of Philippson received the first immigrants (Gutfreind, 2009). Thus
38 fleeing anti-Semitic persecution in Europe, besides that during the Second World War, Jews were under intense
39 persecution and annihilation (Póvoa, 2005).

40 The JCA acquired firstly about 5,767 hectares of land, 25 km distant from Santa Maria city. Between the years
41 1904-1924, the JCA formed a second agricultural colony beyond Phillipson, the Colony of Quatro Irmãos. This
42 colony was more successful, in that area, the settlers have shown a tendency for a better adaptation of Jewish
43 social life. However, due to the philanthropic system of the JCA direction, unsuitable for the development of
44 such company, and lack of stimulation, Quatro Irmãos settlers began to immigrate to the city, before they can
45 form a layer of real farmers (Póvoa, 2005).

4 III. GEOGRAPHY OF GENDER AND FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

46 Immigrants have become disillusioned by the lack of attention of governments of Brazil, in particular in the
47 South of Brazil, who does not follow the deal done with JCA. The ambition for a more comfortable life and the
48 desire to achieve a better economic situation led the colonists to develop a small agricultural trade in the adjacent
49 villages and abandon the farming, settling in cities like Porto Alegre, Santa Maria, Uruguaiana, Erechim, Pelotas
50 and Passo Fundo (Póvoa, 2005).

51 In 1937, the Constitution said, about immigration, that the Union had the right to "limit or suspend, for
52 economic or social reasons, the entry of individuals of certain races or origins, hearing the Board of Immigration
53 and Colonization." After the end of the Second World War, the Law 7.967, in September 1945, said in Article 1
54 that "Every foreigner may enter Brazil provided it meets the conditions of this law" that were under Article 2 "the
55 need to preserve and develop the ethnic composition of the population, the most convenient features of their
56 European ancestry" (Zamberlam, 2004). In times of war, there was an anti-Jewish immigration policy in Brazil,
57 inspired by Fascist Letters from Italy and Poland (Berdichewski, 2001).

58 In 1938, the decree-law 383 forbade the foreigners any political activity, under penalty of deportation,
59 and in 1939 was required that newspapers and publications in foreign language publish its translation in the
60 vernacular. This requirement was not fulfilled by Jewish newspapers. Already in 1941, was completely banned
61 from publication in a foreign language and the two daily Yiddish were closed, never to reopen (Póvoa, 2005).

62 Discrimination affected all ethnic minorities, but especially hurt the Jewish social life, which was reduced to
63 only activities permitted by law: the religious and charitable. In this period were also prohibited the activities
64 of the Zionist Organization, the most dynamic, ideologically, the most representative of the Jewish community.
65 The Jewish social life was reduced to its simplest expression (Lesser, 1995).

66 The progress of Jewish life was interrupted and immigrant Jews were spiritually inert until 1945. In 1946 new
67 democratic tendencies manifested themselves in the country and strict laws were relaxed and Jewish life began
68 to beat again in Brazil (Póvoa, 2005).

69 4 III. Geography of Gender and Feminist Geography

70 The Geography of Gender treats gender as a dimension of social life that should be incorporated into existing
71 structures, in addition to examining the ways in which political processes, environmental and sociopolitical
72 create, reproduce and transform places we live in and the social relations in which men and women live beyond
73 expressions in space. In Jewish immigration from Europe to Brazil is in the geographic space that happens the
74 social and gender construction, gender roles and gender relations are distinct in different territorial spaces, and
75 differential experiences of space between men and women can be observed from a local scale -everyday space
76 -until a global -international migratory movements (Martinez; Moya et al., 1995).

77 Already Feminist Geography are feminist research in geography that aim to mitigate inequalities based on
78 gender in the short term and long term eradicate them through social change, seeking a transformation not
79 only in the geography, but also in the way we live and work. Since geography is everywhere, the discussions
80 between gender and spatiality are an interesting way to open our minds to this broad, rich and complex world
81 (Martinez; Moya et al., 1995; Ornat, 2008).

82 The feminist point of view of the observer transpires in his growing sensitivity to centralize "gender" as a
83 hierarchy category that stratifies all moments of the migration process for all those involved, men and women
84 ??Kosminsky, 2007).

85 When dealing with gender, we must avoid the fallacy that gender relates only to women, since gender is a
86 relational category. So, always take as allusion to the relationship between women and men. Include gender as a
87 mediator category in migration studies allows the researcher information of the causes, processes and consequences
88 of international migration, allowing also an extension of the relationship between the local and the global. When
89 gender is brought to the front of migration studies, several issues may arise, including, how women and men
90 experience immigration differently and how this fact interferes in their integration and adaptation (Kosminsky,
91 2004).

92 Where as the world is structured around two poles, male and female, these gender roles would be reworked
93 daily, demonstrating its instability characteristic, temporality and spatiality (Butler, 2003). These roles are
94 supported by the enforcement to the bodies of the linearity of sex-gender-desire, because it is expected that
95 bodies appointed as male or female play corresponding roles of masculinity and femininity, but sex goes far
96 beyond a fact, is constructed culturally by the societies, and therefore changeable, variable, and open to change.
97 And through cultural relationships and everyday interactions that sex becomes gender, from spatiotemporal
98 specific constructions. Such relationship are explicable when associated to the set of ideas that a specific culture
99 builds about what it is to be man or woman, a set of behaviors that are expected of people, differentiated in
100 space and time (Ornat, 2008).

101 Conceptualizing "gender" as a process open to change denotes produce a more praxis-oriented perspective, in
102 which gender identities, relations and ideologies are fluid and not fixed. Gender is a key factor that organizes
103 social life, and has worked since the beginning of human existence: a fact that can not be said for most other
104 laminating social forces, such as "class" and "race". However, "gender" can not be seen and analyzed in isolation.
105 More than that, "gender" is dynamic and interacts with other lines of differentiation ("class", "race", "ethnicity",
106 "generation", "sexual orientation"), taking into consideration that all these social differentiation understand
107 power structures. These forces are social constructs and are therefore are not natural or innate characteristics

108 categories. The gender geographical research permits look at gender operating in different aspects of migration
109 ??Kosminsky, 2007).

110 Certain bodies have their identities indicated as different or marginal, and being related to particular spaces,
111 while others are considered normal and often posing as neutral in the dominant discourse (Ornat, 2008). These
112 perspectives extend the possibility of understanding of human migratory movements.

113 **5 IV.**

114 **6 Acculturation**

115 Each migration process implies in an action of acculturation, which can be defined as the process of exchange
116 when groups and individuals from different ethnicities -in this case European Jews of different nationalities and
117 Brazilians -undergo constant contact with each other, and consequently there are cultural changes in individuals
118 (Mühlen; Dewes et al., 2010).

119 The concepts of gender relations are complementary to acculturation and needed to understand migrations,
120 since being in a new geographical and cultural space causes having to acculturate and thus get rid of gender
121 patterns of the culture of the country of origin. Thus, migration can act as a machine that encourages changes
122 in cultural representations and attitudes relating to gender (Alencar-Rodrigues, Strey et al., 2009).

123 V.

124 **7 Mobile Identity**

125 The identity is a multidimensional process, which depends on the time that is conjugated, linking together the
126 past, present and future, while they dissociate spaces, institutions and social category (Bastos, 2007).

127 Ethnic identity is the source of meaning and experience of a group. Which are differentiated by language and
128 culture that represent them. These distinguishing features represent sources of meanings defined by the people
129 themselves, showing that we are not born with an identity and it is a social construction that depends on the
130 culture in which each person is inserted. Thus, identity is a continuous building process, remaining continuously
131 unfinished ??Pedro, 2009).

132 **8 VI.**

133 **9 Methodology**

134 Because it is a documentary research, the starting point was the contact with the Jewish Cultural Institute
135 Marc Chagall (ICJMC), in the city of Porto Alegre, which has a Department of memory which advocates the
136 preservation of Jewish memory from interviews with immigrants who came from various European countries. Such
137 interviews about immigration are archived in an Oral History Collection, for researchers interested in developing
138 studies on this ethnic group have access to the Collection of ICJMC. Some of the interviews were selected and
139 cataloged in the book of ICMJ "Life Stories -Jewish Immigration in Southern Brazil" Volume I (CHAGALL,
140 1991). Through the testimonies recorded in that catalogs, this work is based on.

141 All interviews have a Statement of Consent of Marc Chagall which is signed by each respondent who
142 collaborated or collaborates with his testimony. All measures will be taken, as to care about information that
143 might lead to the identification of respondents, to ensure confidentiality.

144 **10 VII.**

145 **11 Testimonials**

146 Taking into account the ways in which political processes, environmental and sociopolitical create, reproduce and
147 transform places we live in and the social relations in which men and women live, according to the Geography
148 of Gender, here are some testimonials from immigrants and descendants of immigrants on the difficulties in the
149 immigration process:

150 -"(...) A few years passed and I along with a group of mates (...) we managed to restore the cemetery
151 Philippson (...). Including my father's grave is there. (...). It was a tribute thus a way for us to thank our
152 parents, our grandparents, what they did for us, the problems they have passed, when they came from Europe
153 to the lands completely unknown. "-Son of Russian immigrants.

154 Being Jewish ethnicities the set of branches of the Jewish community, considering the culture and the countries
155 where they were settled, due to temporal and spatial factors, in addition to mixing and interpreting religious and
156 philosophical, usually every community has different traditions of a group to other. The boundaries of ethnic
157 identities can become more flexible or more rigid in the process of immigration (Poutignat; Streiff-Fenart, 1998),
158 as in the following statement:

159 -"(...) That situation of being half Jew and half German began to hinder my life here in Brazil ... Led me,
160 arrested me, put me in a field, not concentration, but illegal ... "-German, immigrated to Brazil in 1941.

161 The Jewish ethnicity discrimination, anti-Semitism, has its origin in the early days of human history, Jews
162 were never considered socially desirable in Brazil during the WWII (Camati, 2009), as noted in the cut below:

11 TESTIMONIALS

163 -"I talked to a Jew who lives in Brazil. He was in the war in Russia and he managed to get out of Russia
164 ... That was in 1941 ... And just in time to come, he was vetoed, not let him go because he was Jewish.
165 Discrimination was very strong at the time of WWII in Brazil. He has the document that was written that he
166 could not enter because he was Jew. "-Son of immigrants.

167 In Germany discriminatory social representations were produced by Nazi society around the Jewish ethnicity
168 (Tedesco, 2011). And it is in reference to psychological and biological factors that it is the most primitive impulse
169 to reject the other. The politics of intolerance is responsible for anti-Semitism, fascism, communism, Nazism and
170 all other totalitarians of the twentieth century (Camatti, 2009), as noted in the speech of Argentine immigrant:

171 -"The German colony accepted Nazism and the ideas of Nazism. And in Porto Alegre happened a parade of
172 boys with swastika. There were interventions of the German consul and often the Globe Magazine was seized by
173 fascist matters, at the request of the German embassy or Italian. "-Argentinean, immigrated in 1921 to Santa
174 Maria.

175 Jews lived centuries in Europe and did everything to integrate into the local culture, learning the language of
176 the country in which they were installed, leading to rapid social mobility, resulting in significant contributions to
177 the cultural and scientific life to the societies in which they were inserted (Laqueur, 2007). In Brazil had to go
178 through a new process of acculturation in a different cultural context, as we see in the stories below:

179 -"In Europe he (father) had nothing, had a dirt floor house and when he came here from Europe, he went to
180 work looking for sowing, because the ICA provided seeds. But he alone could do nothing, he depended on the
181 natives and it was very hard for him, because he did not know the language ... "-A daughter of immigrants.

182 -"On the ship (...) I learned every day a hundred words, from the Hungarian to Portuguese (...) "-Romanian
183 immigrant arrived in 1942 in Brazil.

184 -"My father-in-law was in a concentration camp, and my husband went to Rio de Janeiro and asked crying
185 for a visa (...). Then one of those great men said: 'Then give to this Jew, too, the visa' (...) He (the father of
186 the respondent) was a super-German, said had no need to emigrate, that Hitler will take a few months and then
187 disappears and democracy comes back as he was used to (...). "-German Immigrant.

188 In Europe, even before the Nazis, the Jews have suffered persecution:

189 -"The Jew, by the history that everyone knows, suffered persecution since the days of Egypt, then the Jews
190 knew that the wealth they could carry was the culture, was a profession ... "-Son of immigrants.

191 The rise of Nazism provided a model for anti-Semitism -negative stereotypical conceptions about Jews (Lesser,
192 1995). In 1933, the Nazis, newly elected, organized a one-day boycott to all shops and businesses belonging to
193 Jews in Germany:

194 -"On the 1st of April was a special day, all Jewish homes, Jewish shops, Jewish offices, etc ... had a man
195 charged with a sign: 'Here do not buy, because the owner is Jew. (?) On July 30, I had lost my job (...).
196 Naturally, it was relatively easy to resolve to leave that country, restricted from activities, always with a certain
197 life-threatening because they were always a bit more aggressive than in the beginning ... "-German, immigrated
198 to Brazil in 1933.

199 When they arrived at the camps, Jewish prisoners were divided into groups. The considered too weak to work
200 were immediately killed in the gas chambers (disguised as showers) and their bodies burned, while others were
201 assigned to labor camps where they were used as slaves, then killed by Nazis or by hunger (Finkelstein, 2001),
202 as almost died the Polish immigrant:

203 -"(...) What fed me is that I was in a wagon with hundreds of prisoners and this wagon was walking as if we
204 were cattle, and people were dying. They were piling one dead on top of another, and in a corner of the wagon,
205 had a small window and as it was raining, I put my hand and licked my hand, and this was my food. "-Polish
206 who underwent concentration camps.

207 Being Jewish is not bounded by national origin. Jewish identity is primarily a cultural legacy that, despite
208 saving a certain relationship with the Jewish religion is not bounded by it (Neto, 2008), as is perceived in the
209 the testimony of a Romanian immigrant:

210 -"The colony was large, the Jews lived very well, on Saturday all closed their houses, went to Shil (Synagogue),
211 like in Europe. (...) "-Romanian, immigrated to Quatro Irmãos with his family.

212 -" then we got there (agricultural colonies of ICA), stopped there in that place, had great home, immigrants
213 descended and women in a house, men in another house..." -Russian Immigrant arrived in Brazil in 1913.

214 The concepts of femininity and masculinity can take on different meanings in different cultures and may be
215 different within the same ethnic group. Immigrant women find themselves further discriminated by a threefold
216 condition of women, immigrants and workers (Martinez;Moya et al., 1995) as in the report below:

217 -"I was once asked: Your husband is sick? And I said: -No, why? -Because you're working. And I debated:
218 -Need my husband dying for me to work? ".

219 Below can be observed that gender can not be thought of in isolation, because gender interacts with other
220 axes that are also determinants, as the issue of social class:

221 -"Sometimes we had too much food, sometimes less, but all worked and we were looking to live. Until 1939
222 that came the Second World War. (...) If I had not survived, the name (family) would have disappeared, because
223 not one of my brothers -(...)nobody, nobody survived! "-Polish, immigrated to Porto Alegre in 1948.

224 Migration boost transformations of cultural representations and attitudes relating to gender, as happened

225 with the granddaughter of immigrants, already acculturated (as before were just mothers, today fathers are
226 increasingly present):

227 -"I worked in Jewish college, was circle of parents and teachers, but at that time was only mothers ..." -Brazilian
228 and granddaughter of settlers Philippson. Usually a migrant leaves his country looking for a better life, as reports
229 a Polish immigrant:

230 -"(...) The ICA gave everything. What would we lose? Work there and work here, then, as the Bible says,

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234 Brands of Gender in the Jewish Immigration in Southern Brazil when you change your place will get lucky, who
235 knows? -Polish Immigrant.

236 The Nazis bet in the people disbelief when people get to know the facts (mass crimes). Were sure that no
237 one would believe that humans would be capable of committing such atrocities, was the "unimaginability" of the
238 Holocaust, its improbability (SANTANA, 2008), as well reports the following interviewee:

239 Immigration can take the challenge of patriarchal culture when we see the issues of gender relations
240 ??Kosminsky, 2007). As we note in the reports of the following immigrants: VIII.

241 **14 Discussion**

242 Interesting to note the differences and similarities in the process of immigration since despite being immigrants
243 of the same ethnic group, came from different European countries and at different times. This makes the process
244 of acculturation of each immigrant unique with particulars characteristics.

245 Normally, a migrant leaves his country voluntarily seeking a better life, which has not happened in the case
246 of the immigrants from this study. It was the case of the first Jewish immigrants in southern Brazil, which came
247 with the ICA, at the beginning of the last century. However, those who immigrated because of World War II,
248 because it is people persecuted for reasons of religion that could not go back home, can be configured as refugees.

249 Interesting to note that regardless of where they came from and when they immigrated, all immigrants
250 went through difficulties. Including children and grandchildren recognize that somehow they are crossed by the
251 experiences of their ancestors.

252 Also interesting to note that these immigrants and descendants were modified by external causes. In Europe,
253 when they were victims of persecution and had to immigrate; and in Brazil, where they had difficulties to get
254 visa and even run the risk of being placed in camps because they were Germans Jews and there were policies
255 against the entry of certain races , as provided in the constitution of 1937.

256 On gender issues, in Brazil in 1913, women went to a house and men to another, to reach the agricultural
257 colony where they would live. Already in Poland before the war in 1939, men and women worked to have food at
258 home. And even recently, Brazilian and granddaughter of settlers experienced situations where Jewish meetings
259 at school, they were for mothers and fathers, but only women participated. In contrast, an immigrant woman
260 to be seen working in Brazil was asked if her husband was ill, implying that for a woman to work (outside the
261 home) only if the man is very ill.

262 Fortunately, in Brazil, there is growing awareness of gender equality, as realized in the case of meetings of
263 mothers and fathers are actually for men and women, and that work can also be for men and women. That
264 means, independent of issues of space and origin of immigrants, over time, men are gradually assuming roles that
265 were once considered feminine, such as exercise care of a son or a daughter, and women are playing roles that
266 were considered masculine, working outside the home.

267 **15 IX.**

268 **16 Final Thoughts**

269 Knowing the history of European Jewish immigrants who arrived in South Brazil is necessary, considering that
270 it is one of the ethnic groups that enrich the cultural heritage of Brazilian society.

271 The value of the Jews to the society who welcomed them is extremely important, because there are few
272 descendants of those immigrants who work in areas of high technology and knowledge in Brazil. As well reported
273 Póvoa (2005) Jews play the role of a Brazilian citizen, but preserve their identity.

274 As already noted Kominsky (2004), the comparison of immigrants from Europe who settled in particular ways
275 in the same society demonstrated the plasticity of the acculturation process of immigrants in all its richness and
276 variety, and unique aspects of receiving society, in the case of Brazil.

277 Understanding the path traveled by the civilizations that built our history, that contributed to the ethnic
278 rebuilding of Brazil, from the perspective of gender was and is in this work of fundamental importance, because
279 showed that gender is not only an identity or roles we learned in childhood, but something in continuous
280 movement, influenced by the cultural context.

281 Finally, professionals -from psychologists to geographers -who are aware of notions of gender and acculturation
282 may be more able to make interventions in the immigrant population.

283 Researches in gender Geography have sought to understand the methodological issues related to identity,
284 culture, spatiality. And that research on Jewish immigration is a contribution to this still new and new area
285 of geography, but historically old, since gender issues have always existed. Finally, extend the possibilities of
286 realizing the rich diversity of the various ethnic groups that exist in Brazil, and the world, in the light of gender
theories.¹

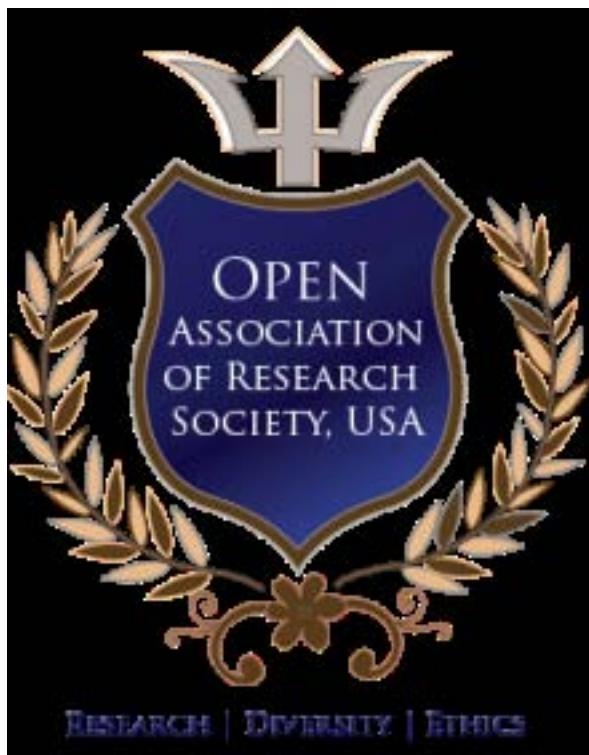


Figure 1: F

287

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