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Dissertação de Mestrado

Parenting Abroad: the Acculturation Experiences of Brazilian Immigrants and Sojourners

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Parenting abroad: the acculturation experiences of Brazilian immigrants and sojourners

Ser pai e mãe no exterior: as experiências de aculturação de brasileiros imigrantes e

sojourners[1]

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Resumo

O objetivo deste estudo foi investigar e descrever experiências de aculturação de pais e mães brasileiros no exterior, buscando compreender os desafios e oportunidades enfrentados por eles em relação à criação dos filhos fora do Brasil. Através de um questionário online, coletamos dados qualitativos e quantitativos de 1.168 participantes em 48 países (Estudo 1). Os dados qualitativos foram analisados pelo método de análise temática, gerando categorias para desafios e oportunidades. Os desafios mais citados foram adaptação cultural e suporte social, e as oportunidades mais citadas foram escolas e segurança. No Estudo 2, foram utilizadas as escalas breves de Demes e Geeraert (2014) para as medidas de adaptação psicológica e sociocultural, distância cultural percebida e orientação de aculturação, junto com uma medida de frequência de desafios e oportunidades percebidos em relação à criação dos filhos no exterior. Regressões múltiplas indicaram que a frequência de desafios percebidos por esses pais teve como preditores adaptação psicológica, nível educacional, distância cultural percebida e orientação de aculturação para o país de origem ($R^2 = 0.17$, $p < .001$). Já a frequência de oportunidades percebidas teve como preditores adaptação psicológica, orientação de aculturação para o país anfitrião, distância cultural percebida e adaptação sociocultural ($R^2 = 0.11$, $p < .001$). Os resultados apontam para uma relação entre medidas de aculturação e aspectos tanto práticos como emocionais das experiências de ser pai e mãe em outra cultura. Dessa forma, tem-se uma contribuição para a literatura no campo da psicologia transcultural e para a prática de profissionais que trabalham com essa população.

Palavras-Chave: aculturação; brasileiros; intercultural; parentalidade

Abstract

The objective of this study was to investigate and describe the acculturation experiences of Brazilian parents abroad, aiming to understand the challenges and opportunities faced by them in relation to raising their children outside Brazil. Using an online survey, we collected qualitative and quantitative data from 1,168 participants in 48 countries. Qualitative data were analyzed using thematic analysis, generating categories for challenges and opportunities (Study 1). Challenges mentioned the most were cultural adaptation and social support, and opportunities mentioned the most were schooling and security. In Study 2, Demes and Geeraert (2014) scales for brief psychological and sociocultural adaptation, perceived cultural distance, and acculturation orientation were used, as well as a measure of perceived frequency of challenges and opportunities related to childrearing abroad. Multiple regressions indicated that the frequency of challenges perceived by these parents had as predictors psychological adaptation, educational level, perceived cultural distance, and acculturation orientation towards home country ($R^2 = 0.17$, $p < .001$). The perceived frequency of opportunities had as predictors psychological adaptation, acculturation orientation towards host country, perceived cultural distance, and sociocultural adaptation ($R^2 = 0.11$, $p < .001$). Results point to a relation between acculturation measures and practical and emotional aspects of the experience of being a parent in another culture. Therefore, this is a contribution to the cross-cultural psychology literature and to the practice of professionals who work with this population.

Keywords: acculturation; Brazilians; intercultural; parenthood

Apresentação

De acordo com o Ministério das Relações Exteriores (2018), o número estimado de brasileiros vivendo no exterior no ano de 2015 ultrapassou três milhões. Pessoas que se mudam voluntariamente para um novo lugar e têm intenção de ficar permanentemente são chamadas imigrantes, enquanto *sojourners* são aqueles que se mudam voluntariamente mas apenas por um período temporário. Imigrantes e *sojourners* são denominados migrantes (Berry & Sam, 1997) e esses serão os conceitos adotados nesse trabalho. Ambos os grupos passam por experiências de aculturação, que é o processo dual de mudança cultural e psicológica que acontece como resultado do contato entre dois ou mais grupos culturais e seus membros individuais (Berry, 2005).

O processo de adaptação em um novo país tem sido tema de diversos estudos na área de psicologia transcultural, com foco tanto em problemas e desajustes pertinentes à essa experiência (ex., Bezerra & Vieira, 2013; Ornelas & Perreira, 2011) como vantagens e consequências positivas da migração (ex., Hao & Woo, 2012). Estudos anteriores (Pereira, Pimentel, & Kato, 2005) apontam que a presença da família é um fator protetor, que garante um melhor ajustamento no exterior. Porém, a maioria desses estudos são focados no bem estar dos filhos. Sam (2006) argumenta que esse interesse é justificado pela ideia de que eles serão representantes da sociedade futuramente e, portanto, seu bem estar é visto como tendo consequências importantes. Outro tema presente é a conjugalidade intercultural, principalmente abordando mulheres brasileiras casadas com estrangeiros (Assunção, 2016; Tedesco, 2014). Contudo, há uma escassez de pesquisas sobre o tema da aculturação de pais brasileiros migrantes, apesar da importância já demonstrada com amostras de outros países em relação ao tema. Segundo Hou e

Kim (2018), estressores enfrentados pelos pais em seu processo de aculturação exercem influência sobre o processo familiar, afetando também o ajustamento dos filhos. Até o momento da conclusão desse trabalho, não foi encontrado nenhum estudo com esse tema no Brasil, o que indica uma lacuna. Dessa forma, pretendeu-se contribuir para uma expansão do conhecimento teórico na área.

O objetivo geral da pesquisa foi investigar e descrever as experiências de aculturação de pais e mães brasileiros que vivem no exterior com seus filhos, buscando entender os desafios e oportunidades que são enfrentados por eles em relação à criação dos filhos fora do Brasil. É importante salientar que, nesse estudo, certamente existiu um interesse em compreender os desafios e dificuldades enfrentados por esses pais que estão longe do seu país de origem, mas também entende-se a relevância de ter um olhar para as oportunidades e vantagens que são únicas desse contexto. Objetivos específicos foram (1) identificar as categorias relacionadas aos principais desafios e oportunidades vivenciados por eles, e (2) propor um modelo explicativo relacionando medidas de aculturação (adaptação psicológica, adaptação sociocultural e orientação de aculturação) com a frequência de desafios e oportunidades percebidos na experiência de criar os filhos no exterior.

Os dados foram coletados de forma transversal, utilizando métodos mistos (quantitativos e qualitativos) para coleta de dados. O questionário utilizado para coleta de dados foi aplicado *online* e ficou aberto por um período de três meses, com um grande engajamento de pessoas interessadas em contribuir com a pesquisa, resultando em mais de 1.000 respondentes. Esse número de respostas foi entendido como um indicativo da necessidade que pais e mães brasileiros sentem de compartilhar suas experiências e ter acesso a conhecimento especializado sobre o tema. Houve uma demanda por parte dos participantes para que os resultados fossem

compartilhados com eles posteriormente. Além da divulgação do questionário *online* em comunidades virtuais de brasileiros residindo no exterior, outra parte importante da divulgação do questionário se deu de forma orgânica, com participantes encorajando conhecidos de sua própria rede a participarem e outros se voluntariando para divulgar na página de organizações de brasileiros no exterior das quais faziam parte. Isso permitiu que esse estudo tivesse uma amostra alta em número de participantes, que também incluiu diferentes estados de origem no Brasil, número de países no exterior, idade dos pais, idades dos filhos e tempo morando no país onde se encontram.

Nas próximas páginas, são apresentados alguns conceitos importantes relacionados ao tema, um breve resumo de estudos anteriores que são relevantes para embasar essa pesquisa, uma descrição sobre a maneira que ela foi conduzida, os resultados encontrados e como interpretamos esses achados. Essas informações estão organizadas em dois artigos independentes. Ambos foram escritos em inglês visando um maior alcance dentro da comunidade científica. O questionário utilizado para coleta de dados da pesquisa está disponível como anexo. Ele foi elaborado e preenchido pelos participantes em sua língua nativa, o português, que também é a língua nativa da pesquisadora.

O primeiro artigo descreve a parte qualitativa do estudo, cujo objetivo específico foi mapear e categorizar os desafios e oportunidades percebidos por pais e mães brasileiros com relação à criação de seus filhos no exterior. Os desafios e oportunidades listados pelos participantes foram relatados de acordo com a frequência que foram mencionados. O segundo artigo descreve a parte quantitativa, tendo como base quatro hipóteses: (1) pais orientados para a cultura anfitriã relatarão mais oportunidades na criação dos filhos nesse local, (2) aqueles com orientação para a cultura brasileira terão uma maior percepção de desafios, (3) pais com

adaptação psicológica e sociocultural mais baixa relatarão mais desafios, (4) aqueles com adaptação psicológica e sociocultural mais alta terão uma percepção maior de oportunidades. Ao final, tem-se algumas considerações finais sobre os resultados da pesquisa, abarcando ambos os estudos. Nessa sessão, são tecidos alguns comentários a respeito da intersecção dos dois artigos apresentados, as contribuições dessa pesquisa tanto para a literatura da área como de forma aplicada, e são apresentadas sugestões para estudos futuros.

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Artigo 1

Challenges and Opportunities Faced by Brazilian Parents Raising Children Abroad[1]

Abstract

In this study, we aimed to understand and categorize challenges and opportunities faced by Brazilian parents raising children abroad. There is still a lack of studies with this population, especially on the topic of parenting. Using an online survey, we collected data from 1,168 Brazilian-born fathers and mothers living with their children in 48 different countries. It included two open-ended questions where parents were encouraged to list the opportunities and challenges that they faced in raising their children abroad. Data were analyzed and categorized using thematic analysis. We found common challenges and opportunities experienced by Brazilian parents in different foreign countries. The most frequent categories related to challenges were cultural adaptation, social support, lack of help at home, and difficulty in mastering the local language. The most frequent categories related to opportunities were schooling, security, exposure to a new culture, and leisure and after-class activities. These findings offer insights for professionals providing pre-departure training for migrants such as business expatriates, diplomats, humanitarian aid workers, international students, military personnel, and missionaries who are moving abroad with their families. They are also a valuable contribution to the work of counselors and mental health professionals working with this population.

Keywords: Brazilian parents; childrearing; psychology;

A growing number of people leave their home countries to live in another nation. According to a report by the United Nations (2017), the total number of international migrants in 2017 was 258 million, a 49% increase in comparison with the year 2000. Most international migrants move because of work, family, or studies (International Organization for Migration, 2018), and then have to adapt to a new culture. In cross-cultural psychology, the term acculturation is used to describe this process of cultural and psychological change that happens as a result of the contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005).

A culture encompasses "similar ways of responding to context, similar ways of processing information, and shared interpretations of the meaning of events occurring within the system" (Smith, Fischer, Vignoles, & Bond, 2013, p. 22). It is embedded in the social environment, and this is clearly noticed by migrants when they move abroad. At the same time, parenthood is the primary mechanism to transmit culture between generations (Crippen & Brew, 2013). When migrants are also parents, they experience their own acculturation process while bearing the responsibility of transmitting cultural values to their children. Living abroad may expose them to cultural differences in parenting, such as appropriate childrearing expectations and effective childrearing techniques (Chuang & Costigan, 2018). Previous studies comparing mothers and fathers in different countries support this notion of cultural differences in parenting, pointing to country differences in attributions and attitudes measured (Bornstein, Putnick, & Lansford, 2011). While personal experiences influenced cognitions, they were found to be consistent with culture.

Therefore, experiences of acculturation and migration may add extra stressors to a family system, such as the necessity to change parenting practices and ideologies to adapt to the

requests of the host culture (Marks, Pathon, & Coyne, 2011). Additionally, the pace of acculturation for parents and their children usually vary significantly, leading to acculturation gaps that have been linked to family conflict (Birman & Poff, 2011). These authors argue that children tend to go through an acculturative process that is more adaptive than their parents', as they usually learn a new language and integrate to cultural aspects more easily. Marks et al. (2011) use the term Intergenerational Cultural Dissonance to describe this discrepancy between parents and children regarding cultural values. They also suggest that there are advantages when children build ethnic identities rooted in their parents' home culture, which indicates the importance of promoting and supporting biculturalism and bilingualism.

There is still limited research on the acculturation of Brazilian parents. A search conducted on the portal Web of Science returned no previous studies focused on challenges, opportunities or facilitators encountered by Brazilian parents living abroad. When expanding the search to broader topics, we found only five studies, four of which were conducted only with women and did not include fathers. Three out of the four are with Brazilian mothers living in the United States. In the first one (Lindsay, Arruda, Machado, de Andrade, & Greaney, 2018a), focus group discussions were conducted with 37 participants to understand the beliefs, attitudes, and practices related to their preschool-aged children's bedtime routine and sleep. They found awareness of the importance of sleep and sleep duration, but inconsistent and suboptimal bedtime routines. Those same authors published a second paper (2018b) about how these mothers obtained information about physical activity and screen time behavior for their children, revealing that they did not actively seek this kind of information but received it from sources such as medical doctors and the media, which increased their knowledge about the subject. Still concerning Brazilian mothers living in the United States, a study with 29 participants conducted through

focus group discussions found that culture and family influenced their beliefs and practices related to early introduction of solid foods (Lindsay et al., 2017). The fourth study found had a sample of 558 Brazilian mothers living in Japan (Hashimoto & Yanagisawa, 2017). The authors developed a health literacy scale to approach problems in access to health services caused by their limited proficiency in Japanese. Lastly, the fifth study was based on qualitative interviews. It included both Brazilian mothers and fathers living in Ireland, focusing on the social capital that they had in their community (McGrath, 2010). It points to the importance of the support of a network in the migration context, especially when the ability in the new language is limited.

Previous studies about the adaptation of Brazilians living abroad, which did not include exclusively parents, were typically focused in one country of destination. Yano (2013) published a book based on her research with transnational Brazilian immigrant families in Japan. She describes transnational migration as one where immigrants keep emotional, financial, and social bonds with two or more countries. They usually have the intent to return to their country of origin. Tashima and Torres (2018), in a qualitative study also conducted with Brazilian immigrants in Japan, explored the perceived cultural adaptation of two different groups: dekasegis (Japanese descendants living abroad long-term) and sojourners (temporary migrants, such as international students and business expatriates). Among other factors, the authors found different facilitators to the adaptation to the host country: (1) ability in Japanese, (2) cultural intelligence, (3) engagement with the host culture, (4) social support, (5) Japan as a country where things work, and (6) easy access to goods.

Luca, Bobowik, and Basabe (2011) studied the sociocultural adaptation of 91 Brazilians in the Basque Country. Using quantitative measures, they found two dimensions for it, the first related to the cultural learning and communication and the second to how they handle social

distance. Their results indicate that Brazilian immigrants adapt better to the first dimension than to the second, and that the difficulties faced by them are stronger when they first arrive in comparison to later in their adaptation process. DeBiaggi (2002) published a book based on a mixed methods research with 50 Brazilian couples in the greater Boston area in the United States. Understanding that the Brazilian society is patriarchal and has more traditional gender roles in comparison with the United States, she found that men's acculturation was related to less traditional gender role attitudes and more childcare was shared between husbands and wives as men acculturated.

Since no previous studies about the perceptions of challenges and opportunities of Brazilian parents raising children abroad were found, the present research was exploratory in its nature. Its main objective was to categorize and describe the difficulties and opportunities faced by Brazilian parents in different countries. Understanding their perceptions about parenthood as migrants will contribute to fill a gap in the literature, being a starting point for future research.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

For inclusion in this study, it was necessary to meet three criteria: (a) be born in Brazil, (b) be a parent for one or more children living in the same house as them, and (c) be living in a country outside Brazil. Children did not need to be biological, they could be adopted or a stepchild. Data were initially collected from 1,310 participants. Of those, 13 did not agree with the informed consent and thus did not start the research, and 59 left the research before answering the questions about the inclusion criteria. 70 participants were excluded from the

database for not meeting the inclusion criteria. The final database included 1,168 mothers and fathers (93.6% female, 6.4% male).

They were born in 25 different states across Brazil plus the Federal District, and were living in 48 different countries. Countries that included fewer than five participants were China, Croatia, Curacao, Czech Republic, Egypt, Greece, Hungary, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, Mozambique, Norway, Paraguay, Peru, Russia, San Marino, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Sweden, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Countries that included between 5 and 9 participants were Argentina, Belgium, Colombia, New Zealand, Poland, and Saudi Arabia. Countries with 10 or more participants were Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, United States, United Kingdom, and United Arab Emirates.

The mean age of participants was 37.23 ($SD = 6.83$), ranging from 18 to 67 years old. The amount of time living in the current host country varied: 46 participants (3.9%) had been there for less than 6 months, 127 (10.9%) between 6 months and 1 year, 318 (27.2%) between 2 and 5 years, 216 (18.5%) between 6 and 10 years, 166 (14.2%) between 11 and 20 years, 35 (3.0%) for more than 20 years, and 260 (22.3%) did not answer this question. Regarding their employment status, 390 (33.4%) were not working, 234 (20%) were working part time, 270 (23.1%) were working full time, and 274 (23.5%) did not answer this question. The mean number of children per participant was 1.65 ($SD = 0.74$) and the median age of children was 5 years old (range: 0-37). Most participants (94.7%) were living with a partner, and 58.8% of those partners were Brazilian. The majority started or completed a graduate degree (37.4%), followed by those who started or completed an undergraduate degree (33.3%). Only 5.8% completed high school or less, and 23.5% did not answer this question. Regarding family income, 35%

mentioned that compared to the average where they lived their income was at the average, 34.3% above the average, and 7.2% below the average (23.5% did not answer this question).

2.2 Procedures

Data were collected online through a survey on the platform Survey Monkey, which enabled us to reach the target population located in various cities and countries around the world. Each participant was asked if they accepted the informed consent on the first page of the study. The questionnaire was initially tested with a pilot group of 30 parents living abroad. After necessary corrections and adjustments were made, the survey was open for a period of three months from July until September 2017. Parents were contacted through email, text messages, and social media using specific channels that are already in place, such as email lists of Brazilian consulates and embassies, and online groups of Brazilians living in a specific country or city abroad (e.g. Facebook, WhatsApp).

Each parent completed a demographic questionnaire with two open-ended questions where they could write freely about the description of challenges and opportunities perceived in raising their children abroad ("If you have replied that there are challenges related to raising your children abroad, describe the main categories of these challenges" and "If you have replied that there are opportunities related to raising your children abroad, describe the main categories of these opportunities"). The questions were written in Portuguese, the native language of the participants, and they also wrote their responses in that language. Occasionally, a few words in the local language from where participants lived (e.g. English, German, Spanish, and Japanese) were used, especially when describing local services offered.

Data were analyzed using the method of thematic analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 1999),

with the creation of categories that expressed similar ideas stated by the participants. These categories emerged during the analysis itself, since there were not enough studies with this population to conduct the analysis based on prior literature. The six steps suggested for this type of analysis are described here. (1) Organization of the data: we created a table with all the challenges mentioned by the participants in the first open-ended question, and a second one with all the opportunities written by them in the second open-ended question. This step included reading all the responses several times to become familiar with the content. While doing it, we took notes that allowed us to map the general emergent themes discussed in the responses, having as a reference the similarity in content. (2) Generation of categories or themes: after noting patterns in topics described by the participants, we divided each parent's response for opportunities and for challenges in single extracts that could be grouped together, according to the emergent themes that were observed in the first step. These extracts were color coded according to these broader themes, which would then be divided into more specific categories. (3) Coding of the data: each extract was placed under its corresponding theme. This allowed us to see more specific categories emerging in each broad theme and to group the responses accordingly. Categories should be internally consistent and externally divergent (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). (4) Testing emergent understanding of the data: after all the extracts were grouped under categories, the material was read again to find incongruences. Initially, we did not move responses from one table (opportunities or challenges) to the other, even if a participant had mentioned a challenge when answering about opportunities or vice-versa. At this stage a few extracts were moved to the corresponding table for a more accurate analysis. (5) Searching for alternative explanations: this step is suggested to guarantee that the researchers will not commit to one explanation for the data before considering other possibilities. We made theoretical

inferences and the results obtained were compared with the acculturation literature. (6) Writing up the data analysis: after careful consideration of the literature and the most feasible explanation for the data, we were ready to write about the results.

Two independent judges with expertise in psychology and behavioral sciences checked the analysis. The two judges read all the responses individually and signaled their disagreements. All the necessary adjustments were made to reach an agreement, and the judges approved the final version of the analysis.

3. Results

880 participants listed opportunities related to raising children abroad, adding up to 2,235 single extracts. 714 participants listed challenges, adding up to 1,225 single extracts. 12 categories were identified for opportunities and 13 categories for challenges. Each category is described below, organized beginning with the ones with the largest amount of occurrences. We consider frequency a significant aspect, and therefore it was included here. Nevertheless it is important to note that the fact that one category occurs more frequently than others does not necessarily indicate a greater importance, but possibly a greater ability or ease to discuss the topic (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). This will be further discussed after the results are presented.

3.1 Opportunities

3.1.1 Schooling (484 occurrences). This category ranked first place as an opportunity, while Adaptation to School ranked sixth place among the challenges. As an opportunity, the category was named Schooling because it concerns the broader learning opportunities that

children are exposed to as part of their formal education programs, and not only the adaptation aspect. Parents mentioned the good quality of the education system ("There are many things, but the main ones are the quality of the laboratories and educational materials that children have access to", male, 42, living in the United States) and the convenience of having free or financially accessible education for their children ("When searching for private daycare centers, we found options that are more aligned with our beliefs for a value that is more accessible than in Brazil", male, 33, living in Spain). The possibility of homeschooling was also mentioned as an opportunity.

3.1.2 Security (407 occurrences). A parent described it as the "opportunity for children to play on the streets, walk around safely, and go to school by themselves" (female, 45, living in the United States). Participants mentioned walking on the streets without worrying about crimes ("To go out and have fun without getting robbed or kidnapped", female, 35, living in the United States) as an important example of security, as well as feeling safe to take their children to public playgrounds ("There is a playground in front of our house. We take him there almost every day. In Brazil, the violence would not allow us to do it", male, 42, living in Sweden). They also perceive safety in public transportation and traffic as positive aspects experienced abroad. Some participants also reported that they felt a stronger sense of freedom for not being afraid when returning home late at night.

3.1.3 Culture (296 occurrences). In this category, we consider the exposure to the host culture, in addition to living in multicultural places where children are exposed to a larger cultural diversity and have friends from different nationalities, races, religions, and social classes ("There is much social diversity concerning nationalities and social classes. In Brazil, we used to live among very similar people in a bubble", female, 32, living in Germany). Parents spoke of

their children's personal growth as a result of the exposure to a new country and different cultural values. A mother wrote that she saw "multiculturalism and the ability to adapt to and deal with the unknown" as an opportunity (female, 52, living in Venezuela). Tolerance and respect were also cited as a learning opportunity resulting from cultural diversity. Cultural values, including local attitudes and behaviors that participants admired were mentioned: "It is a normal thing for people here to not bother with what others are wearing" (female, 37, living in Germany). There were 28 mentions concerning raising more independent and autonomous children ("Here, they celebrate a lot the uniqueness of the child, and encourage them to be more independent and creative", female, 32, living in the United Kingdom). Three parents (two male, 36 and 38, living in Germany; one female, 40, living in the United States) mentioned that they valued the fact that the culture where they lived seemed to be less sexist in comparison with Brazil.

3.1.4 Leisure (281 occurrences). After-school activities were clustered in the category Leisure instead of Schooling because of their similar nature in contrast with formal education. Parents mentioned the availability of family programs and facilities such as parks, museums, movie theaters, and public playgrounds. Additionally, free or affordable after-class lessons such as sports, dance, musical instruments, and arts were perceived as a benefit for the children ("My daughter does yoga, takes music classes, and swimming classes – all these activities are free!", female, 35, living in England). Some participants also spoke of affordable cultural events and easy access to international travelling, as well as weekly play dates or gatherings with other mothers ("Playgroups coordinated by the public sector, connecting children of the same age in playrooms with many options of toys and good infrastructure", female, 42, living in Australia).

The availability of green areas was also included in this category ("Frequent contact with the nature", female, 33, Portugal).

3.1.5 Learning a new language (240 occurrences). Participants mentioned bilingualism and even the simultaneous learning of three or four different languages as an opportunity in raising their children in a different country ("My children are 8 and 6 years old and both speak English, Spanish, and Portuguese, and use those three languages on a daily basis", female, 38, living in the United States). They believe that it will bring them better future opportunities ("So many opportunities that they will have for being bilingual", female, 32, living in Germany) and that learning at this early age is boosting their children's ability to be fluent in the languages that they are exposed to on a daily basis ("Learning how to read and write in two languages at the same time", male, 36, living in Finland; and "Learning English for real", male, 44, living in Austria). They also consider that it will contribute to their children's brain development ("Hearing Chinese as a fourth language should contribute to a better brain development", female, 37, living in China).

3.1.6 Healthcare (160 occurrences). Healthcare was cited both among the opportunities and challenges. As an opportunity, it involves the quality of healthcare ("Excellent quality of healthcare", female, 56, living in Italy), and the free access to it. Some parents mentioned that it included mental health ("The mental health of children is important", female, 45, living in Israel) and dental care ("Free access to doctors and dentists", female, 47, living in Sweden). Two parents with children on the autism spectrum mentioned having access to specialized care for them ("Specialized professionals who help in the treatment of autism for my daughter", female, 43, living in the United States). Others reported their satisfaction with the prenatal ("Great hospitals offering medical and psychological care since the pregnancy", female, 32, living in

Spain) and postnatal care ("Free home visits from midwives during the first days after the baby is born", female, 36, living in Ireland). Participants also mentioned lectures for parents, a hotline for questions about child development, and the availability of lactation consultants.

3.1.7 Public services and regulations (121 occurrences). Parents mentioned the quality of public services in general, and financial aid received from the government ("We receive a monthly sum from the government for each child", female, 32, living in Germany). Also, a longer maternity leave ("Maternity leave of up to one year and a half", female, 36, living in Japan) and paternity leave ("Six weeks of paternity leave", female, 31, living in Canada) in comparison with Brazil. Urban mobility and infrastructure were mentioned, including the ease of using bicycles, public transportation, and strollers on the streets ("We chose not to have a car and we take advantage of a transportation system with great quality", female, 39, living in Switzerland).

3.1.8 Quality of life (97 occurrences). Participants reported having a higher quality of life in comparison with the time previously spent in Brazil. Some mentioned having a better work-life balance ("Opportunity to enjoy quality of life and balance between work and family", female, 37, living in Australia) and having more free time to spend with the family ("I can be home at 4 p.m. to spend time with my children", female, 35, living in Canada).

3.1.9 Financial Condition (74 occurrences). Participants mentioned financial stability ("I have the opportunity to stay home with my children without impacting the family budget much", female, 31, living in Germany), access to services and goods ("Technology devices and toys at a low cost", female, 39, living in the United States), possibility of traveling ("Opportunities that material goods bring us, such as trips", female, 39, living in Switzerland)

and to provide for their children's future ("…and knowing that I will be able to provide financially for my family's future are the main things for me", male, 35, living in Australia).

3.1.10 Professional opportunities (33 occurrences). This category includes opportunities that parents see for themselves and for their children ("I believe that in Japan my daughter will have more opportunities of jobs in the future", female, 24, living in Japan). Specific markets were also mentioned: "More opportunities of jobs in the cultural and artistic areas" (female, 44, living in the United States) and "Learning about entrepreneurship" (male, 38, living in the United States).

3.1.11 Food and nutrition (24 occurrences). Parents mentioned the affordability and availability of organic ("Organic food is accessible and cheap", female, 31, living in the United States), vegetarian ("More availability of vegetarian products", female, 37, living in the United Kingdom), and healthy foods. Convenience in preparing the food ("Pre made food and grocery store delivery that is accessible", female, 33, living in the United States), and attention to food allergies were also cited ("There are concerns with food allergies", female, 39, living in Canada).

3.1.12 Closer family unit (6 occurrences). This category is related to the fact that the distance of other family members has brought the nuclear family that is abroad closer together: "The family becomes more united because we always count on each other in all situations" (female, 52, living in Saudi Arabia).

Extracts that did not fit the previous categories were grouped in the category Others (12 occurrences), which included having dual citizenship, having no interference of other family members in childrearing, and the weather.

3.2 Challenges

3.2.1 Culture (255 occurrences). This category ranked third among the opportunities, and first among the challenges. Three mothers reported differences regarding hugging and kissing: they were living in Canada (34 years old), Germany (31), and in the United States (36). This last one mentioned that her son was used to hugging and kissing other children, and this behavior was not welcomed in their country of residence. Participants also struggled with the fact that, in some countries, children are more independent than in Brazil: "Children are more independent, leave home earlier, start working earlier, and drive earlier", female, 48, living in the United States. Another mother wrote: "Swiss children are very independent. Brazilian mothers find themselves in situations where a lot of independence is expected from their children, but for cultural and social reasons, we do not have it. This is expected from us, mainly at school. For example, at age 4, a child already walks to the daycare center by herself", female, 34, living in Switzerland. A 25-year-old mother living in France mentioned that locals considered her overprotective of her child. On the other hand, independence was also mentioned as an opportunity under the category Culture.

3.2.2 Social support (227 occurrences). This category and the one below, Lack of help at home, were initially grouped as one, but we noticed an important difference between them: an emotional component in this first one, and a practical component in the second. Social support includes the absence of family members and friends back in Brazil, difficulties in making new friends abroad, and feelings of loneliness. Participants miss family members as a result of a reduced interaction with the extended family left in Brazil, and struggle to maintain a connection with them ("Lack of interaction with grandparents, cousins, uncles and aunts, and weaker bonds with them", female, 43, living in Switzerland). A mother reported feeling guilt and sadness for

the separation ("I have to deal with feelings of sadness and guilt because my family and my spouse's family are missing seeing the child grow up", female, 37, living in China). Some mention the importance of online interactions but still regret the lack of in person contact ("Although there is Skype and WhatsApp, it is not the same thing", female, 37, living in Italy). Responses included difficulties that children and parents face to make new friends ("Building new friendships", male, 39, living in Australia). Parents also revealed a desire for closer social connections ("Lack of more personal relationships in everyday life", male, 38, living in Germany), as well as feelings of loneliness faced by them ("Loneliness, support, understanding, and a support network", female, 37, living in Belgium) and by their children ("Not having relatives – grandparents, uncles and aunts, cousins – around makes my son very lonely and dependent on friends to socialize", female, 50, living in Israel).

3.2.3 Lack of help at home (215 occurrences). This category is focused on the lack of practical help in raising children and taking care of the house ("We have to do everything ourselves, without the help of family members", male, 42, living in Sweden). Participants said that they missed having a family member to look after a sick child at home when parents could not miss work ("Someone to take care of my child when I have an appointment, when my son gets sick and I cannot leave work", female, 32, living in Mexico) or to be able to go out on a date with their partners. They mentioned the lack of availability of daycare centers and the high costs of babysitters or cleaners ("In Brazil I had help from my mother to take care of my daughter, and two cleaners to help with the house. Here I started looking for a daycare center, because it is too burdensome to deal with all of that by myself", female, 33, living in the United States).

3.2.4 Mastering the local language (132 occurrences). This category is related to the parents' and the children's proficiency in the local language and the consequences of it. Parents

with a lower proficiency reported facing challenges when taking their children to the doctor or dentist ("The only challenge is the language. I always need to take my husband to the pediatrician, because my husband needs to do the translation", female, 31, living in Switzerland), or when speaking with the teachers or other parents at school ("Sometimes I have trouble understanding their teacher", female, 37, living in the United Kingdom). One parent said that it was difficult to find some specific products for the baby due to communication barriers ("Communication problems when looking for a specific baby product", female, 37, living in China). Regarding the lack of proficiency of the children, a participant stated that it has prevented them from making new friends when they arrived ("In the beginning, they had a hard time making friends because they did not speak the language", female, 44, living in the United States).

3.2.5 Teaching their native language – Portuguese (96 occurrences). Participants with a foreign partner mentioned being the only family member who speaks Portuguese ("My daughters are learning Portuguese from their mother only. This is not very helpful when you are in another country", female, 37, living in the United States). Another participant with a foreign partner stated that it is a challenge to keep consistent with the Portuguese, because it would be easier if everyone at home spoke the same language (female, 34, living in Finland). Others mentioned that it is challenging to be consistent in the use of the Portuguese in front of other children or adults who do not understand it ("Speaking my native language with him in front of other people who do not understand it", female, 34, living in Switzerland). Two participants indicated that their children are not interested in speaking Portuguese, despite their efforts ("Even though I always speak Portuguese with my son, he almost always replies to me in French", female, 37, living in Canada). This challenge does not only affect parents with foreign

partners. Parents with a Brazilian partner also mentioned it, with one mother citing as an example "Having to explain to him a reprimand in Portuguese", female, 39, living in Canada.

3.2.6 Adaptation to school (79 occurrences). A participant mentioned that the school system in Germany was stricter in comparison with Brazil (female, 51, living in Germany). Two parents said that it was a challenge to understand the local rules regarding schooling and how applications for kindergarten or college worked. A parent mentioned difficulties helping the children with homework because of differences in the content taught ("Mathematics here is very different from what we learned", female, 40, living in Canada). Some parents reported that the problems related to the adaptation to school were only prevalent in the initial period after their arrival.

3.2.7 Healthcare (62 occurrences). Cultural issues were reported in this category: the relationship between patients and doctors was perceived as colder by some participants ("Lack of pediatricians or other specialists in the medical area who treat us with attention", female, 35, living in Chile); difficulties understanding the health and vaccination systems (female, 31, living in Egypt), and local preferences for specific delivery methods were also cited ("They do not even consider the idea of a C-section", female, 36, living in Austria). A mother complained about the lack of periodic consultations with a pediatrician to weigh and measure the children, and the lack of treatment for cavities ("For children, it is a normal practice here to wait until it is time to extract the tooth", female, 37, living in the United Kingdom). Parents also mentioned missing preventive care ("Medicine here is not working in a preventive way, as in Brazil", female, 34, living in New Zealand), and reported that they did not feel that they could contact the doctor if they had general questions about their children's health ("Not having a friendly doctor, who you can contact if you only have a question", female, 33, living in the United Arab Emirates).

3.2.8 Food and nutrition (42 occurrences). Participants said that recommendations for food introduction for babies varied between countries (female, 33, living in Germany). Also, that their children had to adapt to the different kinds of food served in birthday parties (female, 36, living in Argentina) and at school (female, 37, living in the United States); and that the type of food that is considered healthy by locals is different (female, 28, living in the United States).

3.2.9 Teaching the Brazilian culture to their children (33 occurrences). Parents mentioned the challenge of teaching the Brazilian culture ("Introduce my daughter to the Brazilian culture", female, 27, living in Spain) and the fact that they are the only reference for their children, because the rest of the family is far away, or that children only get limited exposure to the Brazilian culture ("Their exposure to the Brazilian culture is restricted to their vacations in Brazil", female, 32, living in the United Arab Emirates). A mother described that although challenging, it was a positive experience: "Teaching Portuguese with more attention, and teaching the culture are positive challenges", female, 40, living in the United States.

3.2.10 Discrimination (28 occurrences). This category includes reports of prejudice and discrimination because of race ("Prejudice because of my race", female, 37, living in the Netherlands), nationality ("Bullying because of nationality", female, 29, living in Argentina), and native language ("I suffer discrimination when I speak in Portuguese with him in public, female, 37, living in the United States). Parents reported being discriminated against, and also having their children being discriminated against.

3.2.11 Services (12 occurrences). Parents reported the lack of availability of cultural activities or leisure areas (female, 31, living in Egypt). They also mentioned problems with the transportation system and other services ("I have dark and curly hair. There are not products for it or professionals who know how to deal with it", female, 41, living in Denmark).

3.2.12 Environmental conditions (7 occurrences). Participants mentioned both extremely cold and hot weathers: "Adaptation to the cold weather", female, 35, living in Chile; and "Living in Saudi Arabia is challenging for those with children because of the weather. It is hot during most of the year, and the kids cannot go outside to explore", female, 28, living in Saudi Arabia. A mother, 42 years old, living in Chile, mentioned natural disasters (e.g. earthquakes) and another one, 27 years old, living in China, wrote about the pollution.

3.2.13 Local laws (6 occurrences). In this category, two mothers mentioned short maternity leaves **(**"Maternity leave is short: 8 weeks", female, 33, living in the United States). Another one (41 years old, living in Canada), married to a Canadian man, considered the laws concerning her rights as a mother if she decided to leave the country challenging.

Extracts that did not fit the previous categories were grouped in the category Others (30 occurrences), which included conflicts with family members and lack of time to spend with the children.

4. Discussion

Participants in this study perceived seven categories as both challenges and opportunities: culture, schooling/adaptation to school, language, healthcare, services, local laws or regulations, and food. 'Culture' was seen as an opportunity when it involved new learning experiences, personal growth, and cultural values that were admired by participants. As a challenge, it was mostly related to the adaptation to a new culture, and cultural values that are not shared with Brazil. Different parents experienced the same cultural aspect inversely: while some enjoyed the fact that children are encouraged to be more independent abroad and saw it as an opportunity,

others did not agree with it, or had a difficult time adapting to these expectations, seeing it as challenge.

The categories 'School adaptation' and 'Schooling' are greatly related, but were named differently under opportunities and challenges because they represent distinct aspects of the same element. As an opportunity, we called it 'Schooling because parents reported the general aspects of a high quality service and the benefits that it brings to their children. According to DeBiaggi (2002), many Brazilians immigrated to the United States searching for a better future for their children. She also stated that a good education in Brazil is only seen possible in private schools, with high financial costs. As a challenge, the category was not related with the broad educational aspect, but mostly with understanding how the system works (e.g. for applications), with the children's adaptation, and how to help children with homework due to differences in content. Difficulties helping children with homework were grouped under the category 'Mastering the local language' when they were not related to differences in content, but with parents' lack of proficiency in the local language. The category 'Mastering the local language' included not only parents' difficulties with language, but also children's difficulties, and how it hindered social relationships and communication with teachers and health professionals. Seen as an opportunity, it was named 'Learning a new language', and included both the local language and additional languages spoken or taught in the country of residence. An example of this was in the United States, where Brazilian children were learning and practicing both English and Spanish with their colleagues at school.

'Healthcare' was kept with the same name both as an opportunity and as a challenge. It was related to the quality and cost of the service in the former. In the latter, some examples were cultural differences in the relationship with doctors (e.g. coldness, distance), and differences in

the types of treatment offered. 'Services', as an opportunity, was only related to public services (e.g. transportation), while as a challenge it included general services (e.g. hairdresser). 'Regulations' (e.g. maternity leave) was clustered with 'public services' in Opportunities because both are provided by the government, while as a challenge it had to stand by itself and included complaints about bureaucracy and also the topic of maternity leave. 'Food and nutrition' was a challenge when children had to adapt to local food, especially in situations such as birthday parties and at school, and when parents had difficulties finding healthy products. It was seen as an opportunity when they could find the products they wanted (e.g. organic, vegetarian) and they were affordable.

Categories that were exclusive to opportunities were security, leisure, financial condition, professional opportunities, quality of life, and closer family unit. Similarly, in her study with Brazilian families in Japan, Yano (2013) found that financial stability was the most cited positive aspect, followed by security. However, her findings pointed to more material aspects being perceived as positive, and emotional ones as negative, which was not essentially the case in this study. Although our two most frequent challenges had a more emotional aspect (cultural adaptation and social support), and the two most frequent opportunities were more practical or material (schooling and security), our findings include practical and emotional aspects of life abroad belonging to the classifications of both challenges and opportunities in childrearing while being a foreigner in a new country. Practical challenges found in this study include high cost of nannies and cleaners, mastering the local language, unavailability of services, and others. Emotional aspects of opportunities include more time spent with family members, and a closer family unit.

No parent mentioned difficult financial conditions, lack of professional opportunities, or a

general low quality of life as a challenge after moving out of Brazil. We did not ask if

participants were legal residents where they lived, so we cannot determine that Brazilian

immigrants do not experience those difficulties because our sample perhaps included only people

who have better living conditions due to their legal status, whereas a study with undocumented

immigrants could find different results. A study conducted with 49 Brazilians who lived in the

United States and returned to Brazil (Joseph, 2011) had more than half of its sample composed

of immigrants who became undocumented. Nearly 27% of participants described a mostly

negative qualify of life, and approximately 33% mentioned that their jobs were physically

strenuous. Family has been considered a protective factor that contributes to cross-cultural

adaptation. A study involving more than 800 business expatriates in different parts of the world

(Shi & Franklin, 2014) found that those accompanied by their family had a better adaptation and

job performance.

Categories exclusive to challenges were social support, lack of help at home, teaching

Portuguese, teaching the Brazilian culture, discrimination, and environmental conditions. Yano

(2013) indicated that immigration brings a restructuration of family roles, which includes caring

for children without the help of other family members. Transmission of the heritage culture is

also a topic that has been previously discussed in the literature. Enculturation is the primary

process of socialization in the original or birth culture, where primary cultural values are

internalized (Ting-Toomey, 1999). Ferguson, Costigan, Clarke, and Ge (2016) proposed the term

remote enculturation as a modern form of enculturation, which happens when children learn

aspects of their heritage culture without being physically present, or with limited exposure to it.

It is more challenging because, as opposed to traditional enculturation, is it not automatic or

passive (Ferguson et al., 2016). They argue that there are different resources available to promote

remote enculturation, such as phone or online communication with other relatives, social media, satellite television, music, and occasional visits to the heritage country. Those authors also make a distinction between early childhood, when parents are the ones directing cultural transmission, and adolescence, when it can be self-initiated.

Overall, the results found in this research are consistent with previous studies that were not focused on parents but conducted with immigrants and sojourners from different nationalities. Smith and Khawaja (2011), in a review of the literature about the acculturation experiences of international students, listed language, educational stressors, sociocultural stressors, discrimination, and practical stressors as possible acculturative hassles. Tashima and Torres (2018) found that lack of proficiency in Japanese, difficulties to accept or to adjust to the Japanese culture, and homesickness or missing their families were challenges faced by Brazilians in Japan. In her book about Brazilian families in Japan, Yano (2013) mentioned that migration involves losses – such as homesickness and not being able to participate in the extended family everyday life, and gains – which include learning a new culture and better financial conditions. Parents who took part in the present study also mentioned all of those aspects.

Challenges were not nearly as numerous as opportunities: the number of people who mentioned opportunities and their total number of occurrences was higher. As mentioned before, this is an important observation, but it could mean that people are more at ease to describe the good things around them, or that this particular groups has a high level of adaptation to the host culture. Future studies should use other methods, such as interviews, to deepen this understanding.

A limitation of this study is that the participants were mostly mothers, with a very small percentage of fathers. Although the data collection intention was to get a representative number

of both mothers and fathers, two main factors explain this imbalance: (1) There are many online groups and communities exclusively for women and/or mothers, while no group exclusively for men and/or fathers was found by the researcher; (2) In groups for Brazilian people, including men and women, the interest in the research was higher among the mothers. The invitation to take part in this research was posted in 24 online groups or email lists of Brazilians living abroad where men and women were members; 4 Facebook groups of Brazilian mothers and fathers abroad; 8 Facebook groups of only Brazilian mothers abroad; and 4 Facebook groups of only Brazilian women abroad. So, while 28 groups (70%) included both men and women, an additional 12 groups (30%) were just composed of women. Furthermore, it is important to note that the samples of Brazilian parents living in these 48 countries were not necessarily representative of the general Brazilian parents in those places, since they were approached by convenience.

The findings from this study are essential to build a better understanding of the necessities of this population, and to broaden the current literature. There is still a lack of research produced out of Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic nations (Nielsen, Haun, Kärtner, & Legare, 2017). Non-western, industrialized nations compose 88% of the total world population, but represented approximately only 4% of the samples in the six top US Psychology journals (Arnett, 2008). Moreover, the present research contributes to inform the practice of counselors, international human resources professionals, teachers, and psychologists who work with Brazilian migrant parents. Future research should find channels to bring more fathers into research, since the small representation of men is a current problem within the parenting literature. It should also investigate how Brazilian mothers and fathers living abroad handle the challenges and benefit from the opportunities in raising children abroad.

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Artigo 2

Acculturation and Perceptions of Childrearing of Brazilians Parents Living Abroad[1]

Abstract

In this study, we explored the acculturation experiences of Brazilian migrant parents in relation with their perceptions of challenges and opportunities in raising children abroad. Participants were 869 Brazilian-born parents living with their children in the same household in 46 different countries. They responded to an online questionnaire, which included demographic information, Demes and Geeraert (2014) scales for Brief Sociocultural Adaptation, Brief Psychological Adaptation, Brief Perceived Cultural Distance, and Brief Acculturation Orientation, and a measure of frequency of perceived challenges and opportunities regarding living abroad. A positive relation was found between psychological and sociocultural adaptation, and a negative one between those two and perceived cultural distance. In general, parents perceived a higher frequency of opportunities than challenges in raising children outside Brazil. Multiple regressions showed that psychological adaptation, educational level, perceived cultural distance, and acculturation orientation towards home country were good predictors of the perceived frequency of challenges in childrearing abroad ($R^2 = 0.17$, $p < .001$), while psychological adaptation, acculturation orientation towards host country, perceived cultural distance, and sociocultural adaptation predicted the perceived frequency of opportunities in raising children abroad ($R^2 = 0.11$, $p < .001$). Acculturation measures in this sample were in line with findings from previous studies with immigrants and sojourners in general, with better psychological and sociocultural adaptation and smaller cultural distance predicting better outcomes.

Keywords: acculturation; Brazil; migration; parenting

The relationship between parents and their children is heavily influenced by the environment where they are (Georgas et al., 2006). Therefore, what does that mean for parents who are raising their children in a different culture than that where they were raised? A large body of previous research (e.g., Chuang & Costigan, 2018) has shown that culture influences and shapes parenting by indicating notions of appropriate childrearing expectations, effective childrearing techniques, and parenting behaviors. While there are many studies comparing parental practices across different countries, there are fewer focusing on the acculturation experiences of parents abroad, especially among the Brazilian population. Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that happens as a result of the contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members (Berry, 2005). It has implications for the family system, as sometimes parents and children acculturate differently.

The acculturation process involves different ways of mutual accommodation and changes in the behavioral repertoire (Berry, 2005). There are several acculturation models in the cross-cultural psychology literature, and the most prominent and influential one was created by Berry (1997). This model differentiates four acculturation strategies, having as indicators the levels of connection with home culture and with host culture, which makes it a bidimensional model. People with an orientation towards both home and host cultures will be included in the integration strategy; those who are oriented to the host culture but not to the home culture will be in the assimilation strategy; separation strategy occurs when the opposite happens (orientation to the home culture but not to the host culture); and finally, those who are oriented neither to the home culture nor to the host culture will be in the marginalization strategy. The author states that an integration strategy is ideal, as it leads to the best adjustment.

Berry and Sam (1997) distinguish acculturating groups based on mobility, voluntariness, and permanence. It is not only those who move abroad who face acculturation experiences. The mobility aspect of acculturation characterizes two groups: one composed by people moving to a different place, and another composed by people who are in contact with others from a different culture because they came or were brought to them. Many acculturating individuals do not move by choice, but are forced to leave their native place, such as refugees. People who move to a different place voluntarily can be classified as immigrants (those with intentions to stay permanently) or sojourners (those who intend to stay for a temporary period, such as international students and business expatriates).

Cultural adjustment is influenced by many factors, such as psychological and sociocultural adaptation and cultural distance. Psychological and sociocultural adaptations are related, but separate concepts. The former is associated with physical and psychological wellbeing, while the latter indicates how well a person going through an acculturation process can manage his or her daily life in the new cultural context (Berry, 2005). According to the author, a good psychological adaptation has personality and social support variables as predictors, while a good sociocultural adaptation is predicted by cultural knowledge, level of contact, and positive intergroup attitudes. Cultural distance is defined as the difference between two cultures, and it is considered a predictor of cultural adaptation, leading to a more difficult experience when the difference is greater (Demes & Geeraert, 2014).

In 2015, there were 3,083,255 Brazilians living abroad, according to an estimate published by the Ministry of External Relations in Brazil (2018). They are spread in various countries, with great representation in the Unites States (1,410,000), Paraguay (332,042), Japan (170,229), the United Kingdom (120,000), Portugal (116,271), and Spain (86,691). Studying the

impact of the intercultural experience when raising children abroad is relevant not only because of the high number of Brazilians living in foreign territory, but also because of the profile of this group. Data collected from the 2010 Census by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (2010) show that 94.3% of the Brazilian population abroad was between the ages of 15-59, which means that the majority was in reproductive age. The number of associations created by Brazilian expatriates that are listed on the website "*Brasileiros no Mundo*" (Brazilians in the World) of the Brazilian Ministry of External Relations (2018) supports these data. Around the world, there are over 35 groups designed to gather Brazilian parents and their children, or to teach the language and cultural aspects of Brazilian heritage to kids. Some examples are the groups "*Brasileirinhos na Alemanha*" (Little Brazilians in Germany) to teach children Portuguese, and the Brazilian Soccer Club in Las Vegas to teach them soccer, which is quite typical in Brazil.

A search conducted in December 2018 in the largest Brazilian scientific database (*Portal de Periódicos CAPES* – Web Portal of Journals of CAPES) and in the portal Web of Science showed that few studies represented the main production in the area of acculturation and Brazilian families. We used the English key words "brazil*", "parent*", and "acculturation" (where the asterisk allow variations in the ending of the words including terms such as "Brazilian", "parenting", "parents", and others), without limiting time of publishing nor type of publication, and including publications in English, Portuguese, and Spanish. Six studies were found. Barros (2017) wrote her doctoral dissertation about social presence and the model of good motherhood, comparing experiences of Brazilian women in four different countries; Yano (2013) discussed Brazilian families in Japan; McGrath (2010) reported a study with Brazilian parents living in Ireland, focusing on the social capital they had in their community, family, and work;

and DeBiaggi (2002) wrote a book about gender roles in Brazilian families living in the United States. Other studies focused on the experiences of children raised by expatriate and immigrant Brazilian parents (Takenoshita, Chitose, Ikegami, & Ishikawa, 2014; Veneziano, 2011). No publication focusing specifically on the acculturation of Brazilians parents living abroad was found, which indicates a gap in this area.

Therefore, the general objective of this study was to relate acculturation measures (psychological and sociocultural adaptations, cultural distance, and acculturation orientation) with the perception of challenges and opportunities in childrearing experienced by Brazilian immigrants and sojourners facing parenthood abroad. A specific goal was to determine if those previous measures could contribute to the proposal of a model predicting the perception of challenges and opportunities with childrearing. Our hypotheses were:

H1: parents with an orientation towards host country will have a high perception of opportunities;

H2: parents with an orientation towards home country will have a high perception of challenges;

H3: parents with a low psychological and sociocultural adaptation will perceive a high frequency of challenges;

H4: parents with a high psychological and sociocultural adaptation will perceive a high frequency of opportunities.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

Criteria to be included in the study were that parents should have been born in Brazil, and be living abroad with one or more children in the same house. Children could be biological, adopted or a stepchild. The final sample included 869 mothers and fathers (93.7% female, 6.3% male) living in 46 different countries outside of Brazil (see Table 1). They were born in 25

different states across Brazil, with the majority in the state of São Paulo (34.4%). Ages ranged

between 18 and 63, with a mean of $M = 37.05$ ($SD = 6.52$). They reported their racial/ethnic

background as White (73.8%), Black (4.6%), Native Brazilian / Indigenous (1.3%), Asian

(1.7%), mixed (15%), and others (3.7%). The average number of children per participant was M

$= 1.66$ ($SD = 0.75$) and the average age of children was of $M = 6.8$ years old ($SD = 5.81$), ranging

from 0 to 30. Most (94.8%) participants were living with a partner. Among those living with a

partner, 55.6% had a Brazilian partner. 43.8% were not currently working.

Table 1

Participant Distribution

Continent	Country	N
Americas	USA	213
	Canada	126
	Chile	17
	Mexico	8
	Argentina	9
	Colombia	7
	Peru	3
	Uruguay	3
	Curacao	1
Africa	Mozambique	2
	Egypt	1
	South Africa	1
Asia	Israel	28
	Japan	18
	United Arab Emirates	17
	Saudi Arabia	6
	China	3
	South Korea	2
Europe	Germany	115
	United Kingdom	41
	Spain	38
	Netherlands	29
	Portugal	25

(continued)

Continent	Country	_N_
	Italy	17
	Denmark	15
	France	15
	Austria	13
	Ireland	13
	Finland	9
	Belgium	8
	Poland	5
	Norway	3
	Czech Republic	2
	Greece	2
	Luxembourg	2
	Malta	2
	Sweden	1
	Croatia	1
	Hungary	1
	Monaco	1
	Russia	1
	San Marino	1
	Slovenia	1
Oceania	Australia	21
	New Zealand	6
	TOTAL	869

Note: Organized by frequency in each continent

To enable comparisons among different countries regarding family income, we asked participants to report how their earnings compared to the average in their host countries. 9.3% reported being below the average, 46% reported being at the average, and 44.6% being above the average. 56.2% of the participants do not intend to return to Brazil, and therefore can be categorized as immigrants. 50.9% speak primarily Portuguese with their children. Most participants (34.8%) had been living abroad for a period between 2 and 5 years, followed by those living abroad between 6 and 10 years (23.9%), between 11 and 20 years (18%), between 6 months and 1 year (14%), for less than 6 months (5.3%), and for more than 20 years (4%). The

most common educational level was having a graduate degree (39.9%), followed by undergraduate degree (32.3%).

To determine the minimum number of participants in the study, the recommendation of at least five to ten observations per item in the instrument (Pasquali, 2012) used in the study was followed, which yielded a sample size of 420 participants. Additionally, the power index proposed by Cohen (1988) for the final sample of $N = 869$ participants is 0.95. Thus, it is considered that the sample size obtained did provide a satisfactory power for the study.

2.2 Instruments

To answer the research questions presented above concerning the cultural adjustment of Brazilian parents raising their children abroad, we measured (1) demographic information, (2) the frequency that parents experienced challenges and opportunities in raising their children outside of Brazil, (3) acculturation orientation towards Brazil and their host country, (4) perceived cultural distance between Brazil and their host country, (5) psychological adaptation, and (6) sociocultural adaptation. To examine the last four constructs mentioned, we used the scales developed by Demes and Geeraert (2014), which were simultaneously created to facilitate comparisons by having the same level of specificity. They were translated by the authors using the standard forward-backward translation procedure (Brislin, 1980), and tested with natives of Portuguese. Although these are recent measures, they have shown good internal consistency, and the Portuguese version showed satisfactory psychometric characteristics in a recent study with Brazilian immigrants and sojourners in Japan (Tashima, 2018). In this study, we measured the reliability of the scales using Cronbach's alpha coefficients, finding coefficients above .69. While coefficients above .70 are desirable, values around .60 are considered acceptable in

exploratory studies (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

    2.2.1 Demographic information. Participants provided information about their current age, age when they first moved out of Brazil, country of residence, educational level, employment status, family income, gender, language proficiency, language spoken with children, marital status, nationality of their partner (if they had one), number of children, time spent living abroad, and race/ethnicity.

    2.2.2 Challenges and opportunities. To measure the perceived frequency of challenges and opportunities, two questions were included: "Thinking about your everyday life where you live, how often do you face (or have faced) challenges related to raising your child that you believe only happen because you live abroad?" and "Thinking about your everyday life where you live, how often do you find (or have found) opportunities related to raising your child that you believe only happen because you live abroad?" Participants provided their responses on a scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*).

    2.2.3 Acculturation Orientation. Demes and Geeraert (2014) scale for Brief Acculturation Orientation (BAOS) was used. It follows a bidimensional theoretical orientation for acculturation and therefore it has two factors: Home and Host. The first factor measures the acculturation orientation towards the home country, which was Brazil for all participants in this study. The second factor measures the acculturation orientation towards the host country, which varied among the participants of the present study. Each factor was measured with a 4-item Likert-type scale. The factor Home was captured by items such as "Take part in Brazilian traditions", whereas sample items evaluating the Host factor include "Take part in the traditions of the country where I live". Participants rated their agreement with each item on a scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In the original study (Demes & Geeraert, 2014) the

reliability alpha coefficient of the Home subscale was .77 and of the Host subscale was .61. In a study conducted with a sample of Brazilian migrants in Japan (Tashima, 2018) it was .74 and .70, respectively. In the present study alphas of .78 and .69 were obtained.

2.2.4 Cultural Distance. The Brief Perceived Cultural Distance Scale (BPCDS), a Likert-type unifactorial scale developed by Demes and Geeraert (2014), was chosen to measure this variable. Participants were asked: "Now, think about the country where you live and Brazil. In your opinion, how different or similar are these two places in terms of…". They were subsequently presented with items such as "Natural environment (plants and animals, pollution, scenery)", which ranged from 1 (*very similar*) to 7 (*very different*). The reliability alpha coefficient was .82 in the Portuguese version of the original study (Demes & Geeraert, 2014), .81 in the study conducted by Tashima (2018), and in this study it was .83. The same 12 items in this scale are present in the Sociocultural Adaptation Scale developed by the same authors, which allows direct comparisons between them.

2.2.5 Psychological Adaptation. The Brief Psychological Adaptation (BPAS) developed by Demes and Geeraert (2014) was selected to measure psychological adaptation. It is an 8-item Likert-type scale with one factor, where participants were asked: "In the last two weeks, how often have you felt…?". Answers to items such as "Sad to be outside of Brazil" ranged from 1 (*never*) to 7 (*always*). The reliability alpha coefficient of the Portuguese scale in the original Demes and Geeraert (2014) study was .80, Tashima (2018) found a coefficient of .84, and with the present sample an alpha of .87 was obtained.

2.2.6 Sociocultural Adaptation. To assess sociocultural adaptation, the Brief Sociocultural Adaptation (BSAS) developed by Demes and Geeraert (2014) was used. It is a Likert-type unifactorial scale, and uses the same 12 items included in the BPCDS. Participants were asked to

"Think about living abroad. Using the scale below, do you think it was easy or difficult for you to adapt to the ___ of the place where you live?". Answers ranged from 1 (*very hard*) to 7 (*very easy)*. An example of an item is "Climate (temperature, rainfall, humidity)". Cronbach's alpha for the Portuguese version in the original study (Demes & Geeraert, 2014) was .84, which was the same coefficient found by Tashima (2018) in her sample with Brazilian migrants in Japan. In the present study it was .82.

All items in BSAS, BPAS, and BPCDS were randomized through the platform. Items in the BAOS were not randomized to facilitate participants' understanding, as the first four items refer to the home or heritage culture country (factor Home) and the last four refer to the host or majority culture country (factor Host).

3. Procedures

Data were collected through an online survey in Portuguese built on the platform SurveyMonkey. It included multiple-choice questions that were presented after the participant accepted the Informed Consent on the first page of the study. On the first page, a recruiting message also explained the goals of the study, gave guarantees of anonymity and provided a hyperlink that redirected the prospective participants to the first part of an online survey measuring all the study variables. The survey was tested with a pilot group of 30 Brazilian parents living abroad. After adjustments were made, it was open for data collection from July until September 2017. A convenience sample was contacted through email (lists of Brazilians living abroad), text message applications (WhatsApp), and social media (Facebook groups and pages).

3.1 Data preparation

When analyzing the data, we initially verified the quality of data collected and did not encounter surveys with more than 5% of multivariate missing items, as recommended by Tabachnick and Fidell (2001). We also verified the occurrence of outliers using Z-scores to identify univariate outliers, and Mahalanobis distances to identify multivariate outliers. 65 univariate outliers and 6 multivariate outliers were excluded from the analysis (Hair et al., 2010). Subsequently, we verified the statistics assumptions needed to perform multivariate tests as recommended by Hair et al. (2010): normality and homoscedasticity analyses. The outcome variables for the regression model were Challenges and Opportunities. According to the Kolmogorv-Smirnof and the Shapiro-Wilk tests, the data were not normally distributed. We proceeded to test it according to the recommendations of dividing kurtosis and skewness for the standard error and looking for results between -1.96 and +1.96, which also revealed a non-normal distribution. We performed squared root, inverse, and log transformations, but it did not yield considerable improvement. According to the central limit theorem (Wilcox, 2012) and recommendations that in some cases with a large enough sample transformations are not beneficial for the analysis (Lumley, Diehr, Emerson, & Chen, 2002), we decided to keep the data in its original format.

A check for multicollinearity, which can distort the results of multivariate tests, was run. The correlation matrix showed that all correlations between the independent variables were below 0.60, which is below the 0.90 cut point that indicates multicollinearity (Hair et al., 2010). Also, the Variance Inflation Factors (VIF) were below 10, and the tolerance values were above 0.10, which indicate that the independent values are not multicollinear (Hair et al., 2010).

We examined the reliability coefficients of the substantive variables of our study (BAOS,

BPCDS, BSAS, BPAS) calculating Cronbach's alpha scores, which have already been reported in the Instruments section. Exploratory factor analyses were carried out to observe the structure and validity for the study of the scales used. They are reported in the Results section.

4. Results

After the data preparation procedures, the interactions between variables were calculated using multiple regressions, revealing whether the predictor variables explain the dependent variable. Additionally, comparisons between groups (e.g. male and female) were reported. We used the software IBM SPSS Statistics version 20 for the analyses.

4.1 Exploratory Factor Analyses

Exploratory Factor Analyses confirmed the structure of the scales. The BPCDS, BSAS, and BPAS are unifactorial while the BAOS has Home and Host factors. For all four scales, the method used was a Principal Axis Factoring with Promax Rotation.

4.1.1 BAOS. Bartlet's sphericity test was significant ($p < 0,001$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test was .71, considered reasonable (Pasquali, 2012). It indicates that the data were adequate for the Exploratory Factor Analysis. In accordance with the literature for this scale (Demes & Geeraert, 2014), two factors were extracted. The original structure of the scale was confirmed. Four items were grouped in each factor, with items loadings above .40. They explain 41.85% of the total variance.

Table 2

Factorial Solution of the Brief Acculturation Orientation Scale

	Factor		
Item	1	2	h^2
1. Have Brazilian friends	.58		.39
2. Take part in Brazilian traditions	.81		.67
3. Hold on to my Brazilian characteristics	.73		.52
4. Do things the way Brazilian people do	.58		.32
5. Have friends native to the country where I live		.40	.20
6. Take part in the traditions of the country where I live		.67	.49
7. Develop the characteristics of the country where I live		.66	.43
8. Do things the way people native to the country where I live do		.57	.32
Number of items	4	4	
% of variance explained	25.72	16.13	
Cronbach's alpha	.78	.69	

Note: h^2: communalities

4.1.2 BPCDS. A significant result ($p < 0,001$) was found for Bartlet's sphericity test. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test was .88, considered good (Pasquali, 2012). Thus, the data were adequate for the Exploratory Factor Analysis. As previous research indicates that cultural distance is a unidimensional construct (Demes & Geeraert, 2014), we ran the analysis extracting one factor, which was confirmed. The 12 items presented item loadings above .42, explaining 26.7% of the total variance.

Table 3

Factorial Solution of the Brief Perceived Cultural Distance Scale

Item	Factor 1	h^2
1. Climate (temperature, rainfall, humidity)	.32	.24
2. Natural environment (plants and animals, pollution, scenery)	.49	.27
3. Social environment (size of the community, life, noise)	.62	.40
4. Living (hygiene, sleeping practices, how safe you feel)	.52	.27

Item	Factor 1	h^2
5. Practicalities (getting around, using public transport, shopping)	.50	.23
6. Food and eating (type of food served, how food is, time of meals)	.45	.18
7. Family life (how close family members are, how much time family spends together)	.50	.23
8. Social norms (how to behave in public, style of clothes, what people think is funny)	.57	.43
9. Values and beliefs (what people think about religion and politics, what people think is right or wrong)	.59	.42
10. People (how friendly people are, how stressed or relaxed people are, attitudes toward foreigners)	.57	.50
11. Friends (making friends, amount of social interaction, what people do to have fun and relax)	.57	.36
12. Language (learning the language, understanding people, making yourself understood)	.42	.25
Number of items	12	
% of variance explained	26.7	
Cronbach's alpha	.83	

Note: h^2 = communalities

4.1.3 BPAS. Data were adequate for the Exploratory Factor Analysis, as Bartlet's

sphericity test was significant ($p < 0,001$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test was .86,

considered good (Pasquali, 2012). We extracted one factor, based on the literature that indicates

that psychological adaptation is also a unidimensional construct (Demes & Geeraert, 2014;

Tashima, 2018). Confirming previous findings, all eight items were grouped in one factor, with

item loadings above .48. They explain 45.32% of the total variance.

Table 4

Factorial Solution of the Brief Psychological Adaptation Scale

Item	Factor 1	h^2
1. Excited about being in the country where you live	.56	.31
2. Out of place, like you don't fit into the culture of the country where you live	.69	.48
3. Sad to be outside of Brazil	.80	.64
4. Anxious about how to behave in certain situations	.48	.23
5. Lonely without your Brazilian family and friends around you	.70	.48
6. Homesick when you think of Brazil	.70	.50
7. Frustrated by difficulties adapting to the country where you live	.73	.53
8. Happy with your day-to-day life in the country where you live	.67	.45
Number of items	8	
% of variance explained	45.32	
Cronbach's alpha	.87	

Note: h^2 = communalities

4.1.4 BSAS. Bartlet's sphericity test was significant ($p < 0,001$) and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test was .88, considered good (Pasquali, 2012), indicating that the data were adequate for the Exploratory Factor Analysis. We ran the analysis extracting one factor based on previous studies showing that sociocultural adaptation is a unidimensional construct, which was confirmed (Demes & Geeraert, 2014). The twelve items in the scale explain 26.99% of the total variance. They presented item loadings above .37.

Table 5

Factorial Solution of the Brief Sociocultural Adaptation Scale

Item	Factor 1	h^2
1. Climate (temperature, rainfall, humidity)	.47	.22
2. Natural environment (plants and animals, pollution, scenery)	.42	.18

Item	Factor 1	h^2
3. Social environment (size of the community, life, noise)	.62	.39
4. Living (hygiene, sleeping practices, how safe you feel)	.48	.23
5. Practicalities (getting around, using public transport, shopping)	.40	.16
6. Food and eating (type of food served, how food is, time of meals)	.43	.19
7. Family life (how close family members are, how much time family spends together)	.48	.23
8. Social norms (how to behave in public, style of clothes, what people think is funny)	.65	.43
9. Values and beliefs (what people think about religion and politics, what people think is right or wrong)	.62	.38
10. People (how friendly people are, how stressed or relaxed people are, attitudes toward foreigners)	.65	.42
11. Friends (making friends, amount of social interaction, what people do to have fun and relax)	.52	.27
12. Language (learning the language, understanding people, making yourself understood)	.37	.14
Number of items	12	
% of variance explained	27	
Cronbach's alpha	.82	

Note: h^2 = communalities

4.2 Overview of each variable

Parents demonstrated that they perceived more opportunities ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.43$) than

challenges ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.63$). This difference was significant, $t (868) = -25.19$, $p < .001$.

Furthermore, there was a higher score in acculturation orientation towards host country ($M =$

5.40, $SD = .80$) in comparison with home country ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.09$), which also represented

a significant difference ($t (862) = -19.82$, $p < .001$). Psychological and sociocultural adaptations

had medians close to the higher end of the scales (7-point Likert-type), indicating a good general

cultural adaptation in this sample, even though there was a substantial perceived cultural distance

between Brazil and their host countries. The results for each variable are reported in Table 6.

Table 6

Mean, Standard Deviation, Median, and Range for each variable

	BAOS - Home	BAOS - Host	BSAS	BPAS	BPCDS	Challenges	Opportunities
Mean	4.56	5.4	4.76	5.03	5.63	3.49	5.37
SD	1.09	0.8	0.92	1.11	0.83	1.63	1.43
Median	4.5	5.5	4.75	5.12	5.83	4	5
Minimum	1.25	3	2.08	1.63	3	1	1
Maximum	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

4.3 Correlations

Similarly to what previous studies encountered (Demes & Geeraert, 2014), the BSAS and BPAS were positively correlated ($r = .55$, $p < 0.01$). A small positive correlation for orientation towards host country and higher perception of opportunities was found ($r = .15$, $p < 0.01$), as well as for orientation towards home country and higher perception of challenges ($r = .21$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 7

Correlations Among Study Variables

	Opportunities	BAOS-Home	BAOS-Host	BSAS	BPAS	BPCDS
Challenges	-0.03	.22[**]	0.04	-.23[**]	-.38[**]	.12[**]
Opportunities	1	-.07*	.15[**]	.23[**]	.25[**]	.07[*]
BAOS-Home		1	.13[**]	-.19[**]	-.36[**]	-0.06
BAOS-Host			1	.14[**]	.10[**]	-0.02
BSAS				1	.55[**]	-.32[**]
BPAS					1	-.13[**]

** $p < .01$ (2-Tailed)
 * $p < .05$ (2-Tailed)

4.4 Group comparisons

4.4.1 Brazilian and non-Brazilian partners. Regarding the comparison between parents with a Brazilian partner ($N = 483$) and parents with a non-Brazilian partner ($N = 343$), there was no statistically significant difference for acculturation orientation (Home: t (818) = -.60, $p = 0.54$; Host: t (824) = .26, $p = 0.80$), and psychological adaptation (t (824) = 1.77, $p = 0.07$). Nevertheless, those with a Brazilian partner ($M = 4.82$, $SD = .91$) had a statistically significant higher level of sociocultural adaptation in comparison with parents who had a partner from another nationality ($M = 4.65$, $SD = .93$), t (824) = 2.60, $p < .01$.

4.4.2 Gender, time spent in the current country, and employment status. Independent sample T-tests indicated that there was a statistically significant difference between men and women in psychological adaptation (t (867) = -3.21; $p < .01$). Men reported a higher level of psychological adaptation ($M = 5.38$, $SD = .81$) than women ($M = 5.01$, $SD = .92$). However, we also found that employment status significantly impacted psychological adaptation (F (2, 868) = 7.97, $p < .001$), with parents working full time reporting better psychological adaptation scores ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.09$) in comparison with those working part-time ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.08$), and not currently working ($M = 4.87$, $SD = 4.87$). A chi-square test revealed that there was a significant difference between employment status in men and women in our sample ($\chi(2) = 64.6$, $p < .001$), with 78.2% of men employed full time in comparison with only 26.9% of women. Therefore, an ANCOVA test was run, which indicated that there was no significant difference in mean psychological adaptation (F (1, 866) = 2.28, $p = .132$) between men and women whilst adjusting for employment status. There was no statistically significant difference between men ($M = 4.85$, $SD = .85$) and women ($M = 4.75$, $SD = .92$) in sociocultural adaptation (t (867) = -.76; $p = .45$). In the same line, no significant difference was found for employment status and sociocultural adaptation (F (2, 868) = 2.30, $p = .07$)

ANOVA tests compared the acculturation orientation, sociocultural adaptation, and psychological adaptation of parents living abroad for different lengths of time. Groups were composed of participants having lived in their current country for less than 6 months ($N = 46$), between 6 months and 1 year ($N = 122$), between 2 and 5 years ($N = 302$), between 6 and 10 years ($N = 208$), between 11 and 20 years ($N = 156$), and for more than 20 years (N=35). Differences were only statistically significant for psychological adaptation (F (5, 868) = 3.50, $p < 0.01$), with mean scores indicating that a better adaptation increased with longer stays. However, an ANCOVA test including adjustment for employment status indicated that there was no significant difference in mean psychological adaptation (F (5, 862) = 2.45, $p = .032$) among participants living in their current country of residence for different amounts of time.

4.5 Regression Analyses

Aiming to predict the frequency of challenges and opportunities that participants perceived in raising children abroad, we ran two multiple regressions. Considering that this is an exploratory study, since others with the same variables were not found, we chose the stepwise method as suggested by Abadd and Torres (2002).

To predict challenges, we entered as independent variables, in the following order: gender, age, educational level, family income, acculturation orientation towards home country (Brazil), sociocultural adaptation, psychological adaptation, and perceived cultural distance. The variables removed were gender, age, family income, and sociocultural adaptation, which did not significantly influence our model. As shown in Table 8, four models were tested, with Model 4 presenting the best results (F (4, 858) = 44.51, $p < .001$). It accounted for 17.2% of the total variance in the perceived frequency of challenges. Psychological adaptation, educational level,

perceived cultural distance, and acculturation orientation – home were significant predictors ($p <$

.01).

Table 8

Linear Model, Stepwise Regression Model of Demographic and Acculturation
Variables as Predictors of Challenges in Childrearing

	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F	df	β
Model 1	.14	.14	136.80***	1	
Psych Adaptation					-.37***
Model 2	.16	.15	79.74***	2	
Psych Adaptation					-.37***
Educational level					.14***
Model 3	.16	.16	56.05***	3	
Psych Adaptation					-.35***
Educational level					.15***
Cultural Distance					.09**
Model 4	.17	.17	44.51***	4	
Psych Adaptation					-.32***
Educational level					.14***
Cultural Distance					.10**
Acculturation – Home					.10**

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

To predict opportunities, we entered as independent variables, in the following order:

gender, age, educational level, family income, acculturation orientation towards host country,

sociocultural adaptation, psychological adaptation, and perceived cultural distance. The variables

removed were gender, age, educational level, and family income; which did not significantly

influence our model. As shown in Table 9, four models were tested, with Model 4 presenting the

best results (F (4, 868) = 48.01, $p < .001$). It accounted for 10.9% of the total variance in the

perceived frequency of opportunities. Psychological adaptation, acculturation orientation – host,

perceived cultural distance, and sociocultural adaptation were significant predictors ($p < .01$).

Table 9

Linear Model, Stepwise Regression Model of Demographic and Acculturation Variables as Predictors of Opportunities in Childrearing

	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F	df	β
Model 1	.06	.06	58.77***	1	
Psych Adaptation					.25***
Model 2	.08	.08	37.56***	2	
Psych Adaptation					.24***
Acculturation - Host					.13***
Model 3	.09	.09	28.83***	3	
Psych Adaptation					.25***
Acculturation - Host					.13***
Cultural Distance					.11**
Model 4	.11	.10	26.34***	4	
Psych Adaptation					.17***
Acculturation - Host					.11***
Cultural Distance					.15***
Sociocultural Adaptation					.17***

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

5. Discussion

Past literature has focused mainly on the problems and difficulties related to the acculturation and integration of immigrants in new lands, but efforts to study the wellbeing and successful experiences of immigrant families have been emerging recently (Dimitrova, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2014). An interesting finding from the present study is the fact that opportunities in raising children outside of Brazil were more frequent in parents' perception than challenges, which could be due to the overall high level of cultural adjustment in this sample. In this study, the frequency of opportunities and challenges perceived in childrearing abroad was a one-item question. Since the results show evidence that this construct is related with other established acculturation measures, future studies should focus on developing more

comprehensive measures to deepen the understanding of how parents perceive the experience of raising their children in a different country. Our measures of opportunities and challenges were not correlated, which confirms our understanding that this is a bidimensional construct, which should be measured in an orthogonal way. It means that parents can experience a high frequency of opportunities concomitantly with a high frequency of challenges, or a low frequency of both at the same time. In this sense, a high score in one measure (e.g. opportunities) does not necessarily indicate a low score in the other (e.g. challenges).

The idea of a bidimensional construct was also confirmed for acculturation orientation. In this sample, we found a low correlation between the Home and Host factors, which confirms their independence and indicates orthogonality. In the original study (Demes & Geeraert, 2014) this correlation was negative ($r = -.11$, $p < .001$), while in the present study it was positive ($r = .13$, $p < .01$). A positive correlation between the two factors was reported in other bidimensional acculturation measures, such as the Vancouver Index of Acculturation (Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000), which was $r = .09$, ns.

As stated in H1 and H2, there is a correlation between parents with an acculturation orientation towards host country and perception of opportunities ($r = .15$, $p < .01$), as well as between an acculturation orientation towards home country and perception of challenges ($r = .22$, $p < .01$). However, the correlation is low to moderate in both cases. A home country oriented acculturation was a significant predictor of the perception of challenges in our regression model and, similarly, a host country oriented acculturation was a significant predictor of the perception of opportunities, although these findings should be seen with caution, due to the low to moderate correlations found.

It was also confirmed that (H3) parents with a low psychological and sociocultural adaptation reported a higher frequency of challenges. There was a medium effect for the negative relation between psychological adaptation and perception of challenges ($r = -.38$, $p < .01$), and a moderate effect for the negative relation between sociocultural adaptation and perception of challenges ($r = -.23$, $p < .01$). In the same line, (H4) parents with a high psychological and sociocultural adaptation reported a higher frequency of opportunities, which were related with moderate effect sizes ($r = .25$ and $r = .23$, $p < 0.01$; respectively). Psychological adaptation was a significant predictor in both of our regression models, whereas sociocultural adaptation was a significant predictor only in the model for opportunities. We controlled for gender, age, and family income in the multiple regressions and it is interesting to note that these variables did not impact the perception of challenges nor opportunities in our sample. Yet, educational level was a significant predictor for the perception of challenges, with more education being positively correlated with a higher perception in the frequency of challenges. This should be further investigated in future studies.

The impact of the length of time spent abroad on the cultural adaptation is a controversial topic in the literature (Tashima, 2018; Ouarasse & van de Vijver, 2005). In our sample, time spent in the host country seemed to impact psychological adaptation; however, it was actually the employment status of participants that was responsible for this result. Neither variable (time living in the host country or employment status) impacted the sociocultural adaptation. Future studies should investigate if other variables (e.g. discrimination), which have not been measured in this study, have an impact on the psychological adaptation of migrant parents.

Evidence found in this study indicates that in most acculturation measures it did not matter if parents had a Brazilian or foreign partner. However, for sociocultural adaptation,

participants with a Brazilian partner had a slightly better level of adaptation. This could be explained by a potential for more extensive exposure to some items measured for sociocultural adaptation when living with a foreign partner, for example: family life, social norms, values and beliefs, and language. Also, two scenarios must be considered to explain the lower scores for those with a non-Brazilian partner: (1) participants with a partner who is native to the country where they were living (e.g. a Brazilian woman married to a French person, living in France), and (2) those whose partner is from a third country (e.g. a Brazilian woman married to a Chinese person, living in France). In our study, we did not differentiate between those two groups of parents living with non-Brazilian partners. Future studies should collect this information to investigate if there is any difference between those two groups.

One limitation of the present study is that, although we had a large sample, some countries are underrepresented and therefore we cannot compare results among all those countries, which restricts our analysis. Another limitation is that our sample was composed of a highly educated population. Other channels (such as advertising in schools, churches, and childcare centers) might be necessary to reach more people and make the sample more representative of all Brazilian parents living abroad, as well as not limiting the collection to an online survey. Finally, it was our intent to have a sample representative of mothers and fathers, but our final numbers contained a much larger percentage of women. According to Martínez, Camino, Camino, and Cruise (2014), in Brazil, mothers still are more involved in childrearing than fathers. That could be one of the reasons that the interest in the study was higher among women, in addition to the fact that many women stopped working when moving abroad and had more time available to dedicate to their children.

Overall, this study contributes to a needed approach in the literature of parenting across cultures. It focuses on the acculturation experiences of the parents with a sole interest in learning about their own adaptation and how it impacts their perception of challenges and opportunities in raising children outside Brazil, without focusing on how this relates to their parenting styles, their children's outcomes, internalizing and/or externalizing behaviors, or the children's adjustment in the new country. Additionally, it adds to the cross-cultural psychology area by providing information from a population that has not been studied much yet, as most of the samples are drawn from North American and European countries. Even studies with Latin or South American immigrants in the United States have not always included Brazilian participants, since they do not speak Spanish like the majority of the population in other countries in the same geographical area. Besides its contribution to the literature in this area, such information is also essential to inform the work of Brazilian psychologists providing services to people moving abroad, international human resources professionals responsible for aiding employees who are transferred to a different country with their families, and other professionals dealing with this population.

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Considerações Finais

Os resultados dessa pesquisa mostraram que o processo de aculturação de pais e mães, englobando as variáveis de adaptação psicológica e sociocultural, distância cultural percebida e orientação de aculturação, está relacionado com a frequência de desafios e oportunidades percebidos por eles na experiência de criar os filhos no exterior. Dessa forma, há indícios que esforços para garantir uma boa adaptação cultural são relevantes no caso de famílias vivendo no exterior. Um dado importante desse estudo foi a relação observada entre trabalho remunerado (incluindo diferenças entre trabalho em período integral e meio-período) com uma melhor adaptação psicológica. No caso de migrantes, estar envolvido com uma atividade laboral parece criar mais oportunidades de engajamento e pertencimento na nova cultura.

Nessa amostra, foi verificada uma percepção de oportunidades mais alta em comparação com desafios na criação de filhos no exterior tanto nas perguntas fechadas (sobre a frequência dessas variáveis), assim como foram observados relatos mais numerosos sobre oportunidades nas perguntas abertas. Em ambos os artigos que compuseram essa dissertação, desafios e oportunidades se mostraram como construtos independentes, sendo que muitas categorias ficaram repetidas nessas duas esferas. Esse é um dado relevante, pois significa que o processo de adaptação talvez possa ser experienciado de forma mais positiva ao passo que algumas diferenças sejam ressignificadas. Por exemplo, alguns participantes relataram uma preocupação com o estímulo à independência dos filhos desde muito jovens, enquanto outros viam isso como uma oportunidade.

É importante salientar que, nesse estudo, apontamos o país de residência quando reproduzimos alguns trechos escritos pelos participantes apenas como uma referência para o

leitor. Apesar dos países terem muitos aspectos de uma cultura, esses termos não necessariamente traduzem o mesmo conceito - alguns países englobam diferentes culturas dentro de si devido à sua diversidade, ou mesmo às diferenças entre grandes centros urbanos e vilarejos pequenos. Um desafio foi não ter conseguido incluir mais homens e abranger uma maior diversidade em termos de nível de escolaridade, mas compreendemos que isso se deu pelo tipo de coleta realizada e também por uma ainda forte predominância de envolvimento das mães na criação dos filhos em comparação aos pais.

Essa pesquisa foi um passo inicial importante sobre a temática de ser pai e mãe no exterior tendo como referência a cultura brasileira, trazendo uma contribuição tanto para o campo da psicologia social como para a prática de profissionais que trabalham de forma aplicada nessa área. Pesquisas futuras podem somar ao tema introduzindo estudos longitudinais que comparem as experiências de pais e mães vivendo no exterior em diferentes etapas do seu período de adaptação.

Anexo A

Termo de Consentimento Livre e Esclarecido

Você nasceu no Brasil, mora no exterior e tem filho(s)?

Então você está no lugar certo! Este questionário faz parte de uma pesquisa da Universidade de Brasília sobre famílias brasileiras no exterior. Os resultados irão auxiliar no desenvolvimento de uma dissertação de mestrado no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Psicologia Social, do Trabalho e das Organizações (PSTO). A qualidade dos resultados dependerá da sua honestidade e cuidado ao responder. Você deve basear-se nas suas próprias experiências; não existem respostas certas ou erradas. Não escreva seu nome no questionário. Os dados serão analisados através de resultados gerais, sendo que o relatório que será gerado não irá conter nenhuma informação que possa identificar os participantes da pesquisa. A sua participação é voluntária e, caso deseje, você pode encerrar a sua participação a qualquer momento, sem nenhum prejuízo. O tempo estimado para responder todas as perguntas é de 10-15 minutos. Caso tenha qualquer dúvida sobre a pesquisa, você poderá entrar em contato pelo e-mail granemann.l@gmail.com

Obrigado por sua colaboração!

Pesquisadora Principal: Laís Granemann

Pesquisador Orientador: Prof. Dr. Claudio Vaz Torres

1. Por favor, marque uma opção abaixo:

( ) Eu entendo os termos e condições acima e desejo participar da pesquisa

( ) Eu não desejo participar da pesquisa

Anexo B

Instrumento de pesquisa

Sobre sua família

2. Você nasceu no Brasil?
      A) Sim
      B) Não

3. Em qual estado brasileiro você nasceu? _____

4. Atualmente, você está morando no exterior?
      A) Sim
      B) Não

5. Você tem filhos?
      A) Sim
      B) Não

6. Caso você não more na mesma residência que nenhum de seus filhos, pense na época mais recente que você morou junto com (um de) seu(s) filho(s). Faz quanto tempo que vocês estão morando separados?
      A) Menos de 6 meses
      B) Entre 6 meses e 1 ano
      C) Entre 2 e 5 anos
      D) Mais de 5 anos
      E) Não se aplica – moro com meu(s) filho(s) na mesma residência

7. Quantos filhos você tem?
      A) Um
      B) Dois
      C) Três
      D) Mais de três
      E) Não tenho filhos

8. Atualmente, você mora na mesma residência que um ou mais de seus filhos?
      A) Sim
      B) Não

9. Atualmente, você mora com um(a) companheiro(a)?
      A) Sim
      B) Não

10. Se sim, qual a nacionalidade do seu companheiro(a)?

A) Brasileiro(a)
B) Outra nacionalidade
C) Não moro com um(a) companheiro(a)

Sobre seu(s) filho(s)
- Se você tem um único filho(a), considere-o para as seguintes respostas.
- Se você tem mais de um filho(a), considere o mais velho dentre os que moram com você atualmente.
- Se você tem mais de um filho(a) e nenhum mora com você, considere o que saiu de casa mais recentemente.

11. Quantos anos tem o seu filho? (Caso tenha menos de um ano, marque "0") _____

12. Em qual país seu filho nasceu? _____

13. Ao qual idioma seu filho está (ou esteve) exposto na escola ou creche? (Você pode pular essa questão caso seu filho ainda não frequente) _____

14. Quais idiomas seu filho fala, ou está aprendendo a falar? _____

15. Seu filho é:
        A) Biológico
        B) Adotado (legalmente ou emocionalmente)
        C) Enteado
        D) Outro (especifique) _____

16. Seu filho tem (ou já teve) babá, ou outros cuidadores?
            A) Sim
        B) Não

17. Se sim, qual idioma essa(s) pessoa(s) fala(m)/falava(m) com seu filho? _____

18. Em média, quantas horas por semana você passa com seu filho? (Considere apenas as horas em que vocês estão acordados) _____

19. Pensando no seu dia-a-dia no país onde você vive, com que frequência você enfrenta (ou enfrentou) desafios relacionados à criação do seu filho(a) que você acredita que só ocorrem porque vocês moram fora do Brasil:
        A) Nunca
        B) Muito raramente
        C) Raramente
        D) Às vezes
        E) Frequentemente
        F) Muito frequentemente
        G) Sempre

20. Caso você tenha respondido que existem desafios relacionados com a criação do seu filho(a) no exterior, descreva as principais categorias em que esses desafios se enquadram.

21. Pensando no seu dia-a-dia no país onde você vive, com que frequência você encontra (ou encontrou) oportunidades relacionadas à criação do seu filho(a) que você acredita que só ocorrem porque vocês moram fora do Brasil:

     A) Nunca
     B) Muito raramente
     C) Raramente
     D) Às vezes
     E) Frequentemente
     F) Muito frequentemente
     G) Sempre

22. Caso você tenha respondido que existem oportunidades relacionadas com a criação do seu filho(a) no exterior, descreva as principais categorias em que essas oportunidades se enquadram.

Parte 1 de 4

Pense sobre morar no exterior. Até que ponto você concorda com as afirmações a seguir?
Quando eu estou vivendo em outro país, é importante que eu…

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Discordo fortemente	Discordo	Discordo de algum modo	Nem concordo nem discordo	Concordo de algum modo	Concordo	Concordo fortemente

23. …tenha amigos brasileiros ____
24. ...faça parte das tradições brasileiras ____
25. ...mantenha as minhas características brasileiras ____
26. ...faça as coisas do jeito que os brasileiros fazem ____
27. ...tenha amigos nativos do país onde vivo ____
28. ...faça parte das tradições do país onde vivo ____
29. ...persista com (ou desenvolva) as características do país onde vivo ____
30. ...faça as coisas do jeito que os nativos do país onde vivo fazem ____

Parte 2 de 4

Novamente, pense sobre morar no exterior. Usando a escala abaixo, você acha que foi fácil ou difícil para se adaptar a(o) _____ do local onde você vive?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muito difícil	Difícil	Um pouco difícil	Neutro	Um pouco fácil	Fácil	Muito fácil

31. clima (temperatura, chuva, umidade) ____
32. natureza (plantas e animais, poluição, paisagem) ____

33. ambiente social (tamanho da comunidade, vida, barulho) ____
34. moradia (higiene, hábitos de dormir, senso de segurança) ____
35. aspectos práticos (chegar aos lugares, transporte público, compras) ____
36. comida e hábitos alimentares (o tipo de comida servido, como a comida é, horário das refeições) ____
37. vida familiar (se a família é unida, quanto tempo a família passa junto) ____
38. normas sociais (como se comportar em público, estilo das roupas, o que as pessoas acham engraçado) ____
39. valores e opiniões (o que as pessoas acham de religião e política, o que as pessoas acham certo ou errado) ____
40. pessoas (se as pessoas são amigáveis, quão estressadas ou relaxadas as pessoas são, atitudes com estrangeiros) ____
41. amigos (fazer amigos, quantidade de interação social, o que as pessoas fazem para se divertir e relaxar) ____
42. língua (aprender a língua, entender as pessoas, se fazer compreendido) ____

Parte 3 de 4
Agora pense sobre o país em que você mora e o Brasil. Na sua opinião, quão diferentes ou similares são os dois lugares em termos de...

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muito diferentes	Diferentes	Um pouco diferentes	Neutro	Um pouco parecidos	Parecidos	Muito parecidos

43. clima (temperatura, chuva, umidade) ____
44. natureza (plantas e animais, poluição, paisagem) ____
45. ambiente social (tamanho da comunidade, vida, barulho) ____
46. moradia (higiene, hábitos de dormir, senso de segurança) ____
47. aspectos práticos (chegar aos lugares, transporte público, compras) ____
48. comida e hábitos alimentares (o tipo de comida servido, como a comida é, horário das refeições) ____
49. vida familiar (se a família é unida, quanto tempo a família passa junto) ____
50. normas sociais (como se comportar em público, estilo das roupas, o que as pessoas acham engraçado) ____
51. valores e opiniões (o que as pessoas acham de religião e política, o que as pessoas acham certo ou errado) ____
52. pessoas (se as pessoas são amigáveis, quão estressadas ou relaxadas as pessoas são, atitudes com estrangeiros) ____
53. amigos (fazer amigos, quantidade de interação social, o que as pessoas fazem para se divertir e relaxar) ____
54. língua (aprender a língua, entender as pessoas, se fazer compreendido) ____

Parte 4 de 4
Nas últimas duas semanas, com que frequência você se sentiu:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Nunca	Muito raramente	Raramente	Às vezes	Frequentemente	Muito frequentemente	Sempre

55. empolgado por estar morando no país onde vive ____
56. fora do lugar, como se você não se encaixasse na cultura do país onde vive ____
57. triste por estar fora do Brasil ____
58. ansioso sobre como se comportar em certas situações ____
59. sozinho sem sua família e seus amigos do Brasil à sua volta ____
60. com saudades de casa quando pensa no Brasil ____
61. frustrado pelas dificuldades de se adaptar ao país onde vive ____
62. feliz com sua vida diária no país onde vive ____

Sobre morar fora
63. Qual foi a primeira vez que você se mudou para viver em outro país que não fosse o Brasil?
      A) Entre 0 e 5 anos
      B) Entre 6 e 12 anos
      C) Entre 13 e 15 anos
      D) Após os 16 anos

64. Além do Brasil, em quantos países você já morou? (Considere os países que você ficou por um período mínimo de 3 meses) ____

65. Em qual país você reside atualmente? _____

66. Faz quanto tempo que você se mudou para o país onde vive atualmente?
      A) Menos de 6 meses
      B) Entre 6 meses e 1 ano
      C) Entre 2 e 5 anos
      D) Entre 6 e 10 anos
      E) Entre 11 e 20 anos
      F) Mais de 20 anos

67. Em qual cidade você reside atualmente? _____

68. Você tem intenção de voltar a morar no Brasil futuramente?
      A) Sim
      B) Não
      C) Talvez

69. Qual foi o motivo da sua vinda para o país onde está hoje? (Marque uma ou mais opções que se apliquem ao seu caso)
      ( ) Para estudar o idioma
      ( ) Para fazer minha graduação, especialização ou pós graduação
      ( ) Para buscar um trabalho
      ( ) Minha empresa me transferiu temporariamente
      ( ) Minha empresa me transferiu permanentemente

( ) Para acompanhar meu companheiro(a)
( ) Para acompanhar meu filho(a) nos estudos ou trabalho
( ) Outro (especifique) _____

Idiomas
70. Qual o idioma oficial da cidade onde você mora?

Sobre o idioma oficial do local onde você mora:

1	2	3	4	5
Nada	Pouco	Razoavelmente	Bem	Muito bem

71. Compreendo o que as pessoas falam ____
72. Leio ____
73. Escrevo ____
74. Falo ____

75. Você considera importante dominar o idioma oficial local?
    A) Sim
    B) Não

76. Você utiliza algum outro idioma para se comunicar no local onde vive?
    A) Sim
    B) Não

77. Em qual idioma você se comunica com seu(s) filho(s)?
    A) Apenas (ou majoritariamente) em português
    B) Português e a língua oficial local
    C) Português e outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    D) Apenas a língua oficial local
    E) Apenas outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    F) Português, língua oficial local e outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    G) Outro (especifique) _____

78. Em qual idioma você se comunica com seu companheiro(a), caso você tenha um(a)?
    A) Apenas (ou majoritariamente) em português
    B) Português e a língua oficial local
    C) Português e outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    D) Apenas a língua oficial local
    E) Apenas outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    F) Português, língua oficial local e outro idioma que não é a língua oficial local
    G) Não tenho companheiro(a)
    H) Outro (especifique) _____

Sobre você
79. Qual a sua idade? _____

80. Qual o seu sexo?
    A) Feminino
    B) Masculino
    C) Outro

81. Com qual raça/etnia você se identifica?
    A) Branco
    B) Negro ou mulato
    C) Indígena
    D) Asiático
    E) Mestiço
    F) Alguma outra raça (especifique) _____

82. Qual o seu estado civil?
    A) Casado(a)
    B) União estável / Moro junto com meu companheiro(a)
    C) Solteiro(a), viúvo(a) ou divorciado(a)
    D) Outro (especifique) _____

83. O meu relacionamento atual é:
    A) Heteroafetivo
    B) Homoafetivo
    C) Não estou em um relacionamento atualmente
    D) Outro (especifique) _____

84. Qual o nível de escolaridade mais alto que você completou?
    A) Ensino fundamental (incompleto ou em andamento)
    B) Ensino fundamental completo
    C) Ensino médio (incompleto ou em andamento)
    D) Ensino médio completo
    E) Ensino superior (incompleto ou em andamento)
    F) Ensino superior completo
    G) Pós-graduação (incompleto ou em andamento)
    H) Pós-graduação completo
    I) Nenhuma das opções acima

85. Você está exercendo alguma atividade remunerada atualmente?
    A) Não
    B) Sim, em período parcial
    C) Sim, em período integral

86. Considerando a renda média familiar do país onde você mora, a sua família recebe:
    A) Muito abaixo da média
    B) Abaixo da média
    C) Na média
    D) Acima da média

E) Muito acima da média

Obrigado!
A sua contribuição foi muito importante para esse estudo.

Se você tiver alguma pergunta sobre esse estudo, entre em contato com Laís Granemann pelo e-mail granemann.l@gmail.com

Por favor, clique em "Concluído" para finalizar.