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Brazilian Immigration to Massachusetts: Newcomers to a Foreign Land

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Introduction

Brazilian emigration to the U.S. and Massachusetts grew exponentially between the mid-eighties and the late nineties and continues today. Brazilians settled in many different cities and towns in the state throughout the last two decades, from the Metrowest area, especially Framingham, to the South and North of Boston. Although one can meet many new Brazilians daily in this state - a hint about the magnitude and geographic dispersion of this immigrant population - there is a scarcity of reliable information and data about the immigration experience of the Brazilian community.

Since the mid-nineties, a few Brazilian anthropologists have studied the Brazilian immigration to Massachusetts. Using the social network theory, they describe the large migration of Brazilians from Governador Valadares (a city with about 300,000 inhabitants located in the Northeast of the state of Minas Gerais) to Framingham, Massachusetts. In this article we review the published literature, in particular the work of Sales[1]and Martes,[2] which examined the Brazilian immigration to Massachusetts before and during the 1990s. Next, we discuss the different estimates of the size of the Brazilian population in Massachusetts and the reasons why Brazilians choose to settle in Massachusetts, based on interviews with Brazilians who live in Lowell.

The relevance of specific Brazilian immigrant racial and ethnic identity issues in the positioning of Brazilians as a distinct immigrant population in Massachusetts is briefly summarized to frame important questions related to racial, ethnic and national identities of Brazilian immigrants. The article continues with the examination of some results of a pilot study with a convenience sample of thirty-eight Brazilian immigrant workers conducted in Lowell. These immigrant workers answered a short survey and a set of open questions during fifteen to twenty minutes' individual interviews. The research aimed to describe and analyze their demographic characteristics, immigration paths, short and long-term plans regarding immigration to the U.S, occupational exposures, and the socio-cultural obstacles in the work environment. We conclude with a partial review of the infrastructure of services available to Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts, because the mapping of this infrastructure is a work in progress.

Brazilian Immigration to Massachusetts in the 1980s

Sales argued that Brazilian migration to the U.S. increased significantly in the mid to late 1980s, due to a combination of economic and political expulsion factors. The economic factor is the prolonged economic crisis in Brazil in the 1980s, which was a decade characterized by recession and low economic growth, also known as the "lost decade." During this decade, unemployment, inflation, and low wages pushed Brazilians to migrate to the United States, Japan, and Europe.

By the end of the decade, three consecutive economic plans (Plano Cruzado I. Cruzado II and Plano Verão) had failed to lift the economy. Sales called the last three years of the decade as the "triennium of disillusion," which pushed Brazilians to seek economic refuge in the United States. The political factor is the frustration and loss of hope that developed in the first few years after successful struggles against the military dictatorship, which led to the massive popular campaign for direct presidential elections in 1984-85.

During the "lost decade" of the 1980s Brazilian civil society mobilized millions of people throughout the country and reorganized labor unions, neighborhood associations, a variety of political parties, and non-governmental organizations. All this effort culminated in the new Constitution of 1988, which framed a progressive body of legal concepts and social concerns to build a democratic future for the nation.[3] While politically the country moved toward democracy and the rule of law, the structural causes for the economic crises remained intact throughout the decade thus countering the enormous social expectations that arose with the end of the authoritarian regime in 1985.

However, while economic and political conditions in Brazil in the 1980s may explain why Brazilians decided to leave the country, they do not account for the specific migration pattern and flow that evolved. Several ethnographic studies in Framingham and Governador Valadares, state of Minas Gerais, show that these two communities have become the most important hubs that link Brazil with Massachusetts. These studies also demonstrate that the development of social networks familiar with the U.S. since the 1940s in Valadares facilitated the immigration of thousands of Brazilian citizens to Massachusetts.

Valadares established its first social and cultural links with the United States during the Second World War, because its soil contained large deposits of mica, which was commonly used for the production of radios in the U.S. Despite the fact that it was only one of the many counties in Brazil where jobs were scarce and perspectives for social mobility little, it has become the major source of emigration from Brazil after the mid-eighties.

Informed by the work of Massey with Mexican immigrants in the United States, Fusco[4] and Scudeler[5] studied the social networks that emerged in Valadares. Sociologists who have studied immigration used the concept of social networks to explain migration between countries. Migration was defined as "a networking-creating process because it develops an increasingly dense web of contacts between places of origin and destination."[6] According to Portes, the formation of these cross-national networks allow for the creation of a migration process that is self-sustaining, constant, and impervious to short-term changes. Therefore, migration is seen as a group-mediated decision whose timing and destination is largely determined by the social context of networks established over time.[7] There is evidence that the transnational network that linked the Valadares area and Massachusetts started as a circular migration of a few "mineiros" who came to Lowell to play soccer, went to Massachusetts to sell precious stones and gems or Boston to study, or just decided to leave Brazil as a personal adventure.[8]

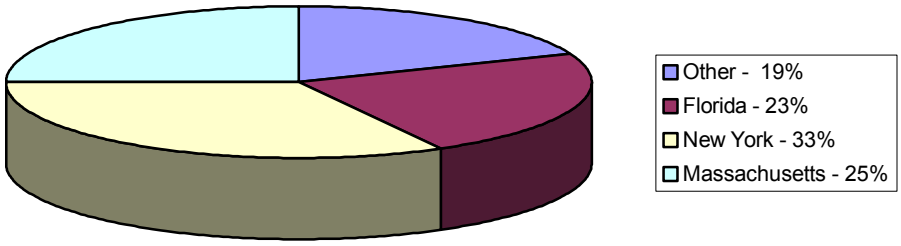
Data collected in a sample of households in Valadares by Fusco and Scudeler show that most immigrants to the U.S were young (20-29 years old) and better educated than the average Brazilian, though they were less educated than the average American of similar age. Those immigrants had low proficiency in English, which may partially explain why they get low paying jobs that require low skills in the U.S. The majority of those who left Valadares in the mid-eighties are male and returned to Brazil within six years, while the majority of those who migrated more recently are female and stayed in the U.S. over seven years. Eighty percent of the immigrants from Valadares only traveled once to the U.S. This pattern of migration from Valadares suggests that each immigrant added his or her experience in the U.S. to a growing network composed of family, friends, and personal contacts. This expansion of the immigration network over time is typical of what has been called "chain migration" by immigration scholars.[9]

Thus, the evidence collected in Brazil and the U.S. suggests that Brazilians from Valadares -the sending community- created a daughter community in Framingham, as well as smaller ones in the greater Boston area, by increasingly weaving a social net that has given them the help needed to settle in Massachusetts. Through an ever-expanding flexible network they found jobs for themselves; schools for their children; houses to share, rent, or buy; churches to pray, and people to lend a hand with their daily problems.

Foreign Immigration to the U.S. and Massachusetts in the 1990s

Thirteen to fourteen million new foreign immigrants arrived in the U.S. between 1990 and 2000 and were added to the U.S. labor force. This is a new historically high level of immigration, exceeding the previous Great Wave of Immigration of the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. Foreign born immigrants account for 41.4% of the U.S. population growth in the last decade. Over 50 percent of the growth in the nations' civilian labor force can be attributed to new foreign immigrants. New foreign immigrants tend to be younger, less educated, more likely employed in the private sector as wage and salary employees, and over-represented in a number of industrial sectors, than the native workforce.[10] According to Brazilian government figures, there are more than 1.5 million Brazilians living overseas. The United States is the major port of entry: reportedly, 750,000 Brazilians lived in the U. S in 1998. Massachusetts held the second largest concentration after New York, closely followed by Florida [11] (figure 1).

Figure 1 – Relative Distribution of Brazilian Immigrants in the U.S.*



Source: *Latin American and Caribbean Communications.* The Yankee Group
Report Vol. 4, No.5 – June 1998
* N= 750,000
Massachusetts= 187,500

By 1996-97, approximately one of every four children under 18 in Massachusetts is immigrant or the child of an immigrant father or mother. While in the 1970s close to 80 percent of immigrants to the state came from Canada or Europe, in the late 1990s the largest number of immigrants to the state come from Puerto Rico, Brazil, El Salvador, Russia, India and China.[12] These foreign immigrants live in families with total incomes of less than $20,000 and make up about 13 percent of the state workforce, 22 percent of operators, fabricators and laborers, and 18 percent of service occupations. Sixty one percent have less than a high school diploma, but as a group are just as likely to have advanced degrees as native citizens (10 percent of the working population).[13] Portuguese is now the second most common foreign language (9.7 percent) spoken by foreign students, that is, those students whose Primary Language Is Not English (PLINE), after Spanish.[14]

Brazilian Immigration to the U.S. in the 1990s

Most Brazilian immigrants to Massachusetts up to the 1990s have been lower middle-class males. This trend shifted in the nineties. Martes's survey of 300 Brazilians in 1996 showed an increasing migration of families instead of single males. Forty eight percent were married and 52% brought all their children with them to Massachusetts. Thirty one percent of the respondents of her survey completed the equivalent of a high school diploma, 12% had some college, and 16% had a college degree.[15] The continuous economic crisis combined with violence in urban areas in the early and mid-nineties to also push upper-middle class families to leave the country and open businesses in the United States.

Confirming previous work by Sales and Martes, we interviewed Brazilians who maintain that their main motivation to migrate to the U.S. in the 1990s was financial hardship due to personal bankruptcy, reductions in wages, and worsening of their job conditions. Junior*, for example, showed his disappointment with the contracting out of his previous high skill job:

"*My wage decreased a lot. I had a good status in my company [as a maintenance worker]. All collapsed. I became a regular Joe peon…"*

Others claimed that they came to the U.S. to save enough money to buy a house, a truck, or pay off debts in Brazil. Maria summarized her motive as representing the dream of many immigrants:

"I came to the U.S. with the same illusion of everybody else. To make more money, thinking that they would go back and never need to work for anybody else any longer… I came here to save money, go back, and build my own business."

Cláudia was a teacher whose financial resources kept decreasing while her debts increased. She was living in a financial crisis and felt that *"I had no other option. I would either come [to the U.S.] or my family and society would call me a bad payer, an irresponsible person. Therefore, I had to take this option. I did not come to run away. I came to face this problem and be able to pay my debt."*

Thus, for most Brazilian immigrants the main reason to come to the U.S. is to make money by working hard for a short time and then go back to Brazil, which is typical of the sojourner experience of many immigrants to the U.S. In addition, the perception that in the U.S. individual freedoms are respected and there is economic, scientific, and technological development enticed some, who migrated to the U.S. to improve their English proficiency, study in some U.S. college, or hoping to provide better education to their children.

Brazilians in Massachusetts: The Invisible Minority that Everybody Sees

One of the most important aspects of the rapid Brazilian immigration to Massachusetts- an invisible minority in most official data- is the correct measurement of its size. Data from the former U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service indicate that Brazil contributed to six percent of new legal arrivals to New England since 1990, totaling 5,069 people. About 20% of these legal immigrants work in professional jobs while over 50 percent work in service sector jobs.[16] Media reports in Brazil and estimates by community organizations, the Brazilian Consulate, and the Archdiocese of Boston indicate that there are around 150,000-200,000 Brazilians in Massachusetts.[17] Another estimate based on monthly Current Population Surveys (CPS) suggests that there were about 18,000 Brazilian immigrants in the state by 1996-97. According to the same source, Brazilians

* All names are fictious.

became the second largest country of origin of new immigrants to Massachusetts in the 1990s.[18]

If one assumes that the unofficial estimates are closer to the true size of the Brazilian population, then the 1990 and 2000 Census data don't seem to provide a credible count of the total number of Brazilians in the state. In fact, Margolis already described the reasons for the 1990 Census undercounting of the Brazilian population.[19] One possible reason for the contrast in the population counts is that neither the 1990 nor the 2000 Census mentions Brazil as a choice for country of origin under the categories Hispanic, Latino, or South American. Thus, Brazilians may have chosen to identify themselves as White, Other South American, Other Hispanic, or Latino. In addition, Brazilians may not have been counted at all because of fear of deportation if they filled Census forms.[a] Another plausible explanation for the Census undercount is the fact that many Brazilians live in overcrowded housing units that violate maximum state occupancy laws and may have willingly underreported the total number of residents in each unit to avoid penalties and fines. Last, Brazilians do not usually identify themselves as Latino or Hispanic unless they understand and accept the official Census classification definitions for race and ethnicity.[20]

While one can speculate about the reasons for the disparities in the population counts, there remains an unresolved controversy over the correct count of Brazilians in Massachusetts by 2000, ranging from an official count of about 36,000 by the 2000 Census to an unofficial estimate of 150,000-200,000. Qualitative evidence collected by Brazilian researchers in Massachusetts support the claim that most Brazilian immigrants in the state are undocumented and arrived in the U.S. within the last ten to fifteen years. Quantitative formal and informal sources of data also suggest that the upper bound estimate is closer to the actual size of the population.[21] The Brazilian community in Massachusetts has mostly settled in Framingham, Cambridge, Somerville, Everett, Marlborough, and the Boston neighborhoods of Allston/Brighton and East Boston. Hyannis, Lowell, Peabody, Martha's Vineyard, and cities in the North Shore are some of the newest hubs of the community.[b]

Brazilian Businesses in Massachusetts

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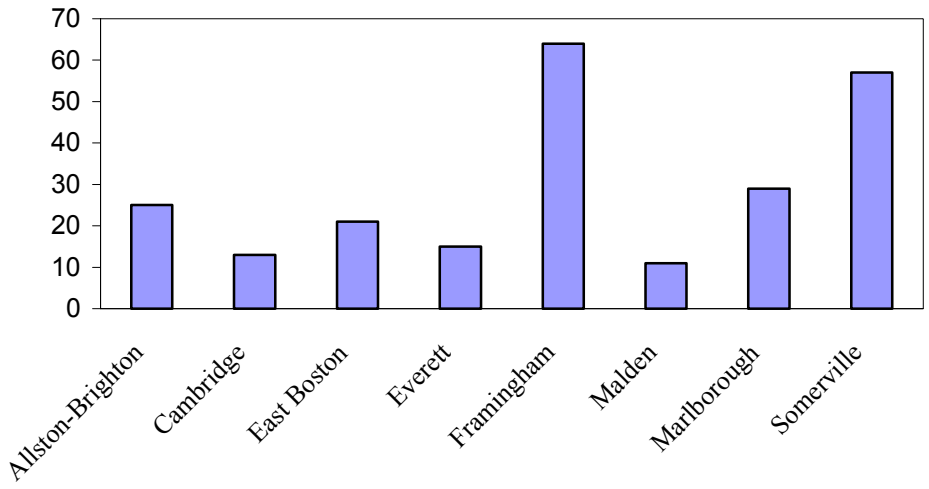
[a] Fear of deportation is widespread in Brazilian undocumented immigrant communities, as in other Latino immigrant groups, and has usually prevented them from participating in public fora and survey research.

[b] Personal communication with Brazilian Consul in Boston, April 2004.

In 2002 there were 353 (up from 326 in March of 2002) Brazilian-owned businesses listed in 40 cities and towns of Massachusetts and two in Rhode Island.

Figure 2 – Location of Brazilian Businesses in Massachusetts*



Source: Souza, H., 2003. The Brazilian community of New England: an Economic Profile

* Modified from original to only include locations with more than ten businesses.

Somerville's *Supermercado Brasileiro*, which opened in 2002, is the first Brazilian-owned supermarket in New England. It serves an average of 500 patrons daily and represents an investment of $ 1 million dollars. Ninety percent of those are Brazilians. Café Belô is a restaurant chain that first opened in Allston in 1998. In less than five years, it became the largest Brazilian restaurant chain in the state, with 10 restaurants, 200 employees, and a consumer base of 100,000 people per month. Seventy percent of it are Brazilians. Café Belô owner also invested over a million dollars to open the first Brazilian supermarket in Allston-Brighton by 2003. Brazilian business owners estimate that each Brazilian-owned store pays between $300 and $600 per month in taxes.[22] Brazilians also invest hundreds of millions of dollars in Brazil. According to recent news releases, Brazilians in the U.S. sent about $ 1 billion to Brazil, which is probably an underestimate, because "Brazil is the most obscure country in terms of remittances from the world."[23]

Reasons for Settling in Massachusetts

Interviews conducted by Jansen[24] in Lowell suggest that the existence of personal networks with friends, family, or contacts in Massachusetts seems to be the major reason why Brazilians have come to the state, as Fusco and Scudeler suggested. Lúcio expressed well this view when he said: *"I think that most come here because there is already somebody they know here. I think this is what makes people go from one place to another. Having somebody they know there."* José

offered a more detailed explanation of the function of the network to help newcomers*: "... I had never left Brazil, my home, and look where I am, first time that I leave Brazil. The main reason for me to come to America was having a place to stay, because the most important thing when you come to America is to have a place to stay. As Brazilians say, it's the so-called "help."* [c]

In addition, some Brazilians come to Massachusetts because they believe that the state provides good public services, such as public schools and health insurance, to immigrants. In the words of Ronaldo, he came to Massachusetts because the state *"...provides better conditions for immigrants who arrive. Things such as health. My kids have good free schools. My kids have free busing. My kids have health and dental coverage. Thus, here I have better possibilities to see the light..."*

Racial and Ethnic Identity of Brazilian Immigrants

Salgado noted that *"Important as it is to understand how U.S racial and ethnic hierarchies, relations, and ideologies affect migrants, reconfigurations of racial and ethnic identities in the United States must be linked with the racial and ethnic experiences of immigrants in their countries of origin."*[25] Based on our observations and conversations with dozens of Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts, Brazilian immigrants' racial and ethnic perceptions respond to the complexities involved in identity construction in general and in the shifting positions adopted or discarded once exposed to U.S. racial and ethnic constructs.

First generation Brazilians, like other Latin Americans, come to the U.S. with an unstable and differentiable but formed notion of what constitutes the Brazilian national identity. More importantly, they bring with them notions of racial classification that differ considerably from those existing in the U.S.[26] Much like the rest of Latin America, questions of race and national identity have occupied intellectual discourse in Brazil, particularly since the 19th century. In their attempt to understand the national character, the intelligentsia also prescribed notions of "Brazilianness" that have been transmitted through school books, novels, newspapers, political speeches, the media, and churches' pulpits.

Research conducted in Framingham by Sales[27] shows that Brazilians bring with them a certain "cultural baggage" that the scholar sees being reproduced and modified in the Brazilian immigrant community. Yet, neither Sales nor other Brazilian anthropologists who studied Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts comment on racial perceptions as a key cultural element of this "cultural baggage."

Our research has confirmed previous work done by Marcus[28] and Margolis,[29] who argued that race and ethnicity are difficult subject for Brazilians to

[c] The word for help in Portuguese is 'ajuda.' Here it means to have somebody to help recent immigrants when they first arrive.

talk about. For example, when asked to respond to questions on race and ethnicity in U.S. Census forms, a group of Brazilian immigrant teenagers interviewed by Siqueira did not know how to fit their racial and ethnic identity within the categories available in those forms. Despite having gone to high school in the U.S. –the generation Rumbaut called the the 1.5 generation- they still do not see themselves as Hispanics or Latinos. In fact, most Brazilians in the U.S. self-identify as white or "moreno" (mulatto) following Brazilian standards to classify skin color and may thus choose to mark "Other race" in the census forms. Brazilian immigrants seem to have a great deal of difficulty to understand U.S. racial and ethnic categories. Brazilians not only tend to conflate concepts such as race, ethnicity, and nationality, but also overlook African or indigenous ascendancy. Brazilian racism against blacks and native Brazilians may explain why seldom do we hear Brazilian immigrants self-describe as "mixed-race," which is the biological and cultural background of the majority of the Brazilian population.

The superimposition of nationality over race, or even denial of race altogether, is consistently present in Brazilian immigrants' narratives of self-description. This preference to define oneself nationally rather than ethnically or racially is rooted in significant experiential and ideological factors.

First, most immigrants, particularly those who lack a full racial or ethnic consciousness, tend to confuse these three terms. Second, race relations in Brazil have traditionally been overlooked precisely because racial issues were presumably resolved by a cordial miscigenation during colonization and later accentuated by the ensuring ideology of racial democracy. These assumptions and the idea that racial issues were something of the past are inherited and perpetuated by successive elite-led nationalistic projects, including those forged in decades of dictatorships. The persistence of the ideology of racial democracy has brought enormous consequences for "afro-descendants" in that it prevented racial awareness and consequently the organization of a strong and coherent anti-racism movement.[30] Although the Brazilian Black Movement has recently made gains at the public and institutional levels by addressing racism and socio-economic disparity, the notion that race is not a problem in Brazil still persists. [31,32] Moreover, this ideology has also promoted the introjection and naturalization of racial constructs among Brazilians within and outside the borders of the nation-state.

The third substantial factor in the discussion of racial and ethnic awareness among Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts has to do with temporality. Brazilians emigrated to the U.S. fairly recently and have not yet been completed immerged into American racial categorizations, similarly to other immigrant newcomers and first-generation Spanish-speaking communities. Coming from a place where racial categories are multiple and closely related to different shades of skin color, it is difficult for Brazilians to perceive racial differences as prescribed binary oppositions (white/Black or white/non-white). In fact, American racial and ethnic categories tend to be rejected by most Brazilian immigrants as senseless,

because those do not match their prior ideological, cultural, biological, and social experiences and discourses.

Brazilian immigrants work and live in Massachusetts in close contact with other racial and ethnic immigrant groups, in particular Spanish-speaking Dominicans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Puerto-Ricans, and Colombians. The need to differentiate themselves from these other groups has become an important part of the formation of their racial and ethnic identity in the U.S. Our many informal conversations and interviews with Brazilian immigrants confirm Fleischer's findings,[33] among others, that Brazilian immigrants do not see themselves as Hispanics. In fact, we have so far observed a dynamics of rejection in the Brazilians' politics of belonging, where Hispanic translates into "otherness."

Our informants, like Fleischer's interviewees, have consistently defined Hispanic (Espânicos in Portuguese) as a term appropriate for Spanish speakers, emphasizing that Brazilians speak Portuguese and have a different culture. Furthermore, her informants associated Hispanics with all sorts of negative connotations when compared to Brazilians, reproducing certain mainstream stereotypes against Hispanics. For example, her informants often associated Hispanics with criminality, gangs, drug dealing, and poor education, while Brazilians are viewed as hardworking, peaceful, and better educated.[34,35] In the same vein, many of our informants do not seem to know the exact geographical origin of Hispanics and assume that Hispanics are from Central America. The conscious or unconscious reproduction of negative views of Hispanics may be a self-serving ideology that Brazilians adopted to compete for jobs in the informal economy against other Spanish-speaking immigrants.[36]

When asked how they think Americans see Brazilians in the U.S., many of our informants pointed out that Americans tend to place Brazilians in the Hispanic category. While commenting on white Americans' ignorance of the differences between Brazilians and Hispanics, the informants themselves tend to classify all Spanish-speaking Hispanics as a homogeneous social group, thus reproducing this imposed pan-ethnic nomenclature.[37] We also discovered that the confusion in the use of categories such as Latino, Hispanic, Latin American, Black, White, and Brazilian reflects a lack of clear understanding of concepts such as race, ethnicity, and nationality. When referring to their racial group identity, Brazilians often use the term "our people is" followed by an adjective, or descriptive statements such as "the Brazilian race is" followed by an adjective. Answers given to racial self-identification questions tend not to be clear and demonstrate confusion. For example, informants may request further clarification about the meaning of the question: "what's your race?" and may look clearly puzzled, not knowing what to answer. There are also instances when an informant will answer "white" to this question, even when her/his skin color is dark, which is a trend also observed in Brazil and elsewhere.[38,39]

The term Latino has come up in some of our interviews, but most informants do not seem to be sure of its meaning. While some self-identify as Latino, most do not. It is very likely that the ones who do identify themselves as Latinos, do so in light of being from Latin America and not because of social, political, and cultural awareness of the meaning of Latino(a) in the U.S.[40]

It is fair to speculate that this attitude on the part of Brazilian immigrants is related to their recent emigration, first-generation experience, and reaffirmation of national identity as a strategy for survival. The vast majority of Brazilians in the Boston metropolitan area are first-generation and undocumented, who hold very strong ties with the home country, repeating the experience of most first-generation immigrants to the U.S.[41] Besides, the globalization of communication technologies has enabled Brazilian immigrants to maintain daily contact and a close relationship with their homeland. These technological advances have made possible, "time and space compression,"[42] thus facilitating practically unrestrained consumption of both cultural and non-cultural goods and symbols made in Brazil.

Thus, kinship ties are reaffirmed and certain icons, such as the Brazilian flag and Independence Day, ingrained in the national imaginary, are reinforced. The very marginalized position of the immigrant in the host country makes it possible for them to access these icons and forge alliances with other individuals of the same "imagined community," i.e, the Brazilian community. We do not want to suggest that Brazilian national identity is static and unchangeable. Instead, we want to emphasize that some icons and national creations (such as historical traditions) do tend to be vibrantly remembered despite the fact they are continuously reconfigured and redefined through lived experiences in time and space.

The non-adoption of Latino, Hispanic, and even Latin American ethnic identity by most Brazilian immigrants in the U.S. imply that Brazilians feel different from the rest of Latin America. We assume that the rationale used by average Brazilians to consider themselves as an unique ethnic group is based on language - Brazilians are the only Portuguese speakers in the Americas; colonial history - the only country colonized by Portuguese in the Americas, and strong Brazilian nationalism.[43] In addition, historical elite-led aspirations for Brazil to become a regional economic power, encouraged by military dictatorships and nationalistic economic development strategies, combined with a large territory rich in mineral resources to consolidate popular notions of uniquenness and distinction.

Brazilians in Lowell: Newcomers to a city of immigrants

Lowell, Massachusetts is a mid-size city, with a population of 106,167, of which 4,727 (4.6%) are classified as Other Hispanic or Latino, other than Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican.[44] It is the fourth largest city in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Lowell is part of Middlesex County, where over 150,000 residents are foreign-born, the largest concentration of any county in Massachusetts. As the birthplace of the industrial revolution, Lowell has a long tradition of hosting

immigrants from Europe and Canada since the mid-nineteenth century. Always an immigrant city, Lowell experienced its newest influx of immigrants in the 1980's because of the Vietnam War and the Cambodian holocaust. Many Southeast Asian families settled in Lowell. In fact, Lowell has the second largest Cambodian community in the U.S.[45]

Since the mid to late nineties, there has been a growing Brazilian immigration to Lowell, which is likely to add up to almost ten thousand residents by 2004. Table 1 summarizes the demographics and job characteristics of immigrant workers who participated in the study conducted by Jansen and Siqueira in Lowell.

TABLE 1- Demographics and Job Characteristics of Study Participants

Gender Distribution	%
Male	46
Female	54

Length of Resid. in Lowell	%
1 Year or Less	31
More than 1 to 2 Years	40
More than 2 to 4 Years	21
More than 4 to 10 Years	8
	0

Age Distribution	%
18 to 29 Years	36
30 to 39 Years	28
40 to 49 Years	31
50 to 59 Years	5

Hours Worked per Week	%
Less than 20h	3
20h to 29h	5
30h to 39h	13
40h to 39h	21
50h to 59h	25
60h to 69h	18
More than 70h	15

Marital Status	%
Married	66
Single	23
Widow	3
Separated/Divorced	8

Current Job by Sector	%
Cleaning	34
Fast Food/Restaurants	30
Construction/Landscape	9
Manufacturing	6
Other Services	21

Education Level	%
Less Than Elementary School	10
Elementary School	21
High School	41
College	28

Types of Jobs Held	%
Unskilled	75
Low/Medium Skills	21
High Skill	4

TABLE 1- Demographics and Job Characteristics of Study Participants

Brazilian State of Origin	%
Parana	30
Santa Catarina	15
Minas Gerais	13
Pernambuco	10
Rio de Janeiro	8
Mato Grosso	3
Bahia	3
Sao Paulo	3
Missing	15

Types of Jobs Prior to Immigration	%
Unskilled	10
Low/Medium Skills	51
High Skill	21
Small Business Owners	18

Length of Resid. in the U.S.	%
1 Year or Less	32
More than 1 to 2 Years	38
More than 2 to 4 Years	22
More than 4 to 10 Years	3
More than 10 Years	5

Types of Jobs Prior to Immigration, by Sector	%
Retail	21
Industry	13
Agriculture	8
Other Services	58

Demographics

Fifty four percent of study participants are female, while forty six percent are male. They are relatively young: sixty four percent are younger than forty. Only five percent are older than fifty. Two thirds are married and twenty three percent are single. Forty one percent finished high school and twenty eight percent finished college in Brazil before coming to the U.S. Ten percent of the people interviewed would be classified as illiterate in Portuguese because they did not finish elementary school prior to emigrating to the U.S. Most study participants are originally from the South of Brazil, while in other communities in Massachusetts Brazilians tend to come from cities located in the Southeast (especially the Valadares region). More than two thirds of workers surveyed came from five states (Paraná, Santa Catarina, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo) that are part of the wealthiest regions of Brazil: the South and Southeast.

While seventy percent of the study participants have lived in the U.S. for less than two years, only five percent have lived in the U.S. longer than ten years, characterizing a very recently settled immigrant population. The social network theory would suggest that the immigration of Brazilians to Lowell is related to friendship or family ties between new and old Brazilian immigrants in Lowell. We have not yet mapped out the social networks that could explain why so many Brazilians have recently chosen to settle in Lowell. Most of the older Lowell Brazilian residents came from Minas Gerais, not the South of Brazil. Yet, the length of residence in Lowell of the new immigrants is similar to their length of

time in the U.S., indicating- in combination with other information collected from the interviews- that most of those new immigrants emigrate directly to Lowell.[d]

Job and Workplace Characteristics

Brazilian immigrant workers in Lowell work long hours: fifty eight percent of study participants work over fifty hours per week, while fifteen percent work for seventy hours or more per week. Over eighty percent of Brazilian workers interviewed currently work in the service sector cleaning houses or offices, in kitchens or helping customers of fast food restaurants, or in other low paid service jobs. Their current jobs are often their second or third job since immigration. Many of the study participants had previously worked in manufacturing jobs such as a juice or plastic factory before getting their current job. Therefore, we concluded that three quarters of Brazilians interviewed currently work in unskilled jobs. Only four percent work in high skill jobs.

This job scenario differs somewhat from their previous work experience in Brazil, where seventy nine percent worked in the service sector. None of the workers interviewed had ever worked as a janitor, cleaning houses, or in fast food businesses. However, there seems to be a large contrast with the level of skills required for the jobs held in Brazil: twenty one percent worked in high skill jobs and eighteen percent owned small businesses such as bakeries and auto-repair shops. This reported downgrading of skills on the job supports Sales' findings with Brazilian immigrants in Framingham, Massachusetts.[46]

Many respondents made unsolicited comments on job skills. Some quit a job that required high skills and came to the U.S. hoping to get a higher paying job. Chico, for example, graduated in physical education and worked as a computer network support technician in a Brazilian university. He works in the stockroom of a warehouse in Lowell but *"I am not satisfied with my job, because I would like to do what I used to do before. I'd like to work in a computer laboratory again, work with computers, this is what I'd like…but I do not think about going back to Brazil. No. I suffered a lot over there. Fifteen years working in the university and studying… To go back all over again to make such little money!"*

Fernanda quit her business school and emigrated to Massachusetts, where she works as a cook in a fast food chain restaurant: *"I am not happy with my work because I moved away from my background completely... I never worked with fast food in Brazil, so I feel like I am moving backwards. I do feel financially rewarded, but not emotionally. This makes me frustrated. Because it is very difficult here in America. I think that you make it financially, but your emotional side becomes very shaken. There is always some impact, something like that."*

[d] Evidence collected by Jansen points to religious and geographic ties amongst many of the recent Lowell immigrants. It seems that many came from a few counties located in the South of Brazil.

Ana is probably the clearest example of the dissatisfaction with low skill work. She is a psychologist who works in the U.S. cleaning the kitchen of a restaurant and is not happy in her work *" because what I do I do not like. I do stuff that is too simple for my skills. I have always been a thinker and always faced challenges. Moreover, because of this none of my previous jobs became a routine. Today I'm in a job that in addition to pay me little money became a routine. And the routine is terrible; it's tedious. That is why I don't like it. I don't see how I can grow in a job like that. And for me work and money is not all. Work has to make you grow as a human being."*

Table 2 describes workplace and cultural/ethnic characteristics of Lowell Brazilian immigrant workers interviewed.

TABLE 2- Workplace Conditions and Cultural Aspects of Study Participants

Job Satisfaction	%
Yes	65
No	24
Some	11

Job Referral	N
Friends	16
Agency	12
Self-Promotion	4
News	2
Others	2

Financial Satisfaction w/ Job	%
Yes	61
No	34
Some	5

English Proficiency	%
Excellent	5
Good	23
Regular	23
Bad	26
Terrible	23

Respect on the Job	%
Yes	82
No	5
Some	13

Nationality of Boss	%
American	54
Brazilian	16
Portuguese	11
Other	19

Nationality of Coworkers	N
Brazilian	23
American	13
Hispanic	10
Portuguese	3
Others	3

Languages spoken at work	N
English	25
Portuguese	23
Spanish	16
Cambodian	1

About two thirds of study participants are satisfied with their jobs and feel financially rewarded by them and respected by their bosses, despite their lack of

documentation, legal workplace protections, and the downgrading of skills mentioned above. One of the plausible explanations for this apparent contradiction is that the initial work expectations of Brazilian immigrant workers in the U.S. tend to be based on their previous experience in Brazil, where employees generally treat low skill and service workers poorly. Thus, compared to Brazilian standards, Brazilian immigrant workers may get more money and perceive employers to treat and respect them better in Massachusetts than in Brazil. On the other hand, a significant minority perceives their employers not to treat them fairly or respectfully. They claim that they don't make enough money and cannot use their skills on the job, which prevents them from moving upwards. For example, Brazilians may work as busboys or cleaning dishes while Americans wait tables or seat customers.

Twenty eight percent of the participants classified their English skills as good (23%) or excellent (5%), confirming the low mastery of English found by Brown et al.[47] The majority of immigrant workers interviewed work in workplaces owned by Americans (54%), while about one quarter work in sites owned by Brazilian (16%) or Portuguese (11%), where Portuguese is spoken with the boss. The two most common ways of finding a job are through the network of friends or through an employment agency for temporary jobs. Brazilians tend to work in multicultural workplaces with Americans and Latinos, where English, Portuguese, and Spanish are commonly spoken.

Infrastructure of Services to Brazilian Immigrants in Massachusetts

Massachusetts has developed throughout the 20th century a broad public and private infrastructure to provide services to European immigrants that settled in the state, such as the Irish, Portuguese, Greeks, French- Canadians, and Italians. More recently, as the immigration patterns changed, this institutional infrastructure - composed of state agencies, churches, health care facilities, schools, and a variety of non-governmental organizations. - has focused mostly on the needs of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the state, in particular the Dominican, Puerto-Rican, and Central–American communities. The arrival of a large number of Brazilian immigrants to Massachusetts in the mid to late eighties was first addressed by including the needs of these Portuguese-speaking immigrants within the agencies and organizations that served the Portuguese speakers from Africa (Cape Verde) and Europe (Portugal).

The main non-governmental organization that has served Portuguese speakers in Massachusetts is the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), which has provided health and human services to immigrants since the 1970s.[48] As the size of the Brazilian community increased, there has been a growing trend within MAPS to recruit Brazilians to participate in its Board and as employees, and to focus their services on the needs of the Brazilian community. For example, it opened "…its first Boston office in Allston in 1995 to serve the growing Brazilian community in that neighborhood."[49] MAPS has gotten grants from government sources to provide education to Brazilians about sexually-

transmitted diseases such as AIDS, domestic violence prevention, home-ownership assistance, and other social services.

Yet, language is not the only criterion that creates cultural identities within immigrant communities in the U.S. Brazilians speak Portuguese differently from the Portuguese from Portugal and its other former colonies, and do not self-identify as Portuguese. Over the years, a much larger Massachusetts population has gotten to recognize the presence and needs of this growing newcomer Brazilian community. By the end of the nineties, a new infrastructure seemed to develop to address those needs.

Sales reports that in the beginning of the nineties Protestant and Catholic churches were the only visible organizations where Brazilians gathered socially. They were -and still are- their main social institution for Brazilians in Massachusetts. Starting in the mid-nineties, several other organizations emerged, such as the former Centro Ana da Hora (now Centro do Trabalhador Brasileiro), the Brazilian Women's Group (www.verdeamarelo.org), and the Brazilian American Association (www.bramas.org). Another important organization formed in the mid-nineties was the Brazilian Immigrant Center (BIC).[50]

BIC was founded by two Brazilian immigrant workers to fight workplace abuse. These immigrant workers had successfully addressed their grievances with the help of another immigrant worker organization called Immigrant Workers Resource Center (IWRC) and volunteered in IWRC for a while before deciding to create the BIC. BIC's mission is to unite Brazilian immigrants to organize against economic, social, and political exclusion and to help create a just society. By the late nineties, the Brazilian Center started fundraising from Foundation grants and building capacity to respond to the gamut of social problems faced by Brazilian immigrant workers. BIC has provided English for Speakers of Other languages (ESOL) classes, organized leadership development and specific education and training for rank-and-file workers, and advocated for workers' rights in the workplace through legal and political mechanisms.

Recently arrived immigrants often have to work in unhealthy work environments, but the fear of being fired or deported often prevents them from seeking redress. In 2002 the BIC supported workers in resolving over seventy cases of workplace abuse, including workers' compensation cases. The Center achieved this result through community pressure, direct negotiation with businesses, or in collaboration with the Massachusetts Attorney General's Office. Most of the cases the BIC addresses are related to non-payment of wages or compensation for occupational injuries. Employers often violate labor laws by asking their employees to work overtime without paying legal overtime rates and may even not pay them at all. The BIC has about three hundred members and sponsored thirty-two workshops on worker and immigrant rights during 2002, reaching nearly 2000 people. It also provided English for Speakers of Other Languages for over 200 adults, and participated in various fora, meetings and demonstrations together with

organizations such as Justice for Janitors, the Massachusetts Coalition for Occupational Safety and Health (MassCOSH), and the Massachusetts Department of Public Health.[51]

In addition, the BIC and a few other Brazilian community organizations have lobbied local, state, and federal politicians, as well as city and state officials, to support immigrants rights. This coalition of groups and the Brazilian Consulate in Massachusetts have promoted the annual celebration of Brazilian Independence Day in Cambridge on September 7 and organized several cultural festivals and sport tournaments.

Whereas most activities mentioned above focused on the problems and conditions faced by Brazilians in Massachusetts, there have been many meetings and discussions with Brazilian visitors representing social movements (Landless Movement or MST), political parties (Workers Party), national labor federations (Central Única dos Trabalhadores, CUT), and public officials in Brazil (city mayors). These political activities contributed to the development of official and informal links with Brazil. It is still early to tell whether these political linkages will grow into an active international network, but they suggest that at least some Brazilian community leaders want to build a transnational Brazilian community. These events may also be indicative of the desire of community leaders to actively participate in Brazilian national politics, replicating the experience of a number of first generation immigrants in the last century.[52]

The Brazilian Consulate in New England

The Consulate General of Brazil in Boston was founded as a Career Consulate in 1937. It reopened in 1993 after having gone through temporary downgrading in the past to an Honorary Consulate, due to federal budget constraints. Community groups and churches put pressure on the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations over the lack of adequate services to the growing Brazilian immigrant community in Massachusetts and managed to convince the Brazilian government to reopen it. The Consulate has expanded exponentially the services provided to the Brazilian community over the last few years. The number of Brazilians helped at the Consulate almost doubled, growing from 17, 421 in 2000 to 28,800 in 2002.[53]

By the mid-nineties, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations changed a number of consular policies to deal with the increasing size of Brazilian communities overseas. The Ministry authorized the creation of the "Councils of Brazilian Citizens" to link the public foreign bureaucracy with representatives of Brazilian immigrant communities appointed by the Consul. These Councils aim at strengthening the relationship between the government and citizens living abroad to discuss and find solutions to problems affecting Brazilian immigrant communities. The Brazilian government assumed that the Councils would stimulate Consulate staff to focus on issues beyond the traditional consular duties

such as the issuance of passports and visas and assisting citizens in cases of disease, death, emergencies, and legal proceedings. Furthermore, the Ministry modernized and expanded the physical plants and management services available to the Consulates, trained consular staff to improve delivery of services to Brazilian citizens, and deployed consular staff to different geographic areas covered by the Consulates, known as "Mobile or Itinerant Consulates."

All these policy changes had positive impacts on the perceptions of Brazilian immigrants in Massachusetts regarding their relationship with the Consulate, which is the most important Brazilian government agency available to them while living in the U.S. A survey with Brazilian immigrants conducted by Salvaterra in 2003 shows that about 70% of Brazilians interviewed had used Consular services in the previous year. While most people surveyed (57%) liked the quality of the services provided by the Consulate, a significant minority criticized the poor customer service skills of some staff and the lack of democracy in the Council of Citizens, due to either lack of participation of legitimate leaders or poor representation of the community in the Council. Other respondents criticized the Consulate restricted hours, understaffing, and limitations in services and help offered to Brazilian immigrants.

The impact of all the activities related to the infrastructure described above in the scattered Brazilian immigrant population is difficult to measure and assess, but they indicate that Brazilians are in the process of establishing their own infrastructure to handle immigration-related issues. Brazilian community leaders are becoming aware of the need to create political and social mechanisms and dynamics that expand the existing solidarity networks to enable Brazilians to develop a real sense of community. It is clear to many of those leaders that Brazilians are an immigrant community "in the making" in Massachusetts. The major challenge ahead is how to organize Brazilians independently without "recreating the wheel" or isolating them from other new immigrant communities in the state, such as Colombians, Salvadorians or Haitians, that share with Brazilians any number of social and cultural barriers. For example, immigrant workers in Massachusetts tend to occupy similar service sector job niches, such as janitorial and construction work, and be exposed to the same workplace hazards, abuses, and lack of health and safety protection, no matter where they come from.

There are historical internal and external threats to the unity of immigrant communities that may or not prevail in the case of the Brazilian community. Nationalism and co-optation by mainstream American society seem to be the most important. Individualism and internal competition are others that may work against collective action and solidarity. It may be still too early to tell which way these newcomers to this old immigrant land, berth of the nation, will go. Further research into this issue is needed to document and explain how and why Brazilians build their internal and external solidarity networks to become a community for itself.

Notes

[1] Teresa Sales, *Brazilians Away from Home,* New York: Center for Migration Studies, 2003.
[2] Ana Cristina Braga Martes, *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: Um Estudo sobre Imigrantes em Massachusetts* (Brazilians in the United States: A Study of Immigrants in Massachusetts), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Paz e Terra, 1999.
[3] C. Eduardo Siqueira, *Dependent Convergence: The Struggle to Control Petrochemical Hazards in Brazil and the United States*, New York: Baywood, 2003.
[4] Wilson Fusco, *Redes Sociais de Migração Internacional: O Caso de Governador Valadares*. Textos NEPO 40, Núcleos de Estudos de População. Universidade Estadual de Campinas. Março de 2002.
[5] Valéria Cristina Scudeler, Imigrantes Valadarenses no Mercado de Trabalho dos EUA, in Rossana Rocha Reis and Teresa Sales (org), *Cenas do Brasil Migrante*.,São Paulo: Boitempo Editorial, 1999.
[6] Alejandro Portes, ed., *The Economic Sociology of Immigration: Essays on Networks, Ethnicity, and Entrepreneurship*, New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1995.
[7] Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, second edition, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
[8] Martes, *Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos: Um Estudo sobre Imigrantes em Massachusetts.*
[9] Charles Tilly, Transplanted Networks, in Virginia Yans McLaughlin, ed., *Immigration Reconsidered: history, sociology and politics*, Ney York: Oxford University Press, 1990.
[10] Andrew Sum , Neeta Fogg, Paul Harrington, Ishwar Khatiwada, Mykhaylo Trub'skyy, Sheila Palma, *Immigrant Workers and the Great American Job Machine: The Contributions of New Foreign Immigration to National and Regional Labor Force Growth in the 1990s,* Boston: Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University, 2002.
[11] Heloisa Souza, The Brazilian Community of New England: An Economic Profile. Document prepared for the 8th Brazilian Independence Day Festival, 2002, available with author.
[12] Andrew Sum, W Neal Fogg, Sheila Palma, Neita Fogg, Julia Kroshko, Suozzo, P, Mykhaylo Trubs'kyy, and Christopher Harrington, *The Changing Workforce: Immigrants and the New Economy in Massachusetts*, Boston: Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University, 1999. See table 22, p. 38.
[13] J Chapman, *The New Faces of Organized Labor: Immigrant Workers in Massachusetts*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Kennedy School of Government for the Massachusetts AFL-CIO, 2001.
[14] Office of Refugee and Immigrant Health, Bureau of Family and Community Health, Massachusetts Department of Public Health, *Refugees and Immigrants in Massachusetts 2000*.
[15] Martes, Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos.
[16] Enrico Marcelli, *Legal Immigration to New England During the 1990s*. The Maurice Gastón Institute Report, University of Massachusetts Boston, 2002.
[17] Martes cites in Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos the estimate of the Archdiocese of Boston.
[18] Sum et al, 1999.

[19] Maxine Margolis, Brazilians and the 1990 United States census: immigrants, ethnicity, and the undercount, *Human Organization* 54: 52-59, 1995..
[20] Davis, D.J. The Brazilian-Americans.
[21] Data gathered recently by the Brazilian Consulate in Boston show that there were over 12,000 Brazilian passports issued in 2003. Most of them were issued to Massachusetts residents. Patient census from community health centers and healthcare facilities located in the Boston Metropolitan Area also show that many thousands of Brazilian patients visited the facilities. Last, the widespread geographic distribution of the over five hundred incorporated Brazilian-owned businesses in the state indicate that the unofficial estimates are closer to the actual size of the population.
[22] Heloisa Souza. The Brazilian Community of New England.
[23] Denise Bacoccina, Remessas de emigrantes superam investimento direto na AL em 2003. The quotation appears in this press report as the words of Donald Terry, an official of the Multilateral Investment Fund of the Interamerican Development Bank. Available at

http://www.bbc.co.uk/portuguese/economia/story/2004/03/040327_emigrantescl.shtml Accessed May 2, 2004.

[24] Tiago Jansen and C. Eduardo Siqueira. Brazilians Working in a Foreign Land: A Preliminary Study of Work Environment and Occupational Health Experiences of Brazilian Immigrants in Lowell, Massachusetts. Report issued to the Committee of Industrial Theory and Assessment of the University of Massachusetts, Lowell, October 2002.

[25] Gaspar Rivera-Salgado, Transnational Political Strategies: The Case of Mexican Indigenous Migrants, in Nancy Foner, Rubén Rumbaut, and Steven J. Gold, eds., *Immigration Research for a New Century: Multidisciplinary Perspectives,* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003.

[26] For a multifaceted discussion of ethnic identity of Hispanics/Lationos in the U.S. see Frank Bonilla, Edwin Meléndez, Rebecca Morales, and María de los Angeles Torres, eds*., Borderless Borders: U.S. Latin Americans, and the Paradox of Interdependence*, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1998.

[27] Brazilians Away From Home.

[28] Alan P Marcus, Once Again: Brazilians are not Hispanic, Brazzil, October 2003, available at www. brazzil.com/2003/html/articles/oct03/p112oct03.htm

[29] Maxine Margolis, *Little Brazil. An Etnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.

[30] Antonio Sérgio Guimarães, Race, Class and Color: Behind Brazil's Racial Democracy, *NACLA Report on the Americas* XXXIV (6): 28-29, 2001.

[31] Sheila S. Walker, Africanity vs Blackness: Race, Class and Culture in Brazil, *NACLA Report on the Americas* XXV (6): 16-20, 2002.

[32] Héctor Tobar, Racial Quake in Brazil, *Los Angeles Times*, October 1, 2003.

[33] Soraya Fleischer, Passando a América a Limpo: o trabalho de housecleaners brasileiras em Boston, Massachusetts, São Paulo: AnnaBlume, 2002.

[34] See Fleischer, 246.

[35] Patricia Fernández Kelly, From Estrangement to Affinity, in Frank Bonilla, Edwin Meléndez, Rebecca Morales, and María de los Angeles Torres, eds*., Borderless Borders: U.S. Latin Americans, and the Paradox of Interdependence*, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1998.

[36] The authors have noticed that oftentimes Brazilian immigrants do not have strong arguments to support their prejudice against Hispanics. When Siqueira challenges this negative view of Hispanics with economic and historical arguments that demonstrate how this strategy can be counterproductive to Brazilian immigrant workers' long-term interests, many Brazilians tend to become defensive and realize that their opinions are based on hearsay and superficial impressions.

[37] Fleischer, ibid.

[38] Gerald Torres, The Legacy of Conquest and Discovery; Meditations on Ethnicity, Race, and Amreican Politics, in Frank Bonilla, Edwin Meléndez, Rebecca Morales, and María de los Angeles Torres, eds*., Borderless Borders: U.S. Latin Americans, and the Paradox of Interdependence*, Philadelphia: Temple University, 1998.

[39] For a recent discussion on how the introduction of racial quotas in Brazilian universitites created much controversy, see Héctor Tobar, "A Racial Quake in Brazil*," Los Angeles Times*, A1, October 1, 2003.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Portes describes the same phenomenon with other immigrant groups in chapter four of Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait*, second edition, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

[42] See David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity,* Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990, for a discussion of what he coined "time and space compression."

[43] Suzanne Oboler. *Ethnic labels, Latino lives: identity and the the politics of (re)presentation in the United States.Minneapolis:University of Minnesota Press, 1995*.

[44] http://www.state.ma.us/dhcd/iprofile/160.pdf Accessed Dec 26, 2002.

[45] http://www.state.ma.us/dhcd/iprofile/160.pdf Accessed Dec 26, 2002. The 2000 Census counted 12,387 (11.8% of total population) as Other Asian in Lowell. Asian groups listed are Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Asian Indian, Vietnamese and Japanese.

[46] Teresa Sales. Brazilians Away from Home.

[47] Marian P Brown, Alejandra Domenzain, and Nelliana Villoria-Siegert. *Voices from the Margins: Immigrant Workers' Perceptions of Health and Safety in the Workplace*. UCLA Labor Occupational Safety and Health (LOSH) Program, 2002.
[48] http://www.maps-inc.org/eabout.htm
[49] http://www.maps-inc.org/eabouthistory.htm
[50] We are both members of the Board of the Brazilian Immigrant Center . We emphasize the work of the BIC here because we consider it as one of the most important Brazilian community organizations in the state. The website of the BIC is www.braziliancenter.org
[51] http://www.braziliancenter.org Accessed July 2003.
[52] Portes and Rumbaut, Immigrant America.
[53] Barbara Salvaterra, 2003. Unpublished manuscript available with author.