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**Brazilian Migration to Portugal:
Social Networks and Ethnic Solidarity**

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Abstract

This paper describes the flux of Brazilian newcomers to Portugal. It focuses on the type of interactions and social networks they make use of, in both the country of origin and destination, in order to find housing and work and build support. It also looks at gender differences in the use of networks, and explores the issue of ethnic solidarity in social relations among Brazilians migrants. This work is based on more than 40 in-depth interviews and ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Lisbon and Mato Grosso do Sul (Brazil).

Keywords: migration, social networks, ethnic solidarity, reciprocity, Brazilians, Portugal

Resumo

O artigo descreve a nova vaga de imigrantes brasileiros em Portugal. Centra-se no tipo de interações e redes sociais utilizadas pelos brasileiros tanto no país de origem como no destino, para encontrar moradia e emprego e na construção dum sistema de apoio. Considera também as diferenças de género na utilização das redes e explora a solidariedade étnica nas relações entre brasileiros migrantes. O trabalho baseia-se em mais de 40 entrevistas em profundidade e no trabalho etnográfico desenvolvido em Lisboa e no Estado de Mato Grosso do Sul, no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: migrações, redes sociais, solidariedade étnica, reciprocidade, brasileiros, Portugal

Introduction: Brazilianization of immigration in Portugal¹

For a long time migrants of all types, economic and refugees, have gone from the countries of Latin America to the United States. More recently, waves of migration from Latin American countries have changed gear to Europe, not replacing but increasing the fluxes South-North. One common element, although not the only one, is that these fluxes somehow are tied to old colonial relationships. In this sense, as people from Spanish speaking countries have immigrated to Spain, Portuguese speaking people have immigrated to Portugal. This is the context where we situate Brazilian immigrants to Portugal (Padilla 2005a).

Today, Brazilians make the largest immigrant group in Portugal, with over 100,000 people. Their legal status varies according to several and complex elements such as date of arrival and effective legalization processes available to them (1992, 1996, 2001, 2003), whether they are married to a national or they have Portuguese (or other European) ancestors, what their level of education and work experience is, etc. Therefore, a large number of them are legal residents, others have authorization to stay (*autorizações de permanência*), others, fewer, were able to legalize through the 2003 exceptional process and have working permits, and many others are still undocumented. Official numbers (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras*) indicated that in 2005 there were 31.353 Brazilians living as legal residents, and other 39.961 had authorizations to stay, making a total of 71.314 people. About 15.000 were able to legalize thanks to the bi-national accord of 2003 (which is still open), thus there are about 86.000 Brazilians living in Portugal who have solved their legal status. On the other hand, the number of undocumented is uncertain, but we can assume that they are about 15.000 more of those pre-registered for legalization, and many others who have arrived after July 2003 thinking that legalization was still possible. Recent studies calculate that the number of undocumented Brazilians could be up to 150.000 (Bendixen & Associates 2006).

The profiles of the Brazilian waves of immigrants have changed over time. Even if throughout history Brazil and Portugal had a long record of exchange that started back in the 1500s with the “discovery” of Brazil, up to the 1950s, Brazil was the main destination for Portuguese emigration (Padilla 2004a). Later on, the fluxes shifted direction. Brazilians came to Portugal as political refugees during the dictatorships and as a counter-current of former Portuguese emigration. In addition, Brazilian professionals (publicists, computer and software experts, dentists, among others) were attracted to Portugal due to its entrance to the European Economic Community (Peixoto 2002) when the demand for a qualified labor force opened new opportunities. However, as Feldman-Bianco (2001) suggests, it was not until Brazilians from the working classes started to emigrate, that it was defined as a problem.

Hence, what happened then was the proletarianization of the Brazilian migration fluxes (Padilla 2004b, 2005a), which meant a shift. While during the 1980s Brazilians belonged to the professional middle classes, in the 1990s most immigrants came from the lower middle class and the working class families. However, even if proletarianization has happened, in comparison with other immigrant groups, Brazilians still occupied an intermediate position when considering their main occupations and educational attainments. Most of them have formal education (average of high school diploma) and some specialization (Padilla 2004b). This intermediate position is reflected both in the

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labor market in which Brazilians occupy some important niches such as jobs in catering and restaurant services, hotel, and other services), and in terms of images and how Portuguese society sees different immigrant groups (Brazilians are better off than Africans coming from the former colonies). Other studies have indicated (Immigration Observatory 2003) that when considering three main immigrant groups (those of African descent, Brazilians and Eastern Europeans), Brazilians occupied a middle position. Later, we will refer in more details to the Portuguese stratified labor market.

In trying to identify sets of reasons that have contributed to the increase of Brazilian immigration to Portugal, we can find several. The traditional pull and push factors, already mentioned for many scholars, are relevant. There are obvious pushing elements in Brazil (poverty, economic instability, unemployment, low salaries, and lack of opportunities among others). On the pulling factors side, and considering the latest wave of the mid and late 1990s, it may be said that the Portuguese economy was booming, with a growing demand of labor for construction (a new bridge, highways, stadiums for the Euro 2004, services at restaurants and hotels, among others).

In addition to the traditional pull-push factors, it is possible to identify other elements that are consequences of globalization, including credit facilities to travel, cheaper air fares, fast circulation of information about not only tourism but also about employment opportunities in other countries, specially in those countries where there were already immigrants from the country of origin. This last element, emphasize the importance of social networks for migration, which is the main aspect of this paper. Using a different name, Massey (1990) has named this “circular and cumulative causation” of migration.

Immigrants’ Social Networks

Many scholars have discussed the important role that social networks play in the lives of immigrants (Margolis 1995, Menjivar 1997, Wilson 1998, Hagan 1998, Peixoto 2002, Harwick 2003, Padilla 2004b & 2005b), even if some have also criticized their real outreach (Sanders and Nee 1987). Within the migration literature, social networks refer primarily to personal relationships based on family, kin, friendship and community (Hagan 1998 citing Boyd 1989:639). Most scholars include family and friends as main axis of the networks, however Menjivar (1997) in a comparative article focuses only on kinship networks, analyzing differences between the behaviors of kin members among different immigrant groups.

It is important to highlight that research has shown that social networks reduce the short term costs of settlement while shaping other variables related to the migration process: decision to migrate, direction of the flows, transnational links, settlement patterns and incorporation (Hagan 1998). As Peixoto (2002) also claims, informal social networks have an important effect on migration as they help to spread information and instill a culture of mobility that penetrates individual decisions. Harwick (2003) gives social networks a different name, “networks of ethnicity” and suggests that they can be endogenous or internal when connections are specific to one or more distinctive groups, and exogenous or external when they provide linkages to the outside world. In addition, many researchers have found significant gender difference on how networks function and work. In trying to explain networks functioning, Curran and Saguy (2001) apply and link three key concepts: networks of obligation, relative deprivation and trust. While “networks of obligation link individuals (both migrating and non-migrating),

relative deprivation motivates migration, and trust structures the content and formation of migrant network ties” (2001:59).

However, it is not possible to think of social networks without considering social capital. Even if the concept of social capital is vague, it is very useful to understand how social networks work. Social capital is not only related to immigrant social networks, but has been widely used to explain how communities function and how social organization depends on trust, norms and networks (Putman 2000). Inclusively, the World Bank defines social capital as norms and networks that enable collective action which contribute to poverty alleviation (Grootaert 1997). In sum, in contemporary discourse, “social capital is used to describe the web of connections, loyalties, investment, and mutual obligations that develop among people, both as part of their regular interactions in which intragroup connections are strengthened (bonding capital) and new links are forged and exploited (bridging capital) (McMichael and Manderson 2004). Additionally, social capital also includes a sense of commitment that lead people to “extend favors, expect preferential treatment and look out for one another’s interests (Gold 1995: 282).

With this introduction, we can move to our case. So, how do social networks work in the case of Brazilians in Portugal? Are they similar for men and women? Are the ties between people always of solidarity and reciprocity, or more selfish principles surface at a certain point? Are all outcomes of networks positive or sometimes they can be detrimental for immigrants? What is the role of the receiving society in shaping networks and its outcomes? Using the information from 40 in-depth interviews conducted in 2003 and 2004, and ethnographic fieldwork conducted in a neighborhood of Old Lisbon which will be name Douradito and Mato Grosso do Sul in September of 2005, we will illustrate how immigrant networks function for Brazilian newcomers in Portugal.

a) Networks and origin or networks of origin

First, it is important to pinpoint that there are some myth about current Brazilian emigration to the world. This myth relates to the place of origin of immigrants and thus, to their social networks, both in the country of origin and the country of destination. For a long time, research has indicated and highlighted one region, Minas Gerais and mainly one city, Governador Valadares, as the principal sending community within Brazil. Even if this was true at some point, especially for Brazilian emigration to the United States, Brazilian immigrants today, come from all over the country, including big cities and small towns (Padilla 2004b and c). Today in Portugal, there are many *mineiros* (a study of the Immigration Observatory and the Casa do Brasil suggested that about 30% of the surveyed were from Minas), however fluxes are not monolithic. It is possible to find immigrants from most of the Brazilian states. About 25% of the interviewees of our sample, came from Minas Gerais, however the others interviewees came from many different states, from the different regions of Brazil, including the poorest (Northeast) and the richest (South). Moreover, not all immigrants come from large cities. Information provided along the interviews, suggest that some immigrants come from smaller cities, thus many said to shopping centers and facilities in Lisbon and its surroundings. Shopping malls are abundant in Brazilian larger cities, but very limited in smaller towns, hence this information also illustrates that many immigrants come from regions with limited infrastructure.

In the case of the selected group from Dourados-Itaporá in Mato Grosso do Sul, these cities/towns are relative small urban areas and have a small town mentality, where most people know each other, know the same people or their connections know other people's friends or relatives. This is important when defining immigrant social capital and social networks in relation to the process of decision-making about migration. In this sense, most people of Dourados-Itaporá had relatives, friends or acquainted in several continents, mainly the United States, Japan and Europe (mainly Portugal but not only). This suggests at least two things: One is that the immigration phenomenon is omnipresent even in remote locations, or previously unthought-of places (such as rural areas, small cities, peripheral towns, etc), as would be the case of Dourados-Itaporá. The second is that, even in small cities, networks seem to be diversified with ties to several countries/continents. This diversification provides immigrants with a set of options when it comes to making decisions to where migrate. In this sense people decide to emigrate to different places according to many factors such as: resources (material and immaterial) they are able to gather before and at arrival, the existing connections (own or through family or friends), possibilities of getting a visa (for the cases of the US or Japan), expectations about integration and success (language and cultural similarities), job opportunities abroad, willingness to take serious risks like crossing the Mexican-American desert/border or buying a fake passport or visa to enter the country of destination. Thus, immigrant networks from the beginning influence and shape the migration decision. Most of the people from Dourados-Itaporá that came to Portugal, decided to come to Lisbon entering the EU through a non-Portuguese city, mainly Madrid, but also Amsterdam, Paris, Geneva or Zurich. This decision was not a random choice, but a conscious decision to maximize the possibilities of a safe arrival, and both, travel agencies and contacts at the place of destination had warned migrants of the benefits of doing so. Those that decided to arrive directly to Lisbon, faced more risks of deportation or of being held at the airport, like young Rogerio (18 years old) who was only freed to go after his sister in law with whom he traveled, refused to leave the airport after one day long of waiting and a dangerous nerves break-down and after a day long interrogation marathon with different threatening officers.

According to previous research, the help provided by networks seems crucial at the moment of arrival, or even before arrival. "Social networks are at work long before immigrants arrive in their new host society" (Goza 2005:17), thus direct contacts, or mediated contacts, have to be established before immigrants catch the plane. About 73% of the Brazilians that were interviewed said that they knew someone in Portugal, and that someone was a relative, a friend or friends of friends. Copel, Nilton and Ted were the first ones to come to Lisbon in 2000 from Dourados-Itaporá, and due to the lack of networks to assist them (they did not know anyone in Lisbon), they had a rough experience in the beginning which included being ripped-off by organized criminal networks, until later when they were able to gather social capital. Short after the bad start, their experience improved significantly and they became the first node of a network, still in place today. Consequently and due to their abilities to gather new social capital in the host society, in addition to finding jobs, they found housing and in less than a year, they were able to bring their families. The network they started does not stop there; later on many others have arrived from the same region: extended family, friends, friends of friends or relatives, neighbors, etc. Our fieldwork demonstrated that many of the newcomers from Dourados-Itaporá got help in different ways from this *core node of the network*: finding housing, finding jobs, providing childcare, providing references and emotional support.

Since arrival, this original or core node found jobs in construction sector, and along the years they have moved up into the business. Thus, some of them have become sub-contractors and intermediaries in the construction sector, hence they have offered employment to co-ethnic from the same place of origin, or they tell others where they can find jobs in this sector. In relation to women, many of them have found work as domestic workers due to information or recommendations that newcomers got from co-ethnics, mainly from the Dourados-Itaporá region. In terms of housing, this *core node* has been important in helping other newcomers in finding places to live and enabling their settlement the Douradito neighborhood where they live. In addition to facilitating information on housing, what some of the core people of this network have done is to be guarantor (either legally or informally giving their word to landlords), and in this way, other immigrants have been able to rent a house/apartment on their own. This is the case of Gilmar and his family who now live in their own rented apartment, thanks to Copel who talked to his landlord who happen to own the building where Gilmar lives now. Information about possible available housing is passed through network's members, and those who already have a name, sponsor (formally or informally) those who are newer or do not have a name yet. This, in addition to have access to their own housing, enables immigrants to have a better life. On the one hand, it improves their personal and familiar well-being, and on the other hand, it prevents them from exploitation or the fact that some people take advantages of those who cannot rent on their own, by imposing high rents and high expenses.

Another story that illustrates how networks facilitate housing is Copel's own story, even if it could interfere with family life. At a point there were about 16 people living at Copel's apartment, most of them from Dourados-Itaporá. Upon arrival, everyone would go to his house. However today, due to problems with overcrowding and because they do not need the money, only 9 people live in the house (most of them family members and two outsiders, one from Minas Gerais and the other from Rio Grande do Sul). Yet, Copel is not the only one that helps his compatriots, all people from this region said that received help to get housing when they first arrive, which meant that if there was no room available at their family or friend own houses, they found someone they knew who would receive them instead.

Information from the interviews yielded similar conclusions about ways to find employment and housing. Most of the interviewees, 65%, said to have found a job due to references provided by other Brazilians, either family, friends, or other Brazilians that met in the host society. On the other hand, only 37% said to have faced housing problems, as most of them stayed with family or friends.

Thus, taking into account the above information, we state that for the case of Brazilians newcomers from Mato Grosso do Sul and other Brazilian immigrants, *social networks of origin* (Padilla 2005c) have been very important for getting into the new country with the right foot. "Networks of origin are those networks that originate in the country of origin, even if they gain strength, grow and diversifies in the country of destination to transcend its origin" (Padilla 2005c: 13).

b) Social networks and gender

Even if early work did not identify gender differences in relation to networks, it is true that early work tended to hide women as immigrants. More recently many scholars have identified gender differences in migration and in the use of networks (Hagan 1998, Menjivar 1998, Curran and Rivero-Fuentes 2003, Hondagneu-Sotelo

1994, Assis 2002, Padilla 2004b). Their findings suggest that men and women may have different motivations to migrate, that they face different risks when migrating, that they use different types of networks gathering different types of resources. In addition, other findings suggest that women may face more opposition than men when trying to migrate.

The interviews conducted with Brazilian men and women indicate that most of them decided to leave Brazil due to economic-financial problems that were caused by unemployment or instability in the country of origin. However, some also mentioned other reasons, such as to get out of Brazil to see the world, to have an adventure, to study, and/or to start a new life, etc. Thus, even if the economic-financial motivation is shared by most of the men and women, or are based for family migration, it was more common for women to migrate following their husband who were already in Portugal. Yet, the fact that more wives followed their husbands, does not prevent that, with time, the migration experience gains a different and personal sense for females.

Regina came to Lisbon with her two sons to be reunited with her husband. Once in Portugal, she discovered her economic potential as a money maker as babysitter, caretaker and home maker, so even staying at home, she is able to make money not only from babysitting but also from cooking, washing and ironing clothes for everyone who lives in the house. In consequence, she is able to earn and save money, and contributes in a substantial way to her family income. In addition, she sends money to support her mother at home. Currently, she is the one who has decided that they are not going back to Brazil yet. She has come to realize that once in Brazil, there is no possibility for her to make a living in the same way, as her work would be of little economic value. Nobody would pay for having clean clothes and a clean room; nobody would pay for babysitting children when there are family members all over. Besides that, nobody would pay in Euros or at a Euro value, especially taking into account that domestic chores are worthless in Brazil. Now, she is able to enjoy the extra money she makes and wants to plan for the future. Interestingly, Regina is inserted in a dominated Brazilian economy, as her clients are mainly Brazilians: the residents, mainly men, who live in her family house and the children of other Brazilians who work and need childcare. Being in Portugal has taught her many things, and even if she is not the main breadwinner, her migration experience has given her a new sense of control and independence. As Brettell asserts "women are often more reluctant to return to the sending society than are migrant men because it will mean giving up some of the advantages they have gained while abroad (2000: 110).

Like Regina, 24% of the women who were interviewed came to Portugal with their husbands or because their husbands were already in the country. Whether they decided to bring their children with them or not, is a different story that varies according to the age of the children, if the children have a life of their own, or if the mother's husband is the father of the children left behind. Other women, 53%, came because they already had a family member such as father, mother, sister, brother or cousins living in Portugal, or in few cases, friends. Finally, 23% of them came to Portugal due to language and cultural similarities. Only one female came to Portugal without knowing anyone or with no contact at all and chose Portugal due to linguistic reasons. Out of these women, almost half of them had no children.

Some of these women, even if they knew someone or had a relative, came alone to make a living or because they needed a change in their lives. In most of these cases, these women were single with no children, or separated or single mothers who left their children behind, mainly with the grandmothers (usually their own mothers). For these

women, who had some contacts in Portugal through networks of origin, migrating was both, an economic path and a way to start a new life with more independence. In some cases, it seems that some of them were almost running away from their past and obligations, trying to live a life they did not enjoy when they were younger. Jussara separated from her husband and in a few months came to Portugal together with her sister Andrea and a friend. Both, Andrea and Jussara met their new partners in Lisbon, interestingly the new partners are both from the same home town, but did not know each other before. Once in Lisbon, the stories of the sisters bifurcated in two opposite paths. Andrea, who had previously lived in Japan for some time, worked hard, saved money and went back to Brazil with her partner, within a year. Jussara instead, has not gone back yet, says she misses her two adolescent sons who are in Brazil with her mother, and rarely sends money to help support them. She has changed jobs several times. Even though she claims she is soon going back, she has not. Her justifications include that she is waiting for her partner to receive the money his boss owes him from long ago in construction, that she is really sick and that she needs to save some money, among others. However her Brazilian fellows think that with her life style, it would be impossible to keep any money in the pocket, as every weekend, they give parties. On the other hand, other single mothers do as much as possible to help those left behind. Amanda, a single mother who left her son also with her mother, sends money home to help support him and also has bought a piece of land and together with her new partner, from the same city, are building a house for when they return.

What about men? Do they come alone or with their families? Most men, 70% of the interviewees, knew someone in Portugal, although almost 80% of them came alone. The other 20% came mainly with friends, and only one came with family members (sister and nephews). Most of the men who were interviewed, about 65%, were single and the others were either divorced or married. In addition, 60% of them had not children. Thus there are more men who either migrate alone or initiate the family migration.

So, comparing men and women experiences and trajectories, it can be said, that in fact women's networks are more family based (husband, father, mother, sister, brother, cousin, etc), while for men, networks are mainly friendship based. Thus, even if social networks of origin play an important role for both, men and women, as research has found for other ethnic groups, Brazilians networks are different for women and men. But, are there other differences between men and women in relation to networks?

Research has also indicated that other differences between men and women have to do with access to resources and legalization (Hagan 1998). Many times what happens is that having access to valuable information and resources depends on factors such as type of jobs (isolated or not, who are the co-workers), and circles of socialization (with co-ethnic, other immigrants or nationals). Thus, those who work in isolation or have more limited circles of friends, tend to have more limited access to resources and information. In the case of the Brazilian interviewees, the majority of men and women were undocumented at the time of the interview. While 60% of the men had no visas, 65% of the women were in the same situation. This difference is not significant, however, if analyzing some data about jobs held by men and women, we may conclude that in many cases, women do have less or more limited access to resources and information, even if men are also vulnerable to lack of willingness of bosses to give contracts in the construction sector.

If we look at informal data collected of the Brazilians pre-registered for legalization in 2003, and if we consider that 62% of those who declare a profession

were distributed among the following professions: construction, domestic, catering and hotels, and retail. Assuming that out of these sectors, construction is a male dominated sector and domestic is a female niche, while also considering two other factors: 1- construction workers do not work in isolation, as domestic do, and 2- there are more chances of inspections and supervision at construction sites than at family homes, hence, we can infer that women have less access to information and resources than men do. It remains unknown if both have access to work contracts that enables their legalization, or whether there are more men or women to become legal thanks to the legalization of one of the partners, in case of family migration.

In addition to contrasting gender differences in networks, we can also explore whether there are differences in the way women from different ethnic groups use networks. Menjivar (1998) describes how networks work for three ethnic groups: Mexican, Salvadorians and Vietnamese, finding differences between the groups. In her study, Mexicans have stronger and more structure networks, while Salvadorians are more limited and restrictions arise from lack of resources and a worse insertion in the host society. Vietnamese, in addition to having strong networks, the fact of being refugees provides them with more resources and support than the other groups. In Portugal, immigrants' social networks enjoy less support from either governmental programs or NGOs assistance than in the United States, for any group of immigrant. However, some of the benefits of social networks that Menjivar mentions, arise from the informal networks, mainly kinship social networks, as she states: "women relied heavily on relatives for baby-sitting, which prompted some families to bring a dependent female relative – a niece, a younger sister, an unemployed female cousin, an aging aunt, a mother or a grandmother- from Mexico to help with this task" (1998: 8). In contraposition, Brazilian women do not have access to similar networks due to the fact that most women who migrate, are active in the labor market, either in the formal but mainly in the informal economy, depending sometimes but not only on their legal status. Thus the provision of child-care is an issue that networks have not been able to solve.

Information gathered in fieldwork indicates that Brazilians rarely can use family or friends for free babysitting. Most women, younger or older, work, thus if they have their children with them, they need to provide paid childcare. A younger or older unemployed female is not something they have available or can afford to bring to Portugal from Brazil. Liegi lives with her daughter, her husband, her mother and a friend in an apartment. All of them work, thus Regina takes care of her daughter all day long. Adriano lives with his wife, they both work so Regina also takes care of their 2 year-old son. On the top of her work as babysitter which includes feeding, bathing and dressing several children, she also cares for her two sons when they are not at school. Her work practice and ethic is very Brazilian, as when she delivers the children to the parents, they have clean clothes, are bathed, fed and combed. This is different from picking up the children from a child-care, where children are dirty, messy and hungry. It is also cheaper and it means that the children of Brazilian immigrants can be treated as if they were home.

c) Social networks, solidarity and reciprocity

In general the issue of social or ethnic solidarity has been studied in the context of an ethnic enclave. Some scholars have already suggested that an enclave economy is not always possible, and that the emergence of an enclave economy depends more on

the context and outside possibilities of the integration of immigrants in the host society (Brettell 1981, Pessar 1995, Alvarez 1990). Other scholars, have criticized the fact that regardless of the existence of an enclave economy, some research takes for granted the existence of solidarity among immigrants, as if was a natural given (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, Martes 1999). On the contrary, they suggest that exploitation, lack of solidarity and co-ethnic profitability may occur, as for example it is common to hear about job selling or profiting with rents among some Brazilians in the Boston area, especially with newcomers who are desperate to find jobs and places to live (Martes 1999).

In Portugal it is not possible to find a Brazilian enclave. Even if they are the largest immigrant group, they hold jobs in a wide variety of sectors, both in the formal and informal economy but in general they do not work for other Brazilians. What can be found in Portugal in relation to Brazilians is that as the labor force in some sectors is dominated by Brazilian employees, when it comes to new hiring, due to contacts and networking, other Brazilians are hired. In any case, as there is not an enclave economy, we propose to discuss the issue of solidarity in relation to the behavior manifested in and within networks.

Most of the interviewees, 50%, said that in general, Brazilians help each others, one example being that most of them found jobs through the reference of their Brazilians friends or relatives. Inclusively, some indicated to have found a job thanks to references provided by a newly met Brazilian fellow. According to their responses, 60% of the men and 50% of the women found jobs through and thanks to a network. Hence, among Brazilians we found solidarity at least in giving out references and contacts. On the other hand, and on the opposite extreme, the other half of the Brazilians who were interviewed manifested a lack of trust toward other Brazilians, although they were referring to the “unknown Brazilians” or the “average Brazilian”, that is, those who do not have a face, and not to their friends. Nevertheless those that manifested little trust toward other Brazilians did not know specific cases of exploitation among co-ethnics, it was more a matter of general distrust. Apparently and according to an explanation offered by an interviewee, Rosane, distrust arises in context of competition, namely, when someone new, probably with more qualification comes and “threatens” an established person. This leads us to believe that solidarity arises at different times of the migration experience, in the beginning there is a tendency to help the newcomer, but when there is a chance of competition, this willingness to help fades out. In this sense, I have suggested someplace else (Padilla 2004b) that it may be more convenient to talk about empathy that solidarity, as most immigrants may identify with the newly arrive immigrant and try to help. While in the beginning most immigrants would not mean a risk (competition), to give them a hand seems normal and compassionate, later on, this same immigrant may overshadow the older one, thus fear comes into play. This is a consequence of the fact that a newly arrive immigrant is more willing to take the worse jobs, inclusively those jobs that an established immigrant would not take.

In the Portuguese context, as it was mentioned where there is not an enclave economy dominated by Brazilians, Brazilians still help each others to find jobs, thus what ends up happening is that informally Brazilians recruit other co-nationals. In reality, the Portuguese labor market is stratified, and there are some occupational niches where Brazilians are very well represented or overrepresented (sales and retails, restaurants and catering, hotel services, etc.). In addition, on the side of the informal economy, many domestic and construction workers are also Brazilians (Padilla 2004b), which all in all demonstrates that networks and their solidarity intervene to integrate immigrants into the labor market, being this incorporation formal or informal.

Information gathered in fieldwork with Brazilians in the Douradito neighborhood clearly illustrates how networks and the fact that they help each other, eases their members' integration into the host society. All the men from Mato Grosso do Sul work in construction. These men seem to have similar paths of labor incorporation, they either work for Pedro, a Portuguese boss (although many have complained of exploitation and no payment, thus many have stopped working for him), or work for a more established Brazilian who are sub-contractor or intermediaries (Copel and Wanderlei). These two more established immigrants have been longer in the country and have contacts and experience in construction, so when they get job offers, they hire their friends to do the work. In the case of women, many women work as domestics (live-in or by the hour), but others work in coffee-shops or retail, however when they know about a job, they tell their friends. This is how Liegi found her job. That is how Lita got a job as soon as she arrived, and now she is a live-in sitter in Cascais where another girl from Itaporá works as a maid.

In other contexts, solidarity has been seen as a source of collective identity and a form of reaction against outside threats, therefore, solidarity or even empathy among immigrants in the host society could be expected. Moreover, Pigg and Crank assert that "the binding factor may be common interest, ethnicity, history, religion or culture or anything else unique to a social group" (2004). If applied to the case of Brazilians, we see that more than one of the binding factors are present. Returning to the example of job hunting, helping others to find jobs is in part what networks do and is part of what the network's social capital offer. Another element that works as binding factor is ethnicity which comes into play in several fronts, either to joint or divide. When Brazilians feel discriminated against either at work, or as "potential client thieves" in stores, their ethnicity is a binder, as they are easily identified as Brazilians (accent). On the other hand, their ethnicity may be use to "otherized" those Brazilians who they do not want or identify with (those that are too loud, or too lazy, or too promiscuous, or whatever Brazilians define as the Other Brazilians among them). Culture is a binding factor in general that refer them back home: food, music, habits, soccer, etc.

Job selling (Martes 2000), has been identified as a common practice in other societies where Brazilians have emigrated, however in Lisbon it is very unlikely to happen. What does occur is that there are some expectations around the provision of information or contacts about jobs. Some people mentioned that after receiving "help" they feel the obligation of retribution by giving a present or doing an informal favor to the person. What arises, thus, is a feeling of reciprocity or what scholars have named "reciprocity transactions" which extend relations and obligation to the future, structuring interactions among the group members (Pigg and Crank 2004). However when reciprocity, understood not always as favors or return of a favor but as demonstrations of friendship, is not a sustained behavior, many problems may arise among group members: different cliques among members, increasing gossiping and talking behind people's back, clashes between members of the group, etc. Fieldwork allowed us to become aware of these events. While Jussara was living with Iraci and her family, they were all very close and caring. She was getting support (emotional and other kind of support from Iraci and her family), but as soon as Jussara moved out to a different place, two buildings away, many of her stories and lies became obvious. Her lies and dishonesty include a fake cancer, permanent job change, which put her on the spot, her taste for having a good life (comfort, new clothes, abundant food and parties) without doing much nor working hard. In consequence, those that know her, started to wonder why neither she keeps a job nor sends money to her children in Brazil. Some of

her neighbors have commented on her conspicuous consumption and how it does not go along with her status of being an immigrant. Hence, her friends perceive that there is not reciprocity in her acts, either with them in the neighborhood or with her family back home. This perception is not just a way to judge her correct or incorrect behavior, but they feel cheated by her, by playing the victim's role. They have recommended her to jobs, they have given her support for an illness that may not exist, they have been compassionate with her, they have been her friends, and overall, they now feel that it has been a lie.

The issue of reciprocity and reciprocity transactions gain more meaning within networks, in relation to remittances and the relations networks maintain both in origin and in the host society. "Just as potential migrants expect kin or friends, who have already migrated, to assist them, so households of origin expect migrant to "help out" financially, by remitting a portion of their salary (Carrant and Saguy 2001: 60). Thus, migration is most of the times a way to reduce risks and ensure earning in both place (origin and country of destination). This strategy of diversification "relies on the assumption that migrants and non-migrants are linked through networks of obligation and shared understanding of kinship and friendship" (Carrant and Saguy 2001: 60). Analyzing Jussara's case in light of what was exposed above, she is breaking the reciprocity transactions and not fulfilling her duties with friends in Lisbon and with family back home. On the one hand, she never paid back her sister Andrea with whom she migrated and who paid for her expenses and in addition lent her money several times. On the other hand, she was able to leave Brazil because her parents agreed to look after her children. Her parents are not only responsible for caring physically and emotionally for the well-being of her two adolescent sons, but they are also supporting them financially. Her parents, who are old and work full time, her mother as a cleaning lady at a business and her father as a driver for the same company, only hope for her return. Their expectations are not to get money or financial support from her, but to have her back to care and look after her children.

Yet, the case of Regina is different. Regina migrated following her husband. Currently, she has helped other family members to come: two of her younger brothers (Rogerio and Nilson), her sister Rosangela with her daughter Angela. Her mother remains in Brazil and lives with a 14 year-old son and also with Rosangela's other daughter, who is 5. However in her family, the only one to maintain reciprocity transaction is Regina; all others rarely call or send money to their mother in Brazil. Regina has kept reciprocity obligation transactions along time: first, by enabling the rest of the family to migrate after her; and second, by sending money home and investing some money (i.e. buying a house with a garden where her grandfather lives now). However, many Brazilians who do not send money home justified this lack of reciprocity, as an issue of trust. Many said that they do not trust their family members or their friends to carry out their investments from them. To this, some add that non-immigrants tend to think that because immigrants earn in Euros (in this case), they have a lot of money and then try to keep (steal) some extra money for themselves. Liegi has resisted sending money to her husband's mother family as she does not know what she used it for. Copel said that when he wanted his brother to finish building his house, the budget he offered was a rip-off.

Overall, it is difficult to make generalization about solidarity and reciprocity, as ties and links between origin and destination vary in many complex ways. From these stories we can identify reciprocity breakers in both extremes, in the country of origin

and in the country of destination, however any further assessment could mean a judgment that we are not willing to do.

d) Social networks and the host society

Characteristic and features of social networks, as we have seen, do not conform to a unique model. As we have said, sometimes networks develop in enclave economies, other times, solidarity and reciprocity transactions are prevalent while in other cases, are rarer. Gender wise, we were able to identified differences on how networks work for men and women. What remains to be analyzed is whether the host society plays a role in shaping and defining networks. Here, we risk an affirmative answer.

Social networks are composed of social capital and resources that come from the networks themselves, but also from resources, opportunities or lack of them, that arise from the host society. So the specific combination of resources and social capital of the country of origin mix with a given situation in the country of destination, as in a black box, yielding the specificities of the social networks of immigrants in each society. In this sense, Hardwick argues that “my research on migrant in the Western US indicates that, in fact, differences in the characteristics of places of origin and places of destination both play a key role in explaining the impact and relative importance of various types of social networks and social capital” (2003:168).

In her case, the end of the cold war and the specific context of the former Soviet Union and the United States, enable immigration and the formation of strong networks for Russians and Ukrainians. After an Amendment to the Refugee Act was passed in 1989, Jewish and evangelical were able to migrate under refugee status. Thus, change in legislation was key for this change to take place. Menjivar also states that networks work differently when immigrants are officially labeled refugees, as their networks expand to include other organizations such as NGOs, governmental agencies and other associations. However she also asserts that more established networks of economic immigrants have advanced to create formal support organization, such as the Mexican in the US, and thus they are in better shape than other ethnic groups. For Salvadorians, networks are weaker as they insertion in the host society is more conditioned and their networks are less established than Mexicans (Menjivar 1997).

Machado (2002) citing Sayad states that it is important to recognize immigration is a heterogeneous phenomenon, define in relation to variables of origin and variables of destination. Consequently, the personal and network resources and the social capital gather both at home and in the host country play an important role in the immigration trajectory. Here, we want to emphasize the relevance of some features of the recipient society. For example, characteristics of the labor market in the host society influence how immigration networks work. This influence may be gender specific, as an employer may ask to recruit men or women (Hagan 1998), but also, overall characteristics of the host society and its labor market may influence as well. King and Zontini (2000) talk about the existence of a Southern European model which according to them has the following characteristics: heterogeneity of migrant source countries, dynamic role of the informal economy, a heavy concentration of immigrant employment in the tertiary sector, and a highly segmented structure of the labor market, especially segregated by ethnic group and with niches opportunities.

All these features are found in Portugal, where Brazilians are one of the main immigrant groups that contribute to its heterogeneity, however other important groups

are people from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, Eastern Europeans, Chinese and other Asians (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis), among others. Most immigrants, and especially Brazilians, are important participants of the informal economy and work mainly in the tertiary sector, as it has been said previously. In this sense, Brazilians occupy in this segmented labor market a middleman or intermediary position (medium or lower-medium) in comparison with other groups (Padilla 2004b), they are better off than immigrants of African descent and Eastern Europeans, but worse off than citizens of the European Union and Portuguese nationals. In relation to the gender segmentation of the market, many Brazilian women are employed in the informal domestic service niche, catering, restaurants and hotels, and in the sex trade.

Regarding Brazilian women that work in the sex trade in Portugal, it is important to mention some facts. Existing images and stereotypes about Brazilian women in Portugal, always associate them to prostitution, sensuality and being exotic (Padilla 2004c), however, this fame about Brazilian women has become international and it is dominant in other societies like the United States and Italy (Margolis 1994, Bassanesi and Bógus 1999). Carchedi (2000), also recognizes this international fame, when describing waves of foreign prostitution in Italy, specifically mentions Brazilian women and transsexuals, as members of the first influx of foreign prostitution, in 1989-1990. Nonetheless, even if the majority of Brazilian women do not work in prostitution, recent studies have shown that there has been an increase in trafficking and smuggling in Brazil (Leal and Leal 2002, Peixoto et. al 2005) that channels women to prostitution, despite the fact that in Portugal prostitution is greatly associated to Brazilian women (Padilla 2004).

There is yet another characteristic of society that in conjunction with the labor market, influence the behavior of networks and the expectation of immigrants. This characteristic may be called “societal orientation”. In general, if comparing Europe with the United States, Europe upholds principles considered to be more social and collective, while the United States is considered more individualistic. Even the welfare states in Europe and the United States have historically been different. Thus immigrants hold different expectation in different host societies. So, if this main difference does not justifies more or less solidarity among immigrants, at least could be an explanation of the existence of job selling in the United States and its absence in Portugal. Competition, a main element part of the American culture, is expected and practice in the United States by national and immigrants. On the other hand, competition is not central in Portuguese society, and not even desperation among immigrants has promoted exploitation among Brazilians. Likewise, Brazilians have not developed an enclave economy in Portugal, as other ethnic groups have (Chinese, Indians, etc.), but have shown a less problematic incorporation, which I have called a “de facto” integration (Padilla 2004c). One possible explanation could be that Brazilians (due to language skills and other characteristics associated to Brazilians such as happiness and being friendly) have ensured a smoother integration to Portuguese society than have other groups.

Conclusions

During the last decade, immigration flows have changed in Portugal. The two main trends have been diversification (new sources, i.e. Eastern Europeans, etc.) and the Brazilianization (increasing number of Brazilians). In addition to the Brazilianization of the fluxes, we have also witnessed its proletarianization. Social networks, as it has been

highlighted, have been central for the insertion and integration of Brazilians. Knowing more about the performance and functioning of these networks is important to not only for expanding research findings, but for shaping immigration policies in relation to integration and how to manage current and future fluxes.

One main characteristic has to do with the relevance and impetus that social networks of origin give to immigration fluxes. In this sense, and for the Brazilian case illustrated, networks of origin are one of the most important and pivotal structure of support for most immigrants, especially the newly arrived. In this case, the definition and understanding of networks of origin do not exclude other ramifications, diversification, expansion or new social capital gain later by immigrants, because in many cases, many of the ramifications and diversification of those contacts are rendered by the original networks. In Portugal, immigrant networks do not enjoy as many external or exogenous linkages as some networks do in other countries, where civil society organizes to provide help and support. On the contrary, networks are mainly endogenous, depending on internal linkages. In this sense, networks are kinship and friendship based. However, this is a consequence of the fact that only recently, Portugal became a country of immigration, and thus, the infrastructure developed around immigration and ethnic groups has not been as fertile as in other Western societies.

Social networks also proved to be different for men and women. As illustrated, women tend to use more kinship networks, while men are more incline to use friendship networks, for when making decisions about migration and as part of the cumulative and circular migration. But, networks are more similar for men and women when it comes to other aspects, such as job and housing information, where kinship or friendship networks seem to behave similarly. Another issue about gender and networks is that, even if in many cases women migrate to follow their husbands, this apparent passivity does not mean that their migration experience does not gain a different and independent meaning later on. Thus, it is common that women resist or delay their family's return, as they are aware that once back in the society of origin, they will not be able to capitalize or profit from the migration experience, being that financially or in terms of freedom and independence.

While women who migrate after their husband are common, other women decide to migrate more independently. This seems to be a new trend, whereas separated, divorced or single mothers, women decide to migrate, leaving their children behind. They justified their decision to migrate based on two arguments: a) to improve their life (and that of their family) financially, or b) to start a new life, usually due to broken marriage, or a disillusion. Even if the first argument is more cited by immigrants, according to their accounts, it is possible to say that there are more women giving more weight to the second argument. For some of them, migration experience is a way to run away from family, problems, obligations and duties, even if that means in some case, to put their families on hold, especially their children.

The segregated, by race and gender, Portuguese labor market has created some niches for Brazilian men and women. However, as indicated already, an enclave economy has not yet developed. Yet, ethnic solidarity may be encounter among Brazilians. Solidarity has been important among Brazilian men and women, as the majority of them have been able to find jobs through references provided by family, friends or acquaintance. On the other hand, other Brazilians are very reluctant to trust those unknown Brazilians, but it is not possible to talk about lack of solidarity either. Anyhow, in other situations, a limited solidarity is mentioned for later stages of the

migration experience, and competition or the possibility to compete is what leads other Brazilians to be afraid of other co-ethnics. In relation to reciprocity, things are different.

Reciprocity, or actions of reciprocity, has two main recipients: family and/or friends, in the country of destination, and family and/or friends in the country of origin. Yet, on the opinion of some scholars, reciprocity is more relevant for relationships that tie the country of destination with the country of origin, mainly through remittances, because those who left are able to send something to those who stayed. In this case, we found evidence of both, those who send money to their families to live and for their daily expenses, and those who send money for some investments. However, what we observed was that some immigrants have some reservation about sending money home when they are not sure about the correct use of their money, based on feelings of distrust. In these cases, reciprocity has become more limited to the early promises of sending money, or paying back the debts, but once debts are paid, reciprocity is interrupted.

Finally, one element that is as important as networks themselves is the host society. We have seen that it is not possible to consider social networks and evaluate their social capital, if we do not look at the important features of the host society. Host societies have labor markets, segregated or not, a culture, a history, an imagined community, among other elements, that define or frame the way social networks of immigrants function. In the case of Brazilians in Portugal, some defining features relate to the existence of specific labor markets niches for Brazilian men and women, while preventing the development of an enclave economy. Also, due to the early developmental stages of immigration to the country, immigrants and immigrants' networks have had limited access to external resources and other support infrastructure. Culturally, Portugal has interceded for immigrants, by not making/imposing/defining competition as main value, thus ethnic solidarity has developed among Brazilians. All in all, the characteristics both, immigrants and host societies, allow us for different results and outcomes of the migration experience.

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