

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANT BRAZILIAN WOMEN

IN "PINK COLLAR JOBS" IN THE

GREATER WASHINGTON D.C.

AREA

By

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Submitted to the

Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences

of American University

in Partial Fulfillment of

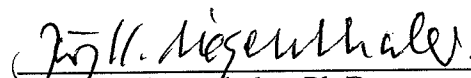
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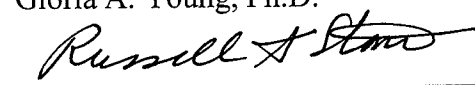
In


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Date

August 26, 2011

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DEDICATION

To Ricardo, My Dear Son

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ABSTRACT

The study of transnational migrant Brazilian women in “pink collar jobs” in the Greater Washington D.C. metropolitan area comprises thirty-four Brazilian women who chose the United States as their place to be called home. It is termed transnational because of the permanent ties connecting these women to their country of origin, Brazil, and their country of adoption, the United States. The expression “pink collar jobs” indicates low paid jobs, mainly performed by women, no expertise necessary, in the service sector.

The Washington D.C. metropolitan area has become a new destination for immigrants with a large concentration of Latin Americans. Brazilian presence is among these diverse groups of immigrants, with an increasing participation on the market.

This research focuses on transnational migration in women’s context, with all the nuances that involve the process of migration and incorporation into the labor market.

Three research questions explore the topic:

1. Why do Brazilian women engage in transnational migration from Brazil to the United States?

1. a. How do social networks affect their transnational migration?

2. How do the social construction of gender and ethnicity influence the occupational choices of this group of Brazilian women, in light of their backgrounds and the job perspectives they anticipated?

3. In what ways do pink collar jobs shape their identity, social interaction and job satisfaction?

The answers to these questions delineate the main characteristics, aspirations and satisfactions of these migrant workers as they embrace the United States as their new home. Furthermore, they emphasize the role of social networks facilitating their transnational migration which proves a continuous interaction of people and places.

The findings are significant to policy makers in sending and receiving countries, to immigrant women and those interested in studying them.

Brazilians are many times considered as part of the “panethnic” category of Hispanics. This argument raises discussions about Brazilian ethnic identity which differs from the people of Latin America. They are proud of their “Brazilianess” and see themselves as unique.

Immigration shapes much of political debate in the United States. Moreover, the study underscores the importance of diversity in a country founded by immigrants.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to Professors Esther Chow, Gloria A. Young, Jurg K. Siegenthaler and Russell A. Stone for their strong support throughout the whole program, especially in difficult times. I am also extremely grateful for the words of encouragement from Dr. Kim Blankenship. This paper would also not have been possible without the invaluable assistance of Professor Richard Scott, Adelaide Lusambili, Agatha Hostins, Barbara Christy, Doris Warrel, M. Spaziani, Patrick del Vecchio, Sara Markle, and Kali Michael.

Finally, I must convey my sincere gratitude to the Brazilian women, who agreed to be interviewed for this study and to everyone else who contributed to my research efforts.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Like the United States, Brazil has been known as a country of immigration since the first settlements by the Portuguese. However, during the eighties, an increasing number of Brazilians left the country in search of better opportunities denied in their country of origin. “They were fleeing from a high inflation and economic uncertainty that have gouged the middle class and made its standard of living harder to maintain. By 1991, the ‘Collor Plan’ to cut inflation was unsuccessful and the Brazilian economy had shrunk by 4.6 percent, the largest drop since 1947 (Margolis, 1994).”

The United States is the favorite destination of many Brazilians. A network system previously built up directs them to new ports of entry where low paid jobs are open to immigrants and they may easily integrate into the American society. New York, Boston and Miami attracted most of them, initially. They came after the jobs American people didn’t want, but fit the newcomers to make their living. This immigration movement which started as a predominant male phenomenon, changed direction with more women and families arriving in the United States, at the beginning of the nineties (Franklin, 1992, in DeBiaggi, 2002). The arrival of more immigrants also brought an expansion of networks and new places for settlements. Washington D.C. has become an attractive place for many immigrants, including Brazilians. Diplomatic organizations, financial centers, political institutions and government agencies are located

in the region, assuming that the world is here. Such a unique atmosphere facilitates the absorption of an immigrant population, indispensable to attend to these organizations. Immigrant women are easily absorbed by the secondary labor market, which demands a growing labor power, at low salaries that are not attractive to the majority of the population. From here until the end of Chapter 1, you can copy and paste in your text if you like, but typing manually is better because it avoids potential formatting errors. One trick is to paste your text into Notepad first and then copy and paste it again into this document. This strips your text of most formatting and lets you reformat from scratch.

In the last 25 years, Latin American immigrants and other ethnicities have been settling in the area “filling in the holes” in the region labor market (Gans, 1999). Officially, few statistics and other major studies about Latinos include Brazilians, although they contribute and shape the United States.

The migration of Brazilian women to the Greater Washington D.C. area has added some key dimensions to this region, enhancing the diversity and prosperity of this place. Their increasing number in the region, observed in churches offering services in Portuguese, Brazilian restaurants, stores specialized in Brazilian products, call for an understanding of this ethnic group. In this study, a holistic approach of transnational migration, intersectionality, network and labor market incorporation theories are used to interpret the migration movement of Brazilian women in pink collar jobs in the greater Washington D.C. area. In order to understand the complexities that involve migration of this group of Brazilian women, this study poses three key research questions:

1. Why do Brazilian women engage in transnational migration from Brazil to the United States?

1. a. How do social networks affect their transnational migration?
2. How do the social construction of gender and ethnicity influence the occupational choices of this group of Brazilian women, in light of their backgrounds and the job perspectives they anticipated?
3. In what ways do pink collar jobs shape their identity, social interaction and job satisfaction?

This research thus aims at understanding the women's reasons for migrating, their networks as a facilitating process of social incorporation and job placement, their relationships with Brazil and the United States, how they negotiate oppressive measures based on their differences of gender, class, race and ethnicity building up their identity in the context of a larger society, their goals and achievements, indeed their presence and uniqueness.

Significance of the Study

Few researchers have focused on Brazilians, as an immigrant group in the United States. New York, Miami, Los Angeles, Atlanta, San Francisco and Boston area all report the lives of Brazilians living in the United States.

Most of the statistics about Brazilians in the United States are not clear about the exact number of this minority, especially because some increase the number of the illegal, undocumented immigrants in the country, while others are placed as part of the mainstream society, according to Census Bureau data. The table below shows data from the Brazilian Consulate in Washington D.C., describing the approximate number of Brazilians living in the United States.

Table 1: Brazilians in the United States: Consulates Jurisdiction- 2008

Consulates Jurisdiction	Population Estimate
Atlanta (Georgia, North Carolina,, South Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee and Mississippi)	80,000
Boston (Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont)	350,000
Chicago (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wisconsin)	27,000
Houston (Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas)	50,000
Los Angeles (Arizona, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, Wyoming and in Los Angeles: Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Ventura and North American Island in the Pacific (Johnston, Midway, Wake, Howland, Jarvis and Baker, Palmira and Kingman)	52,000
Miami (Florida, Puerto Rico, North American Virgin Island)	300,000
New York (Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and the Archipelago of Bermudas, a British protectorate)	350,000
San Francisco (Alaska, Oregon, Washington and California counties other than counties under Los Angeles jurisdiction)	45,000
Washington (District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Ohio, Virginia, West Virginia and North American basis, except Guam.	26,000
Total	1,280,000

Source: <http://www.brasileirosnomundo.mre.gov.br>

My interest in Brazilian immigrants, more specifically Brazilian immigrant women in low paid jobs, so called “pink collar jobs,” in the Greater Washington D.C. area stems from multiple factors: an increasing Brazilian population in the region, the little literature about Brazilians, immigration as the reason for heated debates, feminization of migration and Washington Metropolitan area as a new destination for migrants because of its growing service sector. In addition, being a native of Brazil

facilitates the dialogue with other nationals, which is crucial to developing this research endeavor. The results of this study give us a clear picture of this minority group, in this specific geographic area.

The Greater Washington D.C. metropolitan area is very distinctive from other places in the United States as it is the home of the federal government which accounts for 2.2% of all jobs nationally and, at the same time, comprises rich high tech and bioscience enterprises which survived the economic downturn¹ as much as businesses in the service sector. With a 5.9% unemployment rate, it is easily the lowest among America's large metropolitan area². The seventh largest metropolitan area in the nation, with approximately 5.6 million residents³, presents a huge diversity in its population, which facilitates absorbing immigrants mainly immigrant women who fit "women's jobs."

Key Terms

This research targets Brazilian transnational migrant women in pink collar jobs in Washington D.C. metropolitan area. The language used in this work includes some specific terms, many times unknown to those unfamiliar with the issue of transnational migration and Brazilians. Clarifying these terms helps the reader to easily understand the context of this study. A short explanation of these terms follows below:

Brazucas: Brazilians living in New York. Term used by Maxine Margolis in her book "Little Brazil."

E-Verify: federal government database to check legal status of new-hires.

¹ <http://illnews.medill.northwestern.edu>, June 12 2008.

² The Economist, April 14, 2011.

³ United States Census 2010

Emigration: the act of leaving one country or region to settle in another. It is similar to immigration, but from the stand point of the country of origin.

Ethnic boundaries: social mediums through which association transpires rather than as territorial demarcations.

Ethnic identity: One's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership (Phinney 1996).

Greater Washington D.C. area or Washington D.C. Metropolitan area: includes the District of Columbia and parts of the states of Maryland and Virginia.

In Maryland: Frederick, Montgomery and Prince George's Counties.

In Virginia: Arlington County, Fairfax, Loudoun and Prince William Counties.

Hispanic: the expression Hispanic was used in the 1980 Census to distinguish Spanish speaking people from Latin America or Spanish-speaking descent.

Immigrant: a person who comes to a country to take up permanent residence (www.Merriam-Webster.com). "Immigrant" and "migrant" are used in this research interchangeably, with similar meaning.

Immigration: the introduction of new people into a habitat of population (www.encyclopedia.com).

Migration: human movement within one state or one country to another (www.encyclopedia.com). In this work the work migration is used interchangeably with immigration in the sense of transnational migration movement.

Social capital: Establishing relationships with intent to create intangible and concrete benefits in short or long terms. The benefits could be social, psychological, emotional and economical (Lin, 2001).

Pink collar jobs: female-oriented low paying jobs, such as waitresses, domestic helpers, sales clerks and other jobs in the service area. They usually pay a significantly smaller amount of money than blue-collar or white-collar jobs.

Social networks: recurrent sets of interpersonal ties that bind migrants and non-migrants together within a web of reciprocal obligations that can be drawn upon to facilitate entry, adjustment, and employment at points of destination (Massey, 1987)

Transnationalism: constant communication with the home country, not necessarily in personal visits (Guarnizo 1997).

Transnational migration: fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through migrants' simultaneous embeddings in more than one society (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004).

Research Organization

This research endeavor consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 comprises introduction to the subject, significance of the study and key terms. Chapter 2 describes selected theoretical frameworks that fit the study while chapter 3 includes literature review. Chapter 4 depicts gender, ethnicity and identity under the Brazilian point of view and comparison with the United States perspective. Chapter 5 refers to the methodology used to answer the three research questions. It explains the qualitative approach, details the population and sampling technique, data collection with an emphasis to in-depth-

interviews, data analysis, and limitations and delimitations of the study. This chapter also includes key informant interviews as preceding information for the findings. Findings of this research are exposed in chapter 6. Chapter 7 reports the conclusions extracted from the findings and personal thoughts about the topic. In addition, this study concludes with suggestions for further studies.

References and appendices follow the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theories of migration help to explain the movement of Brazilian immigrant women to the United States. Although theories are said to be segmented, a multifaceted theoretical approach of Transnationalism, Intersectionality, Social Network and Labor Incorporation theories was selected considering migration movements in today's world. Factors like gender differences, networks, communication and a receptive market influence this movement.

The present study investigates Brazilian women who migrated to the United States in a transnational context where continuous communication between the two countries allows the participation of the migrant women and non migrants in both settings, with a constant interaction between them. At the same time, the process of migration and adaptation requires strong and weak ties helping settlement in the United States. Moreover, a split labor market is open to immigrant women who are in demand for the so called pink collar jobs.

Transnational Migration

Connections between immigrants and their former communities are not a new phenomenon. W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, in their classic work in immigration history "The Polish Peasant in Europe and America," explain how Polish immigrants, who came

to America at the end of the 19th century, maintained these connections.

Bash, Schiller, and Blanc (1994) affirm that transnationalism comprises multi-layered relationship that links immigrants and connects them to their countries of origin and settlement.

A transnational perspective asserts the importance of global and local, or the nation-state system form (Levitt, 2007). It refers to global cooperation between people, pointing to activities where governments have difficult access. These activities also change according to the back and forth information transnational migrants send and receive during their life time (Schiller, Caglar and Guldbrandsen, 2006).

The recent movement of Brazilian migrant women in pink collar jobs, from Brazil to the United States, more particularly to Washington D.C. metropolitan area dates from the eighties. Globalization was spreading its domain hastily and intense debates were taking place discussing the benefits and constraints brought to the world system. At the same time, the movement of this group of women were not just part of the global diaspora, but was part of a transnational event where macro and micro spheres were interconnected. As other migrant movements, strong kinship or friendship ties were built or maintained in order to facilitate adaptation to the new environment and market incorporation. High technology was rapidly reaching a huge number of people making living arrangements and experiences easily transferred. Furthermore, a possible return was always considered making those ties important resources for their stability.

As many studies report, a gendered transnational migration movement, such as the one observed in this study, usually involves family interests first, which often translates migration into a stressful experience (Ballard 2001, Olwig 2002, Gardener 2002,

Schmalzbauer 2004). In this circumstance, life across national boundaries involves “long-held assumptions about the importance of kinship and many other ties that maintain their movement. Understanding this reality requires new methodological and conceptual tools and also new political responses” (Levitt, 2003).

Intersectionality Theory

First highlighted by Kimberle Crenshaw in the late sixties and early seventies and in conjunction with the multiracial feminist movement, Intersectionality theory was known as a radical feminist approach during the seventies, studying the contributing factors that lead to the oppression of women and people of color (Chow 1987; Hill-Collins 2000). There is more to the study of women considering their diversity in backgrounds and characteristics. Sociological knowledge based on white, middle-class women experiences did not truly represent the experience of all women (Hill Collins 2000) and this can be applied to minorities, poor, disenfranchised, and disabled women and groups (Chow et al. 1996; Knudsen 2009).

Intersectionality theory investigates how various socially and culturally constructed categories such as gender, race, class, nationality, age/generation, sexual orientation, ability/disability and other axes of identity interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to systematic social inequality (Crenshaw 1991).

Chow and Hill-Collins have posed that intersectional methodology studies the intersectionality of differences, in the social practices and formation of systems of domination and power (Chow et al 1996, Hill-Collins, 2000).

“The matrix of domination” as coined by Patricia Hill-Collins (2000), includes gender as the core subject. It also includes the inference of class, race, global location, sexual preference, age among other variables. The variation of these intersections changes women’s experience and also alters theorizing about the female world. “The argument in intersectional theory is that the pattern of intersection itself produces a particular experience of oppression, not merely the salience of any one variable” (Ritzer, 2000: 337).

Intersectional theory has recently gained access to various disciplines because of its multiple and intertwined approaches other than women’s struggles (Knudsen, 2009; Hill-Collins, 2000). Conversely, intersectionality is often employed to study the relationships that exist among diverse socio-cultural categories and identities which characterize transnational migration.

Understanding the intersections of minority groups, minority cultures and identities contribute to the advancement of Sociological theory (Knudsen, 2009).

Examining Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs, as many other immigrant groups who came to this country to improve their lives, variables like transnational migration, gender, ethnicity, identity, network and market incorporation intertwine to give a broader picture of this minority group, contributing to the aforementioned systematic social inequality reserved for immigrants. At the same time, studying the movement of Brazilian women involves the issue of gender which translates the “many faces of oppression” (Hill-Collins, 2000). In addition, women’s migration movements are influenced by the politics of knowledge affecting race and gender. The human control over the production of knowledge and the type of knowledge that must

prevail is political. In this sense, who is getting what depends on specific group interests oppressing other groups (Hill-Collins, 2000).

Migration movements are always subject to a political decision determining how and who are allowed to migrate bringing up situations that may difficult movements due to gender, race and ethnicity characteristics. Furthermore, being immigrant women from Brazil, bring up issues of identities that contrast to other group of women.

Intersectionality infers the interconnection of variables: transnational migration is linked to gender, ethnicity and job placement comprising women from Brazil who are placed in the job market to perform specific jobs, so called pink collar jobs. Identifying inequalities that are rooted in these interlocking relationships, inform minority women, disenfranchising them as individuals and groups towards liberation and empowerment (Siltanen and Doucet, 2008). Intersectionality analyzes change, variation and processes that exist within and between groups. It brings a multi-dimensional viewpoint instead of a one-dimensional perspective, which is fundamental to this research.

Network Theory

“Networks are ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared common origin. Moreover, networks are shaped by the distinct characteristics of immigrant flows and structural conditions of the host society (Massey, Arango et al. 1963).”

The dynamic of network theory understands international migration as a decision making process of an individual or household which changes according to the circumstances involving migration.

A common characteristic of a network system is to increase international migration. The “continuum” of this process lowers the costs and risks of the movement, expecting net returns to migration. Costs and risks decline after the first immigrants’ settlement. Network theory explains how friendship and kinship ties established during the migration process facilitate the way of the next group of newcomers.

The conception of migration as a “self-sustaining diffusion process” (Massey, 1993) has connotations that differ from the market equilibrium analysis typical to study migration movements.

Network theory proposes that international migration at some point and time are so broadly spread that anyone of that kinship who intends to migrate may do it easily.

After that point the migration process decreases (Durand, 2009).

Powerful networks are effective in providing opportunities to group members, diversifying opportunities to its members all the way through metropolitan labor markets, but a high degree of market closure may limit their capacity to broadly serve the ethnic community (Nee and Sanders, 2000).

The limited ability of ethnic entrepreneurs to hire immigrants pushes immigrant groups to find jobs in the larger metropolitan economy. Consequently, immigrants are dispersed. This diversity of employment accommodates gender differences at the high and the low end of the market (Sanders, 2000). Over time, “migratory behavior spreads outward to encompass broader segments of the sending society (Massey et al. 1993).

Networks are fundamental in directing Brazilian women to the United States, providing housing, job placement and friendship circles. Usually, a system of networks tends to place immigrants in jobs similar to jobs of other members of the group.

Considering that the studied women belong to a segmented labor market sphere where low paid, “women’s work” is open to them demonstrates that their network comprises other pink collar workers who didn’t prove much market mobility or did not improve their network system. Job incorporation and relationship with other group members as much as with members of the mainstream all depend of the strength and size of the network system.

Migration movements feed network systems which allow the formation of social capital. The interconnection of people, building up networks, helps people to rely on others to gain access to foreign employment.

The present group of Brazilian immigrant women who relied in one or more network systems may or may not have experienced difficulties in the migration process. If the process ran smoothly, it will be possible to observe an increasing number of these women in the near future.

Network systems operate outside of government controls. Independently of their policies and regulations immigration will always occur, which means, the United States will have a difficult task to stop or discipline immigration if it is relied upon a network system.

The study of social networks is intrinsically related to “social capital.” The expression was first coined by Lyda Judson Hanifan in 1916 to describe social cohesion and personal investment in the community. Social capital involves an exchange where individuals benefit from the community as much as the community benefits by the cooperation of its members. Robert Putnam asserts the importance of social capital in the American society, criticizing Americans for becoming increasingly disconnected from

their families, friends, neighbors and democratic structures (Putnam, 2000). In the case of immigrants, social capital responds for their integration and success. Social capital is build through networks and trust developed among members of networks allows members of a particular ethnic community gain access to valuable resources. Valuable resources involve manifestations of class, ethnicity and/or gender based resources that may be conducive to positive as well as negative effects on members of a network (Portes, 1997; Waldinger, 2004).

Putnam explains that social capital can be seen within two categories: “bonding social capital and “bridging” social capital (Putnam, 2000). While bonding social capital allows immigrants to develop feelings of social belonging, trust and reciprocity within a closed circle of family and friends, bridging social capital facilitates the connection of distinct group of immigrants to groups and institutions beyond their closed circles.

Bridging social capital facilitates the access to valuable resources outside an immigrant’s community, including information about jobs and services. Bonding and Bridging social capital are distinct in their content, but complement each other allowing immigrants a sense of home and belonging and at the same time permitting access to valuable resources that may expand their chances of incorporation to diverse labor markets.

Social scientists say that networks that sought to improve socio-economic position of its members are “best served by their ability to maintain group cohesion, solidarity and internal trust, as well as by their ability to capitalize on bridging connections to others who control valuable assets. In summary, co-national networks endowed with diverse

types of social capital are more effective at advancing collective interests (Grannovetter, 1983).”

Gendered networks also differ in their social capital, expressing that member’s participation in ethnic or co-national networks may increase their chances of success.

Labor Market Incorporation

The classic migration theory analyzes immigration as a form of equilibrium between the advantages of receiving countries and the disadvantages of the sending countries. During the sixties and the seventies, much discussion focused on dual labor market theory and the assimilation process of immigrants: the attractiveness of the country of destination and the disadvantages of the sending countries (Heisler, 1992).

More recently, theorists have observed that the immigrant labor market has a gender impact and the demand for labor in receiving countries may be gender determined.

Migration theories are not mutually exclusive and scholars have accepted an exchange of factors that may explain the complexities of transnational migration.

Immigration policies control the entry of immigrants, residency and employment rights. In turn, they also determine the hierarchy of the labor market and the placement of the newcomers. Gender, racial categories and birthplace define who goes where, influencing migrants’ incorporation. In addition, immigrants bring their “individual baggage,” which is decisive into market incorporation.

Gary Becker (1964) notes that knowledge, skills, training, health, experience and values influence their placement and earnings in the labor market. He called this “individual baggage” as “human capital” meaning it is an integral part of the individual.

In the case of immigrants the “capitals” include what was acquired in their home country and also what was achieved or will be achieved in the U.S.

Usually, immigrants from Latin America are placed in the secondary labor market with limitations due to racial minority and lack of skills necessary to better earning job placement (Massey et al., 1993). They fill low-skilled, manual positions, with little opportunities for mobility. In this context immigrants have to deal with market availability and gender.

Immigrant women are often placed in jobs expected to be filled by women, the so called “women’s work.” They tend to be placed in domestic work, in jobs like cleaning, children and elderly care, which have been gendered to accommodate woman (Andersen and Hill-Collins, 2007). This gendering of labor is socially constructed and accepted by Brazilian migrant workers and the mainstream society.

Surveying Brazilian immigrants in Boston, Martes (1999) concluded that most Brazilians were from the lower middle class, with secondary school education and worked in the service sector, in Brazil. Moving to Boston, they also worked in the service sector, but in a lower status occupation,. Most of the women worked as housecleaners or baby-sitters making more than their formal occupations in Brazil.

According to labor market incorporation theory, the American job market has gendered occupations ready for immigrant women. There is a demand and immigrants’

labor is available at low cost. Americans do not dispute those jobs since they can compete in different spheres of the labor market.

Market incorporation also affects the structure of Brazilian immigrant families. Moving to the United States eventually changes gender roles. Brazilian women are more likely to share home responsibilities with their partners. Guendelman (1987) says that wife's employment and husband's participation in household errands contribute for mutual satisfaction and balance in their relationship. As women improve their language and market skills they tend to break the traditional gender roles of home care. As Brazilian immigrant women "acculturation" (language use, media, ethnic social relations, food preference, ethnic identities) improves (DeBiaggi, 2002), market incorporation increases.

The selected theories mentioned above are not mutually exclusive, but complement and broaden the topic of this dissertation. A final assertion on the role of intersectionality, as a directive approach, is essential. The immigration process of the Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs in the Washington D.C. area is certainly a convergence of vectors of oppression and privilege giving a special character to the reality of their lives. The intersection of gender, age, nationality, class, race and identity bring a new dimension to the application of Transnational, Network, Market incorporation theories which are shaped by the intersection of these vectors.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

Migration can be traced back to the earliest period of recorded human history. The competition for resources drove men from place to place and in between continents. The Old Testament, for instance, illustrates the exodus of the Hebrew people and the love of God for the sojourners (Deuteronomy: 10:17-18); the great discoveries of the 15th century are also examples of huge mass movements across the globe.

More recently, the collapse of Communism and the end of the Cold War brought humankind to a fast growing capitalism where the movement of capital and the movement of commodities have been followed by an international movement of people.

Although some scholars admit that today's world migration has reached unprecedented levels, others who actually count the numbers of immigrants over time say that transnational migration today is not higher and may be even lower than a century ago (Gabaccia, 2002).

Focusing on the United States, it is possible to affirm that this country has always been a nation of immigrants. From the beginning of its colonization to recent days, different cycles of immigration have taken place making this country a myriad of nationalities. Emma Lazarus' poem, "the Colossus," written in 1883, reveres the millions of immigrants who came to the United States. Lazarus, the daughter of a Jewish Portuguese family who immigrated to the United States, translated the spirit of the

American nation, welcoming those seeking for freedom and opportunities.

Waves of Immigration and Theories

With the exception of Native Americans, every American has his/her roots in immigration. Understanding the present patterns of today's migration demands a extensive review of the migration of the diverse ethnic groups who formed what the United States is today.

Immigrants' origins and their arrival in the United States split the history of the United States into immigration flows which dominated the American scenario according to their time. Immigration flows or waves correspond to a social political momentum responsible for the enactment of laws and regulations governing the lives of all people who chose to live in the United States. Each wave has its flaws and discrimination towards newcomers has been a constant feature from the previous groups. Identifying the various groups and ethnicities helps to understand and curb antagonist feelings against present immigrants.

An integral part of the American dream is the coexistence of all races and creeds. Embracing what in 1908, Israel Zangwill called the "Melting Pot," people from all nations would incorporate into the United States mainstream society with its Anglo-Saxon core values. However, the "melting pot idea" is a myth, considering that immigrant groups do not assimilate in their totality. Many theorists defended a similar position, admitting that assimilation goes through various cycles before reaching its peak. Robert Park, a sociologist who created a four-stage process before groups of newcomers are fully assimilated to the society, described assimilation as a fusion where all

immigrants adhere to. Adding to his idea, Milton Gordon included seven stages of assimilation, admitting that the cultural element of the white Anglo-Saxon middle class is essential to assimilation of American core values and beliefs. However, this assimilation process, also called “Americanization,” was disregarded by encouraging the elimination of cultures to benefit the American culture. Scholars like Glazer and Moynihan, on the other side, highlighted that conflicts and discriminatory forces must be considered in the immigration process (Aguirre et al, 1989).

Political claims during the nineties shifted the assimilation ideology by emphasizing the right of ethnic and national groups to maintain their cultural background without abandoning their heritage(id.:23). Multiculturalism as this set of ideas is called, does not consider third and fourth generation of immigrants who are totally engaged in the mainstream social life. It is also criticized by proposing free immigration with few controls. Today, the coexistence of cultures in a transnational context better explains recent migration movements.

In a historical retrospect, Massey et al (2004) have distinguished four major waves of immigration to the United States: The first wave, from 17th to mid 19th century, consisted of people from England followed by Germans, French and Irish. They were seeking religious freedom or fleeing political instability and economic hardship at home. Women were essential in the society since they had to carry all the work at home, critical to the family. By 1820, five million Irish came to the United States. Their presence provoked strong reactions from the native born Americans, so called “nativists,” who blamed them for their impact on the economy, Catholic religion, among other things. However, they overcame the obstacles and prevailed.

The second wave, end of 19th to mid 20th century, brought immigrants from Southern and Eastern European countries and Chinese and Japanese started settling in the west coast. They were illiterate and unskilled and again, a strong sentiment against these new immigrants arose. Jewish people escaping from persecution were included among these immigrants. But, on the contrary, they were educated and skillful therefore, they were able to play the role of “middle man” mediating between the wealthy and the poor.

The third wave from, 1924-1945, approximately, can be said to be a wave of internal migration since it was composed of African Americans from the south to the north and Mexicans from the neighboring states. Puerto Ricans also started coming to the mainland. This migration is known by having set the ground for the Civil Rights and the Chicano Movement of the sixties, eradicating segregation. The 4th wave includes the present immigrants from Asia and Latin America.

Accommodation was the next step observed on immigrant population where they had already assimilated the necessary changes to participate in the dominant society and thus adapted to the new environment. The last stage was assimilation viewed by Park as the “fusion” of later immigrant groups to already assimilated groups of former immigrants. Expanding Park’s ideas theorists like Milton Gordon added the cultural element of the white Anglo-Saxon middle class as essential to assimilation. Thus, cultural assimilation was the most important challenge to assimilate to the United States core values and beliefs. He described many other aspects of assimilation that would incorporate immigrants to the pre-existent society, such as structural assimilation:

Immigrants would attain structural assimilation when able to make their way through relationships and institutions typical of white Americans.

Gordon also observed other types of assimilation based on cultural and structural assimilation: marital assimilation, identification assimilation were some of its forms. His insight that time works as a factor of assimilation, responsible for disseminating what is called to be an American, is an important factor to understand the processes faced by various ethnic groups to be part of the American society.

Distancing from the benevolent view shared by assimilationists, Moynihan and Glazer called the attention of scholars to conflicts and discriminatory forces that take place in many immigration processes (in *American Ethnicity: the dynamics and consequences of discrimination*, by Aguirre, Adalberto Jr and Jonathan H. Turner, 2001, p. 23-24)). They affirm that white ethnic groups have their own residential, behavioral, organizational and cultural patterns that distinguish them from the middle-class, Anglo-Saxon Protestant population (id., Pp.23)."

Theoretical frameworks tried to explain the phenomenon from different aspects. The most debated traditional theory, Neoclassical Economics explains migration as a process of economic development (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976 in Mobasher and Sadri, 2004). On the macro level understands that migration occurs by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor (Massey et al. 1993 in Mobasher and Sadri). Push factors as low wages and high unemployment encourage migration. On the micro level explains the individual choices based on cost-benefit of migration. "Potential migrants estimate the costs and benefits of moving to alternative locations and migrate to where the expected discounted net returns are greatest over some time horizon (Borjas, 1990 in Mosbach and Sadri.)" More recently, the "New Economics of Migration (Stark and Bloom, 1985, in Mosbach and

Sadri, 1985)” introduced the role of households as control units disposing who and how are suitable for migration. Migration helps families in developing countries to improve their wellbeing through migration. Comparing these contrasting theories, Piore (1979) admitted that both theories, Neoclassical Economics and New Economics were both micro-level views of migration focusing on the individual or the household decision to migrate. A new approach, “Dual Labor Market theory,” considering pull factors in receiving countries were determinant factors causing migration. Explaining Piore’s assertion, Massey et al clarify that developed countries or “receiving countries have a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers.”

Piore relates a series of factors like structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism and the demography of labor supply to justify migration movements.

Explaining world inequality, Wallerstein’s World Systems Theory admits migration as a problem of capitalism. Core or capital rich countries increase their profits exploiting poor countries, in the periphery of the world economy, using their labor, raw material, land and new consumer markets (Massey et al). In this sense, migration follows capital, with a growing movement of people “incorporated to the world market (Massey, 1989 in Massey et al).” This brief mention of the most important theoretical thoughts about migration intends to demonstrate that migration is a world phenomenon which characteristics differ in time and space. As explained in the previous chapter, Networks theory, Market Incorporation and Transnationalism justify the phenomenon of migration in today’s context, explaining the most recent movement of people from Asia and Latin America to the United States.

Latino/as

Immigration waves have continuously changed the ethnic patterns of America. New immigrants reshaped the framework that held the United States together, often in a favorable way (Etzioni, in *Debating Immigration*, 2007). Studies report that the Latino/a presence in the United States is the longest after Native Americans. The United States interest in supplying its farming work force with Mexican laborers institutionalized the “Bracero Programs” which recruited only men for temporary labor. Employers did not influence the recruitment of Mexican workers to any considerable degree, but their needs created several opportunities for Mexican migration. On the contrary, American politicians since 1911 have sought to block permanent settlement of Mexican nationals in the United States (Hundagneau-Sotelo, 2007). The Dillingham Commission on Mexican migration reported that “Mexicans are less desirable as citizens than as laborers” (U.S. Congress, 1911:690-691). This kind of prejudice against Mexicans was extended to other Hispanic immigrants and can be observed today with a vast number of manifestations. One of the chief manifestations has been the constant campaigns by discontented Americans against the American immigration system. Among other factors, this category of Americans blames immigrants for taking the American jobs, for ruining the American social security and the education system. However, recent studies challenge these claims. In one such study entitled “Immigrants are an Engine of Prosperity,” Michael Clemens (2008) asserts that immigrants take jobs that Americans are not ready for. Furthermore, they do not lower the average American worker’s wage since they do not compete for the same jobs. The impact of immigrants on public services is extremely low considering that their contribution to the system is more than what they receive. Considering global

impact, immigrants contribute to the development of their country of origin raising economic indicators and avoiding political turmoil.

During the Civil Rights movement during the sixties, Americans in general became more interested in the Latino/a population and wanted to develop a greater understanding of this minority. A dawn of an era began changing the way the United States would view and consider its minorities.

The Chicano movement or the Chicano Civil Rights movement, a marker of this new age, culminated in the seventies and goes back to the end of the Mexican-American War in 1846. This movement advocated the restoration of land grants, farmer worker's rights, voting and political rights among other claims. It was successful in removing the pejorative connotation of "chicano," used to label children of Mexican residents in the United States, who were not considered Americans nor Mexicans on both sides of the border (Meinig, 1971). This affected not only Mexicans but gave union and pride to other Latino/a groups that were settling in the United States.

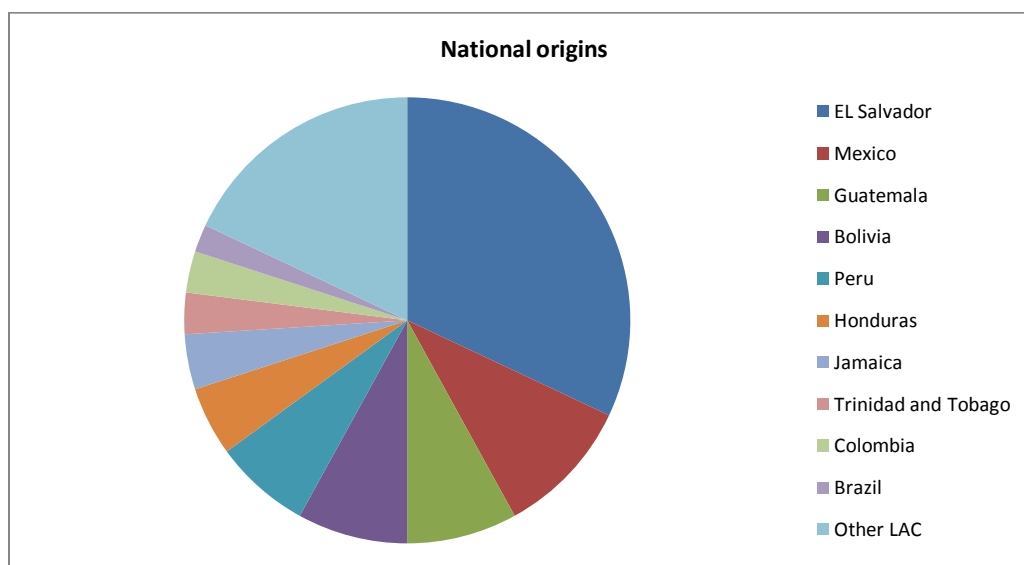
The United States 2000 census adopted the term "Hispanics" to classify individuals from Spanish speaking countries in Latin America. It comprises about 21 different Spanish-speaking countries, including Cuba, Puerto Rico, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico among others. Cultural differences among them are notable and specific characteristics make them very distinctive. For example, the Dominicans live in concentrated neighborhoods and a great majority of them settled in New York and Massachusetts. They are not from the poorest and unskilled sectors of their home society, but when compared to the main population in the United States present low levels of education and consequently low skilled jobs: men usually in

manufacturing, retail and service jobs while women are more concentrated in manufacturing, manual jobs in the garment industry.

Presently, the largest Hispanic minority in the United States is formed by Mexicans totalizing 31,673,700,000 people in 2009 followed by Puerto Ricans with 4,411,604 and Salvadorans with 1,736,221. The smallest comprises Paraguayan with 18,179 inhabitants⁴

The majority of Hispanics decide to live in places inhabited by other Spanish-speaking people. Thus, states such as Texas and California are among the biggest receptors of Spanish-speaking immigrants. Curiously, Washington D.C. has been attracting a huge number of Latinos or Hispanics, the majority of whom came from El Salvador. The figure below shows this new migration pattern.

Figure 1: National Origin of Latin American Immigrants in the Washington Metropolitan Area 2006



Source: Singer, Audrey. "Latin American Immigrants in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Area."

⁴ "Detailed Hispanic Origin 2009" Pew Hispanic Center Retrieved on 2011-03-09.

For the last three decades, Mexican society has experienced huge transformations of urbanization, industrialization, and migration which culminated with a breach in the traditional patriarchal society. While in the sixties and seventies single women were the primary source of wage work in Mexico, during the economic crisis of the eighties more married women with small children went into the labor force (Beneria and Roldan, 1987; la Rocha, 1988; Chant, 1991; Oliveira, 1990; Gonzalez de la Rocha, 1988), changing the structure of Mexican family. It also predisposed more women to migration processes.

As Hispanic immigration increased after 1965, Brazilian immigration is noted at the beginning of the eighties. Most Latin American countries, including Brazil, share similarities such as long years of dictatorship and a patriarchal ideology. The democratization and economic crisis of the eighties shifted this ideology counting for an increasing female participation in the labor market. This crisis also contributed for the increasing number of migrant women to the United States.

Legislation

Phenomena or events broad or significant enough to break or change the social order, call for regulatory measures trying to discipline them. The phenomenon of migration is intrinsically linked to state sovereignty. As a democratic principle, most nations allow free movement of its citizens inside and outside their territories, but who is welcome and under what circumstances depend on enacted laws and regulations of the receiving countries.

The fear of political and economic disruption by newcomers brought restrictions to new immigrants and legislation was passed to curtail their arrival. Just to mention a

few, the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which ended in 1943, the Immigration Restriction League's 1894-1917 campaign demanding literacy of immigrants, the Jim Crow laws (1876-1965) restricting rights and privileges to African Americans, the 1952 McCarran-Walter quota by national origins according to the 1920 census and The 1965 Hart-Celler Act abolished the quota system and shifted immigration towards family reunion and shortage of occupations. This Act paved the way for the increasing immigration of Latinos and Asians. However, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 was responsible for the legalization of thousands of undocumented workers who became “paper chasers” (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994), trying to collect all possible evidences to legalize their status.

It is important to observe that restrictions imposed on immigration created their own patterns of illegal immigrants: The immigration laws against Chinese laborers after 1882, anarchists after 1902, and Italians after 1924 brought illegal immigrants among three groups and others too (Gabaccia, 2002). It is interesting to pose that “fears of immigrants as threats to national security has been always part of the agenda” (Gabaccia, 2002) and called for several regulation amendments, such as the passage of the Alien and Sedition Act in 1798 (preventing foreign influences on American election by forcing foreigners to wait longer periods of time prior to naturalization), the transfer of immigration laws from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice in the beginning of the 20th century and more recently to the Department of Homeland Security, among others.

It is worth noting Samuel Huntington’s assertion that the United States is headed toward its own internal “clash of civilizations” because Latinos remain behind linguistic

and political walls and do not assimilate Anglo-Protestant values. This may be true for foreign born Latinos, but education changes the assimilation of the first generation of American- born Latino descendants. Actually, through education, second generation Latino immigrants have become more integrated into American society. This is in contrast to the first waves of newcomers who in many cases, were illiterate and had no knowledge of the English language or Anglo-Saxon Protestant values.

More recently, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks reinforced American hostility towards immigrants. A series of reactions against immigrants have taken place all over the country, demanding restrictive measures. Laws inhibiting access and immigration to the United States were sanctioned. Some states took extreme positions curbing immigration such as the prohibition of driver's licenses for illegal aliens, limited education for children of illegal aliens, and prohibiting access to health care, among others. This approach led pro-amnesty groups to publicize the immigrant friendly states from those opposed to the cause. Washington D.C. has remained silent concerning provisions that may benefit immigrant groups. Maryland, an immigrant friendly state, prohibited the issuance of driver's license to undocumented immigrants, in 2009, following federal law. Yet, it is the only state that has signed into a law, a provision for all students who are residents of Maryland to receive in-state tuition rates, a bill dubbed the "Maryland Dream Act" (Bethesda Patch, May 18, 2011). Virginia has curbed illegal immigration by issuing mandatory consultation to the E-Verify database. California enacted proposition 187 which was ruled out by Circuit Judge Pfaelzer under the allegations of violating both the United States Constitution and the 1996 Welfare law, the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). The

major difference between Proposition 187 and PRWORA is that Proposition 187 explicitly denies tuition-free K-12 to children in the United States without authorization, while PRWORA does not (Migration News, Dec 1997).

Arizona, lately, with proposal SB 1070 designed to seek and deport illegal immigrants has provoked intense disputes from coast to coast. The question was settled with judge Susan Bolton's ruling that the law interferes with longstanding federal authority over immigration and could lead to harassment of citizens and legal immigrants.

Needless to say, laws and regulations enacted correspond to the social and political momentum. They influence migration decisions shaping the destiny of the newcomers and the right to citizenship. However, they cannot control historical forces or determine the size of migration flows. In this context, it is understandable that the ongoing flow of immigrants, legal or illegal, continues.

Gender and Migration

Regardless of such antagonisms, the United States is, by far, the favorite destination of many nationalities, especially from impoverished nations. The country labor market still accommodates immigrants despite the 2007 financial crisis. The proximity with Latin America attracts a huge contingent of immigrants mainly from neighboring countries.

Migration is set on time and space but many factors determine how gender shapes migration flows. Until recently, women's migration was associated with their parents or husband's migration. Patriarchal system of authorities subordinating women's position in

societies would justify the assumption (Lim, 1993). However, the necessity of joining the labor market forces in addition to search for economic independence and freedom from male dominance influence the demographic expansion of women's migration.

Hondagneau-Sotelo's (2007) study with Mexican migrants explains well how gender differences determine migration. "Men are not pressured to migrate as a 'target earner,' but their will is respected despite family opposition. In their case, migration can be understood as a step for independence and establishment of their own authority." Like their male counterparts, women also wish to migrate to earn enough money for their independence and help their families, but migration is often easier for women who keep weak ties with their families and receive little economic support from them.

In contrast to men, women's assistance for migrating usually comes from other women, enforcing the role of migrant's women networks. Information from return immigrants defines the expectation of future migrants and how gender will shape next migration movements.

Nurturing the dream of return after making a large amount of money is common among migrants, but the dream becomes more distant as time passes and they start a new life in the United States.

Minorities' responses to their migration experience vary according to social structures. Grasmuck and Pessar (1991), in their study of Dominican families in New York clarifies that unlike men, migration does not alter women's social sphere, including the household and family.

Although gender is a factor in the decision to migrate, it is also a factor of reluctance to return when women start dealing with their newly gained freedom from

patriarchal structures and independence provided by their increasing their gains.

Brazilians do not distance themselves from other examples of Latino/a migration in terms of acquiring freedom and breaking traditional gender roles in a patriarchal oriented society. However, compared to their Latino/a peers, who come from the lower strata of their society, many of them, farm workers, most of the Brazilians who migrate to the United States are reported to come from middle class in Brazil, (Margolis, 1993).

In order to understand Brazilian immigration to the United States, more specifically to the greater Washington D.C. area, historical, political, and socio-economic factors need be taken into account.

Brazil is a unique case. The Brazilian nation has no territorial proximity nor shared borders with the United States and, along with the latter, it is a country of immigration. In addition, Brazil has been experiencing unprecedented economic growth for the last five years.

After the II World War, the United States has become the chief economy of the capitalist world and, consequently, Washington DC, the capital of the Free World.

Until 1930, immigrants to the United States were mainly men. After 1990, globalization brought a new dynamics to the world order affecting migration. High technology, the advance of means of transportation and the expansion of communication systems shortening distances made the world “flat”(Friedman, 2005). Globalization not only pushed migration, but helped the phenomenon of feminization in migratory movements, with women counting for over half of all legal immigrants (N.Y.T. June 25, 2010).

According to the 1980 U. S. Census, a little more than 50,000 Brazilian-born individuals were present in the United States (Goza and Simonik, 1992), representing 0.3 percent of all foreign-born individuals in the country (Portes and Rumbaut, 1990). At that time, these newcomers were practically unknown and were not expected to grow, given the exceptional development of the Brazilian economy during the late sixties and early seventies (Goza, 1994). Nevertheless, the economic crisis of the eighties reversed the situation, causing a massive flow of middle class Brazilians seeking remunerated employment and more stable conditions than those found in Brazil. As many as 32 percent of all Brazilian men and 27 percent of all Brazilian women present in 1980 entered at that time (Goza, 1994).

Before the sixties, Brazil was a country that people immigrated to. Among European descendants, Italians comprised the largest immigrant population. Germans and other groups like Polish and Hungarians arrived around the same period, but their numbers were smaller compared to their immigration to the United States. At the beginning of the 20th century (1908), the first groups of Japanese migrants arrived in Brazil, becoming the largest diaspora outside of Japan. It is estimated to be a number of approximately 1.3 million Brazilian-Japanese descendants (IBGE, 2008). However, a reverse phenomenon was observed during the eighties with a huge number of former Japanese migrants' descendants returning to Japan, taking advantage of the Japanese economic miracle and friendly policies encouraging migration of Japanese descendants (Tsuda, 2003). The latest economic crisis followed by natural disasters in Japan may direct a new migration cycle sending Brazilian-Japanese back to Brazil. It is worth noting that the collapse of the "Brazilian economic miracle" during the eighties also motivated

large number of Brazilians to immigrate to the United States and Europe. After the coup d'état of 1964, thousands of opponents of the military regime went into exile. Most of them returned to Brazil after the amnesty of 1979, but the number of economic emigrants grew in the eighties. The 1979 oil crisis and the deterioration of the economy accelerated the departure of many Brazilians looking for better opportunities. In 1987 about 300,000 Brazilians lived outside the country. Since then emigration has increased at a rate of 20% per year (IBGE, 2000).

In the nineties, the Brazilian foreign-born population in the United States was approximately 95,000 inhabitants, which increased to a little over 227,000 individuals in the year 2000. By 2007, the Brazilian foreign-born population was comprised of 265,000 individuals, approximately.

The Brazilian Geography and Statistics Institute (IBGE) found a statistical "absence" of 1,379,928 Brazilians between the ages of 20 to 44 from the 1990 census (which IBGE researchers discovered while examining the census demographics). The most logical explanation is Brazilian emigration.

In Brazil, female participation in the labor force grew dramatically in the seventies and eighties, as a result of new employment patterns, especially the expansion of the service sector, and economic pressures on family income. Presently, more than 70 percent of women in the labor force are employed by the service sector (as compared with 42 percent of men), and women tend to be underrepresented among the formal labor force in agricultural and industrial activities.

Patterns of labor force participation vary considerably by region. As in most other countries in Latin America, the rate of females participating in the job market appears to

increase with education, especially the proportion of single educated women entering the formal sector rather than the informal and self-employed sectors.

Open access to schooling and employment were made available to Brazilian women since the turn of the 19th century. By 1933, universal suffrage was approved on a national level and by 1977 the divorce law was approved to put an end to a high number of informal marriages. According to the Brazilian constitution of 1988, Brazilian women became entirely equal to men for all legal purposes. However, there is a considerable wage gap between men and women. A recent estimate published by the Encyclopedia of Women's History shows the differential between women and men is less pronounced in urban areas (for example, women earn on average 77.8 percent of men's wages in Rio de Janeiro and 73.6 percent in Sao Paulo and 63.5 percent in the Northeast). On the other hand, only a small portion (between 11 percent and 19 percent of wage differentials in the formal labor force) can be attributed to differences between men and women in their endowments (such as education or experience). For the most part, the wage gap probably reflects discriminatory practices.

Recently, family structures have undergone significant changes, with an increasing number of households headed by women.

Despite persistent gender inequality, the status of women in Brazil is improving on various fronts. As a rule, there are as many females as males in schools, even at the highest levels, especially in fields that traditionally were dominated by males, such as law, medicine, dentistry, and engineering. These fields are becoming more balanced in terms of gender, with women dominating these professions in some cases. All these

changes may have pushed Brazilian women towards immigration, a process that until the eighties was mainly carried by men.

Perhaps half of the Brazilian emigrants live in the United States. The largest Brazilian settlements are on the East Coast. New York has always attracted a larger number of Brazilian immigrants. In 1996, the population of Brazilian immigrants was approximately 230,000, followed by Boston with 150,000 and Miami with 130,000 Brazilians (Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1996).

Scholars and government officials find difficult to precise the number of Brazilians in the United States because of illegal citizenship status, lack of knowledge filling up the census forms, intention of return, among other reasons.

Franklin Goza (2004), an American professor that studies Brazilian immigration to the United States, found 247,020 Brazilians living in the United States, according to the 2000 census.

The Latino Data Project Report, 33 presents more recent data, observed in table 2, showing the evolution of the Brazilian population in the United States from 1980 to 2007. Table 2 Brazilian Foreign Born Male and Female Population of the United States 1980-2007

Year	Foreign-Born		Total		Total Population
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1980	20,730	25,730	25,754	30,333	56,087
1990	45,633	50,151	55,392	59,121	114,513
2000	103,945	122,374	126,354	143,487	269,841
2007	179,203	185,797	225,988	228,160	454,148

Latino Data Project Report 33 “Brazilians in the United States, 1980-2007”

More than half the Brazilians who migrated to the US, according to the Center for Immigration Studies in New York, already have friends or relatives in the US with whom they stay after they arrive in the country. In 25% of the cases, the immigrants do not plan on returning to Brazil.

Maxine Margolis, an American anthropologist, spent three years studying the Brazilian community in New York, interviewing more than 250 Brazilian immigrants or Brazucas, as they are called. She published her work in the book "Little Brazil"(1993), explaining that most of the Brazilians she interviewed were ashamed to be immigrants, with almost 90% saying they are not immigrants, but rather are just passing through.

Margolis discovered that most of the Brazilians in the US are from middle-class families and that the "Immigrants defend themselves from frustration by thinking that they're doing these services only for a year or two, that it's a temporary situation."

Contrary to popular belief, most Brazilian immigrants arrive with money and contacts to stay in the US while they search for employment. Gino Agostinelli, of the Center for Immigration Studies, has told the São Paulo newspaper Folha de São Paulo: "They aren't desperate fugitives, but people with money who are looking for another way of life." About 65% of Brazilian immigrants to the US find a job within three weeks of their arrival. At first, most immigrants seek jobs in the same field in which they worked in Brazil principally because this is one of the easiest ways of getting a green card, the permanent resident visa for aliens living in the US. However, almost 70% of Brazilians living in the US are illegal immigrants. "With so many illegal immigrants in the United States, it has to be assumed that the country secretly, or unofficially, wants the immigrants, legal or illegal (Agostinelli, 2006)." The high percentage of illegal

immigrants means the vast majority of Brazilian immigrants end up in menial jobs with salaries between \$1000 and \$2000 a month. Only about 4% of Brazilian immigrants who relocate New York earn more than \$3000 a month. Generally, these are legal immigrants who work in occupations related to the jobs they had in Brazil.

While 59% of the Brazilian female immigrants in New York have gone to college, 56% of them work as maids, housekeepers, cooks or nannies. Among the men, 4% have no more than an elementary school education, but almost all of them are working as laborers, construction workers or bus boys in restaurants.

The two occupations in which Brazilian immigrants have an almost total monopoly in the New York metropolitan area are shoe shining among the men and go-go dancing among the women, which are also considered the most "shameful."

Margolis underscored the fact that the Brazucas are an "invisible community." Since most Brazilian immigrants work from 10 to 15 hours a day at low-paying menial jobs, they do not have the time or energy to make a bigger mark in their adopted country. And given the small amount of Brazilian immigrants compared to Hispanic immigrants, it is easy for the Americans to see the Brazilians as just another Hispanic group.

On the other hand, Goza (2004) admits a new immigration cycle that has emerged with the new millennium. It comprises highly qualified professionals in contrast to the eighties, where the vast majority Brazilian immigrants were illegal, possessed few marketable skills or were professionals that exceed the length of their tourist visa. Today, the number of Brazilians, which is comprised of highly qualified professionals, is expanding in the United States. However, immigrants try to fill the holes of the job market and often are found in job posts inadequate to their educational background.

So called “pink collar” jobs have long belonged to immigrant women, with Brazilian women included in this major population. The largest employment gains for women occurred in those occupations in which women have been more likely to be employed, socially rated at the lowest level and as a result, paid at the lowest level. These jobs are often located at home first of all, then the offices, then restaurants, stores, hospitals, beauty shops, small electronics factories, garment factories, schools, all kinds of workplaces, large and small where women are working in jobs predominately filled by women and seldom having entrée to other jobs within the organization. They can be part-time, temporary and full-time, whenever the jobs are available (Howe, 1977).

Needless to say, laws and regulations enacted correspond to the social and political momentum. They influence migration decisions shaping the destiny of the newcomers and the right to citizenship. However, laws and regulations cannot control historical forces or determine the size of migration flows. In this context, it is understandable that the ongoing flow of immigrants legal or illegal persists.

CHAPTER 4
GENDER, CLASS, ETHNICITY, IDENTITY AND
BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN

If we continue to speak the same language to each other, we will reproduce the same story.

Irene Irgaray

In this chapter, aspects of gender, ethnicity and identity are studied as elements of intersectionality, affecting the migration movement of Brazilian women to the United States.

Gender

Gender differences accompany the evolution of human kind determining roles men and women occupy in the society. The rise of capitalism during the eighteenth and nineteenth century brought an ideological change to the position of women, who needed to occupy the ranks of industrialization. The family concept of a unit of production became a unit of consumption, giving women an overload of attributes to face the market dimension.

Today, women are unfolding themselves, never ceasing to invent different voices to be heard. Women are unwilling to accept the old patterns of domination. They call for an urgent need of revising, seeking diversity, not uniformity, but multiplicity (Hoy II et al.1990). Despite this change of path, the full employment open to women is choppy

and, far from being liberal, is menial. This whole scenario influences the feminization of migration and studies on this subject are taking place in various disciplines.

The present women's migration movement is very much connected to the American feminist theories of the late sixties and early seventies which brought to bear the contrast between what women were experiencing and the theories based on patriarchal principles. Motherhood roles were contested since women's dual-earner reality was common. In addition to working outside the home, they were still doing most of the household tasks (DeBiaggi, 2002).

Divergent theoretical approaches took the stage trying to determine working women's position in the society. Traditional gender roles situated women as the sole care taker of the home and children while liberal gender roles referred to an equal sharing of financial responsibilities between men and women and support of women's talents and careers (Behrman, 1982). Despite the connection between gender role attitudes and behavior, studies indicated that becoming more liberal did not necessarily mean that the men were willing to share household chores.

Women's immigration to the United States questions these assumptions admitting a more liberal position where household tasks are shared by men and women since both are in charge of the economic support of the family.

Momsen (1992) notes that there is much to learn about women in migration. She asserts that the burgeoning literature on women and migration illustrates that the gender variations in migration patterns "reflect complex economic and cultural causes (Momsen in Chant, Sylvia 1992: 81). According to her, one of the important differences is in the structure of labor markets, national immigration policies, divergent "ideologies about

male and female roles in society,” and the changing nature of household labor, as well as work for pay (Ibis).”

Until very recently, women were passive characters who followed their male counterparts. Presently, they are active subjects counting for a significant number of the total migrating population. Many examples explain how different groups of migrant women respond to the duality of roles: Colombians most relevant reason for migrating to the United States is determined by downward mobility of the middle class, shrunk during the last few decades. Perhaps because they had waged employment in their home country, Colombian immigrant women did not gain self-esteem and autonomy in relation to their spouses because of their earnings. They face double shifts between paid labor outside the home and unpaid labor at home (Castro, in Mobasher). In contrast, Brazilian women who migrated to New York reported more marriage satisfaction when husbands shared home duties before relegated to wives. However, double standards were observed, with strong influence of the cultural environment. While back in Brazil, they go back to their traditional male roles.

A relationship between class and women’s migration is also observed in the context of a transnational division of labor. A segmented labor market drives immigrant women to a few sectors of the economy, making upward mobility difficult (Chavez, 1987).

Perceptions of class differences are observed by immigrant women who defined themselves as middle class prior to their arrival in the United States. Brazilian women in New York, who were used to employing servants in Brazil and are now employed as servants, are examples of class downward mobility and how they accept these

differences. They cope with this change in social position by defining their situation as short-term and temporary (Margolis, 1994).

Class

Social class has been a stratifying force in modern societies, grouping people of similar economic and social positions; people who, for that reason, may share political attitudes, lifestyles, consumption patterns, cultural interests, and opportunities to get ahead (The New York Times, 2005). However, variations across history since ancient times describe various ladder-like stratification systems, distinguishing people according to their positions in society. The old Egyptian civilization is an example of stratification where class division places the Pharaoh at the top of the pyramid followed by his Vizier. Below them were the nobles, priests, and government officials. At the bottom of this social scale were the slaves with no privileges or rights.

Ancient Rome also offers an interesting complex class structure, separating the free born Romans in Patricians and Plebeians. Ancestry would establish a high status for Patricians or elite families opposed to Plebeians, the disadvantaged class which, eventually, progressed and became very successful. A division based on citizenship was also observed in the Roman Empire. An interesting fact is that free born Roman women were citizens but were not allowed to vote or participate in the government.

The debate about class was intensified during the industrial revolution when a new division of labor and, consequently, a new form of society emerged. Feudalism was replaced by free competition, social and political constitution adapted to it, and the economical and political power of the bourgeoisie. Capital creates a common situation

and interests. On the other side, the huge mass of workers or proletarians has nothing to sell except their work. As Marx explains, proletarians defend their own interests in political struggle. Class struggle has existed throughout history in all types of societies: freeman / slave, lord / serf, bourgeoisie / proletariat.

In addition to the economic view of class, Weber admits that the economic aspect of class refers, ultimately, to a market situation. However, other factors shape the position of individuals in society. Status groups (positive or negative social estimation of honor) own and monopolize certain positions, and honor is expressed via the lifestyle expected of group members. Stratification is expressed by where one lives, fashion, who one knows, where one is seen. Parties also play an important role in organized societies, struggling for domination through influencing a communal action. Posing a new perspective, Durkheim's in his analysis of society admits that stratification is based on occupational boundaries and mechanical solidarity.

Throughout the years theorists have examined the phenomenon of social class as a stratifying force in society. More recently studies converge to the importance of identifying systems of inequality and opportunities for mobility.

Most Americans have a notion about inequality by observing people, homes, cars among others external showing differences among people in society. (Burns in Perruci, 1999).

In Jencks' studies about inequality in the United States, the 1960s reforms sought to equalize opportunity rather than eliminate inequality. "Americans believe in equal opportunity." (Jencks, 1992) Complete equalization would lead to a lack of motivation. There is a need for incentives and authors prefer monetary incentives over social or moral

inducements. The economic distribution can never be made completely equal; however, efforts should be done to reduce the inequality significantly.

Throughout the 1980s, the United States became a debtor nation in terms of the balance between what they exported to the rest of the world and what they import. Today social class is viewed as increasingly organized around and through large organizational structures and processes that control the distribution of several forms of valuable economic and social resources. Occupations are important in this approach not simply because of their role in production but because of the organizations in which their work is conducted. Class location reflects the extent to which people possess combinations of four forms of generative economic and social resources_ investment, consumption, skill, and social capital. People possess variations in these forms of capital in large measure owing to the nature and extent of the links they have to upper-level authority positions within corporate, government, and cultural structures. Thus, class structure is largely shaped by the distribution of organizationally controlled forms of capital, which, held in greater or lesser amounts, determine the class locations of individuals and groups (Perrucci, 1999). As Morris and Western emphasize, economic inequality is not just a question of earning, but of fundamental changes in politics, markets, and life chances. Over 80 percent of the United States labor force is employed in the service sector. If this sector holds the clues to the future, then wage stagnation and polarization will continue. Many of the lowest paid and least challenging jobs are in the service sector. In this context migrant workers find their way to a market economy occupying the least desirable jobs in a system that perpetuates inequality.

Immigrants may face a downward mobility in terms of class by joining the lower ranks of the American labor market. However, the economic opportunities are far better than they found in their native countries. Confirming Massey's assumption, immigrants do not compete with native workers and do not have strong effects on the United States wage rates and employment levels. They belong to a permanent structural feature of American post industrial era. Today the basic engine for the average immigrant's assimilation may be missing, which can be translated in that robust economy that produced various paths to upward mobility for people with limited education. Trends will occur in rigid and stratified society, increasing antagonisms along class and ethnic lines within and between groups. In this context race and gender will be salient. Gender is crucial in the decision making process to migrate and subsequent forms of immigrant incorporation. Immigrant women, as intersectionality theory explains, suffer from various aspects of oppression including race, ethnicity, class and gender. It affects the public and private lives of these women, with their labor force participation, their occupational concentration, their marital roles and satisfaction and their autonomy and self-esteem (Pedraza, 1991). Therefore, immigration offers different benefits for women and men. As immigrant women find more freedom at the new host country by having more control over the budget and decision-making process at the household environment, they still make their work choices accommodate and reflect their family and child-care needs. As Joy Parr (1987:530) highlights, "emigration can be the product of sex imbalances; it also forms them, both in the old country and the new" (Pedraza, 1991: 303-25).

Ethnicity

In this study of Brazilian immigrant women, the reference to social capital calls for an explanation of how gender intertwines with ethnicity, and how gender and ethnicity influence one's identity.

The issue of ethnicity arises when linked to ethnic groups. Abner Cohen wrote extensively about ethnic groups in Northern Africa and Nigeria inferring that the concept of ethnic groups as "collectivities of people who share some patterns of normative behavior and form part of a larger population, interacting with people from other collectivities within the framework of a social system (Zelinsky, 2001)." However, this assumption raises the question of magnitude. Ethnic groups are easily associated with a specific geographical territory, but at the same time, they are collectivity people who are part of a larger population. Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs in the greater Washington, D.C. area can be understood as an ethnic group of people who are a part of the larger population in the United States.

In addition ethnic groups are linked to the emanation of policies. Whatever the direction of policy, ethnic groups will be recognized. Trying to effect a partnering of a political state with ethnic groups has been disappointing. Examples from such countries as Canada, Guyana and China, among others, are flawed efforts of reshaping states.

Thus, the generalized claim that an ethnic group must necessarily form part, presumably a minority, of a grander population is unacceptable. However, no matter how interesting such observations are, an ultimate definition of ethnic groups is far from being in agreement.

Language and religion often specify ethnic groups, but they are not the only distinctive traces to classify ethnic groups. Race appears as another criterion frequently invoked.

The racial division of humankind was conceptualized and deeply embedded in people's understanding approximately three hundred years ago (Hannaford, 1996 in Zielinski, 2003). Though much has been proved about this negative assumption, the belief in human races persists today despite the weak biological support for it. The reality is that the *Homo sapiens* species is genetically intermixed. While this has always been true modern developments are making this truth more apparent and helping to demonstrate this fact (Hannaford, 1996).

In terms of practical consequence, race is perceived as a socially constructed phenomenon which outweighs its dubious validity as a biological hypothesis (Omni and Winant, 1986). The interconnections between socially constructed racial and ethnic identities are very important in the United States. Until recently, expressions of hate by members of the Anglo-American community toward all "aliens," who were identified as all other racial/ethnic communities, were directed mostly toward African-Americans. Today, Native Americans, Latinos and Asian-Americans are also targeted by some Anglo-American coalitions (Wu, 1996).

Brazil and the United States have a common trajectory of historical developments, among them colonization, slavery and a racial concept of society. Both countries are countries populated by immigration. However, a significant difference in the history of the two countries is that the Brazilian government adopted questionable policies, which ultimately led to an economic decline during the 1980s. The weakening economy, as it

has been said earlier, drove many Brazilians to search for better opportunities in the United States. The country of immigrants became a country of emigration.

As Brazilians became immigrants in the United States, new perceptions of ethnicity, race and identity arose making them aware of a situation unknown to them in Brazil.

Brazilians are more concerned with their invisibility as a distinct ethnic group than with questions of race in terms of the United States white-black polarity. Margolis (1994) points out that the effort of Brazilians to distinguish themselves linguistically and ethnically from other Latin American groups is partly rooted in cultural pride, in the uniqueness of their “race” as they call it.

The ethnic identity of Hispanic is unfamiliar to Brazilians until they come to the United States. Brazilians call their neighboring nationals as Bolivians, Colombians and so on, but not Hispanics. Discrimination against Hispanics is another aspect that affects Brazilians even as they are trying to avoid being the target of it themselves. Exemplifying Jamaican and Haitian rejection to the African-American identity because it defines a population with limited status and power, Brazilians reject a Hispanic identity for much the same reason (Margolis 1994:242-245).

Brazilian immigrants’ concerns demand some knowledge of the United States historical trajectory from colonization to present days. Associations among ethnicity, identity and race has been an indicator to dissociate people and in the process raising antagonist feelings. Physical characteristics become distinctive elements to indicate superiority of a group to the detriment of another group.

Although race is not a topic of convergence of this research, an examination of this social construct phenomenon is necessary due to its ambivalent meaning with regard to ethnicity.

Race

The United States has its roots marked by this ambiguous racial component which intentionally constructed the social group of “white race.” This newly created identity provided native English-speakers in the North American colonies, both the original colonist as well as their descendents, a means of elevating themselves to a privileged status. This allowed them to see themselves as “republicans of great virtue in charge of protecting the new nation and reserving it, as some explicitly stated in the 1790s, for the worthy part of mankind” (Feagin 2003:64). All other groups were identified as inferior using whatever label would perform this function. For example, Native Americans initially and later African Americans were labeled as “savages” in order to under gird the privileges afforded to Anglo-Americans. This self-imposed supremacy helped English settlers justify the acquisition of Native American land and African slaves to improve their colonial economy.

Another use of this elevation of Anglo-Americans or an advantaged “white race” was that it provided landless British and European immigrants the perception of an elevated social status that separated them from non-Anglo-American groups that could have been natural economic, political or social allies.. As W.E. B. Du Bois stated (in Feagin, 2003), “these white workers came to accept a lesser economic position and lower wages in return for the ‘public and psychological wage’ that went with whiteness.” While

being deceived into accepting the higher social status of being white, which often equated to simply not being a person of color, white workers accepted subordinate class positions. New English-speaking immigrants were slowly and steadily indoctrinated by the white elite to be part of a racial hierarchy in which all white people expected and enforced deference from African-Americans and other Americans of color.

This kind of socio-political maneuver accompanied future immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Poland, Italy among other countries in Europe, who initially didn't identify themselves as "white," but as Irish, Germans, Polish, Italians and so on. As David Roedger explains, those immigrants gradually constructed themselves as "whites," as they improved economically and politically in the U.S. society (in Feagin, 2003).

On the other side, black people and Latinos had a more difficult path to developing their identities in the United States than white people because of the racial discrimination and racism they faced in the process of finding their "ethnic" background and ascending the socio-economic scale.

Born in the American past was the concept that any person of African descent, to any degree, were always seen and treated as not-white regardless of to what degree a person may be of Anglo descent. Descendants of other peoples of color were often not sufficiently distinguishable with a viable degree of certainty to raise social or political concern (Daniel, 1992 in Zelinsky, 2001).

The separation of people into "racial" and ethnic groups or categories by government of the country is a relatively new phenomenon birthed in the United States with the first population count in 1610.

This process continued when, after a heated argument at the 1787 Constitutional Convention delegates decided that for purposes of congressional representation a Negro slave should be counted as only three-fifths of a person. In an effort to preserve the status-quo the enumeration of such fractional human beings became a political and economic necessity.

From 1790 through 1860 the U.S. slave population was duly enumerated every ten years. Although not considered politically urgent free black people comprised another statistical category. Before and for several decades following Emancipation in 1860, racial classifications were made by the enumerator. Socially across the U.S and legally in many states the formula of “one drop of blood” was almost invariably adopted. This formula embodied the idea that anyone known to the enumerator or community to have had an African ancestor, however remote, would automatically be designated as a Negro. This formula reinforced the concept of racial superiority attributed to whiteness. However, even from the very beginning this racial perspective had faults in both its logic and application as Native Americans were in a sensual limbo, being neither white nor black.

Due to changes in viewpoints and perspectives, the competing and often conflicting claims, as well as differential success in lobbying efforts, these racial classifications appeared on census forms with great variance from one census to another.

As Sharon Lee (1993) expresses, “a medley of racial and ethnic terms brings confusion to concepts of race and ethnic identity. It clearly states the political and ideological negotiations that determine the decision-making process by which groups are defined as races or ethnic groups, and which groups get listed in census schedules.”

This confusion is more visible in the 1990 population count which grouped under the Hispanic category, which is a linguistic identifier, diverse ethnic groups from various geographical areas. This wrongful application of the term supported the dissemination of a misunderstanding of cultural heritage and nation states.

The long-established classification of humans in a race pentagon of black, white, red, yellow and brown still influences much of the present ethno racial categories in the United States. The traditional American sense of whiteness is distinguished from other classical race theories, with a very strong political component embedded in it. It is worth citing some ambivalence in this process. For example, the old Caucasian race theory includes immigrants from India as Caucasians following studies from physical anthropologists in the early twentieth century. However, the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1923 that South Asian immigrants, a group that includes people from India and their descendants, were sufficiently “non-white” to be ineligible for naturalization as white people. Jews from Europe and elsewhere were sometimes said to be a separate race. Even European immigrant groups whose whiteness was not legally contested, such as those from Ireland, Italy and Poland were very much considered different and their whiteness contested, except when compared to black-skinned people (Steinberg, 2000).

These categories aim to construct the supremacy of the white category in terms of political control in the United States. The more European immigrant groups strengthened the political and economic connections of the dominant Anglo-American population the more their whiteness was recognized to be part of American institutions. However, the one-drop rule kept African-Americans in a distinctive formation unlike the categories

traditionally employed in Brazil, South Africa and elsewhere to recognize racial mixture (Steinberg, 2000).

Today, whiteness in the United States is articulated primarily in relation to black people and secondarily in relation to people of other skin colors. During the multiculturalism of the 1980s and 1990s people with perspectives from non-white affiliations increased the emphasis on the cultural component of each of these skin-color groupings, the reality that white people should be comparably particularized as Euro-Americans made better sense.

Except for the last two decades even with the cultural and skin-color diversity, people customarily identified as Hispanic or Latino, were usually considered white or Caucasian. In addition they were often identified by their country of origin, such as, Mexican, Bolivian, Cuban, etc. Until the 1990 census, more than half of the Mexican-American population continued to be classified and classify itself as white. This understanding of the whiteness of Hispanic people in the United States prevailed despite the recognition that the ancestry of many of these national groups is heavily indigenous, such as in Mexico, and that the populations largely consist of a mixture of white and black ancestry, such as in Porto Rico, in a combination seemingly exempted from the American one-drop rule.

Affirmative action is implemented through numbers. In this context, the event most responsible for the lines that separate one group from another was the 1977 issuing of statistical directive number 15 by the Office of Management and Budget. This directive enabled government workers to collect information necessary to address affirmative action. Federal agencies were instructed to facilitate the identification and to

classify people racially as white, black, American Indian and Asian or Pacific Islander, and to distinguish within the white race between those of Hispanic and those of non-Hispanic origin. Although the words used to indicate these groups have changed somewhat since 1977, varying from context to context, the five initial categories remain firmly entrenched in government and social use. However, following calls by the National Council of La Raza, in the 2000 census the U.S. Census Bureau reclassified Hispanics as a race rather than an ethnic group.

Even today the border between ethnicity and race is greatly contested. Classifying people by the physical marks that are used to identify the racial group of people is, like the philosopher Anthony Appiah has pointed out, “like trying to classify books in a library” on the basis of size and shape. Only a very small portion, a mere fraction of a person’s genetic inheritance is taken into account by such a mode of classification. In spite of this, even among people who deny that race exists as an anthropological entity and who know that genetic variation from one race to another is scarcely greater than any genetic variation within the races, the term race continues to have great currency

Another assumption is that the localism and determinism that has been observed in the traditional American system has given place to a new understanding of ethnicity based on self consciousness and choice (Zelinsky, 2001). As a result, the number of self-identified people as being of “mixed-race” has been increasing shifting the traditional concepts of race and ethnicity. By contrast, the conventional term mixed-race perpetuates the anachronism of race. A writer for the “New Yorker” recently reported the thoughts of some African-American intellectuals as that “it would be better to eliminate racial categories altogether.”

In addition, it is worth noting how these changes contributed to the multiple ethnic choices available to white Americans of European ancestries. As Feagin (2003) explains, they can choose a specific heritage, that of being just American, just white.

Americans descendants of European origin may maintain what are called “symbolic ethnicities,” a term defined by Herbert Gans (1979) to explain the options of ethnicity available to some individuals without bearing any social cost. Richard Alba (1990) added that many Americans keep the “symbolic identities” alive because of the “enjoyable and voluntary aspects to those identities along with the feelings of specialness they entailed.”

The creation of “hyphenated” Americans accentuate differences that do not benefit those racially defined in the American milieu. African-Americans are compelled to identify themselves as black even if they are of mixed background.

As Mary C. Waters notes in her book ‘Ethnic Option’ (1990), she tries to “liberate white Americans from the blindness which helps to prevent many non-white Americans from enjoying the freedom now experienced by white people to affiliate and disaffiliate at will.” Presently, an evolution in understanding ethnic/racial identification has been prompted moving from a “compulsory ethnicity to an ethnicity by consent.”(Lal,1983).

Despite all the struggle and discussion about race in the United states and the racial component underlying ethnic identity, Americans are bound by a very profound sense of loyalty and patriotism making them proud of “being American.”

Identity

Ethnicity and identity are complex issues intrinsically related to race. Many social theorists admit that ethnicity is based in a common ancestry, but ethnicity is primarily a social phenomenon, not a biological one (Waters 1996, Alba 1985, 1990; Barth, 1969; Weber, 1921, 1968).

Members of an ethnic group may not share a common ancestry and still share the same ethnicity. From this understanding the self-selected or identified element of ethnic identity indicates both an adoption of identity and a group or national consensus or consciousness of that identity. Within this there is still flexibility when considering that ethnic identities may change across generations through intermarriage and other social occurrences influencing individuals' identities (Waters, 1996).

The many aspects of identity call for different approaches from various disciplines. Individuals may pursue a political identity as much as a gender or ethnic identity among others.

Ethnicity in Brazil differs from the concept and options Americans share in the United States. As much as Americans, Brazilians maintain degrees of identification with their various ethnic backgrounds. That said, the declining discrimination based on ethnicity and the rising accessibility of social mobility regardless of ethnicity has allowed the majority of white American the options of having an ethnic identify without social or economic costs (Waters, 1990).

Brazilians, on the other hand, independently of the social mobility and past discrimination of their ancestry groups keep the unifying notion about Brazilian ethnic identity. Ethnicity in Brazil, as much as in the United States differs from racial

organization commonly grouped as white people, black people, Asians and Indigenous people.

Identity and ethnic ancestry for white people in the United States involve social changes and options. It is interesting how after several generations Americans keep their “Hyphenated identities,” like German-Americans, Italian-Americans among others. However, the same option is not extended to African-Americans and Latinos. Indeed further social explanation is often required when people of color identify themselves in this construct because there is a lack of verbal clarification between a person who may have recently immigrated to the U.S. and someone who is claiming as ethnic identity irrelevant of the length of their family has been in the United States.

The symbolic identity, already mentioned in previous paragraphs, does not affect Brazilians to the extent seen in the United States.

Brazilians keep their symbolic identities in a historical context. They enjoy the sense of belonging to a remote ancestral group, but it doesn’t take place in the everyday lives of the Brazilian people. Brazilians descendents from African slaves incorporate the same identity as others in the population. The contrasting affirmative from Freyre about the racial democracy and Feagin’s subtle discrimination gives place to an intermediate position where class is more important than race. Feagin criticizes the notion of “racial democracy” which recognizes the existence of some prejudice and discrimination, but occurrences are isolated and that African descendants in Brazil share equality in the multicultural Brazilian society.

The concept was advanced by Freyre in his book “The Masters and the Slaves,” published in 1933, but he didn’t coin the expression that became a myth of race

relationship in Brazil. Many Brazilians were influenced by his idea of a meta-race resulting from the miscegenation of indigenous people, Europeans and African slaves. This myth highly influenced the Brazilian identity from the 1930s to the 1970s when scholars like Florestan Fernandes contested the idea of a racial democracy with the expression “the prejudice of having no prejudice.” Roberto DaMatta (1997), a Brazilian sociologist also described Brazilian racial democracy as the fable of the three races meaning that the three racial entities, European, African and Indigenous would mix generating a very unique Brazilian population. Skidmore (1974), an American scholar revising Freyre’s assumption, criticized the Brazilian white elite who under the myth of racial democracy kept African descendants and other racial minorities in subjugated social conditions. The reality of Brazilian identity is related to social class and appearance.

The Brazilian magazine, “Raça,” in its March 1999 edition published an article entitled “Por que eles preferem as loiras?” translated into “Why do they prefer blondes? A suggestive title from the American movie “Gentlemen Prefer Blondes“, explores the visible preference of Brazilian black men for blond women.

The article explores the contrasting ideology that permeates Brazilian society that all races exist in equality and the reality that inter-racial relationships are usually based on socioeconomic status. The debate concludes that Brazilian black men would not have this option to date blond women if they were poor. This is money and its accompanying social status that enables the negation of black identity.

The discrimination against black people continues, but the tenuous line that divides the mixed race into those who look white and people with darker skin masks this

discrimination. Mulattos (people both a result of black and white miscegenation) and “pardos” (people from a mixture of many racial categories) categories are common in Brazil. Considering that the one drop rule does not apply in Brazil, people in these groupings may be seen by other Brazilians as white simply on the visual assessment of their skin. The valorization of whiteness persists, but the distinction between white and non-white people is very fragile. Yet discrimination is noticeable in all levels of government, in congress and senate in the judiciary higher ranks as well as the higher positions in the civil service and armed forces (Rocha, 2000).

According to Margolis (1994) immigration does reflect racial discrimination. The Brazilian immigration in New York is characterized by having mostly white middle class Brazilians. Considering that most people of color in Brazil are in the lower strata of the population, they are not represented in the Brazilian immigrant milieu in New York. Another interesting fact is that white Brazilians have more interaction with their non-white compatriots in the United States than they do with non-white people in Brazil (Margolis, 1994).

Locality in Brazil also affects identity as much as in the United States. It is common to depreciate people in relationship to their different localities or regions in which they live originate. Expressions like “red neck” and other pejorative names interfere with people’s identity. The same happens in Brazil, when characteristics are attributed to people identifying them according to the locality they come from.

Finally, understanding identity, it is possible to connect it to ethnicity in the process of discovering “who I am” and “who we are.”

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

This research study investigates Brazilian transnational migrant women in pink collar jobs. Brazilian transnational migrant women are understood as women who migrated from Brazil to the United States, live and participate in the American society but, at the same time keep a permanent connection with their families, friends and business in Brazil through modern means of communication such as the internet, phone calls or international travels. Pink collar jobs are low paid service jobs, mainly performed by women, in this case, by Brazilian women.

This inquiry sought to understand their migration process and their life as they understood them. This interpretive framework is, of course, subjective and based on the subjects' understandings of their experiences (Cresswell, 1998). Because very little is known about this particular ethnic group, in this occupation and region, an exploratory qualitative approach was used for this study. A qualitative approach is flexible and addresses research questions of all types, responding to what, why and how (Babbie, 2000), which are key to the topic. A field research study was developed in order to capture the various aspects of this specific population. Talking with people, observing their daily activities, getting their views make field research the best option to reach and understand this sample, opposed to the somewhat artificial settings of experiments and surveys (Babbie, 2000). According to John and Lyn Lofland (1995) "field research

well suited to describe, examine or explore various aspects of social life, such as practices, episodes, encounters, roles, relationships, groups, organizations, settlements, social worlds and lifestyles or subcultures.”

Qualitative Approach

A qualitative approach is essential to investigate the experiences and interpretations of actors in their social worlds. It allows multiple realities revealing depth and details of the discovery process. Qualitative research involves a naturalistic approach, understanding the phenomenon in its setting. The qualitative methodology was chosen for this study because it focuses on the subjective views and interpretations of the immigration and occupational situations experienced by Brazilian women. While a quantitative approach may be more objective, it is also more distant (Haworth, 1984). This is, a quantitative approach does not permit understanding the relationships, attitudes, beliefs, and plans for the future of the studied subjects that a qualitative approach does. In addition, a qualitative approach, unlike a quantitative approach, also allows the information from key informants to be fully incorporated in the study.

Key informants are individuals fully familiar with the study subjects, but because they are not themselves being studied, less likely to distort information about the studied groups due to social desirability.

John and Lyn Lofland (1995) point out that “getting in” and “getting along” are key issues to apply qualitative research. Being a Brazilian native and having fluency in Portuguese helped me with these two processes. Besides, my relationships developed

over the years in the United States generated confidence and trust with those respondents and their referrals.

This study poses three research questions:

1- Why do Brazilian women engage in transnational migration from Brazil to the United States?

1. a. How do social networks affect their transnational migration?

2. How do the social construction of gender and ethnicity influence the occupational choices of this group of Brazilian women, in light of their backgrounds and the job perspectives they anticipated?

3. In what ways do pink collar jobs shape their identity, social interaction and job satisfaction?

Key Informants

Initially, two key informants were selected to provide me with official knowledge and insights about the population. Mr. Bernardo Brazil, a career diplomat was selected from the Brazilian consulate, in Washington D.C. and the second, Karla Silvestre from the Montgomery County Office of Community Partnerships. Following a suggestion from the Secretary Bernardo I also interviewed the diplomat Daniella Araujo, in charge of women's affairs for the Brazilian embassy. She became my third key informant.

Bernardo Brazil, from the Brazilian Consulate at Washington D.C., emphasized that it is a priority of the Brazilian Government, through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, collecting information and developing programs to strengthen contacts with Brazilian communities living abroad. According to Bernardo, during the eighties, Brazil emerged

as a country of emigration due to economic problems aggravated by the 1979 oil crisis. It was a new phenomenon for a country known as a country of immigration. At that time, Brazil's consular agenda included services for the Brazilian citizens living abroad.

However, in 2007, the increasing number of Brazilian immigrants drove the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to shift its focus to Brazilian communities abroad. The subject is so extensive that the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs created a Sub-Secretary with its own autonomy to implement the new policies. In addition, the decree 7214/2010 founded the Council of Brazilian representatives abroad (CRBE) and initiated the World Brazilian Conferences to protect the interests of the Brazilian communities abroad. This legislation advanced the Brazilian consular service to a second generation, involving not only the immigrant community, but the second generation of those immigrant communities.

It is also a priority of the Brazilian government to implement cooperation and share information with the United States in order to eliminate discrimination against women and achieve gender equality. During the visit to Brazil of the United States Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, in March 3, 2010, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the two countries to promote the advancement of women. All of these actions reflect the intention of the Brazilian government to protect these immigrant communities, including immigrant women.

According to Bernardo, it is worth noting the change of the Brazilian immigrant profile. It also includes the Brazilian immigrant women profile. The increasing level of cooperation, exchange programs between the two countries help the professional qualification of Brazilian immigrants: "It is a gradual tendency, turning the pink and blue

collar workers of today into white collars of tomorrow.” Moreover, the economic migration started during the eighties, until very recently, is returning home. The financial crisis in the United States and Brazil’s economic growth are factors contributing to this exodus.

Concerning the number of Brazilian immigrants in the United States, 40 to 60 thousand Brazilians live in the jurisdiction of the Brazilian General Consulate in Washington D.C. which includes Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. However, it is difficult to assert a precise number because there are immigrants that for a number of reasons fear to access the consular services or fill out government statistics. It is also interesting the divergence between the Brazilian consular authorities estimative and the American Community Survey (ACS). The ACS points that 360,000 Brazilian immigrants live in the United States against 1.3 million estimative from the Brazilian government.

My second key informant was Karla Silvestre from the Montgomery County Office of Community Partnerships. I selected an informant from Montgomery County administration based on a previous work from Audrey Singer (2007), who mentioned the higher concentration of Latino Immigrants in Montgomery County. As an immigrant from Guatemala who came to the United States as an eight year old child accompanying her family, and later a citizen concerned with the promotion of Latino immigrant, her knowledge about immigrant issues and Montgomery County policies towards immigrants are indispensable to lighten up ideas to this study.

She started describing the Montgomery County characteristics which include a relatively affluent, well educated workforce with a large concentration of foreign born.

According to data from the 2008 American Community Survey, Montgomery County presented a median household annual income of \$94,319.00, with the highest value of \$111,925. The lowest value was \$ 67, 518.00. Concerning education, Montgomery County had 29% of those 25 years and older with advanced degree.

In the last 20 years, Montgomery County has experienced a significant change in its population with an increasing number of persons with limited English proficiency (LEP). In order to face this new reality, Montgomery County executive branch established that departments, agencies and programs take reasonable efforts to provide equal access to public services to its whole population

Comprising immigrant groups from Asia, Africa and Latin America, Montgomery County takes as a priority to develop policies to integrate immigrant communities in order to keep the county's standards with its population well being.

The largest immigrant group in Montgomery County is formed by Asians from South East, South Central, Western and Eastern Asia (37%). This group is followed by Latin Americans (35%) which include South, Central America and Caribbean. Brazilian immigrants are grouped with Peruvian and Colombian immigrants (11%). No data about foreign-born population from other South American countries are available.

Through the Office of Community Partnerships, activities and services are provided to attend the county's diverse population. The Gilchrist Center for Cultural Diversity, established in 2001, offers information, referral services, pro-bono legal advice and clinics besides classes in citizenship, English as a second language, computer among others.

The County recognizes that in a diverse community, it is beneficial to partner and fund private entities who have close relationship with diverse communities. The Montgomery County Adult English Coalition, is an umbrella organization that focuses on immigrant integration and collaboration among the diverse institutions that serve immigrants. It provides training, capacity building, funding, coordinate information and resources. Over 30 community clinics serve the uninsured. In addition, the diverse communities' advisory groups, which include the Latin American advisory group, keep reports closely to the County Executive. It is the County's best interest to have the immigrant voices heard.

All this effort may explain the higher number of Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs living in Montgomery County as opposed to other counties in Virginia and the District of Columbia.

The third informant, Daniella Araujo is responsible for human rights affairs at the Brazilian Embassy, in Washington D.C. She reported that recently Brazil is developing a new profile. Brazil offers cooperation to Africa, South America and Haiti. Twenty years ago, cooperation with the United States was seen in terms of receiving aid and support. Today, cooperation is bilateral. Brazil promotes cooperation with the United States in areas where both countries have different experiences and have common interests. A protocol was signed between Brazil and the United States to eliminate racial discrimination. Both countries are supposed to generate policies to avoid racial profiling and those policies will certainly benefit the Brazilian immigrant community, in the United States. Another step taken by both countries refers to the memorandum of understanding signed in 2010 during the visit of State Secretary, Hillary Clinton, to

Brazil. The memorandum implements gender equality. It sets as a priority women's insertion in the labor market, in areas considered predominantly male dominated as science, technology, engineer and medicine.

The growing interest in partnerships signs for future actions that will result in the advancement of women in Brazil and the United States including immigrant women.

Ana Lucia C. Licco also provided me with important knowledge about the Brazilian community in the Washington Metropolitan area. As a Brazilian immigrant who came to the United States to get married and has been living in the area for approximately eight years, she dedicates most of her time to raise her two children, her work at the Brazilian Association of Culture & Education (ABRACE) and the Brazilian Citizens Council.

She mentioned that the first step to promote the Brazilian culture in this area was through Portuguese classes to young children. An association "Brazilian Mothers of Virginia" started, in 2006, teaching Portuguese, to its members' children interested in learning the language. They started with few children and some participant mothers offered their homes for the classes. The experience was so successful that in 2009 they founded the ABRACE Incorporation, which is a non-profit organization dedicated to divulge the Brazilian culture. They offer Portuguese classes for children at a symbolic cost of \$280.00 (two hundred and eighty) dollars for four months and also promote events to develop the Brazilian culture in the area.

Lately, in 2008, she was elected a member of the Brazilian embassy Citizen's Council, in Washington D.C. In this position, she is in charge of representing the

Brazilian immigrant population in the greater Washington D.C. metropolitan area, taking their difficulties and aspirations to the Brazilian diplomatic authorities.

According to her views, the dialogue with the different groups of Brazilian immigrants in this area is difficult due to social class differences. The uniqueness of this region with many multilateral organizations, embassies from almost all nations of the world and multinational companies attracts a huge diverse population. In this context, Brazilians come to work at high level positions or low paid jobs, to go to school or as a tourist. It is worth noting the “Au Pair” program that brings young women from many places of the world to the United States to work as an “au pair” and study English. They come for a year with the possibility of an extension for a second year. This program brings a huge number of young people who many times get along so well with their employers that they sponsor them to become full time students and, in many cases, future immigrants. They have a different profile from other immigrants who come to this region to work in low and high level positions. All these differences may respond for the lack of cohesion observed among the different groups of Brazilian people in this area. There are many small groups, mostly church groups that have their own programs instead of joining efforts. A concentration of Brazilian workers, mainly in low paid jobs, is seen in Maryland more than in Virginia and in the District of Columbia. Many immigrants who came to other regions in the United States moved to Maryland because the state welcomes immigration. In addition, the first immigrants started a network process bringing family members and friends to settle in the area, increasing the immigrant population.

Another aspect of the Brazilian community in this region is that many immigrants come to make money and leave, though they are not interested in forging strong relationships. Recently, the flourishing economic situation of Brazil has been attracting many immigrants and their families who are leaving the United States back to Brazil.

Population

The interest population is comprised of Brazilian immigrant women in “pink collar jobs,” (jobs mainly performed by women, in the service area, usually low paid, easily replaced). in D.C. metropolitan area or the greater Washington D.C., with 22 jurisdictions: the District of Columbia, the city of Alexandria, Arlington, Fairfax, Loudoun and Prince William counties in Virginia, in addition to Montgomery, Prince Georges and Frederick counties in Maryland, jurisdictions characterized by rapid economic and population growth (Jones-Correa 2007; Singer 2007).

The criteria to participate in the study were based on four factors: gender, ethnicity, age, professional categories, immigrant status and residence (territory). Thirty-four Brazilian immigrant women, 18 years old or older performing “pink collar jobs,” in the greater Washington D.C. area formed the study sample.

Initially, I selected 30 respondents, but added up 4 more subjects per their request. One respondent traditionally would have been called as blue collar worker since she was a delivery truck driver. However, some companies have been experiencing a change in their employees’ gender with more female applying and working for some jobs in traditional male dominated areas. In her case, it is possible to say she is a pink collar worker through the present characteristics of her job.

Sampling

Non-probability sampling is adequate for qualitative studies dealing with vulnerable and difficult to reach populations, such as the present targeted population.

The subjects are considered vulnerable because they are immigrants, mostly with low command of English, in low paid jobs. In addition, they are considered difficult to reach because this immigrant population is not easily found. This population is commonly considered as Hispanics, although Portuguese is their mother tongue. The Brazilian face is common to many ethnicities due to a huge miscegenation of Brazilian Natives, Europeans, Africans and Asians. One has to be familiar with cultural norms in order to identify and access members of this population.

The snowball technique was chosen considering my acquaintances with this population and the possibility of counting on the social networks of the selected respondents. The number of Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs, living in the Greater D.C. area, was unknown, and is comprised of a very small group of the population, which fits the applicability of the snowball technique. An advantage of using this technique is the necessary trust that may be developed as referrals are made by acquaintances or peers rather than other more formal methods of identification (Atkinson and Flint, SRU 33, 2001). However, representativeness may be a problem. Respondents are drawn from networks, thus missing the isolates (Van Meter, 1990). Moreover, initial subjects tend to appoint people they know well and, consequently, it is possible that subjects share the same characteristics, making the sample a small subgroup of the entire population (Babbie, 2000).

The advantages of this technique for exploring this small group of Brazilian women certainly surpass possible isolates. The subjects with desired traits refer to further appropriate subjects, not necessarily people they are closely related with. Through their connections it is possible to include members of groups where, after all, no lists or identifiable clusters exist.

The sample involved in this study consisted of thirty-four Brazilian immigrant women in “pink collar” jobs, living in D. C. metropolitan area. Initially 30 participants were selected from the pink collar categories. However, this number was increased due to the interest of some Brazilian women who came to me spontaneously, willing to be interviewed. They offered me their participation as soon as they were informed about the purpose of the study. Considering they fit the selection criteria, it was useful to have their experiences counted, especially because they were eager to have their voices heard. For the purpose of this research, my initial contacts were acquaintances established in the greater Washington D.C. area throughout the years, studying in the United States. I started with four interviewees from various “pink collar jobs” such as an elderly care giver, a beautician, a bar tender and a house cleaner. One of my acquaintances was a well connected Brazilian who has been living in Fairfax, Virginia for many years. Through a Brazilian organization named “Mulher Brasil” she was able to provide me with some contacts and a few clues.

The referrals included house cleaners, nannies, manicures/pedicures and a billing agent, which in turn, referred me other house cleaners, nannies, waitresses, billing agent and bartenders. As a chain, I got other professionals in the same categories with the inclusion of a delivery truck driver. It is interesting that many contacts in Virginia

indicated me other contacts in Maryland, to a point that most of the referrals were from Montgomery County, in Maryland. It is worth mentioning a Brazilian ethnic store and a hair salon in Wheaton, which congregated many Brazilian professionals who were willing to be interviewed. One of my previous contacts was very familiar with both places introducing me to the Brazilian women working there. Unfortunately, few referrals felt uncomfortable being interviewed and denied the approach. Other two possible respondents cancelled the interview alleging too much work and visitors coming.

This research grouped professions like baby sitter, house cleaners and elderly care providers in the household environment, as domestic laborers (domestic workers); restaurant workers included women working in any activity in a restaurant environment, such as waitresses and bar tenders; professions like billing agents, photographer, receptionist/secretary, language teacher and delivery truck driver were under the “other” category.”

A sample size of thirty-four interviewees is acceptable for a small scale qualitative study. Usually researchers avoid asserting what consists a satisfactory sample size. Some guidance is offered in order to avoid saturation.

Different methodologies call for different sample sizes, for instance, for ethnography, Morse (1994) states between 30-50 interviews. In ethnoscience, Bernard (2000) suggests that most studies are based on samples between 30-60 interviews. Other researchers have tried to recommend some kind of guidelines for qualitative sample sizes: Charmaz (2006) asserted that “25 participants are adequate for smaller projects”. According to Ritchie et al. (2003) qualitative samples often “lie under 50.” The richness

of the data suppresses the large number of inquiries. For all qualitative research, 15 is the smallest acceptable sample.

Data Collection

In order to have an informal environment where ideas and experiences flow naturally, I asked the participants to choose the settings where they wanted to be interviewed, in the researched area. My only request was a relative quiet place where the movement of people and noise wouldn't interfere in our conversation. Some participants chose a café in a convenient location for them or their own residence. Others asked me to interview them at work, eluding a very tight schedule. Either place was fine with me since the most important was that they felt comfortable to be interviewed.

Before starting the interview, I asked the respondents about their language of preference (Portuguese or English) considering that I didn't know their level of English command. All of them chose Portuguese although some were fluent in English. Maybe it was a way to feel more comfortable with me, as a Brazilian. I also requested that respondents to record the interview. Two were confident with this process. However, since most of them made some observations about being taped, I opted for writing their answers and my observations. Recorded information is always precise in the sense that all the details are captured. Sometimes, however, recorders may interfere with participants' answers, especially immigrants. They may feel intimidated and say something different, which may sound more appropriate than they initially thought to say (Warren 2002).

All respondents were asked to sign the consent form (Appendix B), making sure that they knew about the purpose of the interview and their participation was voluntary

and confidential. Anonymity was assured since the names used in this study are fictitious. Their real names were not disclosed in order to keep their privacy.

Data collection proceeded using in-depth, face-to-face interviews, considering that I was interested in revealing their reasons for migrating, their insertion in the labor market, how they managed their identity into the mainstream society, their relationships here and their original places. In-depth interviews are particularly useful to answer questions of why and how (Yin 2003).

In order to understand the lives of those Brazilian women, I needed a less structured process supposed to run naturally, as a conversation. Flexibility was important to capture all the minutiae that shaped the subject matter. For this reason, a face-to-face in-depth interview was used to extract richer and relevant information from the participants. Moreover, conducting an in-depth, face-to-face interview facilitated adjusting the interview plan when the participant's responses implied additional investigation. The informality of the methodology helped the interaction between the two poles: the interviewer and the interviewee.

In Depth Face-to-Face Interviews

In-depth interviews collected data to respond to the three research questions:

1. Why do Brazilian women engage in transnational migration from Brazil to the United States?

1. a. How do social networks affect their transnational migration?

2. How do the social construction of gender and ethnicity influence the occupational choices of this group of Brazilian women, in light of their backgrounds and the job perspectives they anticipated?

3. In what ways do pink collar jobs shape their identity, social interaction and job satisfaction?

In-depth, face-to-face interviews were administered to thirty-four Brazilian immigrant women who fit the pink collar worker category, living in the researched area.

The referral and a brief introduction before the interview were the sole strategy necessary to determine if the participant was suitable to the purpose of the study. Initially, interviews followed a set of structured questions to collect demographic data (Appendix C). In sequence, I used an interview guide to make sure that I was focusing on the research questions (Appendix D). A set of open ended questions is part of a semi-structured interview in order to gather data related to the selected research questions, allowing respondents to inform their own impressions and experiences (Babbie 2000).

Questions about Brazilian immigrant's citizenship were not asked although some informants mentioned their status spontaneously.

The names attributed to the interviewees are fictitious to maintain anonymity and confidentiality.

The interviews lasted one hour, thirty minutes to one hour, forty five minutes.

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed the collection of data. The audio files and written notes produced during the interview process were reviewed, marked and transcribed.

Transcription occurred in the same day or a few days after the interview, keeping alive comments, details such as face expressions and gestures that involved their experiences. Comments were added to facilitate the process of coding.

Translation was necessary bringing up Portuguese into English in order to understand all the information given in the interviews.

Coding is the process of categorizing data to better see what patterns emerge. It was used in order to get my own and others' assumptions about the phenomena. Strauss and Corbin (2004) admit that coding allows the researcher to question or explore one's own and others' assumptions leading to new discoveries.

Coding for my collected data involved braking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data to answer the research questions. Coding helped me to explain the association between key topics, revealing patterns, order of significance, contradictions and themes.

I examined all the records and created codes naming the phenomena. For example, the question "what were the reasons for migrating?"

A code created as "reasons for migrating" collected all the answers related to that question. This first step was essential to analyze the rest of the data, giving access to findings uncovered during the analysis.

In order to call attention to similarities found in the data, memos were elaborated.

According to Babbie (2000), data analysis is mainly focused on finding patterns and their development into concepts, as opposed to the numerical conversion of data.

Reliability

This research is based upon scientific methodology consistent with relevant literature. Reliability of findings is addressed by continuous verification of collected data and data analysis.

Data collection starts with a structured set of demographic questions at the beginning of the each in-depth, face-to-face interview followed by open-ended questions aimed to obtain as much data as possible. This process is essential to understand the experiences of this group of Brazilian immigrant women.

Reliability is achieved considering that the data collection methods can be replicated easily. However, a Portuguese-English translator is necessary in order to replicate the interviews.

Validity

This investigation presents internal validity because of the adequacy of the study design to the specific population (Babbie, 2000), allowing a deep understanding of this set of Brazilian women. In addition, personal acquaintances with this group of people help to obtain internal validity.

However, it lacks external validity. Considering that this study refers to a small sample of a specific population, the conclusions refer solely to this particular group of women. Thus, representativeness may be a problem and, consequently, generalization to a larger or distinct population is impossible.

Limitations and Delimitations

This qualitative study focuses on a small population of Brazilian transnational migrant women in pink collar jobs. It is delimited to a particular group of transnational migrant women who live and work in the greater Washington D.C. area, performing what is called pink collar jobs, meaning women's work in low paid, not much expertise needed, in the service area.

This research examines various aspects of this group of women, linking transnational migration, gender and ethnicity. Variables like networking, social identity and market incorporation are integral part of the context influencing the results of the migration process of these women. Race is mentioned in many chapters, but it is not the core of this study.

This research relies on snowball sampling counting on a more diversified sample. Despite its limitations, it is a less structured procedure than purposive sampling, which could have been used, but would direct the interviews to certain types of women, following religious or business preferences.

In-depth interviews were the best option for this small scale qualitative study of 34 Brazilian migrant women in pink collar jobs. A deeper investigation was targeted considering this small sample. For this reason, generalization to other segments of the population is not recommended. Thus, the research findings are not conclusive, but suggestive.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS

The previous chapter described the processes used to reach and understand the population of Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs. This chapter presents the findings over their immigration endeavor, ties or networks, race/ethnicity, identity, social interaction, job satisfaction, and contributions to the place of origin and destination.

A qualitative study allows a deeper understanding of the lives of this group of Brazilian women. More specifically, the option for an exploratory study facilitated the elaboration of conceptual claims which arose independently of hypothesis or expected results. Actually, the concepts obtained may share similarities with other groups of immigrant women, but they result from the investigation of this particular group of Brazilian women. Thus, the research findings should not be interpreted as reflecting generalizations to other settings or populations.

It is possible to affirm that these women's lives are centered in a duality of realities between Brazil and the United States. Their effort to participate and succeed in the American society works as a reward obtained in contrast with a downward mobility in class and status. Their vision of the United States as an open class boundary society fulfills their aspirations of self-esteem and appreciation from Brazilians in their homeland. Yet, this vision is shared by friends and families through information used to feed a network system.

Their lives in the United States make sense from the perspective of living among American nationals, but at the same time keeping strong ties with co-nationals and family members. The stories told by the interviewed women always included permanent interaction with people and places where borders seem non-existent. At the same time, an intercultural exchange provides these women and those around them with options and opportunities obtained by the migration process.

Participation in the Brazilian and American society enriches their lives and the lives of those living around them. They feel privileged for being able to enjoy the best of both worlds. They seem to enjoy the essence of capitalism, where work corresponds to an economic reward which allows them to have desired consumption goods, difficult to acquire when living in Brazil. It is important to note that the majority of the interviewed women in this study lived in Brazil in a time where patriarchal influences were stronger. Thus, their contact with American more liberal societal patterns gave them a greater degree of independence and freedom to follow their own destinies.

The concept of ethnic identity is crucial for Brazilians in the United States. It is difficult for them to accept the lack of knowledge from Americans who see them as part of the huge contingent of Hispanics. Brazilians strive to be recognized as a significant group of hard workers whose distinctiveness adds to the grandeur of the United States. Immigration implies attitudes and behaviors that influence reception in the new destiny. In the case of Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs, networks played a key role in facilitating the process of leaving to and reception into the new destination. For this reason it is important to assert: why and how immigration occurred; welcoming factors

and the ways in which race/ethnicity influenced jobs availability; and satisfaction and how it helped to maintain or alter their identity. Contributions to their country of destination as well as their country of origin are also important in keeping a transnational movement and as a process of recognition. This group of Brazilian immigrant women fit a specific job market, within the care sector that has been labeled “women’s work.” Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) argue that the care sector has become “women’s work.” Significant demand by wealthier countries for workers, typically women, do to “women’s work” ideology has shown the female underside of globalization.

The women interviewed for this study work in an unfilled position in the Greater Washington D.C. job market. The social relationships and connections of this group consist of, among other items, kinship and friendships ties including those with neighbors and co-workers. As they reported, Brazilians interact with other Brazilians more than to any other group.

Usually, the preference of people for other people like themselves tend to predispose immigrants to seek out fellow immigrants, but the availability of similar people varies by context (Huckfeldt, 1983).

In addition, it is possible to determine a transnational nature to the movement of this group of Brazilian women through a permanent interaction between Brazil and the United States, making this process more than just one-way.

The interviews started with demographic data giving me the general characteristics of the participants. Fourteen questions were designed to determine their age, marital status, race, place of origin, population distribution, profession, income,

property ownership in both countries and educational attainment level in order to individualize respondents before categorizing them.

The table below offers a snapshot of the characteristics of this Brazilian population.

Table 3 Key Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	Frequency
(N=34)	
State	
Maryland	21
Virginia	12
District of Columbia	1
Age	
21-40	12
41-66	22
Marital Status	
Married	17
Single	17
Religion	
Roman Catholic	15
Protestant/Evangelical	14
Other	5
English Knowledge	
Basic	13
Good	12
Excellent or Native	9
Education	
Less than High School	8
High School Diploma	8
Associate Degree	3
Undergraduate Not Completed	9
Undergraduate Completed	6

Table 3- *Continued*

Occupation	
Domestic	16
Beautician	7
Other	11
Annual Personal Income	
12,000-25,000	21
26,000-40,000	8
41,000 or more	2

Some characteristics were salient making possible to establish some patterns. The question of race, for example, the majority (73.53%) classified themselves as white, while mixed race and black were grouped together (26.47%). Only two respondents identified themselves as black while others preferred the mixed race category; maybe because of the miscegenation common in Brazil, despite skin color.

The population age of the study ranged from 24-66 years old with 64.70 % of the women between 41-66 years old. The remaining 35.30% were in the 21-40 year old age bracket. Interesting is the fact that most women were considered middle-aged and were still working hard while trying to improve themselves financially. No one spoke about retiring soon or being retired.

Another characteristic was the state distribution of these women. While 61.76% lived in Maryland with 55.88 % in Montgomery County, 35.24% lived in Virginia, with 26.47% in Fairfax County. Prince George's County (two), in Maryland, Loudoun County (one) and Arlington County (two), in Virginia, and in the District of Columbia (one) were not cited because the low number of women living in these localities is insufficient for a

statistical analysis For this reason, these women are not included in this section of the narrative.

The number of participants who arrived in the United States less than a year ago up to 10 years comprises 50% of the population while the other 50% cover those with more than 10 years to 32 years of stay in the United States. It is worth noting that the first category of immigrants that came to the United States after September 11, 2001, a crucial date that marks when law enforcement became stricter towards immigrants. Not that many laws were enacted after that, but the United States' population attitudes toward immigrants changed. Those who came earlier, between 10 to 32 years ago, arrived when the Brazilian immigration was first noticeable in statistical terms. Brazilians, especially immigrant women still come and make their living in the region, sharing the space with other immigrant groups from Latin America, like Peruvians, Bolivians and Colombians.

The question of health insurance was asked to check how Brazilian immigrant women health is protected by formal coverage, giving them security of having their health protected and the importance of having community driven actions to provide a better health care for them. Surprisingly, at the time of the interview, 67.64% of these women had no health insurance and relied on emergency rooms or community clinics for their primary health care. This situation is not new and affects a large contingent of the United States population, who needs more attention, not only immigrants.

The educational attainment of this group was comprised that 47.06% of women had received high school diplomas, but had not completed college or university. The smaller category 26.47% of the women had less than a high school diploma while the

high end, in the same percentage of 26.47%, indicated they had an associate's degree or finished college or university education.

Regarding their areas of work, 47.05% women worked in the domestic environment as babysitters, cleaners or caring for elderly persons. The "other" category, with 52.94%, was comprised of beauticians (seven), restaurant workers (five), sales associate (two), receptionist/secretary (one), billing officers (two), photographer (one) and a delivery truck driver (one). Hairdressers, manicurists and masseuses were considered beauticians while waitresses and bartenders were in the restaurant worker category. Comparing the number of domestic workers (16) with educational attainment, nine of them (56.25%) are over qualified for the jobs they perform. Most of them chose the pink collar jobs they carry out because those jobs help them to have a comfortable life in the new environment. Consequently, these women's identities have been affected by their roles in a new context.

Three categories were employed to learn religion: Roman Catholics because of the huge number of them in Brazil, Protestants including any Christians other than Roman Catholics considering the increasing number of converted Brazilians and other religions which are also considered as religious minorities, in Brazil. People self-identifying as Roman Catholics (44.12%) were close in numbers to those who identified themselves as Protestants (41.18%). This is in contrast to what is known about Brazil as having the highest concentration of Roman Catholics in the world (International Religious Freedom Report, Dept of State, 2011).

Marital status was distributed into four categories: single, married, widowed and divorced. Legally separated was included in the divorced category as well as living with

partner of the opposite sex was included among married women. None of the women in the study were in an equivalent relationship with another woman. A majority of the women were married. This totaled 17 women and represented 50% of the sample under this category.

Considering personal income before taxes, 60.61% had an income in the \$20,000-\$40,000 bracket followed by 27.28% of workers who made less than \$20,000 a year. A small number of respondents (4) reached \$40,000-\$60,000 bracket per year.

In contrast to individual income, family income pointed to a higher percentage of 42.42% within the category of \$60,000 or more per year, followed by 30.30% within the \$20,000-\$40,000 bracket. Although statistically insignificant, four respondents remained below \$20,000 a year even while including family income, meaning they struggle to make the ends meet. It is possible to say that those respondents are the sole income provide of the family. On the other hand five respondents were in the family income bracket of \$40,000-\$60,000 a year. One respondent didn't answer the questions of personal and family income.

Following income indicators, assets like home in the United States and Brazil and remittances sent are important to show stability in the country of destination and a constant interaction with the country of origin, making this a transnational movement.

Of the women in the study 29.41% own a home in the United States while 55.88% own a home in Brazil.

A majority (58.82%) do not send any remittance to Brazil while 41.18% send such funds back to Brazil. This demonstrates that either their families in Brazil don't

need any financial help or they don't make enough to send funds back to Brazil. Other possibility is that their families are here, in the United States.

Respondents were asked to self evaluate their level of competency of spoken English. The majority, 38.23% said they had a basic proficiency in spoken English, meaning "basic" as "can get by." The respondents who considered their English "good" make up 35.29% of the women in the study. The "excellent" (seven) and native (two) categories were grouped together for statistical representativeness of 26.47%. A lack of English proficiency is a barrier that confines immigrants to their own language group and makes adaptation to the United States. More proficiency in English may push people to be more confident and active in the society and thus, improving their overall wellbeing.

Asked if they belonged to any association, 88.23% didn't belong to any association. Questioned if they belonged to any community organization, 91.18% said they didn't belong to any community organization implying they do not socialize with other members of a community or participate in any type of association, Brazilians or otherwise. This may indicate they like to live in small social and professional circles.

About enjoying living and working in the United States, the answers were practically unanimous, with 97.06% affirming they did enjoy living and working here. Only one respondent disagreed.

The participants were also asked if they had plans to return to Brazil. Of the women, 38.23% said they would go to Brazil for vacation while 26.47% replied they plan to go back to Brazil to live. The remaining women (six) do not plan to go to Brazil. It is interesting how these immigrant women see Brazil as a place for vacation, where people have fun.

Following the descriptive statistics, the in-depth qualitative interviews demonstrate the reasons for migration to the United States of this Brazilian group of women, the role of networks, market incorporation, identity and contributions to both places, origin and destiny. The interviews developed the research questions revealing the life world of this particular group.

1- Why do Brazilian women engage in transnational migration from Brazil to the United States?

1.a. How do social networks affect their transnational migration?

2. How do the social construction of gender and ethnicity influence the occupational choices of this group of Brazilian women, in light of their backgrounds and the job perspectives they anticipated?

3. In what ways do pink collar jobs shape their identity, social interaction and job satisfaction?

In-depth, face-to-face interviews were administered to 34 Brazilian immigrant women who fit the pink collar worker category, living in the researched area.

Reasons for Migrating, the Role of Network and Pink Collar Jobs

In the following interviews economic reasons directed these immigrants to pursue opportunities in a foreign country, in an effort to improve their lives. Ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin had roles in the process of migration, and building up their social capital. Social capital is intrinsically connected to a network system since the newcomers depend on acquaintances that will help them to settle, socialize and find work. In order to achieve their goals they relied on sending ties or

networks that connected this group of immigrant women to former immigrants or non-immigrants living in the addressed area. Gender of immigrants was a key element in this network system considering that specific jobs understood as “women’s jobs” were predetermined. Immigrant women saw on these jobs a future possibility to ascend the social structure.

Networks at immigrants’ destination depend upon their social capital, the ascribed characteristics and their achieved characteristics which may also be considered human capital and the spatial context (Wierzbicki, 2004). The more one builds social capital, the better one’s chances of a successful immigration process. Interviewees’ answers confirm this assumption.

Isa was having a difficult life in Brazil when migrating opportunities came to her. She said on her interview:

“ Life was difficult, money was short so when my mother’s former boss asked me if I wanted to work for her in the United States, I thought, weighted the pros (money, learning the language and a new culture) and cons (away from my family, anxiety, feeling insecure) and the pros made me accept the job.”

In her interview, Isa clearly stated the economic reasons for migrating and added how she appreciated the respect and status she was experiencing in the United States. Although she was a pink collar worker in Brazil she felt her status improved through the valorization of work in the United States. According to her, all the work in the United States is valued and dignified. *“One can be a cleaner, a teacher, a lawyer, they are all important. Working in the United States allowed me to buy a house for my mother in Brazil and I am planning to buy a house for me, as well.”*

When she was asked about networks in the United States or Brazil that helped her to come to the United States, settle, find a home and a secure employment, she answered that her mother was Isa's connection to her future employer. Isa didn't experience any problem finding a home or a job because she already had a home and a job when she arrived here. When the family that brought her to work in the United States, went back to Brazil, Isa had met a friend at a Brazilian store that then introduced her to a new family and future employer. Her membership in a social network has given her the mechanism to attain her goals (Wierzbicky, 2004).

In this case, a kinship tie (her mother) was the initial contact to facilitate her immigration process. When she left Brazil, Isa left not only her residence but her family and social relationships she had used to connect to the larger community. Though, permanent strong ties she had with her family, persists. Moreover, once in the United States she was able to reestablish connections through friends and others not part of her family. Through the development of social capital Isa was able to find a friend in her community responsible for her transition from one pink collar to another pink collar job.

Initially, Isa was employed by a family to be a maid. After this, she went to take care of an elderly lady. Today she works for a cleaning company, but also cleans houses for a private clientele. This pattern suggests that immigrants have fewer options than the native-born concerning social support. Contrary to kinship ties, non-kin ties are usually a result of weaker relationships. Immigrants have more difficulties than natives to forge those ties that serve as job opportunities (Wierzbicky, 2004). Her connection was helpful in getting her a job, but in a limited market sector with few possibilities for social mobility.

A similar situation was experienced by Gina, a respondent who came to the United States, 20 years ago to improve her financial situation. Thinking about the opportunities she could have, she agreed to come to work for a family in the United States. She was used to watching movies and reading magazines where the “American Dream,” as understood as economic prosperity, was possible for everyone. Gina described her life in Brazil as being in permanent hardship. *“I was raised in a Catholic orphanage. There, I went to elementary school and the nuns taught me many hand skills such as sewing and embroidery. From the orphanage I went to work for a family as a house keeper. I was in charge of all the work. They treated me so bad that I preferred to leave the job and stay on the streets. Then, I got other jobs, always working as a house keeper. The street became my home. I also found a partner on the street and had my children. My last child was born in a home I rented in the Santa Marta complex, a shanty town usually known as a ‘favela,’ in Rio de Janeiro. I never left my children to be raised on the street. My income would pay for their home care. Initially, they lived with people who take care of children and lately, with my sister. I would visit them constantly, until I came to the United States. Today they are all adults and work in Brazil. I have nineteen grandchildren.*

I never thought I would have the chance to come to the United States, but I did. A lady that I was working for in Brazil asked me if I wanted to come to the United States to accompany her. I accepted and my future was sealed. Lately, she went back to Brazil and I stayed with her son, a Brazilian naturalized American married to an American woman. I took care of their children. They had one child and while I was there two more were born. I spent four years with them.

At first, I didn't have friends, but they started coming as soon as I became comfortable here. I met many friends, from all nationalities and a friend introduced me to a family who needed a house keeper. They took care of my documents and legalized my status in the United States. We are still friends and I visit them whenever is possible. I still do some work for them whenever they need. My job now is to take care of an elderly couple. I take care of their meals, bathing them, giving their medicine and accompany them. I don't clean because they have a house cleaner. I don't live with them, unless they need. I rent my own room in a private home.

It was a great experience coming to the United States and I live well here. Two things were illusory, Las Vegas and the houses made of wood. In Brazil, we have concrete, only poor people live in wooden houses, but here, it is a majority, although they look nice outside and inside. All those lights and advertisements about Las Vegas, nothing special and some places were dirty.”

Although she was deprived of a family and a home in Brazil, she was able to build up enough social capital in order to introduce her to a new culture and a job market open to “women’s work.” She knew she was going to work in a pink collar job and she was used to this kind of work. A “better life” was targeted by this woman.

Like Isa, Gina developed friendship ties that helped her to find jobs and adapt. Some of her ties were nurtured and became so strong that she has them today. Her ties gave her emotional and social support in order to make the United States the place she calls home.

It is worth noting the United States cultural influence on Gina’s dream of coming to the United States. “Las Vegas” and the houses construction were deceiving to her, but

she has always kept her positive lens of seeing the United States, a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Globalization has made the dissemination of American culture easier and attractive to many people in countries of the world. Mass media and its advertisers highlight the presence of new means of consumption (Ritzer, 2000). American tourism, like Las Vegas, influences many people's dream of visiting or living in the United States. Gina's indirect contact with Las Vegas' luxury casinos, and magic-like outdoor environment gave her an illusion that encouraged her migration, but at the same time, living in the United States gave her a sense of realization where she could connect work and her art (Ritzer, 2000).

During her narrative, she mentioned that when she put her feet in the United States she knew she was going to be successful.

"Here I had a chance to work with art and be recognized by my art work. I make dolls dressed in Carnival costumes, all hand embroidered. I already had a chance to do an exposition and a lady who works for the Brazilian consulate in Washington is thinking about having an expo there too.

I enjoy my life here: taking care of the elderly couple and doing my art."

Improving her economic standard was important to her. This would give her more comfort and the opportunity to do something she was never able to do in Brazil, although she had the skills. She never mentioned being willing to search for a different job, but art as an alternative. Her conformity accepting women's role in a segmented labor market was patent. She was able to break many societal rules like family organization among others, but traditional patriarchal assumptions about gender roles were very much rooted

in her “self,” making her unable to question her occupational choices. She said she was happy doing what she is doing “taking care of an elderly couple and her art.”

Art is seductive (Baudrillard) and she uses it as her way to communicate to the outside world.

Three other respondents detailed comparable experience. They came with another’s family to take care of their children and stayed in the United States after that original. Economic goals were fundamental in their decision to migrate. Moreover, cultural interests would complement their financial improvement. Professional, friendship and kinship ties helped them to build up a network that remains to this today.

Lucia also came to the United States to take care of two children in a diplomat’s family.

“The wife of the diplomat had an aunt who was my neighbor and she was looking for someone she could trust. The job offer was for a six month term because they would return to Brazil after that. I never planned or had interest to come to the United States. However, the salary was irrecusably good besides having a new experience. Coming to the United States was easy, I had a live-in job and I enjoyed taking care of the children. I started meeting friends going out, especially to school. I met my husband at the English school we were both attending. The family stayed for two months longer and I stayed with them. Before I left, my husband proposed to me, I got married and went to Brazil. When I came back to the United States, a friend got me a job as a house cleaner. From this job I was referred to others. I never thought about cleaning houses here, but the salary and the schedule are worth it.”

Lucia had her initial ties bonded in Brazil as other Brazilian immigrant women did. A connection to a neighbor helped her to access the American job market which was unusual for her. She had no English, but ventured to come and experiment a new culture.

Going to school created new opportunities to build networks which would assist her in the future in finding a job. In her case, friendship ties developed at school led her to marriage. This marriage and new friendships helped her adapt to American ways.

Although working as a house cleaner involves a Brazilian cultural problem, as it is viewed as a low paid, low status job, she opted to have this type of job considering the wage and the opportunity of making her own schedule. Freedom is important to her in how she can manage her time and what she plans to do.

Respondents who were accompanying families had their initial ties bonded in Brazil. A link with a family member, a neighbor or an employer started this “domino” process that allowed them to access something that was relevant and helpful to them. However, building a local network and expanding their social capital helped them to find their second jobs, moving on and enjoying their stay. Friendship ties, if properly fostered, become strong, permanent ties originating well constructed networks. Respondents who had friends in the United States also didn’t report any problem with migration from Brazil to the United States. Friends helped them come, settle and connect to others who, eventually, became their friends too. Friendship ties which started in Brazil remained in the United States, which means they prospered because there were reciprocity based attitudes. In such circumstances, they facilitated accessing economic opportunities and social relationships.

It is worth commenting Norma's assertion of her migration process and her networks helping her to find jobs other than housework:

"I was never attracted to the United States. However, I had many friends in the city where I was living in Brazil, Governador Valadares, who were talking about the opportunities in the United States. I wanted to buy a house and improve my life. In Brazil, it was difficult. At that time, a Brazilian landlord who had family living in Boston encouraged me to go as much as her family who was already in the United States. I came to the United States and went to live with the Brazilian family who also helped me getting familiar with the area. Initially, I worked as babysitter, cleaning homes and doing any extra job available. Actually, that was the kind of job I thought I was going to do because of the stories told in Brazil, but I found something better. Through the referral of one of my host family, I got a job at an American bakery. I was happy with the job and worked there for almost five years. I left to come to Maryland because I had some family members here who offered me a job with free housing. I pay for my utilities, but no rent. It was an easy adaptation, no problems to settle in or finding a job. Today, I have many friends here and in Massachusetts. I do plan to return to Brazil, but I enjoy my job where I can meet many people."

Reinforcing the reasons for migration of the first interviewees, financial improvement led some women to a specific job market which is not as affected by economic downturns as other job markets.

Many women came to the United States by themselves, rather than follow in men's footsteps. The structure of United States, immigration laws, changing gender roles, and economic opportunities for women are all responsible for this trend. Immigrant

women's concentration in specific occupations, like private household work have also enabled many to play a key role as "replicating cells," establishing footholds for further immigration (Salvo and Ortiz, 1992). In addition to independence, power and autonomy that wages bring, there are intrinsic satisfactions from work itself.

Brazilian immigrant women, who came to join their own families already in the Washington D.C. area, enforced that strong family ties can bring together parents, brothers and sisters and other family members. In this case, settlement was easy since first comers prepared the way to welcome them. School or jobs were waiting for them and some made their permanent home here. However, not all interviewees had a smooth adaptation to the United States. Sandra's case is an example; despite all the hardship she had been through, she reported her migration as a positive experience.

Sandra came to join her brother in order to improve hers and her children's lives. However, the beginning was hard for her. She mentioned the humiliation of doing some tasks which she was not used to and how this experience was traumatic, to a point that after many years, it still affects her. In her dreams, this situation wouldn't match the idea of the United States a developed country with educated people. Despite this initial incident, she enjoys living in the United States and doing her job, as a pink collar worker.

In addition, it is also relevant the stories of many migrants who came to the United States after the Collor economic plan. Although at his inauguration speech he pledged Brazilians to stay and help him in his ordeal, reality turned out to be a disastrous experience for many.

Matching some literature about the Brazilian exodus, during and after the "Collor Plan," Sandra and many other women represent many unsatisfied Brazilians who left

Brazil after having their personal finances ruined by the plan. They were stressed with all the occurrences and the stories told by other immigrants about opportunities for hard workers in the United States feed their dream of success in a foreign land.

“My younger brother came to study in the United States. He was feeling lonely and depressed so he called me to stay with him. I had just gotten my divorce; my savings were lost because of the ‘Collor economic plan.’ I was over thirty years old and it was difficult to find a job in Brazil that I could make enough to live. Every time I tried to change jobs for a higher position I got indecent proposals, but not the job. Before I came here, I had worked as an administrative assistant for a telecommunication company. In addition, my ex-husband wouldn’t pay child support. That was the context that made me come here. My connection was my brother. I left my two sons with my mother and came.

At first, I wasn’t happy to be without my sons. I decided to go back and bring them. The three of us went to live with my brother in Nebraska. At this time, he was studying and working. Job was very difficult there so I decided to look for a friend that I had met in Brazil, who was living in Maryland. She was a great support. She and my brother lent me money and I rent an apt. I bought a car, drove to Nebraska, brought my children to Maryland. I registered the boys at school and friends of friends helped me to get furniture and utensils. They also knew I was looking for a job so, cleaning houses were available and I went for it. At the beginning, I was very humiliated by an employer. I never thought that a first world country, like the United States, would have people who would treat workers like that. In one of my jobs the lady made me brush the entire kitchen floor, tile by tile with a small brush, kneeling down. I left that job, but it was a traumatic experience.

Many Brazilians focused on this study commented that they had a better option than cleaning houses. They were not used to do this kind of job in Brazil and migration didn't change their perceptions about work status. Friendship ties were able to give them access to jobs other than cleaners, babysitters etc. Although all these interviewed Brazilian women were pink collar workers, there are sub-categories inside the pink collar job category, in a kind of hierarchy. Furthermore, many respondents said pink collar jobs were a transition for a white collar position, helping them while going to school to get a degree.

Dilma explained well her chances to go from a pink collar job to a better qualified job, as a nurse. She was a month from graduating, during the time of the interview. It called my attention to her comment about efficiency regarding her first job at McDonalds.

Focusing on her background and assuming she is not aware of sociological theories she focused on the efficiency that characterizes the rationality of the modern world and how it shaped her professional life. Mentioning McDonalds' computer program, predictability is understood. The program gives you the easy way, no surprises. The computer program is in charge of directing employees in cooking and serving food (Ritzer, 2000).

Many respondents came to join their husbands. Some met their partners in Brazil or other place in the world, married somewhere else or came here to marry. Family plays a strong role in these women's decisions.

Eliane, Susan, Norma, Zelia, Gloria among others were part of this contingent of women for whom family was the core of their lives. Initially, their only ties in the United

States were their husbands, but they all managed to find friends to socialize. Friends they met at church, stores, on the street, and in many other places.

Observing the network system that facilitated the migration process of these Brazilian women, it is possible to affirm that a network system is usually a replicate system, which is like a chain that connects many individuals. Sometimes the chain is broken, but soon other sources are reestablished in a perpetuating movement.

The Relationship Between Occupational Choices and Social Construction of Gender and Ethnicity

Having a general understanding about the reasons for migration and the role of social networks in helping this group of Brazilian women to settle in the United States, the influence of personal characteristics such as gender and ethnicity on job perspectives was investigated.

Since its colonization by the Pilgrims, the United States has been defined as one nation made out of many peoples. Within this, however, some population groups were more desirable than others. The United States needed immigration, but initially the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants were favored above any other immigrant group.

Today, immigrants from all nations and ethnicities are allowed to enter the United States whether that entrance is by means of forced enslavement, free immigration, or conquest - all citizens should have equal rights (Glazer, 2002). As it happened in the past, much concern has been raised towards the “new immigrants,” Latinos and Asians.

It is possible to say that Brazilians are Latinos, in the sense of coming from Latin America. However, as a country of immigration itself, many ethnicities form this group of people as far as race is considered. Race in Brazil is self-identifiable and the concept

of a person having one drop of black blood making that person black, doesn't apply. Brazilians' skin colors are diverse and many of these skin tones could be categorized as white or black as these skin tones are considered in the United States.

Different from other ethnic groups in Latin America, Brazilians speak Portuguese and they are distinct linguistically and culturally from the rest of Latin America (Margolis, 1994). Although in the United States their ethnicity is many times unseen due to the large number of Spanish speaking immigrants and the lack of knowledge from many Americans that don't know the difference between Brazil and other countries in Latin America, Brazilians are proud of their ethnicity or as they call the "uniqueness of their race" (Margolis, 1994). In their uniqueness, they say they are hard workers and that is the defining trace distinguishing them from other ethnic groups.

Another aspect that influences Brazilian women in pink collar jobs, in the United States, is the concept of gender and immigrant women's work.

Every human society has a system of values, beliefs and customs which determine gender roles. This system has a direct influence on an individual's perception of gender and the specific attributes that follow gender differences. Some groups or societies are more traditional in contrast to others who are more liberal. Traditional societies view women as responsible for house duties and child care while liberals admit an equal sharing of financial and domestic responsibilities between males and females and encouragement of the development of women's talents and careers (Behrman, 1982).

While today Brazil has a culturally traditional position, developments and changes regarding women's rights and appropriate work is contributing to changes in how society understands and applies gender distinctions. This is due, in part, to the increasing number

of women in the Brazilian workforce. In 2009, participation of women in the workforce was 43.5%, an increase from the previous year. In addition, scholars indicate that immigration is responsible for disruption in traditional gender roles and the conventional relationship between the sexes (DeBiaggi, 2002).

The United States is seen as a more liberal country in regards to gender roles. However, there are jobs that are mainly filled by women, justifying the designation of this market segment of pink collar jobs. As these jobs are mainly performed by women, these jobs are also occupational options for immigrant women.

Pink collar jobs are typical of segmented labor markets where women mainly fill low paying jobs, in the service sector. These jobs are open to immigrant women who accept them not just because it is a woman's job, but because they are available employee options, undesirable to the main stream society. Most of the interviewees were pink collar workers in Brazil though, not at the domestic environment. Domestic work in Brazil is not valued, considered low status and pay little compared to other market positions. However, the United States gave these immigrant women a different vision about the value of work. They all said that any job is important in the United States and they are well paid compared to Brazil. Some mentioned that they never thought being a house cleaner or a manicurist, but they were happy doing so and could have a comfortable life on the income that work provided. In addition, as opposed to Brazil, they never felt any kind of discrimination linked to those jobs.

Most of the interviewed women in this study were pink collar workers (27) or small business owners (3), in Brazil. Five were not pink collar workers and few participants (4) never worked in Brazil.

One respondent married young while still going to the university. She left school before finishing her undergraduate degree to follow her husband's constant move because of work. Her career was secondary compared to her husband's and, following traditional patriarchal roles, she was expected to follow her husband and take care of their two children, as she did.

Two interviewed women came from an upper middle class in Brazil and two were teenagers when they came to the United States, accompanying their families. Despite the differences among them, there was a constant affirmative that women fit some specific jobs better than their male counterparts, and also, that some of these jobs are an occupational choice for immigrant women. According to their view there is always an opportunity to obtain a pink collar job and the salary is rewarding.

Susan affirmed: *"In Brazil, I was at the university studying physical education. My husband was employed and I didn't have any financial difficulty. However, I was used to constantly moving to follow his jobs. I knew what type of job I was going to get before I came to America. I never worked as a cleaner in Brazil, but the salaries in the United States are higher and I knew I could live comfortably as a house cleaner. I also work as a manicurist, three times a week, at my house. It increases my income. Being a woman helps to get this kind of job and being from Brazil makes inclusion in the labor market easier. My employers value my work. They say they prefer Brazilians because we are hard workers. My native language, Portuguese, was a positive asset in my first job, as a baby-sitter. In the future, I may have my own cleaning company and who knows, retire and return to Brazil."*

Pink collar jobs are typical of segmented labor markets where women mainly fill low paid jobs, in the service sector. These jobs are open to immigrant women who accept them not just because it is a woman's job, but because they are the available options. Most of the interviewees were pink collar workers in Brazil. Few were doing domestic work which is not valorized in Brazil, considered of low status. However, the United States gave these immigrant women a different vision about valorization of work.

Almost all of them said that any job is important in the United States and they pay well compared to Brazil. Some mentioned that they never thought being a house cleaner or a manicurist, but they were happy and could have a comfortable life doing that. In addition, they never felt any kind of discrimination linked to those jobs, differently from Brazil.

When asked about ethnicity, the majority affirmed that being Brazilian is a plus because of the language, flexibility and social skills. Ethnicity may help and gender fits most of the jobs performed by these women. Carmen, like many others in this research, enjoys what she does and is proud of her ethnicity: *"I have been cleaning houses since I got here. I enjoy cleaning and organizing. I never had problems doing this kind of job. Gender works in my favor. Women have more chances in this kind of job. They are more skillful, more delicate. Brazilian women are appreciated because they are hard workers. When you look for a job and you say you are Brazilian, doors open. I am not planning to do any other job. In the future, I may retire and go to Brazil. I don't know when though."*

Lucia also reported the freedom associated with being a self employed cleaner. She never worked as a cleaner in Brazil, but she enjoys her job, the respect from her clients and the salary. *"Many families prefer women to do this kind of job. I don't know*

the reason, but I rarely see a man working as a house cleaner. I have my clients for more than ten years. They treat me with much respect and I like them very much. They say Brazilian women are hard workers. I do my own schedule, which helps me to have some free time to read and walk at the parks. I had other opportunities here in the United States, but I chose to be a house keeper because it pays well and gives me freedom.”

There are circumstances where gender counts more than ethnicity. In a segmented labor market where some occupations are typical women’s jobs, yet they lack the power to impose themselves, demanding equality of opportunities. Zelia’s assertion demonstrates this ambiguity:

“Having a pink collar job is not ideal, but my job is a good job. People need what I do. I could have a university degree in my profession today, but I prefer Psychology. In Brazil, I worked as a secretary, but in the United States I needed something I could participate on the labor market fast. I didn’t want to feel like a heavy load for my husband. I chose something that I enjoyed doing, taking care of women’s beauty and, at the same time, making my own money. Gender doesn’t interfere with my job. Payment is the same for men and women. Skills count. Being a Brazilian helps. Clients have a good image of Brazilian working women. They say Brazilian women are hard workers. However, if we, women, work for companies whose owner or manager is a man, he may not give women equal chances. Usually men in this area play games with calls and benefit their own kind.”

Like it has been said in a previous chapter, Affirmative Action runs on numbers and women are having more opportunities in the American labor market due to quota systems which guarantees equality. Some informants were able to combine gender and

ethnicity to integrate themselves in a competitive labor market. Despite the advancements, women are still in charge of home care and child bearing. Continuing the interviews, Delia's information strengthens the assertion:

"Some years ago my job was not a pink collar job because only men would do this kind of job. Today it is a pink collar job because women have more chances to be accepted because of the quota system. Many women work in the same company I do.

Concerning treatment, men and women are treated equally and promotions are based on seniority. The only difference is that men can carry heavy packages easier. I never thought I was going to drive a delivery truck, but this is what was available and the salary is good. I work part-time so, I can help my three daughters at home. In Brazil, I graduated as a language teacher, but I never had the option to get this kind of job in the United States. However, I enjoy what I do because I love driving. Nobody questions my ethnicity, but in a way, being a Brazilian helps because it is part of our culture to find many ways to solve a problem. For example, I have co-workers who never go beyond what is expected. If an address is not clear, they return the delivery. I use all the possible ways to find an address. All my packages are delivered and my supervisor appreciates it. The company expects to have the job done precisely and in a timely matter."

Some respondents were well educated in Brazil, with university degrees. These informants also had a better opportunity in the United States, but still doing jobs under the pink collar category. Sometimes Brazilians consider themselves as part of the huge contingent of immigrants who are usually low paid. Being an immigrant attracts many antagonist feelings from the mainstream society which does not seem to understand the

role of immigration in the United States prosperity. Doris' comments when she was interviewed were:

“In Brazil I have a university degree as a physiotherapist. I knew that here I would have to revalidate my diploma before going into my profession. In this meantime, I am working with something I enjoy and I can use my knowledge. I do therapeutic massages and beauty treatments. Gender is not a problem, as a physiotherapist. In the United States, some clients prefer women to do what I do. I don't mind being a pink collar worker. My job is like any other job and Americans see Brazilians like any other minority, underemployed people. I do plan to further my studies as soon as possible. Certainly the opportunities will be better.”

Brazilian women are very sensitive to issues of ethnicity. They like to be distinguished as a model minority, differently from other minority groups. They work hard, expecting recognition. As female immigrants performing highly segregated occupations by gender, they act and interact according to what is appropriate and expected from them (Fowler, 2002). As it has been said previously, they feel financially rewarded and enjoy the freedom to control their time. The researched women are not concerned with gender segregation, maybe because they were raised under the influence of the Brazilian patriarchal model. However, they feel uncomfortable by doing immigrant jobs. Most of their survival and mobility is through the informal social network of kin and friends.

Another aspect to be mentioned is the “dream of going back.” As many respondents affirmed they plan to go back to Brazil after retirement or after making enough to invest in Brazil. As said by many scholars, this dream is usually postponed as

reality in the United States changes. “From the immigrants’ point of view their stay in the United States is temporary. As this dream becomes gradually more distant or frustrated by failure to achieve it, the search for North American society materializes (Siqueira in Pastre and Braga, 2008).” Like many respondents reported, they enjoy going to Brazil to see their families and vacationing.

Identity and Pink Collar Jobs, Social Interaction and Job Satisfaction

The identity of Brazilian immigrant women pictured in this study is linked to their ethnic background and the work they perform. In the United States, identity can also be traced, among other factors, to an ethnic pattern, based on freedom and involves many political decisions (Glazer, 2002).

American freedom makes possible the maintenance and continuity and branching out of whatever part of their ethnic heritage immigrants and their children want to pursue (Glazer, 2002). No one is enrolled in an ethnic group, except American Indians who maintain a formally distinct political status defined by birth, although any individual Indian can give up this status. For all public purposes, everyone else is only a citizen. Nevertheless, the voluntary character of ethnicity is what makes it so distinctive in the American setting. It is voluntary not only in the sense that no one may be required to be part of a group and share its corporate concerns and activities; no one is impelled not to be part of a group either. On the other side, Takaki (2002) argues that America’s racial pattern of domination and exclusion contained a counter pointing perspective, which demands public policies acting affirmatively to overcome racial inequality. Due to racially exclusionist forces and developments in American history, racial inequality and

occupational stratification have come to coexist in a mutually reinforcing and dynamic structural relationship which continues to operate more powerfully than direct forms of racial prejudice and discrimination.

Within duality, Brazilians try to negotiate their identities in order to participate in the American society. Positioning themselves as a particular minority of Brazilians, or like a few answered, as “Americans”, their work is what connects them to the larger world. Most of the Brazilians say that they enjoy working and living in the United States. Those who were here longer, that most of the participants, even say that they view themselves as Americans and want to invest here, where they live. They still assert that they are keeping their Brazilian culture alive in a sort of coexistence between the two cultures. Most of them find themselves Brazilian/Latinas meaning Brazilians because they were born in Brazil and bring the Brazilian culture with them, and Latinas because they come from Latin America. However, none of them felt any resemblance with Hispanics. They feel themselves distinct as it should be considered the panethnic denomination of Hispanics which is a culturally different population under one common language, Spanish. Brazilians enjoy their ethnicity although some blame their home country for bad governance leading to lack of opportunities.

Interviewing Cecilia, she said:

“Although I am an American citizen and proud of that, I keep my Brazilian/Latina roots and I miss the warm attitudes of my Brazilian culture. I never had problems of adaptation in the United States. On the contrary, I was always accepted, even before marrying an American citizen. I never felt any type of discrimination in the United States, but in Brazil age discrimination hit me hard and that was one of the reasons in my

decision to immigrate. I do help my family in Brazil and visit my daughters and grandchildren twice a year, but my place is here. I selected this place to live, despite of my roots. If I could choose something to bring from Brazil to the United States, I would bring the camaraderie, the warm attitudes, but on the other hand, I would take from the United States to Brazil the organization, and the work valorization. I do contribute to Brazil by helping my family and people that may need it, but I also contribute to the United States by voting, following the rules, paying my taxes and helping families to exercise their professions, taking care of their homes and children. It is a trade off.”

Cecilia shows the twofold of her world. She has a sense of belonging to the United States that was felt even before her marriage to an American., but her Brazilian roots are strong and alive, making her feel as a Brazilian in the United States. Her job is valorized by her employers and it gives her the satisfaction of being part of the United States. She keeps a constant exchange of communication and culture between Brazil and the United States, and understands some characteristics difference between the two countries.

Similar views are shared by other respondents who chose to live in the United States like Maria, who explains:

“I consider myself a Brazilian/Latina. I don’t see myself as an American, the emotions are different. My job is valorized and it helps me to participate in the American society. I always contributed to both societies, American and Brazilian. In the United States my contribution is through my job. I do my work the best I can and, at the same time, my employers can rely on me and do their job well. I help my family in Brazil sending remittances that help my grandchildren with education and some relatives who

will not need social assistance from the government. I never felt any discrimination in the United States. However, in Brazil, age discrimination as well as status affected me.”

Isa also concurred about her self-identity. She said that:

“My identity is Brazilian, Latina. Not Hispanic. Brazil is the only country in Latin America with Portuguese language because of Portuguese colonization. I enjoy life in the United States. Capacity and responsibility at work count, contrary to Brazil where appearance is everything. There is discrimination in the United States especially from recent immigrants, Latinos. However, Brazil has a much more subtle discrimination felt through race, appearance and social class. My contribution to Brazil is voting and helping my mother financially. My contribution to the United States is through respect to other citizens, following the rules and paying my taxes. Brazil offers beautiful places for vacation and should change its image of only Carnival and beautiful women with little clothes. Life in the United States is more organized, more comfortable.”

Two respondents have their Brazilian identities rooted in Brazil, but religion plays a fundamental role in directing them wherever they go or do. Eliane shows a very interesting perspective about her identity being a Brazilian in a Hispanic world inside the United States, a typical transnational migrant while Anne says that her religion is part of her “self,” her identity. She calls herself a Brazilian/Latina because of Brazil’s geographic location in South America.

Eliane states how discrimination affects the newcomers making interaction difficult with native born Americans.

Eliane: *“I feel myself as a Brazilian who speaks Spanish considering my husband is from Colombia. Actually, my world in the United States is Hispanic. I have few*

American, some Brazilians and a larger number of Hispanic friends. I do contribute to the United States doing my work, paying my taxes and the most important, preaching the evangel. I bring inside cure. I contribute to the Brazilian society with my vote to choose our representatives and I also help people there financially. I never felt discrimination in Brazil, but here, in the United States, initially yes. I felt myself discriminated by being a foreigner. Americans would avoid me because of my poor English. Sometimes I wonder why Brazil doesn't have less violence and the cleanliness of public places like in the United States. However, there are things that I miss like my friends and some typical food that I was raised with."

Anne: "My identity is Brazilian/Latina. I am Brazilian and Brazil is part of Latin America. Being an evangelical is also an integral part of my identity. My church helps me to connect to my Brazilian roots. I participate in the American society with my job. My job is valorized. I pay my taxes here and in Brazil. There is always a way to contribute in the United States, in Brazil, everywhere. The biggest contribution one can do is serving God. Discrimination can be felt even within your family, concerning preferences. I miss my family, but on the other hand, the United States offers much easier access to property ownership and assets acquisition."

Marcia, a Brazilian who came to the United States as an adult called herself a Latina. She does not accept being called Hispanic. She views Brazil as a Latin culture diverse from other cultures. She values her Brazilian heritage. Yet, she feels upset with discrimination in Brazil, especially concerning gender and age discrimination. She confirmed through her interview what Margolis (2003) describes as "unthinkable for

‘respectable’ middle-aged women from the middle strata of society to go to a bar or a nightclub “alone.” meaning without appropriate male escorts.” Marcia states that:

“I feel myself a Latina, not an American. I have no problems ad equating myself to the American society, but I am not like them. I am not Hispanic either. Brazilian culture is different. Brazilians are free; Hispanics suffer more because they face more prejudice. My job is important to the American society, like any other. I help people to take care of their beauty. Men and women feel better when they are satisfied with their appearance. I still vote in Brazil and my sons and daughters are there. That is my connection with Brazil. I miss the warm attitudes and happiness of the Brazilian people, but on the other hand I live more comfortably here, in the United States, I have more safety. I felt age and gender discrimination while I was living in Brazil. If senior people go to bars or ball dance, especially single women, they are criticized. In addition, there is visible social class and race discrimination. If you have money you are treated differently. If you are black, very dark, you have very little or no social or work opportunities, but if you are not so dark, mixed, the chances are better. On the contrary, I was discriminated in the United States when I first arrived here. People wouldn’t treat me with respect because I was a foreigner with little English. I would go to government agencies and they would give me no attention with very little explanation. People didn’t want to use their time with me.”

Laura has been living in the United States for about 27 years. For this reason she has her identity as a Brazilian/American. She keeps her Brazilian roots and helps Brazil, but she feels herself part of the American society. Laura added that:

“I am a Brazilian /American. I follow the rules in both countries and respect both flags. I understand the American culture and enjoy being part of it. In addition, I have my Brazilian roots. It is a plus. I contribute to various social programs in the United States and Brazil. I also vote in both countries. When I was living in Brazil, discrimination was seen in terms of social class. In the United States I feel discrimination toward immigrants. When I came to the United States I felt much discrimination. Today, I don’t feel it anymore.”

Laura continued saying:

“There are things I miss from Brazil, such as good public transportation and warm attitudes. People are friendlier, they socialize more. In the United States I value the safety we all have. However, we don’t have the public transparency in Brazil. In addition, I miss the variety of fresh food and fruits.”

Some Brazilians identify themselves as Americans. Although they came to the United States as adults they “incorporated” the American way of life in its fullness. They say they miss a few things from Brazil, but they don’t relate to the Brazilian culture.

Gloria added to this perspective by stating that:

“Although I am originally from Brazil, I feel myself as an American. My work is valorized and I enjoy what I do. I feel that I belong to the American society. I do everything according to the system, following the rules and I just registered to vote. On the other hand, I help the Brazilian society with donations for charity missions and also voting. I do miss the friendliness and warmth of the Brazilian people, but I do enjoy the safety I have here. I never felt any discrimination in Brazil or in the United States. On the contrary, I never had any problem, being accepted.”

Claudia was born in Brazil, but came to the United States with her family, as an adolescent. She enjoys Brazil, but feels herself as an American. She has lived longer in the United States and her son is an American. Maybe this has influenced her incorporation to the American culture and values. Claudia affirms:

“My job is like any job in the United States. I am treated equally and I speak English as a native. People think I am an American. Everybody from my family told me I was not going to have any problem with acceptance and they were right. I never felt any form of discrimination here or in Brazil. From Brazil I miss my friends and family I left there, the weather was better and I miss some typical food. On the other side, the United States offers more economic opportunities. Any job is valorized and the government helps you to move ahead.”

Almost half of the Brazilians interviewed identify themselves as Brazilians and reject labels, ethnic or racial categories that dissociate them from their culture or country of origin. Above any other national identity they see, and wish to be seen as Brazilians.

Clara: *“I cannot say I am an American, stated Clara, because there are feelings that are difficult to accept like the cold approach from Americans, but on the other side, the organization, the valorization of work impress me very much. I never felt discrimination in the United States like I felt in Brazil. In Brazil, you have to follow a beauty standard. If you suffer from obesity, you are discriminated. Education and culture are not important. I also do not identify myself as a Latina or Hispanic. I am a Brazilian, I still have my roots there, but I enjoy the American way of life. My daughter was born here and I enjoy the possibility of giving her the best education I can afford. In addition, she has access to both cultures, American and Brazilian which will help her in the future. Contrary to*

Brazil, safety standards are a plus in the United States. I do contribute to the United States doing my work well, paying my taxes and disseminating the Brazilian culture. I try to show a different perspective of Brazil other than the Amazon and Rio. We, Brazilians, have a culture, and history.”

Zoe shares the same views that:

“I am Brazilian and it contributes for my acceptance in the American society. I pay taxes, follow the rules and my job as a manicurist is appreciated. My contribution to Brazil is through voting. I still miss the warm attitudes of Brazilian people. People in the United States work too much and have no time for social contacts. On the other hand, I enjoy the American system with its discipline, organization and safety. I haven’t experienced any discrimination in Brazil or the United States.”

Like Zoe, Paula, Lea, Lilian and Selma see themselves as Brazilians. They also share the idea of contributing to the United States through their work and paying taxes. They don’t contribute to Brazil at the moment.

Lilian affirmed she never felt herself discriminated in the United States, but in Brazil she reported the existence of age discrimination.

“It is easier to get things done and to improve personally in the United States.”
Lilian continues, “I know there is age discrimination, but not in the United States. Women can do things on their own. In my town in southern Brazil, divorced women are not well seen. It is a machos’ society.”

Paula and Selma admit that in the United States there is discrimination against immigrants in general. In addition, Selma informed that she felt racial discrimination.

Wanda says:

“Because I am white, I had experienced discrimination by some African Americans.”

Lea felt discriminated by her own Brazilian people:

“I feel myself insecure because of my poor English. Americans do not discriminate me because I have the opportunities to shop and go wherever they go, then

Lea added:

“But I had felt that Brazilians discriminate me because I lack English language skills.”

They never felt discrimination in Brazil, but Selma affirmed that in Brazil social classes are very stratified. Selma expounded by adding:

“In Brazil if you are rich you have a better treatment than if you are poor. The problem is social class.”

All these women miss the Brazilian warmth. Lea added that she also misses leisure time, especially at the beach. Lilian misses the Brazilian typical food. However, the United States offers safety, law enforcement, professional opportunities and respect. Finishing her interview, Lea said:

“The United States has beautiful and safe parks where everyone can go and enjoy their time.”

Sara has a Brazilian identity, but enjoys the experience of living in the American society. She adds that:

“I am a Brazilian and, unfortunately, I felt race and class discrimination in Brazil. The United States is different. I never felt myself discriminated here. Brazil offers a health system which is universal, contrary to the United States which needs

improvement in this area. However, the valorization of work and the high payment compared to Brazil are characteristics that make me admire the United States. I contribute to the American society through doing my work well and paying my taxes. My contribution to the Brazilian society is through remittances that I send to my family making them less dependent on government help.”

Delia affirmed that her identity is Brazilian, working as an American.

“At the beginning we, Brazilians, feel lost because of cultural differences, but after some time we adapt. We assimilate the local culture, keeping what we think it is important from our national culture.

I never felt discrimination in the United States or Brazil. My work, duties and obligations connect me with the American society. My job is as important as any other job. My only contribution to Brazil, at the moment is voting. However, I do miss some friends I left behind and some typical food and tropical fruits. On the other hand, The United States gives example of citizenship, public good manners like keeping the streets clean, organization in general, especially in traffic.”

Daisy arrived in the United States when she was 17. She is now 33. She enjoys American society, but her identity is Brazilian.

“My identity is Brazilian,” says Daisy, “I am a Brazilian and keep my culture with me. However, I don’t know if I still exist in Brazil. I do not contribute to Brazil, but I do contribute to the United States, doing my work, paying my taxes and following the rules. In return, I know I will be able to enjoy the opportunities and the comfortable life the United States offers. I don’t miss anything from Brazil, maybe because I was too

young and my life there was very strict, just school and work. The United States is safer and the law rules. Brazil needs more control.”

Social interaction is also an important aspect helping Brazilian immigrant women to build up their identity and acceptance to the new environment.

Some Brazilians, like Rita, interact with friends from many nationalities. Rita's first contacts were through her sister's friends who were Brazilians; she enlarged her friendship circle and lives well in the United States. As she quoted:

“I have many friends, from all nationalities. My initial friends were my sister's friends, mostly Brazilians; then I met a Brazilian in a barbecue and from her I met other friends. My job is heavy, but rewarding. I clean houses and offices. I enjoy the valorization of work here, in the United States. I also enjoy the system. I live well here.”

Not all Brazilians have an easy interaction with Americans. Cultural differences may enforce this distance.

Rita is an example when she says:

“I never had problems getting settled and I met my friends, mostly Brazilians, at the Baptist Church, where I belong, since I was in Brazil. I also have friends from many nationalities, but not many Americans. They are more distant and don't talk much, especially in public places.”

An important aspect of work is the sociability involved. In many places of work, women make friends and build up a storehouse of experiences that enriches their lives.

There is a unanimous answer about enjoying the jobs they do as pink collar jobs. Although some were not used to do this kind of job, they took what the market had to offer and they feel satisfied. Wanda is an example. She reports that:

“I enjoy living here, the opportunities are so many. Not just job opportunities, but life is easier here. Access to any place or career depends on you, but everything requires education.”

Claudia came to the United States as a teenager and enjoys living and working here since then. Her comments on the issue were:

“Today, I have a three years old son and work as a waitress, at a hotel restaurant, during the day. I got my job through friends and enjoy what I do, my co-workers, my boss and the workplace environment.”

Having reported some interviews and assumptions, there are aspects that were salient, and need to be pointed out.

Independently of their self identities, all Brazilians show a strong influence of Brazilian roots. As it has been said many times, they do not accept the Hispanic label. They understand themselves culturally different and admit that Hispanics face more discrimination than Brazilians. A common complaint was age discrimination seen in Brazil. Although some described race discrimination in Brazil, it was not a common denominator shared by all respondents. Discrimination against immigrants was felt by many who were interviewed.

Regardless of the critics by some Brazilian women that Brazil is the country of Carnival and fun, many women miss their fun times they were used to have in their home country.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

These conclusions have emerged from findings in the study of 34 Brazilian transnational migrant women in pink collar jobs, in the greater Washington D.C. area.

As it has been said previously, the large number of government agencies and the international community located in the area demand a service-oriented economy which has been attracting many immigrants who can find employment in this service economy.

Brazilians are part of this immigrant contingent, who came to improve their lives and their families' lives.

Transnationalism and Networks and Labor Market Incorporation

Migration movements have their own realities. In the case of the researched Brazilian women, their movement was driven by the American dream of financial success as much as the independence they experienced making what they call a “fair income” guaranteeing their subsistence and their families. Moving to a new country promoted structural changes in the lives of the interviewed Brazilian women. Their “baggage” of values, beliefs, and customs was challenged making immigration a distinctive experience for groups and individuals (DeBiaggi, 2002).

An equal number of single and married women was reported in this study denoting that women in this group contradict traditional patriarchal roles of dependency. The women who were single were able to fight for themselves, choosing their own destiny. The other half of this sample that was married signs for satisfaction

regarding gender roles. They did not just follow their husbands' decision to migrate. On the contrary, marriage was an option and migration was the result of their option. According to their stories, many of the researched women married Americans or men who were already in the United States, which may explain the marital satisfaction. Apart from whom they were married to, their new life in America did not extinguish their ties with Brazil. Rather, the constant interaction between these migrant women and non migrants in Brazil is an aspect that endorses the transnational character of their migration process. Moreover, the Brazilian women in this study are engaged in practices considered transnational such as voting in both countries, friends who come and go and participation in Brazilian cultural activities in the United States.

Traveling back and forth and the constant exchange of ideas and material objects between the United States and Brazil keep their transnational movement perpetuated, influencing the social economic and political environment in the two spheres.

Networks play a very important role in the transnational movement of Brazilian women in pink collar jobs. Networks in the place of origin and the place of destiny made these Brazilian women migrating process secure with an uncomplicated settlement and job placement. The women who had parents, relatives, husbands or fiancés in the United States had a smooth transition to the "American way of life." Kinship networks offered them the basic trust and support to encourage their migration. As many studies confirm,

kinship networks offer a larger possibility of strong ties. Observing those migrant Brazilian women, most of their strong ties were built in Brazil and still remain in the United States.

Brazilian women who came to work in the United States, accompanying Brazilian families of diplomats or other signatories and who were provided with room and board and a salary were “facilitated” in the process of insertion to the new society. Friendship networks built up during the stay of these Brazilian immigrants in the United States were also a key instrument helping them in the transition from one job to another. Friendship networks were reliable sources for avoiding the strains of searching for jobs in a foreign land because they were pre-arranged. These networks provided homes, jobs and emotional aid that are critical for newly arrived immigrants.

Friendship networks are developed by commonalities such as lifestyles, aspirations, etc. While in Brazil, most of the women in this study were pink collar workers and the friendship networks built up in Brazil or in the United States didn’t help them with upward mobility. A status change is observed in the lives of these women, influencing their perception of assimilation and participation in the society. The majority of them were not domestic workers in Brazil. However, social class perceptions were not particularly affected since they able to have a much higher income in the United States. The fact that the immigrants in this sample have been working in “pink collar jobs” or “women’s work,” demonstrate that an occupational niche is reserved for most immigrant women and that their membership in networks supply them with the same or similar levels of resources. It is particularly difficult, especially for newcomers, to expand their human capital. As a result, they tend to take a longer time to build up social capital which

facilitates their way to jobs and community resources. This explains the limited mobility of the immigrant Brazilian women pictured in this study.

Their work activities have low social status and low wages compared to the broader American society, but still pay more than these women were making in Brazil in jobs with higher social status.

The experience of some interviewees showed that even highly qualified Brazilian women present in this sample were confined when they first arrived in the U.S. to low-level positions due to either the absence of English language ability or their inability to navigate American culture.

Those who were too young to work in Brazil or belonged to a more prosperous social class were few and they invested in a higher skilled market position.

The interviewed Brazilians have the idea that in the United States all jobs are valorized and provide enough for a comfortable life. This understanding contrasts with their view of Brazil where domestic occupations are linked to the lower strata of the population and, in general, unrelated to a comfortable life.

Considering that most of the population in this research is comprised of housecleaners, elder care providers, and babysitters with few women working in delivery services, ethnic retail business, restaurants and clinics, the women experience a downward mobility in terms of status, but they take it as part of their immigrant identity and accept it without frustration.

Intersectionality

The interviewed Brazilians believe that in the United States all jobs are valued and provide enough for a comfortable life. This understanding contrasts with their view of Brazil, where domestic occupations are linked to the lower strata of the population and, in general, unrelated to a comfortable life.

Margolis' discussions on class call the attention to the construction of social class in Brazil and the United States. Observing Brazilian immigrants in New York, she concluded that "differences in social standing overwhelm shared national and linguistic identities (Margolis, 1993:220-22)". Since most immigrants come from the middle and lower middle strata of Brazilian society, class in the United States is not seen as an economic, educational and family background attainment, but is based on the disparities in lifestyle and position resulting from unskilled jobs held by the majority of new immigrants who settled in New York during the eighties (Margolis, 1993). Referring to how immigrants cope with their strained social class in the United States, Margolis noted that some immigrants conceal the true nature of their jobs from their Brazilian families and co-nationals. This helps them to maintain their social identity and avoid feelings of humiliation and stress. However, as the decision to migrate has been made, most immigrants know in advance the types of jobs available for them. Similar to Margolis' observations of immigrants in New York, immigrants in the Greater Washington D.C. metropolitan area belong to the middle or lower middle strata of the Brazilian society. However, the attitudes of the interviewed Brazilian women differ from previous studies in other places. Deceiving practices to elude their co-nationals were not seen. Considering that most of the population in this research is comprised of housecleaners,

elder care providers, and babysitters with few women working in delivery services, ethnic retail business, restaurants and clinics, the women experience a downward mobility in terms of status, but they take it as part of their immigrant identity and accept it without frustration. Actually, this process of acceptance is a result of a series of factors that lead to the oppression of this group of women by a structured society which differentiates individuals according to their gender, origins, race and class among others.

The study of a single element within a multidimensional context gives a blurred vision of the experiences of these Brazilian women. In a context where differences were seen as obstacles to be transposed, understanding the social processes and social representations in the lives of these Brazilian women required an investigation based upon the convergence of interrelated variables like gender, class, ethnicity, race and identity. Thus, making the intersectional approach the foundation for theories that focus on the nature of their movement, the relevant role of networks as a facilitating process of migration, and the insertion in a split labor market where occupations in the tertiary sector are open to immigrant women gives the necessary tools to understand Brazilian immigrant women, in pink collar jobs, in the greater Washington D.C. area.

Class Before and After Migrations

Most of the women that were the focus of this research were pink collar workers in Brazil, working in the service sector as sales associate, receptionists, elementary school teachers, among others. They considered themselves as middle class women in the Brazilian society.

Middle class in Brazil involves a broad concept of different strata of the population. It is more complex than the simplistic division of classes in upper, middle and lower class. Various layers separate highly educated professionals considered upper middle class from those in the middle ranks of government administration, small business owners and workers who fill up the service sector or manufacturing jobs known as blue collar jobs.

Contrary to the United States, a country known for its large middle class, Brazil's success story against poverty is recent. Since 2003, 33 million people have risen to the ranks of the so-called "new middle classes" or above. Today, 105,5 million Brazilians out of the total population of 190 million people are members of this group who earns between \$ 767.00 dollars and \$ 3,087 dollars monthly, per household (Financial Times, 2011).

Although most of the interviewed women arrived to the United States about two decades ago, they seem to have a comfortable life despite their low status jobs. Access to consumers good and a much higher income helped them to enjoy life in their country of adoption, seeing Brazil as a place for investment and vacation. The fact that they didn't have much financial constraints in Brazil and were middle class individuals doesn't mean their gains and opportunities in Brazil were better than in the United States.

As aforementioned, some Brazilian women came to work for diplomats and multinational corporation professionals who after their term recommended them to other families in their circle. Some got married and started a new life, but most of them had contacts in Brazil and in the United States who helped them finding jobs mainly as cleaners in the household environment. Friends, family or employers were responsible for

their work trajectory. A status change is observed in the lives of these women, influencing their perception of assimilation and participation in the society. The majority of them were not employed as domestic workers in Brazil. However, social class perceptions were not particularly affected since they were able to have a much higher income in the United States.

Political Participation

An interesting fact to be mentioned is that although many interviewed Brazilian women arrived in the United States during the eighties, having faced most of the dictatorship era in Brazil, no political reasons were mentioned as their reason for migrating. On the contrary, they cited the economic instability that occurred during the presidency of Collor de Melo (1990-1992), who introduced new economic policies in an effort to control inflation. It turned to be disastrous for most of the population who had their savings accounts frozen.

In contrast to Hispanics, Brazilians in this region have low political participation and as such, lacks affirmative action guaranteeing their benefits and recognition as a minority group. However, in places like Boston Metropolitan area, where the Brazilian population is high, the support of Brazilians through their votes and media, including Brazilian newspapers and TV stations, is disputed specially for those who aspire political careers. Despite a more active presence in these localities, Brazilians have not been subjects of affirmative action.

Identity

Identity in this group of Brazilian migrant women has to be understood in the context of ethnicity, gender, and race. They are intrinsically connected first and most importantly to their ethnic identity, then to their gender and last, to their racial identity.

Ethnic Identity

Brazilians in the United States are very proud of their ethnicity. The grandeur of the country, the contrasts and beauties and the publicized image of Carnival helped them to raise their self-respect, building up their image of uniqueness; despite the negative influence of the socio-economic situation of Brazil. Brazilians are commonly seen as part of the Hispanic or Latino communities, which many people believe, erroneously, encompass all Latin Americans. Although a small group compared to Hispanics, the fact that Hispanics are many times criticized by their attitudes and cultural traits make Brazilians shy away from a “Hispanic” identity. Nonetheless, personal relationships between members of the two ethnic groups run smoothly, and many times are closer than to other groups.

Brazilian immigration to the United States has altered some of the long standing myths about the social barriers that separate people in Brazil. The Brazilian myth of a country where different classes and races coexist in a harmoniously requires refinement in the American context. Some scholars, for example, report that immigrant Brazilians complain about exploitation and discrimination by other Brazilians. However, the reasons for these negative attitudes differ from those observed in Brazil. The great

majority of Brazilian immigrants unite independently of class and skin color in their pride of being Brazilian.

Gender Identity

Gender in Brazil is observed from a patriarchal view, which dictates the rules and opportunities determined to Brazilians in terms of their sexes. That is, while the Constitution of 1988 guaranteed women and men equal rights and duties legal protection under the law, societal norms still dictate the traditional domination of women by men. Changes are gradually leading to gender equality.

Immigration to the United States gave Brazilian women more independence because of the social attitude of equality of gender roles. The United States is seen as a country where women and men compete on an equal basis and where aptitudes and skills determine the division of labor. This perception is held despite the Brazilian women in this study comprising a segmented labor market and occupying typical positions known as women's work or pink collar jobs, usually relegated to immigrants. Their reality is far from their perception; nevertheless, the myth persists. Nonetheless, for these women the United States is better than in Brazil with respect to gender equality

These women didn't experience upward mobility in Brazil or in the United States while performing similar jobs, but the reward obtained from these jobs was much higher in the United States than in Brazil and allowed them to make a decent living, acquire property, and other material assets, impossible in Brazil. Their comments about the valuation of all jobs in the United States clearly demonstrate their vision about the low status of these positions in Brazil, compared to the United States.

By helping others in Brazil or in the United States, these women experience a sense of fulfillment, being as important as their male counterparts. As reported in studies about Brazilian immigrant women, immigration contributes toward a more egalitarian relationship between the sexes. Gender does contribute in the formation of identity of the Brazilian immigrant workers in pink collar jobs, but race is a factor that very much influences their identity.

The inner context of Brazil unveils a competition between racial groups with the supremacy of European whiteness. Yet, social class is the real division which determines the boundaries of color.

Racial Identity

The diversity of the greater Washington D.C. area may help these Brazilian women classify themselves and be classified by others as they were classified in Brazil. At the same time, these women identify themselves as part of the white population, which is a majority of the people in the area. Because most of the Brazilians in this study identify themselves as white, this suggests that their understanding of race is based on their skin color. Their self-perceived whiteness may indicate that they do see themselves as part of the privileged milieu which helps their process of socialization and adaptation. The Brazilians in this study did not form ethnic enclaves. They all lived in a small region of the Washington D.C. metropolitan area, which includes parts of Virginia, parts of Maryland and Washington D.C. The higher number of Brazilians in Maryland may be explained by the fact that Maryland encourages diversity, welcoming immigrants. A small concentration of jobs and Brazilian ethnic businesses can be found in a specific

area of Maryland helping migrant women to socialize and start or expand networks.

Solid ties, such as communication, may improve the group cohesion and networks. Communication enhances strong ties between co-nationals. Commonalities like language, place of origin, experiences, among others facilitate communication and, consequently, the opportunity to build up solid ties. Nonetheless, although Brazilians like to be distinguished from other groups, they lack group cohesion which translates into weak political ties, and thus, weak political influence. Group cohesion depends on participation and how individuals view themselves and share similar aspirations. Since ethnic identity is very strong among Brazilians this is crucial to improve cohesiveness, independently of class, race or status.

Finally, in an effort to enrich the understanding of Brazilian migration to the United States, a few suggestions are offered below aimed at achieving this goal.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Immigration is a layered and ever-changing topic that demands continuous research into the many components and sub-themes that comprise the subject. Very few studies focus on Brazilian immigration to the United States. Brazilians in the United States as a new phenomenon may explain this gap as might the realization that Brazilians are often seen as part of the larger Hispanic population.

A suggestion for further investigation into this topic involves continuing research into immigration and gender. Considering that the greater Washington, D.C. area has an increasing number of Brazilian immigrant men, as well as women, it would be informative to research the lives of these men working primarily in blue collar jobs and

compare their perspectives and stories with those of the women in this present study.

In addition, most of the existing studies focus on immigrants in occupational niches reserved for the large majority of immigrants. The vast number of international organizations and multinational companies located in this region offer a myriad of employment opportunities in the white collar jobs. Although excluded from the larger population of immigrants, many women and men in white collar jobs are also immigrants and it is valuable for others to hear their perspective and stories in their own voices in order to compare backgrounds, networks and lifestyles to these women in pink collar jobs.

A broad study of Brazilian women in this region may help to understand diversity within the same ethnic group and the different paths that are open to them, in addition to such a study also raising the importance of Brazilians in the context of cultural and ethnic minorities in the region.

Going forward, the dream of going back is one of the most interesting questions for future analysis, including how these Brazilian immigrant women will be affected by the diverging economic conditions in Brazil and the United States. The Brazilian economy has performed very well during the last several years. Even more impressively, a combination of economic growth and government programs aimed at lowest income Brazilians has lifted many out of poverty and into the lower middle class.

During the same period, the United States economy has been in recession, reducing particularly the flow of undocumented immigrants. Given these trends, one can ask whether these pink collar workers represent a group that will be virtually the last of its kind or whether the flow of immigrants from Brazil will resume in a different form.

APPENDIX A

TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANT BRAZILIAN WOMEN

IN “PINK COLLAR JOBS” IN THE

GREATER WASHINGTON D.C.

AREA

. Consent to Participate in Research- English Form

Identification of Investigators & Purpose of Study

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Lucilia Villa Nova Tremura from American University. The purpose of this study is to single out Brazilian immigrant women who perform pink collar jobs in the Greater Washington D.C. area. This study will contribute to the student’s completion of her Ph.D. program.

Research Procedures

Should you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to sign this consent form once all your questions have been answered to your satisfaction. This study consists of an interview that will be administered to individual participants in the location of their preference in the Greater Washington D.C. area. Each participant will be asked to provide answers to a series of questions related to your life and job as an immigrant in this area in the United States. I will record your answers with an audio tape recorder or will take notes of your answers, according to your preference.

Time Required

Participation in this study will require between one and one hour and forty-five minutes of your time.

Risks

There are no more than minimal risks from your involvement in this study. Minimal risks mean risks which are minimum like the risks you take in your daily life doing routine tasks.

Benefits

Potential benefits from participation in this study include deepen the knowledge about this population of immigrants Your participation is very important to the Brazilian community, as much as to the American society and individuals interested in Brazilian women working in the United States. It will provide relevant information, distinguishing this group of women.

Confidentiality

The results of this research will be presented at American University for my Ph. D. Committee The results of this project will be coded in such a way that the respondent's identity will not be attached to the final form of this study. The researcher retains the right to use and publish non-identifiable data. While individual responses are confidential, aggregate data will be presented representing averages or generalizations about the responses as a whole. All data will be stored in a secure location accessible only to the researcher. Upon completion of the study, all information that matches up individual respondents with their answers, including audio tapes or personal answers will be destroyed.

Participation and Withdrawal

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to choose not to participate. Should you choose to participate, you can withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any individual question without consequences.

Questions about the Study

If you have questions or concerns during the time of your participation in this study, or after its completion or you would like to receive a copy of the final aggregate results of this study, please contact:

Researcher's Name: Lucilia Villa Nova Tremura	Advisor's Name: Jurg Siegenthaler
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American University	American University
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Questions about Your Rights as a Research Subject

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(202)885-3447
irb@american.edu

I have read this consent form and I understand what is being requested of me as a participant in this study. I freely consent to participate. I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions. The investigator provided me with a copy of this form. I certify that I am at least 18 years of age.

☐ I give consent to be (*video/audio*) taped during my interview. _____ (initials)
(*If applicable, please include this consent box and statement.*)

Name of Participant (Printed)

Name of Participant (Signed)

Date

Name of Researcher (Signed)

Date

APPENDIX B

Formulao de Autorizacao

Pesquisadora: Lucilia V. Tremura, Sociology Dept, American University
Entrevistada:

Obrigada por participar nesta pesquisa sobre a vida das mulheres, imigrantes brasileiras, na area metropolitana de Washington D.C. Sua participacao e muito importante para a comunidade brasileira, sociedade Americana e pessoas interessadas em estudar mulheres brasileiras que trabalham nos Estados Unidos.

Sua participacao e voluntaria e muito apreciada. Procedimentos eticos serao seguidos para que nao haja qualquer risco `a sua integridade fisica ou moral como tambem a qualquer pessoa que possa estar envolvida neste projeto. Voce e livre para deixar a pesquisa a qualquer tempo, sem qualquer restricao.

A entrevista sera gravada e mantida em arquivos digitais para consulta durante a analise. Apos a pesquisa, seus dados pessoais serao destruidos. Sua identidade esta protegida e suas respostas sao confidenciais. Caso sinta-se constrangida ao responder uma questao, sinta-se `a vontade para nao responde-la.

Vou entrevista-la pessoalmente bem como `as demais brasileiras que trabalham no setor de servicos, principalmente em trabalhos mal pagos, tambem chamados de colarinho rosa. A entrevista e composta de breves questoes contendo informacoes biologicas e socio economicas, e questoes onde podera falar livremente sobre suas conexoes, colocacao no mercado, suas conquistas e participacao na sociedade. Ocorrera em data e lugar de sua preferencia.

Em caso de duvida, podera contatar Prof. Siegenthaler at jsieg @american.edu ou Prof. Matt Zembruski, do Setor de Protecao `a Pessoa Humana da American University: irb@american.edu ou (202) 885 3447.

Declara ter 18 anos ou mais e ter entendido tudo o que se refere `a sua participacao nesta pesquisa. Seus direitos legais podem ser invocados a qualquer tempo. Sua assinatura abaixo indica o seu consentimento em participar da pesquisa e o recebimento de uma copia deste formulario.

Nome de entrevistada:
Assinatura

Data

Nome de pesquisado
Assinatura Data

APPENDIX C: Interview

Socio-biological economic data:

Thank you for participating in this study about Brazilian immigrant women in pink collar jobs in the Washington D.C. Metropolitan area. As I have explained you before, pink collar jobs are jobs in the service area, mainly performed by women, usually low paid, easily replaced. The first questions are about specific socio-demographic data.

Surname:	Given name
Date of birth	Age
Country of Birth	State
Place of Residence in Brazil: State	City
Citizenship	City

1. State you live in: County City
 - a. District of Columbia
 - b. Maryland
 - c. Virginia
 - d. Declined
2. Marital status
 - a. Single
 - b. Married
 - c. Divorced
 - d. Legally Separated
 - e. Separated
 - f. Living with a partner (s/sex)
 - g. Op/Sex
 - h. Widowed
 - i. Declined
3. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - a. white
 - b. black
 - c. mixed race
 - d. other
4. What is your religion?
 - a. Catholic
 - b. Protestant _____
 - c. Other
 - d. Semi religious
 - e. Don't know
 - f. Declined

5. What is your level of education?
- a. High School not completed
 - b. High School Diploma
 - c. Associate Degree: specify _____
 - d. Undergraduate not completed _____
 - e. Undergraduate completed
 - f. Other
6. What is your occupation?
7. What is your total annual income before taxes?
- _____
- a. Don't know
 - b. Declined
8. What is your total annual household income before taxes?
- _____
- a. Don't know
 - b. Declined
9. Do you send remittances to Brazil?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Decline
10. Do you have health insurance?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Decline
11. Do you belong to any organization or association?
- a. Yes Name it _____
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Decline
12. What is your English Fluency Level?
- a. None
 - b. Little/can get by
 - c. Good
 - d. Excellent
 - e. Native

13. Do you enjoy living/working in the United States?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Decline
14. Do you intend to go back to Brazil?
 - a. Yes/Definitely
 - b. No/Just for vacation
 - c. Don't know
 - d. Decline

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Open-Ended Questions

The next set of questions is about your experience of immigrating from Brazil to the United States. Feel free to tell me whatever you think it is important about your decision to immigrate, networks you had in Brazil or built in the United States that helped you move, settle and find jobs in the country of adoption.

1. Tell me about your experience of migrating to the United States: motivation, contacts here and there, relationships with your contacts, your feelings. The process of arrival, getting settled, finding a home, job, friends.

2. Do you have many friends here in the United States, how did you meet them?

3. Tell me about your family: who they are, where they live.

Probe: what were the reasons that influenced your decision to migrate. The role of networks in this process.

4. I would like to hear about your experience of living and working in the United States your feelings, your expectations.

5. Talk about your job, your functions, your level of satisfaction, problems you may have.

Compare them with your work experience in Brazil

6. Tell me about your experiences of being a working woman. Does gender interfere with your job?
7. Tell me about the opportunities to choose jobs, is that what you had anticipated in Brazil?
8. Have you ever felt any form of discrimination here or in Brazil?

Tell me what you understand about discrimination, examples. Please, elaborate it.

Probe: Were you satisfied with the job market opportunities for immigrant women workers in the United States? Explain me your work opportunities in Brazil and discrimination you may have felt towards being a working woman.

9. Tell me about your identity in the United States. Do you perceive yourself as an American, Brazilian or Latina living and working in the American context?

Please describe how you fit into the American society.

10. Tell me what you think about having a pink collar job. Describe me how it helps you to participate in the American society and future chances in your professional career.

Probe: How do you feel being a Brazilian immigrant working in the United States? How do you see your participation and acceptance by the mainstream society? What are your improvement opportunities?

11. How do you feel about your life here in the United States? Do you think that you contribute to American society in any way? If so, in which ways?
12. What about Brazil, do you think you contribute to the Brazilian society?

Explain how.

13. Do you intend to live, spend holidays, or invest in Brazil?

Tell me about your future plans.

14. Tell me something you would like from Brazil, in the United States and vice-versa.

Probe: How do you share life experiences between the United States and Brazil?

What are your contributions to both societies? Do you have any dream of going back to Brazil?

APPENDIX D: Entrevista

Dados biológicos e socio-economicos:

Obrigada por participar neste estudo sobre mulheres imigrantes brasileiras que trabalham em servicos considerados como colarinho rosa, na area metropolitana de Washington D.C. Como ja lhe foi explicado anteriormente, servicos de colarinho rosa sao ocupacoes na area de servicos, executados, em sua maioria, por mulheres, em geral, mal remunerados e facilmente substituiveis. As primeiras questoes elaboradas versam especificamente sobre dados socio-demograficos.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------|
| Sobrenome: | Nome |
| Data de nascimento | Idade |
| Pais de nascimento | Estado |
| Lugar de residencia no Brasil: Estado | Cidade |
| Cidadania | Cidade |
-
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--------|
| 1. Estado em que vive nos E.U.A. | Condado | Cidade |
| a. Distrito de Columbia | | |
| b. Maryland | | |
| c. Virginia | | |
| d. Nao respondeu | | |
-
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 2. Marital status | | | |
| a. Solteira | b. Casada | c. Divorciad | d. Separada legalmente |
| e. Separada | f. Vive com um parceiro | g. Vive com uma parceira | |
| h. Viuva | i. Nao respondeu | | |
-
- | |
|------------------------------|
| 3. Qual a sua raca ou etnia? |
| a. branca |
| b. negra |
| c. multi-raca |
| d. outra |

4. Qual a sua religiao?
- a. Catolica
 - b. Protestante _____
 - c. Outra
 - d. Sem religiao
5. Qual o seu nivel de educacao?
- a. Segundo Grau Incompleto: _____ anos cursados
 - b. Segundo Grau Completo
 - c. Curso tecnico:
 - d. Superior incompleto:
 - e. Superior completo
 - f. Outro
6. Qual e a sua ocupacao?
7. Qual e o seu rendimento bruto anual?
- _____
- a. Nao sei
 - b. Nao respondeu
8. Qual a sua renda familiar anual bruta?
- _____
- a. Nao sei
 - b. Nao respondeu
9. Envia dinheiro ao Brazil?
- a. Sim
 - b. Nao
 - c. Nao respondeu
10. Tem seguro saude?
- a. Sim
 - b. Nao
 - c. Nao sei
 - d. Nao respondeu
11. Proficiencia/ nivel Ingles
- a. Nenhum
 - b. Algum/Consegue comunicar-se
 - c. Bom
 - d. Excelente
 - e. Nativo
12. Pertence a alguma organizacao/associacao?

- a. Sim. Qual
- b. Nao
- c. Nao sabe
- d. Nao respondeu

13. Gosta de viver/trabalhar nos E.U.A.?

- a. Sim
- b. Nao
- c. Nao sabe
- d. Nao respondeu

14. Pretende voltar ao Brasil?

- a. Sim/Definitivamente
- b. Nao/Somente Lazer
- c. Nao sabe
- d. Nao respondeu

GUIA DE ENTREVISTA

Perguntas Abertas

As proximas questoes tratam sobre a sua experiencia de imigracao do Brasil para os Estados Unidos. Sinta-se a vontade para relatar o que pensa ser importante na sua decisao de imigrar, sobre seus contatos existentes no Brasil ou construidos nos Estados Unidos que ajudaram em seu processo de mudanca, estabelecendo-se e conseguindo trabalho em seu pais por adocao.

1. Relate sua experiencia de migrar para os Estados Unidos: motivacoes, contatos aqui e la, relacionamento com seus contatos, seus sentimentos, enfim, sobre o seu processo de chegada, estabelecendo-se na nova patria, procurando moradia, buscando servico e fazendo amizades.

2. Tem muitos amigos nos Estados Unidos, como os conheceu?

3. Conte-me sobre a sua familia, quem sao eles, onde vivem

Verificacao: razoes que influenciaram sua decisao de migrar. O papel da sua rede de contatos nesse processo de migracao.

4. Gostaria de ouvir sobre sua experiencia de morar e viver nos Estados Unidos, seus sentimentos e expectativas
5. Fale sobre o seu trabalho, suas funcoes, seu nivel de satisfactory e problemas que possa ter. Faca uma comparacap com sua experiencia de trabalho no Brasil.
6. Relate suas experiencias de mulher trabalhadora. O fato de ser mulher interfere no seu trabalho?
7. Conte-me sobre suas oportunidades de escolha de trabalho. Foram da forma como previu no Brasil?
8. Sentiu alguma vez qualquer forma de discriminacao, aqui ou no Brasil?

Descreva-me o que entende por discriminacao, de exemplos. Por favor, discorra

Verificacao: Sentiu-se satisfeita com as opportunities de trabalho abertas a mulheres imigrantes?

Explique-me sobre suas opportunities de trabalho no Brasil e qualquer discriminacao que por ventura pode ter sentido pelo fato de ser mulher e trabalhadora.

9. Explique-me como voce se identifica aqui nos Estados Unidos: americana, brasileira, latina vivendo e trabalhando no contexto americano. Por favor, discorra sobre sua insercao na sociedade americana .
10. De sua opiniao sobre ter um trabalho considerado como de colarinho rosa. Descreva como esse trabalho ajuda voce a participar na sociedade ameriana e chances futuras na sua carreira profissional.

Verificacao: Como voce se sente em ralacao ao fato de ser uma imigrante brasileira trabalhando nos Estados Unidos?

Como voce ve a sua participacao e aceitacao pela sociedade Americana, quais
sao suas oportunidades?

11. Descreva-me sua vida aqui nos Estados Unidos, contribui de algum modo para a
sociedade Americana, como?

12. Sobre o Brasil, contribui para a sociedade brasileira, como?

13. Pretende viver, passar ferias, investir no Brasil?

Fale-me sobre seus planos futuros.

14. Explique-me sobre algo do Brasil que faz falta aqui nos Estados Unidos e vice-versa.

Verificacao: Como vivencia a realidade americana e a brasileira?

Como contribui para ambas as sociedades, tem sonhos de retornar ao Brasil ?

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