INTRODUCTION

Lusophone Studies in the U.S.

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This volume has grown out of many years of conversations with colleagues and students.¹ Both of us teach courses concerning the Portuguese diaspora in our respective universities, and many of our students come from communities with long-established histories of immigration from Portugal and Cape Verde, and more recently from Brazil.² In many ways, this collection is the book we have been longing to teach—in the hope that it will encourage present and future generations of scholars to explore further the histories, cultures, and intertwined social dynamics of these immigrant communities. We have brought together previously-published but hard-to-find material along with new research by emerging scholars in an effort to consolidate our current understandings as well as spark future innovative research on Portuguese-American and other related communities. Our contention is that these research areas are particularly fertile, promising insight into understudied immigrant populations and the culturally complex and historically shifting interplay of race, ethnicity, nation and empire that characterizes the Portuguese-speaking diaspora.

The demographic narrative that underpins many studies of post-1965 immigration distinguishes this most recent U.S.-bound wave as originating out of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean in contrast to early 20th-century immigration originating primarily out of Europe.³ Comparative studies across ethnic groups also argue that post-1965 immigrants to the U.S. have engaged in varied practices of incorporation into American society, whereas early 20th-century Europeans tended to follow more uniformly assimilationist trajectories (Rumbaut and Portes 2001). Portuguese immigrants have been largely absent from these analyses, perhaps in part because they muddy the waters of dichotomous
constructs that have been used to distinguish between early and late 20th-century immigration to the U.S.

In contrast to the many cases used to substantiate the difference between these periods of immigration, Portuguese emigration to the U.S. spans both 20th-century waves. Described as a “national drama,” a self-perpetuating cycle without end, and an integral component of the nation’s social imaginary, massive emigration has significantly shaped the fabric of Portuguese society for over two centuries (Serrão 1977; Baganha and Góis 1999; Brettell 2003h). The emigrant constitutes a national symbol that frames the lives and outlooks of almost every Portuguese citizen, and leaving one’s home to make a better life elsewhere has long been a viable option for members of all sectors of Portuguese society (Brettell 2003a; Feldman-Bianco this volume; Noivo 2000 and Rocha-Trindade). The resulting diaspora in the U.S. and elsewhere around the globe thus encompasses recent immigrants as well as multiple generations of descendants and long histories of settlement. Exploring the Portuguese case thus offers the opportunity to understand the connections between both 20th-century waves of U.S. immigration and contributes important nuances to the entrenched scholarly portrait of these periods of immigration as largely separate and distinct.

The Portuguese nation has been increasingly defined as a deterriorialized entity that encompasses the far-flung diaspora as well as the former colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America it once dominated (Baganha 1999; Feldman-Bianco 1992). This formulation, as politically charged and polemical as it is, also runs counter to the tendencies of U.S. immigration scholarship to evaluate waves of immigration according to First World vs. Third World dichotomies. The degree of acceptance—or adamant rejection—of the concept of the “Lusophone world” as a multi-continental, multi-racial harmonious whole depends upon the historical period, ideological purpose, and geographic and social space in which it is deployed. However, it is a straightforward fact that communities of people from both the Portuguese metropole and a myriad of one-time Portuguese colonies have settled alongside one another in the U.S. Exploration of this unique feature of the Lusophone case and the resulting inter-cutting of identities and relationships in the diaspora will, we hope, deepen and productively complicate the scholarly portrayal of 20th-century immigration to the U.S.
Decisions as to how to cast the scope of this collection evolved over the course of the project. Initially we had imagined a volume that would focus exclusively on the Portuguese-American experience and include articles on communities in all major regions of the country where the Portuguese have established themselves. Portuguese immigration is characterized by a striking persistence of extremely concentrated settlement patterns in coastal and central California, the northeastern seaboard and Hawaii—a result of the 19th-century whaling routes that included regular stops in the Azores and Cape Verde to pick up men and supplies, economic opportunities that encouraged Portuguese crew to jump ship in East and West Coast American ports, and patterns of tightly-linked chain migration that brought in subsequent generations of immigrants. Our aim was to further develop Williams’s argument that very different local conditions led to significant variations in how immigrants and their descendants lived their lives and built their communities (Williams 2005). Such a framework would have allowed us, for example, to tease out the similarities and differences between the largely rural and agriculturally-based Portuguese-American communities characteristic of California, the primarily urban industrial communities of New England, the more recently established communities of New Jersey, and the relatively scattered communities built in the aftermath of Hawaii’s plantation economy. Such comparisons are clearly essential to the development of an adequately nuanced analysis of the Portuguese-American case.

The final version of this project has, however, ended up being both narrower and wider in scope. When our search for contributions yielded an incredibly rich focus on East Coast communities, we decided to limit the geographic reach in order to extend the ethnographic depth of the collection. Our hope is that documenting the complex and varied histories of the communities along the Northeastern seaboard will provide the solid foundation for subsequent comparisons with the Portuguese immigrant experience in other regions of the U.S. and other corners of the globe. We also decided to widen the focus to include intersections with the communities of Brazilians, Cape Verdeans and African retornados that co-populate the region. As our thinking evolved over the course of this project, it became increasingly clear that Portugal’s post-colonial history binds these immigrant groups together, as do contemporary projects of self-representation in the U.S. that can be oppositional, com-
plementary or a combination of both. This volume thus brings together explorations of Portuguese and—although to a much lesser extent—other Lusophone or Luso-African populations that have settled in the immigrant hubs of the port cities and towns along the Northeastern seaboard in order to deepen our understanding of the interconnected nature of these communities.

Reframing the Field of Study

To learn more about the Portuguese-American experience, a seemingly obvious decision would be to focus the inquiry exclusively on Portuguese-Americans. The contributions to this volume make clear, however, that decisions about how to define a study population and set the parameters of investigation are often theoretically charged and potentially misleading, with each particular choice yielding insight into some areas while obscuring the answers or even our awareness of the questions in others. Theoretical breakthroughs are, in fact, usually accompanied by the reframing of decisions about whom to talk to and what questions to ask. Our hope is that the ways we as editors have framed this collection, as well as how the individual authors—especially those whose contributions are found in the sections, “Citizenship, Belonging and Community” and “Race, Post-Colonialism and Diasporic Contexts”—have established the parameters of inquiry, allow us to explore new and deeply relevant questions about the Portuguese-American experience.

Strategically structured comparisons offer ways to dislodge our often entrenched and sometimes misleading assumptions that certain immigrant trajectories and forms of belonging are natural, normal, and inevitable, while others constitute unusual anomalies unique to a particular group or situation. Bloemraad’s comparison, for example, between naturalization rates among Portuguese immigrants in the U.S. and Canada allows her to explore why, despite similarly structured legal pathways to citizenship and analogous idealized narratives about being a nation of immigrants, these two neighboring liberal democracies differ markedly in the extent to which immigrants decide to pursue citizenship in their respective new homelands. The relatively low rates of naturalization among Portuguese in the U.S. have often been attributed to this particular immigrant group’s lack of experience with participatory democ-
racy—thus explaining their reticence to change citizenship according to shortcomings characteristic of the immigrants themselves. That is, the assumptions that any immigrant can easily become an American citizen and that most would logically want to do so lead to the conclusion that something about the Portuguese must be making them less interested in and/or less capable of becoming U.S. citizens. Expanding the research scope to encompass the contrast with the much higher rates of naturalization among analogous populations in Canada allows us to see that it is particular U.S. governmental policies—not characteristics of this particular immigrant group—that significantly limit access to American citizenship. Klimt’s comparison allows us to ask why the Portuguese in the U.S. have tended to create institutionally complete communities and make permanent commitments to their new homeland while compatriots in Germany have created actively transnational communities that entail a continued commitment to Portugal and adamant rejection of exclusive permanence in Germany or acquisition of German citizenship. Setting up research questions in such comparative terms enables us to move past assumptions that immigrant trajectories are uniform or unilinear and to interrogate social formations that, at least from the vantage point of southeastern New England, appear inevitable and universal. Expanding the research scope to include the widely-scattered places in which Portuguese have settled around the world enables us to ask how the politics and power relations, economies and opportunity structures, and status hierarchies characteristic of any particular society shape the identities and communities of its immigrants. The answers, in turn, will deepen our understanding of the story of the Portuguese in North America.

Another way the essays in these sections extend our understanding of the Portuguese-American experience is by challenging the boundaries and categories commonly used to define the scope of social scientific inquiry. Feldman-Bianco makes clear that a portrait of Portuguese-American identity in New Bedford needs to extend beyond the confines of locally-rooted and ethnically-circumscribed interactions and take into account transnationally-enacted relationships, multi-sited and often multi-national communities, and the state-level actions of multiple nations (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). Her analysis has contributed to the theoretical debates about the on-going transnational nature
of immigrant life and the concomitant research shift away from the
often exclusive focus on geographically-bounded ethnic communities.
Ramos-Zayas’s investigation shows us that the social play of gendered
stereotypes must be understood relationally. That is, the association of
traditional images of “decent” and “respectable” womanhood with Por-
tuguese-American women in Newark’s Ironbound neighborhood is part
and parcel of the hypersexuality and exotic eroticism associated with
Brazilian women living in the same neighborhood. To have focused the
inquiry on only one or the other ethnic group and ignore the ongoing
interactions between members of both groups would have been to miss
the essential dynamic fueling both sets of stereotypes. Both Gibau and
Halter focus primarily on the dynamics of racial and ethnic identities
among Cape Verdean-Americans, but they also explore key questions
about interactions between groups. Their analyses demonstrate that we
can only make sense of what it might mean to be “black” or “Cape
Verdean” in conjunction with questions about the shifting and often
situationally specific meanings of being “white,” “Portuguese,” or “Afri-
can-American.” The editorial decision to include case studies of Cape
Verdean as well as Brazilian immigrant communities in a volume pri-
marily dedicated to investigating the Portuguese-American experience
underlines the necessity of addressing questions about the complexly
racialized and historical shifting boundaries around Portuguese nation-
hood. The ambiguities and arguments characteristic of these intercon-
nected diasporic identities can only be understood in the context of
Portugal’s transformation from one-time empire to relatively peripheral
player in a post-colonial world.

Looking for and focusing on significant variations within a particular
research population is yet another way to further refine our understand-
ing of the Portuguese-American case. Holton, for example, noticed dur-
ing her research on Newark’s Portuguese-American community that a
number of people in her study population originally came from the one-
time Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique (Holton, “Danc-
ing”, this volume). Her curiosity piqued, she decided to explore the out-
looks of this particular subgroup whose life trajectories were so different
from the majority of Portuguese immigrants in Newark who had come
directly from their natal homes in continental Portugal. She found that
despite being officially designated as “Portuguese-Americans,” “Euro-
pean,” and “white,” these retornados thought of Africa as their beloved homeland, symbolically nurtured African components of their identities, and established social networks distinct from those of Portuguese-Americans from Portugal. The insights garnered from this framing of the research population points to the relevance of other dimensions of difference—place of origin, region of settlement, migration trajectory, social background, gender, to name just a few—that warrant further attention if we are to move past the analytically-limiting image of Portuguese-Americans as a generally homogenous group.  

An important point to keep in mind as we assess the various strategies for delimiting research populations is that the content and contours of any category are socially constructed and often vigorously contested. Deciding to focus an inquiry on Portuguese-Americans, for example, raises questions about who does and who does not “count” as “Portuguese-American” and what, if any, qualities constitute accepted characteristics of this category. Moniz directly addresses these questions by laying out the intense arguments Portuguese-Americans had with one another as to whether or not “Portuguese-American” should be an officially recognized minority status. The debate played out between differently positioned Portuguese-Americans who had opposing views on how to situate themselves collectively within a racialized maneuvering for resources and political voice. Moniz’s analysis clearly demonstrates the insight gained from interrogating the very definition of a category—as well as the dangers of assuming that any particular set of parameters corresponds to an uncontested, unchanging social reality.

There are many ways to frame a field of study: geographically, temporally, demographically and analytically. The contributors to this volume each define their research scope in ways that provide better access to important questions, deciding for example: to follow a Portuguese-American band on its tour in Portugal—as opposed to just studying it in the immigrant context; to cast a comparative net that includes immigrant trajectories in different national settings and/or different historical eras—as opposed to focusing exclusively on a single locale or time frame; to include interactions between ethnic groups in a particular geographic setting—as opposed to focusing on only one particular group; or to interrogate the very nature of group boundaries—as opposed to accepting these categories as unambiguous characteristics of social life.
We anticipate that theoretically informed and innovative research strategies, such as those employed by the contributors to this volume, will continue to bring fresh insight into the history and culture of Portuguese-American and other related immigrant groups.

Formulating Alternative Arguments

One of the on-going fiercely argued theoretical conundrums in the social sciences concerns the relationship between culture and material conditions. With regards to the Portuguese, the argument has often been made that culture trumps context. That is, for example, lower rates of social mobility and educational success among Portuguese-Americans have been attributed to the cultural values and immutable “peasant mentality” thought to characterize this group of immigrants and their purported tendency to consider property ownership, physical labor, and family cohesion—rather than education, intellectual work, or individual ambition—as the most acceptable and expedient routes to prosperity and social success. In a similar vein, the generalized image of the Portuguese as passive workers, inward-looking and politically unengaged has been attributed to their life-long experience with political oppression under fascism in Portugal. Asymmetrical gender roles and patriarchal family structures found in the immigrant contexts have often been considered to constitute unchanged cultural patterns transplanted from communities of origin.

One of the ways the chapters in this collection—especially those in the sections “Education, Social Mobility, and Political Culture” and “Work, Gender, and Family”—offer alternative responses to the debate is to challenge the primacy given to cultural explanations. De Sá and Borges, for example, argue that lack of social mobility in southeastern New England is due largely to changing structural conditions and not, as is commonly asserted, to a culturally-specific aversion to pursuing higher education. They carefully document how “[a]s the last group to arrive, the Portuguese were kept at the bottom of the socioeconomic hierarchy in order to sustain the economic viability of a declining industrial sector” characteristic of New England (de Sá and Borges, this volume, 265-266). In his analysis of political attitudes and behavior among Portuguese-Americans in southeastern Massachusetts,
Barrow also concludes that regionally-specific dynamics of economic decline—not the collective experience with political oppression and resulting fear of engagement—kept the Portuguese out of politics and “lock[ed] new immigrant groups into their disadvantaged position in the economy and society” (Barrow, this volume, 312). Reeve takes issue with the cultural explanation of political behavior by laying out how current low levels of union participation on the part of Portuguese immigrants are not due to any lingering reticence to becoming politically engaged, but to the very real nation-wide decline in the power of unions to improve the lives of their members—a historical shift of which Portuguese-American workers are only too aware. The emphasis is on understanding the opportunities and limitations created by the political, economic, and material conditions as key factors in shaping individual, familial, and community trajectories—and away from looking to culture as the primary explanatory framework.

Another way that the authors in this collection deepen our understanding of the Portuguese-American case is to assert the crucial need to move past cultural stereotypes. Together, these chapters make clear that developing a more accurate and nuanced analysis of the relationship between culture and context entails looking carefully at the actual patterns of belief and behavior and discarding the often firmly entrenched assumptions about this particular population. Barrow, for example, corroborates his argument countering widespread images of the Portuguese as politically apathetic and underrepresented by showing that Portuguese-American political attitudes are, in fact, quite similar to those of other comparable ethnic groups, and political representation in certain areas has, in recent years, actually increased significantly. In other words, Portuguese culture per se is not what was determining the political attitudes or behavior of immigrants and their descendants. Reeve challenges the widely-accepted portrait of the Portuguese as passive workers weighed down by past political oppression and traditional gender roles by documenting the active engagement of Portuguese-American men and women in the labor struggles of the not-so-distant but not-so-well-remembered past. The experience of fascism in Portugal was certainly real—but history shows us that it did not keep Portuguese workers from fighting for their rights in the U.S. Bookman’s portrait of the crucial role women played in creating a unionized work-
place not only pushes us past assumptions about the limitations of “traditional” gender roles, but shows how gender-specific ways of socializing and realizing commitments to family well-being actually made women highly effective organizers. Lamphere and co-authors’ account of how Portuguese men and women juggled roles and responsibilities to meet the challenges of making a life in a new home demonstrates that cultural ideas about gender and family are subject to change and negotiation, and are not so immutable as to prevent people from figuring out new survival strategies in new contexts. De Sá and Borges turn on its head the assumption that Portuguese lack of interest in higher education contributed to lower rates of social mobility, showing that for many European groups, education, in fact, followed from social mobility, rather than preceding or facilitating the move into the middle class as is commonly assumed. They also clearly document the locally available alternative routes to middle-class status that have been successfully followed by a significant number of Portuguese-Americans in the region. Becker’s essay shows how low expectations and negative stereotypes held by teachers undermined Portuguese immigrant children’s ability to imagine and realize academic success—pointing, in other words, to how false assumptions about culture held by more powerful players rather than cultural values held by Portuguese immigrant families affected educational as well as more long-term social outcomes.

Theoretical arguments often proceed in pendulum swings, and countering the flaws of a particular perspective frequently entails pushing the whole approach entirely aside. In this case, some authors in these sections have sought to correct misleading, erroneous, and overly deterministic arguments about the role of culture in shaping individual and collective trajectories and their careful attention to political, economic, and social factors shaping people’s lives significantly enhances our understanding of the Portuguese-American experience. We would like to suggest that productive possibilities for future research entail further interrogating the relationship between context and culture—coming back, that is, from one extreme swing of the pendulum. Thinking about the interplay between shifts in local and transnational employment opportunities; the nature of global interconnections and permeability of national borders; access to education, social support, and political voice and the continuities and transformations in ideas, values, and
world views would help us move past a context or culture argument and towards a more nuanced understanding of how both are usually in play.

Connecting Performance, Representation and Power

Scholars of immigration often conceptualize expressive culture as a tool used for maintaining ties of migrants and their descendants to original homelands as well as straightforward evidence of cultural continuity across time and space. The essays in this volume—especially those in the section “Expressive Culture, Media Representations and Identity”—attempt to move beyond this traditional approach by exploring how performance, expressive culture, and media representations directly enter into dynamic and historically-particular plays for power, status, and visibility in receiving as well as sending communities. Volume contributors construe these performative acts as a conduit for the often politically-charged interchange between native and immigrant spaces, a means to negotiate varied social landscapes and aesthetic and communicative value systems, and an effective staging ground in negotiations for influence, power and political voice within local, national and transnational status hierarchies.

Just as Gilroy (1993), Vale de Almeida (2004), and Roach (1996) track how the exercise of power and the politics of difference figure into the movement of music, dance and ritual across transnational spaces linked by the Atlantic, contributors to this collection approach culture in motion as a dynamic force constantly imbricated in changing spatial and social alliances. Moving between native and adopted homelands, shifting expectations and hierarchies of ethnic and economic difference, expressive culture has the power to bridge gaps, forge coalitions or fuel conflict and misunderstanding. Building on Appadurai’s argument as to the increased role of imagination during our modern era of unprecedented movement of people across space, these chapters indicate the possibility that expressive culture—a manifestation, after all, of the human imagination—plays a very high-stakes game in diasporic contexts, transnational exchanges and deterritorialized communities (Appadurai 1996).

One of the key arenas in which to explore the play between power and performance is at the level of the co-ethnic community. In Leal's
account, for example, of how Azorean immigrants in East Providence celebrate the Holy Ghost Feast, he unpacks the inter-workings of the official feast hierarchies and the ways in which various ritualized roles serve to renew kinship ties and strengthen local community relationships. Through a detailed examination of the ritual components, he indexes the conflicting pressures of adaptation and authenticity and portrays this immigrant community as engaged in a dialogue with tradition while simultaneously working to translate the celebration to meet modern, site-specific demands and concerns.

Public displays of immigrant culture also engage with various wider levels of argument about political power and social position taking place in the towns, cities, and regions in which Portuguese immigrants have settled. Holton explores these arenas in her investigation of how folkloric performances figure prominently into the consolidation of a positive ethnic identity and audible political voice among the Portuguese in Newark, New Jersey. Not only does participation in folklore troupes help keep the second generation within the networks and traditional values of the Portuguese-American community, but she finds that folkloric performances give the Portuguese prominence within city and state-wide politics that celebrate and promote multiculturalism.9

Taking a different route through city politics, Baptista analyzes the role of The Newark Art Museum in brokering new political and social alliances between municipal institutions and the local Portuguese-American community. She shows how the museum successfully drew in large numbers of Portuguese-Americans to see a major exhibit featuring Portuguese depictions of the Virgin and collaborated with local Portuguese-American leaders in the organization of the show. Not only was a meaningful connection forged between the historically insular ethnic population and a powerful city-wide institution, but “Portuguese culture” was represented via examples of both “high art” and “folk art” in one of the city’s most visibly elite venues.

The jockeying for status and visibility and the politics of cultural performance often connect social dynamics across multiple national spaces. Bruchner demonstrates the complexity of these interconnections in her analysis of what happens when a Rhode Island Portuguese-American marching band goes on tour to a sister city in Portugal and culturally coded—and politically loaded—musical idioms are played
in the music’s and the musicians’ place of origin. She describes how Portuguese hosts offered warm welcomes to one-time compatriots and the collegial exchange between fellow musicians and public officials in both sister cities gained political kudos and visibility. Her analysis reveals however, that a degree of competition and unacknowledged resentment underlay the interactions as Portuguese hosts maneuvered to show that they, in fact, played better and had a more authentically Portuguese repertoire than did their Portuguese-American guests. Attempts to define and lay proprietary claim to “Portugueseness” clearly shaped the dynamics around these transnational performances.

This volume considers representations and debates found in national and ethnic print media as yet another stage for public negotiations over representation, influence and power. Although quite different from the more commonly recognized venues of music, dance, art and ritual, images of ethnic groups presented in newspapers, television and radio stations can productively be viewed as a kind of public—and inherently political—performance. Almeida’s contribution, for example, foregrounds the power of national and even international media to create and spread profoundly negative images of Portuguese-Americans and ignite deep and still unresolved conflict within the ethnic community. Sensationalist and, Almeida argues, at times deeply flawed journalistic coverage of a rape case involving a Portuguese woman and several Portuguese men in New Bedford, Massachusetts—all aimed at promoting media sales—led to serious cultural misunderstanding, increased ethnic prejudice and, in his terms, “the rape of a community.” Correia’s case study also features heated debate within the same Portuguese-American community of New Bedford, but he focuses on exchanges between compatriots in the _Diário de Notícias_ (1919-1973), the only Portuguese language daily in the U.S. published for more than a few months. He follows the highly-charged arguments of the 1930s about the Spanish Civil War in which community leaders of opposing political ideologies battled with one another on the editorial pages of their local paper. Correia applauds the political evenhandedness of the _Diário’s_ editors and the fact that this Portuguese-American paper actively fostered a freedom of expression that was stringently prohibited in Portugal by Salazar’s fascist regime. He also notes how the realization of this freedom was, ironically enough, inhibited at times by
tendencies towards political censorship in the U.S. Both Correia and Almeida make clear that the images and representations forged through printed words had real impact on the lives of immigrants and their families.

There are still many fascinating questions about the connection between the expressive culture, representation, and political power of immigrant and ethnic populations that await the attention of future researchers. What, for example, happens to ethnic identity and culture with increased incorporation into a “mainstream,” and will ethnicity over third, fourth, fifth generations come to be expressed through primarily symbolic means? Will ethnic groups with different relations to political power develop different forms of expressive culture? And what aspects of ethnic culture will be retained, changed, or cast off as the political and social landscape shifts over time? Our hope is that this collection will provide some impetus to the continued exploration of the relationship between performance and power in Portuguese-American as well as other related ethnic communities.

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The questions addressed in this volume point to a whole array of new and as yet unexplored questions regarding the history, culture and social dynamics of Portuguese-American and other interconnected communities. This still understudied case—which brings together the story of multiple waves of immigration spanning two centuries, close connections with a global diaspora, and the complex relationships of post-colonialism—has much to offer to our understandings of transnational migration and subsequent processes of identity and community formation among immigrants and their descendants. The contributors to this collection have clearly established the benefits of framing investigations of this particular case within larger debates that theorize the interconnections between culture, structure, and power as well as establishing research parameters that facilitate forays into new areas of study and analytically productive comparisons. And the ethnographic richness and productive interplay of their analyses indicate promising directions for future research.
Notes

1 This introduction further develops the preface Andrea Klimt wrote to Jerry Williams's book, *In Pursuit of their Dreams: A History of Azorean Immigration to the United States*, entitled "New Directions and Future Possibilities: Understanding the Portuguese Immigrant Story" (2005). Many of the works cited in that piece as exemplary of future directions have been brought together in this volume.

2 Andrea Klimt teaches courses on Portuguese immigration to the Americas at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth and Kimberly DaCosta Holton teaches courses on the Portuguese diaspora and Portuguese literature and culture at Rutgers University Newark. Both universities are situated in close proximity to Portuguese-American communities and have student bodies that include significant percentages of Portuguese-Americans and Brazilian-Americans, and in the case of UMass Dartmouth, Cape Verdean-Americans.

3 In 1965 The National Origins Act was repealed, spawning a new wave of immigration into the U.S. The restrictive National Origins Act, passed in 1924, limited new immigration to the U.S. to 150,000 people and established a quota system based on national origin.

4 The immigrants who left Portugal before 1975, grew up under the Salazar regime and had no direct experience with participatory democracy.


6 Noivo (1997) and Giles (2002) also offer useful arguments about gender dynamics within Portuguese immigrant communities in Canada.

7 Other works that investigate the impact of the shifting status of empire and nation on Portuguese identity in the metropole as well as in the diaspora and post-colonial contexts are Sieber (2005), Sarkissian (2000), and Leal (2002).

8 Williams (2005) focuses his attention on the differences between Portuguese-American communities in different regions of the U.S. He asks very useful questions about how significant differences in economic opportunity structures, settlement patterns, and place within local social arrangements have contributed to differences in patterns of social mobility, attitudes towards being "Portuguese," and degrees of cultural continuity. Even though all Azorean immigrants came from very similar backgrounds and with very similar aspirations, the economic and social conditions of the areas of the U.S. in which they settled were quite different from one another. The typical New England experience, for example, of living in urban, predominantly Portuguese neighborhoods and working in factories with few options for social mobility contrasted sharply with the tendency amongst Azorean immigrants in California to buy land, become independent and sometimes very successful farmers, and live in dispersed rural communities. The trajectory was different in yet another way in Hawaii, where Azoreans were imported as plantation laborers and found themselves on the bottom of a very stratified social hierarchy with few attractive options open to them outside of leaving for the mainland or becoming less "Portuguese."

9 The film, *The Flight of the Dove*, directed by Nancy da Silveira, makes similar points as it shows how the Holy Ghost Feasts in Californian communities help keep people of Portuguese descent connected to one another and to a sense of "being Portuguese." A contrasting argument is made by Klimt, who argues that the visibility of expressive culture does not always correspond to increased access to political power (2005b). In the case she investigates in Germany, Portuguese folkloric performances gained a very high level of visibility on the local scene, but in a context where most Portuguese are not citizens and have no voting rights, that cultural prominence did not translate into political voice or pressure to change the status quo.