Belongings and Interactions

Negotiating Portuguese-Speaking Identities in Boston

ABSTRACT: This article reflects on an ongoing research project on the current movement for affirmative action on behalf of Portuguese speakers in metropolitan Boston, through a crosscutting perspective combining ethnography and social history within a socioanthropological analysis. The focus is on the interactive relationships among different Portuguese-speaking immigrants and their descendants in the context of the nonprofit Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS). What makes the "Portuguese-speaking" case so interesting is its encompassing of a very disparate set of populations and identities, including their contrasting migratory history and pathways of incorporation, as well as their different mother tongues (Portuguese and Kriolu—the Cape Verdian mother tongue).

KEYWORDS: Portuguese speakers, social classifications, social movement, Boston, Massachusetts.

Introduction

Portuguese is the second most widely spoken foreign language in Massachusetts, due to an intense and recent influx of Brazilian immigrants that complemented a tradition of Portuguese and Cape Verdean immigration dating to the mid-nineteenth century. Awareness of the extent of the Portuguese-speaking community is high among the media, political and community leaders, and others connected with its realities.

A movement for affirmative action on behalf of Portuguese speakers in metropolitan Boston is now being carried out by representatives of mostly Portuguese, Brazilian, and Cape Verdean immigrants. The group principally responsible for the effort is the nonprofit Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), which has engaged in this work with great dynamism and generally provides social support to Portuguese-speaking populations of Brazilian, Cape Verdean, and Portuguese origin in Massachusetts cities in the Boston

area, including Lowell to the north and Framingham to the west. The group is thus attempting to establish a sort of pan-ethnic Portuguese-speaking category, inspired by the Hispanic/Latino pan-ethnic model—and definitely separate from it.

The specific context for this struggle for a Portuguese-speaking category, and the focus of this paper,¹ is U.S. Census 2010. More broadly, this work fits within an ongoing research project aimed at capturing the local social field of Portuguese-speaking populations through a crosscutting perspective combining ethnography and social history within a socioanthropological analysis.² The joining of the lenses of an "ethnographical eye" with historical research is aimed at better understanding the local emergence, uses, and representations of the Portuguese-speaking category, which continues to be renewed with the recent wave of Brazilian immigrants to the area.

Portuguese-Speaking Immigration to Massachusetts

Portuguese (mainly Azorean) and Cape Verdean immigration to Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the nineteenth century was driven first by the whaling industry and then by jobs in textile mills and other manufacturers. Fall River and New Bedford saw the greatest surge in such immigrants, with Cambridge and Somerville coming in second. The numbers dipped in the 1920s owing to stricter U.S. immigration policies, but the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 opened the gates once again, eliminating quotas and replacing them with a system that gave immigration preference to applications submitted by the spouses, siblings, siblings' spouses, and siblings' children of U.S. residents. By 1975, the number of immigrants to the United States arriving from Portugal exceeded that from every other country in Europe (Pap 1981; Center for Policy Analysis 2005).

In a certain way, Cape Verdean immigration mirrored Portuguese immigration, but with two important differences: the former did not stop at the end of the 1970s, as did the latter, and the so-called "black" Portuguese—until 1975, the Cape Verde Islands were a Portuguese colony—were considered distinct from other Portuguese immigrants. Separate Cape Verdean communities thus emerged—sometimes near other Portuguese communities, sometimes not—in southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island (Machado 1981; Halter 1993) as well as in inner-city Boston, especially Roxbury and Dorchester (Halter 2009, 527). Brazilian immigration followed in the 1980s, with immigrants entering mainly service occupations and mostly concentrated in Somerville, Allston, Everett, Framingham, and Cape Cod and the Islands (Lima and Siqueira, 2008). This area is far from what is known as the Portuguese Archipelago, which covers New Bedford, Fall River, and Taunton, a triangle in southeastern Massachusetts.

As Dario Borin, a professor at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth, said in a 2007 interview with the Boston Globe, "There was already a Portuguese language infrastructure here, with businesses, educational programs, and medical professionals who spoke the language."³ It's reasonable to assume that language attracted Brazilian immigrants. According to the same article, some 800,000 to 1 million Portuguese speakers inhabit Massachusetts, making it the state's largest linguistic minority.

But... can we assume that language in and of itself really binds these Portuguese speakers, coming from far-flung countries? Or is this "unity" a political and social construct designed to give diverse people from Europe, Africa, and Latin America a common identity—in order to create a sort of pan-ethnic consensus as powerful as the Hispanic/Latino one within New England?

Despite it being such a large linguistic minority, many in the Brazilian immigrant population are counted as Hispanic/Latino, and those from Portugal, Cape Verde, and African countries are scattered among white, black, and other categories in a country where racial categories often trump ethnic or linguistic ones. As Paulo Pinto, executive director of MAPS, said in the same Boston Globe article: "According to U.S. Census data, the Portuguese-speaking community doesn't exist—we are invisible because we are either miscounted or not counted at all. We are not as lucky as our friends in the Hispanic community to have our own category on the forms."

In fact, the "invisibility" of Portuguese-speaking people extends far beyond the situation in southeastern Massachusetts (Adler 1972; Smith 1974; Moniz 2009). They arrive from different continents and span different races, and also have long, complicated colonial and postcolonial historical connections and relationships in other nations. All this poses a challenge for the vigorous movement toward Portuguese-language identification advocated by MAPS, which has enlisted several community partners in social movements and local political action efforts.

MAPS in Place and Time

MAPS, a multiethnic organization with Portuguese-American origins, is based simultaneously on language and place (neighborhoods). As noted, the group

serves people with roots in three ancestries, Portugal, Cape Verde, and Brazil, and has been the main advocate and leader of this identity-making process for more than a decade. The perimeter of this field research is drawn around its various "offices" based in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, with an emphasis on the Portuguese/Brazilian axis of Cambridge/Somerville and the Cape Verdean/Latino/Afro-American axis of Roxbury/Dorchester, where we can find Portuguese-speaking places of public conviviality. Focusing on MAPS and its local embeddeness allows a view into the context of today's urban, multiethnic Boston and its surroundings (Fong and Shibuya 2005), which is an intensively professionalized and well-educated milieu that, over the past four decades, has been transformed from a predominantly white to a diverse multicultural community and from a "mill-based to a mind-based economy" (Bluestone and Stevenson 2000, 8). MAPS, and the area where it operates, offers an excellent opportunity—a rich "urban community laboratory"—for an integrated ethnographic and historical approach to studying this broader metropolitan process. Also, MAPS deserves close analysis for its role in the formation of new ethnic and nonethnic linkages and identities (Glick Schiller and Çaglar 2011, 68) among immigrants and descendants of the Portuguese-speaking, or lusophone, world in the United States.

In fact, Portuguese-speaking immigration to the Boston area, especially to East Cambridge, can be understood through MAPS's own early history. This organization arose from the merger of two local associations of Portuguese Americans, created twenty years ago in Cambridge (Cambridge Street) and in Somerville (Union Square). The mission was to help Portuguese immigrants, who were arriving in large numbers, and also Cape Verdean immigrants, even though they were fewer.

The 1990s was the period of Boston's economic transformation, or "renaissance," in Bluestone and Stevenson's language: "Demographically, the Greater Boston Region has moved from a white ethnocentric to a diverse multicultural community. Industrially, it has been transformed from a mill-based to a mindbased economy. And spatially, the central city has shifted in economic influence from being an all-powerful hub to being part of a true metropolitan area" (Bluestone and Stevenson 2000, 8).

This "multicultural community" has been built through the increase of Hispanics/Latinos and Asians, doubling the minority inhabitants in metro Boston between 1970 and 1990, from 270,000 to 580,000 (Bluestone and Stevenson 2000, 12).

As we have seen, the Portuguese have been seen as a recurrent omission, the invisible minority that never appears either in bibliographies or maps (Rogers 1974). However, this community was "the largest ethnic group in Southeastern Massachusetts [including] those from mainland Portugal, Cape Verdeans, Madeiras and Azoreans. Some are also from Brazil" (Huff 1989, 9). Caroline Brettell details these groups' so-called social invisibility: "The Portuguese were the only southern Europeans who migrated to the United States in large numbers in the later 20th century. . . . [T]hey have settled in and sometimes remade communities from New Jersey to Boston. Yet, despite the so-called 'Portuguese Archipelago' of southeastern Massachusetts, an ethnic enclave in the full sense of the word, the Portuguese have been and . . . remain an 'invisible minority'" (Brettell 2009, 557).

In East Cambridge, however, Portuguese immigrants have been less invisible than elsewhere (Woods and Kennedy 1962, chapter 4). For its part, the Cambridge Organization for Portuguese-Americans (COPA), one of MAPS's predecessors, organized the first Portuguese Congress in America at Harvard University in 1973: "Cambridge is the site of the convention because it holds many of the Portuguese residing in the U.S." The same report continues: "Three hundred Portuguese-Americans will establish the first Congress of the Portuguese in the United States in a three-day convention here this weekend. The congress is intended to provide Portuguese in America with a greater voice in U.S. government affairs, an organizer of the convention said yesterday. Aurelio Torres, director of the Cambridge Organization of Portuguese-Americans (COPA), the organization that is sponsoring the convention . . . [said the event] will publicize Portuguese contributions to American government and culture" (Harvard Crimson, June 1, 1973).

Three days later the Boston Globe reported, "Recognition of the Portuguese community as a minority by the competent authorities—local, state and federal —was demanded in the key resolution passed yesterday in the concluding session of the First Portuguese Congress in America" (June 4, 1973). However, this decision didn't lead to concrete actions because "not all of those present . . . were enamored with defining the Portuguese as a legal minority group" (Moniz 2009, 408). Francis Rogers, for example, a Harvard professor of Portuguese/

Azorean and Irish descent, "worked to successfully derail Portuguese minority status. Part of the argument made to the Congressional delegation was that the Portuguese should not be considered a minority group because the Portuguese were not Hispanics and, unlike other minority groups, they were white" (Moniz 2009, 410). Thus, the Portuguese would largely remain a "forgotten minority," as a two-part Harvard Crimson article of March 1974 detailed.⁴

Along with the 1980s advent of Brazilian immigration, the inflow from Portugal would virtually stop. The 1993 merger of COPA and SPAL to create MAPS indicated—even through the organization's acronym—the area's diversity of Portuguese speakers, as signaled by the Brazilian arrivals into New England, and the Boston area in particular (Martes and Fleisher 2003; Martes and Soares 2006; Sales 2005). The dispersion of Brazilian immigrants transformed awareness of the overall Portuguese-speaking presence in areas such as Somerville, Allston, and East Boston.

In twenty years, MAPS has expanded from two offices, in Cambridge and Somerville, to several—in Boston, Lowell, and Framingham—covering most areas where Portuguese and Kriolu⁵ are spoken by large numbers, including Boston enclaves such as Brazilian Allston and Cape Verdean Dorchester⁶: "... the key Portuguese community organization is the Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS). It has offered some citizenship services intermittently in the last five to seven years, but its main focus is on the provision of social and health services, such as counselling and AIDS education. This focus is a direct result of its funding, which comes from Massachusetts State grants tied to specific social-service goals and from agencies such as the United Way" (Bloemraad 1999, 115).

In recent years, as MAPS's clients have grown more diverse, its staff has followed suit, with Cape Verdean and Brazilian professionals mixing in with Portuguese and Americans. The organization's clients are now chiefly Brazilian, even though it still has important programs for mainly elderly Portuguese.⁷

Among its six offices, two zones are particularly interesting: Cambridge/ Somerville, traditionally cities with heavy Portuguese populations (Ito-Adler 1980) but today with a higher proportion of Brazilians, and Roxbury/Dorchester, largely segregated sections with a major concentration of African Americans, Latinos, and Cape Verdeans (Sieber and Centeio 2010).

Cambridge Street, also known as Portuguese Boulevard (Morgenroth 2001), includes headquarters of MAPS and its 1970s predecessor organization, COPA.

Key community institutions such as St. Anthony's Roman Catholic Church, schools with bilingual programs, restaurants and other businesses, Azorean clubs and associations, and seasonal festivals offer an excellent point of observation from both the ethnographic and ethnohistorical points of view (Adler 1972; Pap 1981). The adjacent city of Somerville is intensively occupied by Brazilians, whose visibility through commercial establishments forms a kind of line of continuity with Cambridge.

In Dorchester, one of Boston's most stigmatized neighborhoods, MAPS engages in intense outreach to assist local residents, in laundries, retailers, bars, and restaurants. A nearby Catholic church, St. Patrick's, numerous evangelical churches, and the Jeremiah Burke High School, with its unique bilingual education programs in Kriolu and English, are part of the present context of this association (Gibau 2009, 466–70).

One of the most impressive features of this neighborhood is the colorful and moving Cape Verdean community murals (Cordeiro, Ferro, and Sieber 2012). Here Portuguese mingles with Kriolu and Spanish.

The PSCCC 2010 Census: Portuguese Speakers versus Latinos?

On July 23, 2009, MAPS executive director Paulo Pinto emailed an invitation to several Portuguese, Brazilian, and Cape Verdean leaders from around the state to join him at the MAPS Cambridge office to organize the "Portuguese-Speaking Complete Count Committee for the 2010 U.S. Census," or PSCCC; he copied the U.S. Census Bureau on the email and received an answer the next day expressing support for the initiative. Five days later, a notice of convocation was sent to the same recipients and signed by some of them.

This was the beginning of the federal campaign of the 2010 Census, and the PSCCC brought together Brazilian, Cape Verdean, and Portuguese community leaders in Massachusetts around the survey of Portuguese-speaking people.

The PSCCC's inaugural meeting in MAPS's Cambridge office on August 20 had twenty-nine community representatives, mostly from MAPS (eleven) but also from the U.S. Census Bureau (two), Brazilian associations (three), news-papers, a TV channel (four), the MIRA coalition (one), an immigrant assistance center (one), a bank, a school; a photographer also attended. At the meeting, led by Pinto, nine subcommittees were created (media, faith-based, regional [in four areas], youth, resources, and outreach) and a date was discussed for the campaign kickoff at the State House. Also discussed was the census boycott

movement led by the director of a local Brazilian association in protest over the situation of undocumented immigrants. Participants also advocated more representation and resources for Portuguese-speaking groups and for the state as a whole. The campaign was launched in three languages: Portuguese, English, and Kriolu. As Paulo Pinto argued: "A 'complete count' is crucial so that Portuguese speakers, and all Massachusetts residents, have full representation in Congress. A full count also has many other benefits, including ensuring that all communities receive enough government funding for vital services and programs that range from highway construction to education, public safety, health and social services."⁸

But the main effort was directed toward informing the community on how to answer the Census questions 8 and 9, referring to race and ethnicity: In order to get a better picture of its communities, the PSCCC was asking Portuguese speakers to answer the race and ethnicity questions as follows (with the following material quoted or paraphrased from the MAPS site): Question 8 (or Question 5 for persons 2 and beyond in the household): Check "No—not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin." Question 9 (or Question 6 for persons 2 and beyond in the household): Check only "Some other race" and write in your ethnic/ancestral background, such as Brazilian, Cape Verdean, Portuguese, etc. in the boxes below.⁹

"Ten years ago, we had a lot of Portuguese speakers who got counted as Latinos," said Pinto. "The Latino population got a huge increase in the Census, but we still don't have a picture of our community."

On December 18, Pinto wrote to K. Ludgate, director of the Boston Regional Census Center, expressing his concern regarding an incorrect translation in the Portuguese version of Form D-60 of the Census Bureau's Language Assistance Guide. The term Latino (person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin) was translated to "Latin American," which includes Brazilians, who, however, could not be included as Latinos:

The delineation of the Hispanic/Latino category as Spanish-speaking is quite clear, and matches the Portuguese-speaking community's understanding that we are not "Latino," as the government uses the term. However, Form D-60 (Portuguese) contradicts this settled definition. D-60 asks: "A pessoa no. I é de origem hispânica, latino-americana ou espanhola?" (Is person number I of Hispanic, Latin-American or Spanish origin?)... Latin-American

is a geographic designation that certainly includes Portuguese-speaking Brazilians.... Other translations of the document reflect the original intent and do not replicate the error. D-60 (Spanish) uses latino and not latinoamericano.... (French, Italian, the same)...

And as Pinto clearly pointed out: "Members of our community have made representations in the past regarding the creation of new categories to describe accurately the nation's Portuguese-speaking populations.... We recognize that such a solution, however desirable, is not possible with respect to the 2010 Census, and we look forward to continuing discussions on that subject in the future. At this time, we are only asking that you and the Bureau consider a very simple revision of Form D-60 to replace 'latino- americana' with 'latina'..."

Signatories of this letter included representatives of MAPS, the Brazilian Women's Group, the University of Massachusetts Lowell, Deputy Director, City of Boston, and the AC (representatives of Brazilian, Cape Verdean, and Portuguese associations). On January 4, 2010, the language in the guide was changed.

This claim was accepted in Jan 4 and the Guide text changed.

Unfortunately, the counting of the Portuguese speakers was late in getting started, but the seeds were sown, and MAPS pursued the Portuguese-speaking cause as the major broker in Massachusetts on this issue. This is still an open story.

Misunderstandings of the Meaning of Portuguese

The Portuguese-speaking case in Massachusetts offers a useful prism for thinking about identity creation, as related to ethnicity, race, and nationhood, in U.S. society (Cornell and Hartmann 1998; Brubaker 2009). The U.S. Census has a crucial role in this fabric (Schor, 2009).

In some ways, it can be difficult to fit Portuguese-speaking communities into one category within standard North American ethnic/racial or national categories. The origins of these Portuguese-speaking people are on three different continents: Europe, Africa, and South America/Latin America, with a contrasting history of waves of settlement in the host society—an early Portuguese and Cape Verdean immigration to a nineteenth- and early-to-mid-twentieth-century industrialized U.S. society, concentrated in some regions (Rhode Island, southeastern Massachusetts, Cambridge and Somerville); and a more recent Brazilian immigration to a postindustrial society, scattered all over metro Boston and

beyond. The colonial and migratory history of these populations is represented in still-vivid memories of Portuguese colonialism in Cape Verde, and negative stereotypes of Portuguese immigrants in Brazil stronger than colonial memories. The racial diversity among whites, African Americans, and Latinos seems to explode within the Portuguese-speaking case: Cape Verdeans once fit mainly in Portuguese and European boxes but then in recent decades took on an African identity with Portuguese as an official national language. Brazilians from Latin America fall outside the Latino box because their language is not Spanish. In addition, some Brazilians are of African descent, "black" in the U.S. and sometimes in the Brazilian context. Finally, Portuguese descendants are of European descent even though they are losing their Portuguese-language skills.

In other ways, we are faced with some paradoxical features concerning the uses and representations of Portuguese language on U.S. land. It seems that those who are the most intensive Portuguese speakers have reservations about being identified as such because of the implications of Portuguese culture or ethnicity (Martes 2000, 170–76). The semantic problem that emerges is that Portuguese is both a language and a nationality. Portugal, besides its colonial and postcolonial history, is still a poor, small country, peripheral in Europe, with a deep history of immigration not only to the United States but also to Europe and, nowadays, to Brazil again. Portuguese therefore refers to a people of low profile, an invisible and forgotten minority in U.S. terms—in large part, because of its lack of political skills and capability to create its own positive identity.

Maybe we have to consider the Portuguese language as a sort of bone of contention among various identities and sensibilities. To share one language may be necessary, but it is not sufficient for building cohesiveness. The PSCCC Census 2010 effort proposed a new component for the landscape of Massachusetts ethnic differentiation—leading to an exploration of the interactive relationships between "we" and "others," both inside and outside Portuguese-speaking populations, in order to better understand how different political and ideological positions, representations, opinions, and sensibilities produce remarkable contrasts regarding nationhood, ethnicity, and race on American soil (Brubaker, 2009). These identities are shaped by a complex set of intertwined social structures and circumstances, such as migratory experiences, social mobility, and "pathways of incorporation that reflected the dynamic between locality and hierarchies of power" (Glick Schiller 2005, 61). We need to explore better the context of the city (Rollwagen 1975; Brettell 2003) and how local urban history intermingles with U.S. Census dynamics, which eventually shape new ethnic, nonethnic, or "para-ethnic" identities that emerge by "an interaction between assignment—what others say we are—and assertion—who or what we claim to be" (Cornell and Hartmann 1998, 72: based on Ito-Adler 1980).

Finally, this research seeks to link the following aspects that are present in these somehow "composite realities" but usually not connected in studies related to Portuguese-speaking communities:

- I. The role of the language in the drawing of ethnic and racial boundaries —language as communication, with all its varieties, but also as representation. How is this common language perceived? Does it contribute to the making of a sense of community or, on the contrary, do its varieties and disparate cultural heritages build a separation between them? How does each "community" with the Portuguese label fit? Is the label comfortable for Brazilians? Does it work for Cape Verdeans? What kind of role does Kriolu play in this process? Language is identity, and Kriolu is the Cape Verdean mother tongue, so—what representation does the official language of Cape Verde have in Massachusetts?
- 2. An interactive approach to Portuguese-speaking populations trying to fill the gap between immigration processes from Portugal (mostly from the Azores), the Cape Verde Islands, and Brazil. Studies of Portuguese, Cape Verdean, and Brazilian "communities" are normally separate and seldom have examined the interactions and intersections within and beyond them. The recent struggle for the cultural, ethnic, or linguistic awareness of what Portuguese means in American society shows that this academic fragmentation does not help us understand the complexity of these composite social movements.
- 3. A more nuanced place-based view of the urban context, requiring consideration of two complementary scales, the metropolitan (metro Boston) and the neighborhood/street (East Cambridge, Somerville, Roxbury/Dorchester). These urban contexts offer keys to understanding social mobility in Portuguese-speaking populations and how local identity affects the complex heritage of social representations and stereotypes that make up social classifications and categorizations. The local urban ambiance likewise must be examined as a crucial variable in that ethno-genesis process. In this sense, more than merely

a place where immigrants arrive, the city is a place of transformation, innovation, and cultural emergence, constantly moving and being reshaped. In this regard, we want to pursue a kind of "urban anthropology of social change," attentive mainly to the dynamics of collaboration and competition that make the city the best place to grasp innovation and sociocultural creativity (Agier 2009; Velho 2010).

I believe MAPS offers a window to understanding the migratory history of Portuguese-speaking peoples and the way it has been shaped by institutional environments and networks of political alliances—in particular, how individuals have shaped and been shaped by social processes, wherein leaders have played a crucial part in building links among nonprofit organizations and community-based organizations, government, political parties, and so on (Donzelot, 2003). The intertwined relations between the political and organizational environment, through community development oriented by small ethnic and immigrant associations as well as other powerful organizations, have been instrumental in the making of that Portuguese-speaking community.

Furthermore, this development should be integrated within more recent internationalization of the Portuguese language, considered today one of the six major world languages, ever closer to the cases of English and Spanish (Reto 2009)—partly due to the demographic and economic growth in Brazil and some African countries. This region, where Portuguese is the second most spoken foreign language and where a new language-based social movement has emerged, is a case that deserves thorough study.

NOTES

1. This article is based on a paper presented at the Thirty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Social Science History Association, held in Boston, Massachusetts, November 17–20, 2011. I am very grateful for Ariel Salzmann's commentaries at the session "Racial Identity, Culture, and Media," at which this paper was presented.

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2. The field research took place over two periods since 2009: first, during a sixmonth period (January–June 2009), supported by an FCT scholarship, and then during a one-month stay in July 2011; this second stay was accompanied by exploratory historical research, conducted by Frederic Vidal. I acknowledge with gratitude FLAD for the financial aid that made that research possible.

3. http://www.boston.com/jobs/diversityfall_07/an_immigration_phenomenon.

4. Peter A. Landry, "Cambridge's Forgotten Minority: The Portuguese Community Walks a Tightrope of Assimilation," Harvard Crimson, March 22, 1974.

5. Kriolu, a language composed from older Portuguese and African languages, is, as noted, the Cape Verdian mother tongue; nevertheless, the country's official language is Portuguese.

6. In 1993, offices opened in Cambridge (formerly COPA) and Somerville (formerly SPAL); 1995, Allston (Boston); 1997, Lowell; 2001, Dorchester; 2006, Framingham.

7. "Elder Services," Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), accessed October 10, 2011, from http://www.maps-inc.org/services/elder-services/.

8. "Portuguese Speakers Launch Statewide Complete Count Committee for 2010 U.S. Census," Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), accessed October 10, 2011, from http://www.maps-inc.org/press-releases/portuguese-speakers-launch-state wide-complete-count-committee-for-2010-us-census/.

9. "Key Facts about the Census and the PSCCC," Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), accessed October 10, 2011, from http://www.maps-inc.org/our -community/census2010/key-facts/.

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