Migração e Desenvolvimento

CENTRO SCALABRINIANO DE ESTUDOS MIGRATÓRIOS

Artigos

MEDIATING INTEGRATION: LATINO IMMIGRANT ORGANIZATIONS IN GREATER BOSTON*

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In recent years scholars have debated the role of immigrant organizations in the processes of integration, political incorporation, and transnational activities (for example, Huntington 2004; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Bloemraad 2006; Portes, Escobar and Walton 2006). The current research adds to this discussion through a case study of selected immigrant organizations from Greater Boston's largest Latino immigrant communities. Through qualitative interviews with leaders of immigrant organizations we found that connections and alliances matter for integration. Immigrant-led organizations are unique because of their leadership and proximity to the community. Even groups focused on cultural, religious, and transnational activities serve as informal mediators in the integration process. They provide practical information, support, and connections to mainstream society. Our findings inform how local

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governments can leverage the position of immigrant organizations to build social and human capital in marginalized communities. Working with these informal networks allows the government to increase the efficiency and quality of its outreach to immigrants.
Keywords: Integration; Immigration Organizations; Transnationalism

The experience of foreign-born residents in the United States is closely linked with major urban areas. Throughout U.S. history, immigrants have tended to settle in large cities in search of economic opportunities. As a result, major cities have played a critical role in the assimilation and incorporation of newcomers into the United States. Immigration in the United States has gone through several significant changes over the years. Between 1850 and 1910, the portion of the U.S. population that was foreign-born increased at a steady pace. The vast majority of these immigrants hailed from European countries – increasingly from eastern and southern Europe. After that, U.S. immigration policy changed. Immigration laws in 1921 and 1924 resulted in a substantial reduction in the number of immigrants allowed into the country.

In 1965, the United States significantly liberalized its immigration policy. First, the nation increased the number of immigrants allowed into the country each year. In addition, the quota system – which had favored northern European countries – was abandoned. Preference was given to immigrants with family members in the United States, people who had work skills that were in demand, and political refugees. The two main results of the change in policy were a dramatic increase in the proportion of foreign-born residents in the United States (observed since the 1970 Census) and increased diversity in the places of origin for newcomers, particularly Asia and Latin America.[1] To illustrate this second change, between 1910 and 1960, 93% of immigrants to the U.S. originated from Europe and North America. In contrast, 66% of immigrants to the U.S. between 1970 and 2000 came from Latin America or Asia. These trends translate into significant changes in the racial and ethnic composition of major U.S. cities. Additionally, these demographic shifts create significant challenges for immigrants from Latin America and Asia, who face considerable barriers to entry into political, social, and economic structures of U.S. society. This marginalization leads to serious consequences for both immigrants and the broader community. This paper focuses on the potential strategies for dealing with this marginalization. Specifically, this paper considers the role that immigrant organizations play in advocating for and incorporating newcomers to the

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The experience of foreign-born residents in the United States is closely linked with major urban areas. Throughout U.S. history, immigrants have tended to settle in large cities in search of economic opportunities. As a result, major cities have played a critical role in the assimilation and incorporation of newcomers into the United States. Immigration in the United States has gone through several significant changes over the years. Between 1850 and 1910, the portion of the U.S. population that was foreign-born increased at a steady pace. The vast majority of these immigrants hailed from European countries – increasingly from eastern and southern Europe. After that, U.S. immigration policy changed. Immigration laws in 1921 and 1924 resulted in a substantial reduction in the number of immigrants allowed into the country.

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U.S. Additionally, this paper considers the role of immigrant organizations in transnational activities and how transnationalism[2] reinforces integration.[3] These issues are pursued by examining the largest Latino immigrant groups in the Greater Boston region.

Assimilation vs. integration

First, it is important to discuss some of the key concepts that have shaped the immigration discourse in the United States throughout the various waves of immigration. These concepts are important to the general discussion of immigrant organizations in the U.S. and the role they play in their respective communities.

Shortly after the first major wave of immigration at the turn of the 20th century, scholars coined the term "assimilation" to describe the social processes resulting from immigration.[4] In this process, the newcomers primarily absorbed and adopted the ways of the receiving society, but also exerted some influence over that society. This later turned into the concept of the "melting pot".[5] Assimilation entailed a relatively normative view of the receiving society. It worked under the assumption that immigrants would benefit by conforming to the norms in their new community. This would happen organically over time, and would contribute to the immigrants' upward mobility.

Numerous critiques of assimilation theory arose throughout the 1960s alongside the civil rights movement.[6] The current prevailing theory is that of multiculturalism.[7] This presents the U.S. as a multicultural society with increasingly blurred boundaries.[8] In this view, it is possible to maintain one's original culture while participating in the new culture. Popularly, Americans refer to this concept as a "salad bowl", as opposed to the earlier

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[2] Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc in their book Nations Unbound define transnationalism as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders. Immigrants who develop and maintain multiple relationships – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span borders we call 'transmigrants.'"

[3] Cf. FAIST, Thomas. *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces*.

[4] Cf. GLAZER, Nathan. "Is Assimilation Dead?"; ALBA, Richard; NEE, Victor. *Remaking the American Mainstream*: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration.

[5] Cf. *ibidem*.

[6] The strongest criticism regarding "assimilation" is that it presupposes a "normative American."

[7] Cf. FIX, Michael; ZIMMERMAN, Wendy; PASSEL, Jeff. *The Integration of Immigrant Families in the United States*; BEAN, Frank; STEVENS, Gillian. *America's Newcomers and the Dynamics of Diversity*.

[8] Cf. *ibidem*.

"melting pot" metaphor. A more recent framework attempting to understand these social processes is what migration scholars call transnationalism – the interpretation that people's interests and identities span borders.

Directly associated with the notion of multiculturalism are the concepts of integration and incorporation. Petsod[9] describes integration as a "dynamic, two-way process in which newcomers and the receiving society work together to build secure, vibrant, and cohesive communities … reaping shared benefits and creating a new whole that is greater than the sum of its parts." Incorporation can be understood as participation in mainstream social, economic, and political system to reduce social exclusion. In general, incorporation refers to participation in systems, whereas "integration" refers to a more holistic social process. Integration assumes successful incorporation because it is impossible, at least positively, to contribute to the receiving societies as marginal populations.

Current research suggests that immigrant organizations play a unique role in multiculturalism, transnationalism, integration, and incorporation, as defined above. Some have criticized immigrant organizations for allegedly fostering civic detachment and political inactivity in relation to the host country.[10] More recently, though, scholars tend to view the role of immigrant organization on integration in a more favorable light.[11] Immigrants in general tend to form organizations, and these organizations fulfill important functions for the immigrant communities. Scholars have argued that immigrant organizations are critical for immigrant incorporation because they serve as initial mediators between immigrant communities and the host society. In particular immigrant organizations contribute to immigrant political incorporation – which, in the United States, has often been more a collective than an individual endeavor among newcomers.

The current research attempts to look at the impact of immigrant organizations on integration in the Greater Boston region. Few U.S. cities typify the demographic changes discussed earlier in the paper more than Boston, Massachusetts, which throughout its history has served as a gateway city for immigrants. This is not surprising for a major urban area, but Boston stands out among the largest cities in the United States in the proportion

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[9] Cf. PETSOD, Daranee (ed). *Investing in Our Communities*: Strategies for Immigrant Integration.
[10] E.g. HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. *The Hispanic Challenge*.
[11] Cf. ROSENBLUM, Gerald. *Immigrant Workers*: Their Impact on American Radicalism; PORTES, Alejandro; RUMBAUT, Ruben. *Immigrant America*: A Portrait; BLOEMRAAD, Irene. *Becoming a Citizen*: Incorporating Immigrants and Refugees in the United States and Canada; PORTES, Alejandro; ESCOBAR, Cristina; WALTON RADFORD, Alexandra. "Immigrant Transnational Organizations and Development: A Comparative".

of its population that is foreign-born. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, Boston is currently the 21st largest city in the United States with just over 609,000 residents. However, among the 25 largest cities in the country, Boston has the 5th largest proportion of foreign-born residents. Of note too are the major cities with a larger proportion of foreign-born residents than Boston: Los Angeles, San Jose, San Francisco and New York. Other than New York City, which is well-known for its diverse population, the major cities with a larger proportion of foreign-born residents than Boston are located in California, a "border" state.

Overall, the general demographic makeup of Boston has changed a great deal over the last three decades. In 1980, close to 70% of Boston identified themselves as white. By 1990, that number dropped to 59%, with a significant increase in the proportion of Latinos and Asians as compared to 1980. By 2007, Boston's white population had dropped to just under half of the city's total population.

In short, between 1980 and 2007, the proportion of Boston's white population decreased almost 20 percentage points. During this time, the Black/African American share of the population stayed fairly consistent. The bulk of the change in the racial and ethnic composition of Boston happened in the Latino and Asian communities. Between 1980 and 2007, the proportion of Bostonians who identified themselves as Latino more than doubled. The Asian population saw a similar type of increase, jumping from 3% of Boston's population in 1980 to 8% in 2007.

Like the United States in general, Boston has experienced a dramatic increase in its foreign-born population in recent decades. In 1970, approximately 15% of Boston was foreign-born. Today, almost 29% of the city's total population is foreign-born. This recent wave of immigration, similar to that of the U.S. as a whole, is particularly shaped by Latin American and Asian immigrants. Since 1990, approximately two thirds of Boston's immigrants have come from either Latin America or Asia. These population trends make Boston an ideal location for a case study of immigrant organizations and integration.

Research objectives

The main goal of this research project was to conduct a detailed study of the organizations created by Latin American immigrants in the Greater Boston region. The project gathered information concerning the total number of organizations in the area; the type, size, objectives and activities of these organizations; their sources of funding; and their orientation (toward the United States, toward the country of origin, or both).

A second objective was to see what role these organizations play in the social and political incorporation of immigrants into American society. It is well-documented that grassroots activism and organized groups play a decisive role in the political orientation of immigrant communities and in the pace and direction of their incorporation.[12] Studies on Latino immigrant organizations in the United States have confirmed these findings[13] and have also shown that organizations play a critical role as agents of incorporation of immigrants into the United States. Moreover, the orientation of some organizations toward the sending country does not preclude successful integration of its members into American society.[14]

A third objective of this project was to examine the relationship between immigrant organizations and state and city policies, and thereby to consider the potential roles immigrant organizations might play in future city programs for immigrants. Three factors have been found to contribute significantly to the shaping of immigrant association: migration patterns, demographic characteristics (rural or urban origin, level of education, etc.), and political opportunity structure (laws, policies, political parties, political culture, etc.) of both the country of origin and the country of residence.[15] Scholars contend that state and city policies play a critical role in promoting and shaping immigrant organizations, as well as the political opportunities for newcomers to the US.[16]

One of the main arguments made by policy analysts and academics is that state-specific programs in support of immigrants actually promote organizations, and through them, civic engagement and political incorporation of immigrants. At the national level, besides the specific programs supporting refugee settlement, there is no consistent federal "immigrant policy" in the United States. By default, policies concerning immigrants have fallen to states and cities, which have dealt with the immigration issues in various ways.[17] Massachusetts, a state that has historically received a large number of immigrants, had one of the most progressive approaches to immigrants in the 1980s but since the early 1990s has cut back on many of the programs; its policies now resemble those of other states.[18] Our research allows for an

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[12] Cf. DAHL, Robert A. *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in the American City*; ROSENBLUM, Gerald, *op. cit.*; PORTES, Alejandro; RUMBAUT, Ruben, *op. cit.*; BLOEMRAAD, Irene, *op. cit.*

[13] Cf. PORTES, Alejandro; ESCOBAR, Cristina; WALTON RADFORD, Alexandra, *op. cit.*

[14] Cf. PORTES, Alejandro; ESCOBAR, Cristina; ARANA, Renelinda "Bridging the Gap: Transnational and Ethnic Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Immigrants in the United States".

[15] Cf. SCHOVER, Marlou; VERMEULEN, Floris. "Immigrant Organisations".

[16] BLOEMRAAD, Irene, *op. cit.*, p. 103-106.

[17] Cf. GLAZER, Nathan, *op. cit.*

[18] Cf. ZIMMERMANN, Wendy; FIX, Michael. "Immigrant Policy in the United States: A Wavering Welcome".

evaluation of whether or not these policy changes have affected immigrant organizations in Boston.

Methods

Our research focused on the four largest Latin American communities in Greater Boston: Brazilian, Colombian, Dominican, and Salvadoran. The research also examined groups that were geared toward Latinos in a general sense rather than to a specific ethnic group.

The research involved several steps: conducting informal interviews with Latino leaders, building an inventory of existing Latino immigrant organizations in Greater Boston, and conducting qualitative interviews with the directors of selected immigrant organizations in the region.

We selected a diverse group of 28 organizations to interview, distributed among Brazilian, Colombian, Dominican, Salvadoran, and pan-Latino organizations. We later classified these organizations by the nature of their activities. Figure 1 is a breakdown of classifications for the entire population of Latino-led organizations we found in Greater Boston.

Organization leaders were asked a battery of questions about the operation of their organizations, including relationships with other organizations, relationship with their home country, services provided, funding, and key challenges facing the organization.

Figure 1 – population of Latino-led immigrant organizations in Greater Boston

| Population of Latino-Led Immigrant Organizations in Greater Boston	
Social Service:	32
Civic/Cultural:	16
Hometown Committee:	15
Political:	5
Religious:	4
Professional Dev:	3
Economic Dev:	3
Community Dev:	2
Other:	6
Total Latino-Led Orgs:	**86**

Note: The religious organizations do not include churches per se but do include social organizations linked to them.

We labeled the organizations by how transnational their activities are, and whether they provide services directly. These classifications are useful for understanding the scope and character of immigrant organizations in the field, and for comparing different types of organizations to one another. Of course, these classifications are not mutually exclusive. Every organization is either a service provider or a non-service provider, and it also has some classification based on the scale of transnationalism. We defined a group as a service provider if it offered direct services such as youth development, adult basic education, ESOL, legal services, citizenship classes, and the like. In this study, a non-service provider is a group that could be classified as a cultural, religious, civic, economic, political, sports-oriented, advocacy group; a hometown association (HTA); or a foundation. Such a group does not provide formal social services. All groups were placed in one of three categories regarding transnationalism: transnational, somewhat transnational, or non-transnational. Transnational organizations are organizations that primarily or entirely focus in the country of origin. An HTA, for example, is a grassroots group that gathers expatriates in support of their hometown in the country of origin. A somewhat transnational organization is primarily U.S.-focused but carries out some activities in the country of origin, such as youth exchanges or cultural trainings. Non-transnational organizations are groups that are entirely oriented toward the U.S. These are mainly community based organizations (CBOs) and service providers.

Results I: role in integration

In a series of opinion questions, immigrant leaders were asked to assess their organizations' roles in the process of integration. As shown in Figure 2, the overwhelming majority, 82%, felt that they helped the community integrate into American life. There may be some bias in these responses, in that the leaders were speaking to researchers working on behalf of the government. They may have assumed we were looking for a "yes" answer, or they may simply feel proud of their accomplishments in the community. Either way, this indicates a desire to be active in the immigration process, which in itself is a finding. Nearly 11% of these leaders were unsure of their role in integration, saying they did not know whether they had an impact or not. Only 7% thought they had no impact; all of these people were leaders of hometown associations whose work was focused overseas.

Figure 3 – Do you help the community integrate economically?

Do you help the community integrate economically?

- No 14%
- Don't Know 7%
- Yes 79%
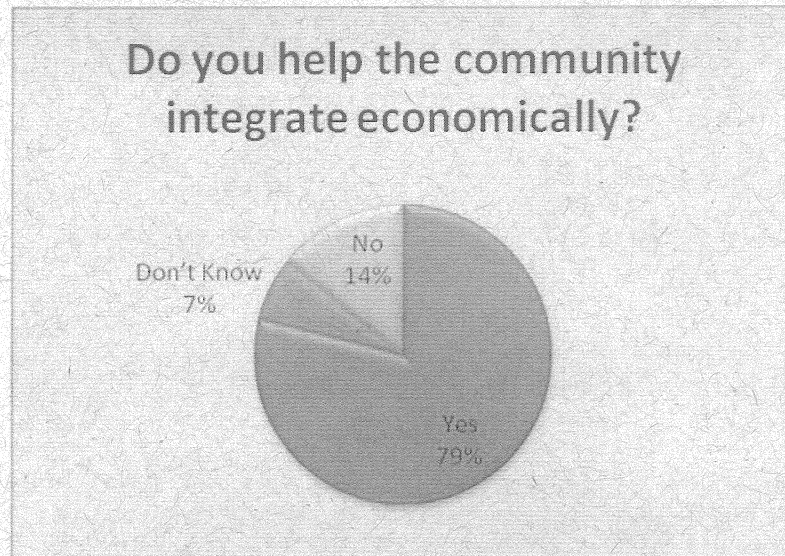
We continued to see positive responses when we narrowed the question to economic integration. Working from their own definitions of economic integration, many leaders cited GED and ESOL training as vehicles for economic improvement, and thus integration. However, as shown in Figure 3, the share of "no" answers grows to 14%. In particular, leaders of the HTAs did not feel they had an impact on economic integration.

A final question about integration asked whether leaders felt that belonging to an immigrant organization slowed down the path to citizenship in any way. This question draws from a debate in the literature over whether contact with same-language, same-culture groups is a detriment to integration in the new society. Some may view participation in a group of immigrant peers as antithetical to the vision of a "melting pot." Over 89% of leaders said that participation in their organization did not slow down the acquisition of citizenship. The other 10% said they did not know whether they had an impact on citizenship. Nobody said that participating in their group would detract from obtaining citizenship. Several groups referred back to their citizenship classes or involvement in immigrant rights and get-out-the-vote drives as evidence of their positive relationship with citizenship. Many groups explained that it is entirely possible to become a citizen of the U.S. while maintaining strong ties to their country of origin. A good number of these leaders personally exemplify this type of transnationalism.

Based on the opinions of the immigrant leaders, IOs may have an important role in integration. According to their reports, their impact comes from the way they foster connections among their ethnic communities and with the mainstream U.S. society. Local government could tap into this model of success, recognizing the potential for building further social capital and network bonds. We will discuss this idea further in my set of recommendations, but first we should look at what the existing relationship is between government and our sample of Latino immigrant organizations.

Results II - relationships with state and local government

Although the sample size is small, it is interesting to examine the relationships between immigrant organizations and state and local government. They encompass a diverse set of interests and origins, and their experiences illustrate different perspectives on the process of immigrant integration. Sharing their on-ground knowledge could inform policymakers and shape future partnerships.

A remarkable 75% of our sample reported contact with government officials, whether at the municipal, state, or federal level (Figure 4). This ranged from elected officials to administrators in police departments, public schools, parks, and libraries. Not surprisingly, over 90% of service providers were in communication with the government. Many of them have formal contracts and programs with the Department of Education, the Department of Public Health, or their municipal counterparts.

A more counterintuitive result was that 60% of organizations with primarily transnational activities also maintained relationships with U.S. government entities. This shows that even organizations oriented toward their home countries are developing relationships with their new government. For example, a hometown association led by Dominicans has an arrangement with local fire department to send retired trucks and ambulances to villages in the Dominican Republic. In another case, a Salvadoran HTA organized a "sister city" relationship between the hometown in El Salvador and the host town in Greater Boston. The leader of this group has developed a relationship with the mayor, the police department, and the public school system. He serves as an informal liaison to the Salvadoran community.

**Figure 4 – organizations reporting contact with government officials**
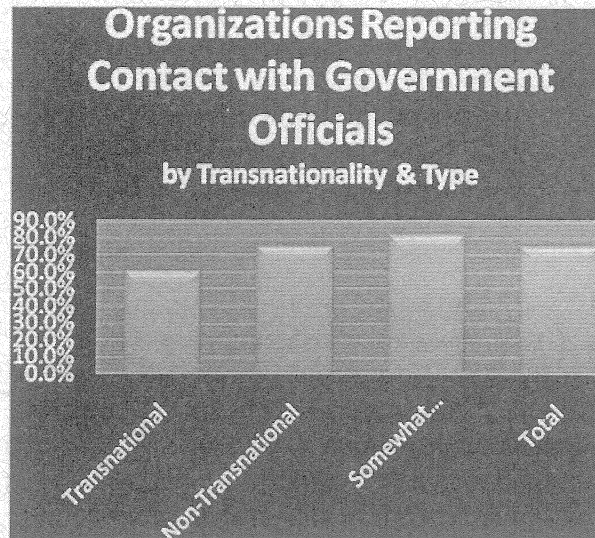
Familiarity with government programs

After asking them to characterize their relationships, we asked whether they were familiar with any city or state services for immigrants. All service providers easily indicated familiarity with government offerings. Figure 5 shows there is a large gap between transnational organizations and non-transnational organizations. Only 40% of transnational organizations have heard of services for immigrants offered by the city or state. There is room for improvement here. Though they are not traditional avenues for outreach, they do have notable networks of active immigrant members.

Of the organizations that had heard of city services, 68% specifically listed the Mayor's Office of New Bostonians when prompted for an example. This includes several organizations located outside of Boston, particularly in nearby suburbs like Somerville and Everett. Only 10% of organizations named the Massachusetts Office of Refugees and Immigrants, which likely indicates this agency's history of focusing on refugees instead of immigrants.

**Figure 5 – organizations reporting familiarity with city
and state programs for immigrants**
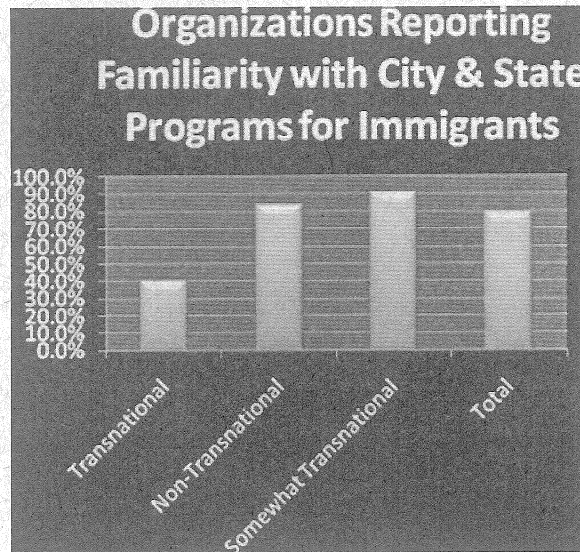
As a follow-up question, we asked organizational leaders how they heard about the government services they identified. Their responses tell an important story about networks, revealing how personal contacts are central to disseminating information. Over 27% of organizations named a specific person who gave them information about government services. Another 32% did not specify an individual, but referred to a "people to people network," the "grapevine," and "connections." Together, this makes 59% of organizations that heard about government services for immigrants through personal contacts. By contrast, less than 14% of organizations got their information directly from the government agency itself. The remainder – a significant proportion – could not specify how they had heard about services.

Despite numerous contacts with government officials, as reported in the previous section, the majority of the leaders in the sample attribute their familiarity with services to personal contacts. This may suggest that the government should work to improve the quality of its contacts with immigrant organizations. Simply having contact between government agencies and immigrant organizations does not, by itself, result in the sharing of information about programs and services that affect immigrants.

Relationship with other organizations

In order to explore the networks these organizations have access to, we asked an open-ended question about whether they maintain contact with other organizations. Figure 6 shows that only 11% reported not having regular contact with other entities, while 89% of them maintain a relationship with at least one other peer organization. On average, organizations reported having regular contact with six other organizations.

Figure 6 – organizations reporting close contact with other NPOs
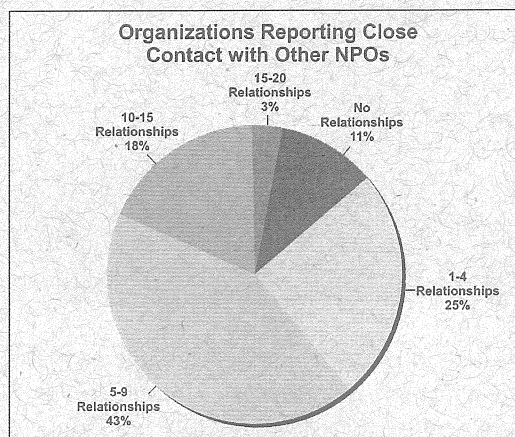

When asked to specify who their relationships were with, the organizations reported a diverse set of contacts. Many listed churches and universities as informal partners. The service providers often listed the Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (MIRA) and a handful of peer organizations. Others mentioned health centers and community development corporations. Considering this variety of contacts together with the range of government contacts, it seems that the majority of the organizations in our sample have a broad network of connections.

Relationships among organizations

As we have seen thus far in our findings, immigrant organizations have connections to their communities, to the government, and to each other. The relationships among organizations illustrate how they connect and share information and projects. Economic, political, and social incorporation can occur through these ties. Figure 7 illustrates an immigrant organization with a near-average amount of contacts within the non-profit sector. The descriptions are used to mask their identities.

Figure 7 – Illustration immigrant organization contacts
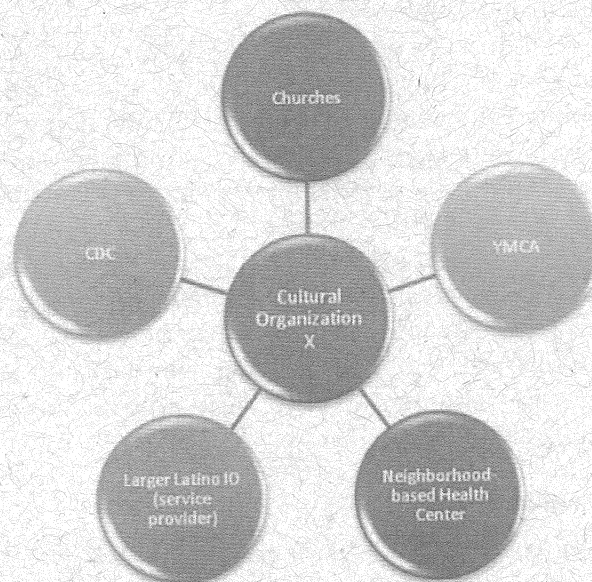
It is interesting to note the variety of organizations in the cluster. They are not the typical connections one would imagine for a cultural organization (such as arts councils, performance groups, etc). These particular connections are primarily neighborhood-based, despite the extensive reach of the cultural organization itself. The diversity of leadership, mission, and activity of the organizations in this immigrant organization's network could be beneficial for integration.

Relationships through organizations

Immigrant organizations also connect to one another through other organizations. There are several networks and umbrella groups that bring together organizations with similar activities, whether cultural, religious, youth-oriented, or political. These ties tend to be more formal than the re-lationships among organizations, but contact may be less personal and less frequent. Yet they exemplify the nodal aspect of networks, where certain organizations act as hubs of information and activity.

The MIRA coalition, which advocates on the behalf of immigrant issues at the local, state, and federal levels, is perhaps the largest and most influential of these organizations. MIRA, for example, is a key partner in Governor Patrick's New Americans Initiative. MIRA is a membership or-ganization, but its influence reaches far beyond its member list. Several

of the immigrant organizations interviewed cited MIRA as an organization they maintain a relationship with.

These relationships through organizations could be invaluable conduits of integration. They represent different and overlapping layers of proximity to immigrant communities. Because of hubs like MIRA, there are very few degrees of separation between the government and immigrants. Leveraging the power of these networks would be efficient and effective way to implement incorporation policies.

Throughout our interviews with immigrant organizations, we learned that regardless of their activities and mission, they share a relatively common vision for educating their communities and increasing their participation in U.S. social, political, and economic systems. The next step is to examine what type of government innovation can help channel this energy into a strategy for immigrant incorporation.

Conclusions and next steps

Our purpose in interviewing Latino immigrant-led organizations was to find out what type of work they provide to their communities, and what impact they might have on integration. We found that connections matter. Participation in immigrant organizations seems to strengthen bonds across communities (e.g., Colombian to mainstream U.S.-born) and within communities (e.g., Colombian to Colombian). In both instances, proximity and contact encourage information sharing.

The evidence gleaned from our interviews suggests that immigrant organizations are worthy of government attention. They are uniquely positioned to reach marginalized communities. Government agencies can establish links to these immigrant organizations and leverage them as resources for incorporation. Importantly, we found that both service providers and non-service providers play a key role in integration, and that non-service providers would be an excellent group for new, targeted government outreach.

Larger questions resulting from this phase of our research have to do with how communities, organizations, and government can create innovative strategies for immigrant incorporation. In order to create successful strategies, policy makers and community leaders need to adhere to the most important insight resulting from this research, namely, that integration occurs through community connections (across and within communities) and organizational connections (among and through organizations). Understanding these connections – their local and transnational structures, their strength, and the value flows between them – is crucial to this task.

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Resumo

Mediadores do processo de integração: organizações de imigrantes latinos na Grande Boston

Nos últimos anos, estudiosos têm debatido o papel das organizações de imigrantes no processo de integração, incorporação política e transnacional (por exemplo, Huntington 2004; Portes e Rumbaut 2006; Bloemraad 2006; Portes, Escobar e Walton 2006). Este projeto acrescenta a esta discussão através de um estudo de caso focado num grupo de organizações das maiores comunidades imigrantes latinas da Grande Boston. Através de entrevistas qualitativas com líderes destas organizações, descobrimos que conexões e alianças são fundamentais no processo integração. Organizações de imigrantes têm caracteres únicos devido à sua liderança e proximidade com a comunidade. Mesmo os grupos focados em atividades culturais, religiosas e atividades transnacionais servem como mediadores informais no processo de integração. Eles fornecem informações práticas, apoio e ligações a sociedade mainstream. Os resultados da pesquisa em questão informam como governos locais podem alavancar o trabalho das organizações de imigrantes para construir capital social e humano nas comunidades marginalizadas. Trabalhar com essas redes informais permite ao governo aumentar a eficiência e a qualidade da sua atuação junto à populações imigrantes.

Palavras-chave: Integração; Organizações de imigrantes; Transnacionalismo