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Organized Immigrant Resources and Aspirations at the City Level of the Host Country - the Case of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa

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This article looks at the Brazilian migrant association founded in 1992, functioning in the capital of Portugal, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa. Its origin is connected to the period of the first numerous stream of Brazilians coming to Portugal, the colonizer of their homeland in former times. Knowing that migrant networks are of great value to the process of immigrants' integration into a host society – and a local community as well - Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is very active in this field. For instance, in partnership with the Lisbon City Council, this association offers guidance on the legalization of stay, and access to public and private services in Portugal. However, a large number of tasks undertaken by Casa do Brasil de Lisboa go far beyond this kind of guidance. Two editions of the project Migrante Participa (Migrant Participates) are a clear illustration of it. Each edition created opportunities to meet, gain knowledge, and share opinions on migratory process issues in the context of Portugal and Lisbon as well, encouraging political participation at the local level, for example. Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is also active in the field of culture, promoting Brazilian artists. What is more, this association is not closed for other nationalities and collaborates with various entities. To be more specific, therefore, the focus of this text is on presenting Casa do Brasil de Lisboa as a dynamic immigrant association working on increasing the level of integration and reducing the phenomenon of individual marginalization within the Lisbon community. As a theoretical framework of this text serves the concept of immigrants' integration of Rinus Penninx.

Key words: Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, immigrant association, Brazilians in Lisbon, integration

At the start, there are a few fundamental points to make, setting the discussed subject in the context of a country level.

First, Portugal and Brazil are the kinds of countries where migration ties, marked by the yoke of colonialism, are impossible to go unnoticed. Initially treated most of all

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as a source of valuable brazilwood, (pau-brasil)² the land of the arrival of the expedition led by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500³ was gradually becoming more and more subordinate to and exploited by Portugal. Spurred to it by the Spanish and French activities aimed at taking advantage of profitable trading, Portugal developed the colonization process of Brazil. Until the end of the 40s of the 16th century, coastal Brazil (from Pernambuco to Santos) was inhabited by approximately 2,000 Portuguese – which constitutes a substantial figure. 10,000 Portuguese lived at that time in the larger and more lucrative for colonist areas of Asia. (Portugal had a population of 2 million then). Since the Portuguese Crown had a monopoly on the brazilwood trade, just as in spice and medicinal plants, the settled-down in Brazil Portuguese developed agriculture and the cane sugar industry then (de Oliveira Margues 1987: 240-241, 244). That industry, however, was not driven by the Portuguese but by slave labour. The owners of sugar mills had direct relations with the Guinea coast to make slaves out of Africans to work on Brazilian plantations. This practice resulted in the creation of a specific connection between these countries (Saraiva 2000: 166; de Oliveira Marques 1987: 258). Moreover, historians estimate that about 38% of the transatlantic slave trade at the end of the 18th century was under Portuguese control (Nogueira da Silva, Grinberg 2011: 432). After the wood, and then sugar export, shipments of gold and diamonds left Brazil, over which Portugal retained its suzerainty until 1822 (Higgs 1990: 11). At this point, it should be noted that the myth of the good Portuguese colonists fulfilling a civilizing mission is still functioning, which does not have a positive impact on everyday Portuguese-Brazilian relations (Barrucho 2017).

Second, it is the Brazilians who constitute the largest immigrant community in Portugal, according to 2019 data, inhabited by 10,295,909 people in general (INE 2019). In 2019 out of 590,348 foreigners with residence permits in total⁴ (which made up 4,7% of all inhabitants (Reis Oliveira 2020:19)), 151,304 were Brazilians who accounted for 25.6% of all documented immigrants in Portugal⁵.

Third, 2019 was the fourth year of increasing migrant stock in Portugal after facing the economic crises in the first decade of the XXI century. The number of foreign residents raised by 22.9% in comparison with 2018 (Machado et al. 2020: 16).

Fourth, Portugal is one of the best-rated European countries in terms of the immigrant integration policy.

² The wood was valuable primarily because of producing the red dye from it and, to a lesser extent, for making furniture (de Oliveira Marques 1987: 240).

³ Until today, historians are not agreed on whether India was the destination of this journey (Saraiva 2000: 164).

⁴ Until 2019, since its establishment, The Immigration and Borders Service (*Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* – SEF) had never had more foreign residents registered in Portugal in a year (Machado et al. 2020: 16).

⁵ The second largest group were residents from Cape Verde, also a former Portuguese colony. However, their number was much smaller than that of the Brazilians. Out of the total figure of residents in Portugal, 37,436 were from Cape Verde what accounted for 8.00%. The third place was taken by British migrants with 34,358 persons, representing 5.8% of all foreign residents there. (Machado et al. 2020: 17).



Portugal's comprehensive integration policies rank high in the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX)⁶ 'Top Ten', scoring 81 on the MIPEX 100-point scale. In the Top Ten MIPEX countries, the integration works well as a two-way process, as citizens and newcomers generally enjoy equal rights, opportunities and security. (...) Compared to all other developed countries, Portugal's integration policies in 2019 were above average in all policy areas except migrant health (MIPEX 2020; see: Gasior 2018: 155).

Casa do Brasil de Lisboa presentation

All of these circumstances are not irrelevant to the activities undertaken by the Lisbon-based immigrant association *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa*, especially since its aspirations go far beyond the local level. As this association described itself,

(...) Casa do Brasil de Lisboa has been actively working on the reflection to and implementation of public policies, assuming an essential role of activism and claiming egalitarian policies for immigrant communities in Portugal. We develop projects and actions that aim to promote equal access to rights and services for immigrants. In addition to social intervention and activism, we promote the valuation of multiculturalism, interculturality, and integration through culture⁷.

However, this does not mean the activities of this association do not affect the Portuguese capital itself and its inhabitants, as presented below.

Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is a non-profit immigrant association⁸ and is not limited to the Brazilian nationality. It was established in early 1992, by settled in Portugal Brazilians together with the Portuguese friends of Brazil⁹. The Brazilian nationality is not the requisite factor of becoming a member of this association. Apart from sharing the laid down in the statute of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa purposes, recognition of and identification with the cultural identity and Brazil and Portugal realities¹⁰ is of crucial importance to join it. There are seven goals set out in the mentioned document. First, increasing the support of Brazilian migrants in a moral, social, and legal sense, aiming at protecting the reciprocity of internationally recognized rights. Second, encouraging efforts made to maintain the values specific to the Brazilian identity within Portugal. Third, holding various types of socio-cultural events – namely courses, seminars, conferences, and international cultural exchange, as well as creating research areas,

⁶ And "MIPEX is a unique tool which measures policies to integrate migrants in 52 countries, including all EU Member States, OECD countries, Albania, Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Moldova, North Macedonia, Serbia, Russia, and Ukraine". About MIPEX, https://www.mipex.eu, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁷ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, O que fazemos, https://casadobrasildelisboa.pt/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁸ Estatutos, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, 2012, http://casadobrasildelisboa.pt/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Estatutos-Casa-do-Brasil-de-Lisboa.pdf, capítulo 1, art. 1, p. 5, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁹ https://casadobrasildelisboa.pt/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

¹⁰ *Estatutos*, Casa..., art. 5(1), p. 7.

a library and a documentation centre. Fourth, undertaking recreational and gastronomic activities, along with show presenting and celebrations. Fifth, providing moral and social support to the Brazilian community to get fraternal coexistence and closer social and communitarian integration between Brazilians, Portuguese, and members of other nationalities. Sixth, establishing and keeping in contact with other similar organizations, including taking part in solidarity actions. Seventh, editing and sale publications and placing advertising materials¹¹.

It is noteworthy that in all of these purposes, the Brazilian community has come to the fore. What is more, given the nature of this association, it is not peculiar or appalling in any way. However, according to the content of the website of *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa*, not the Brazilian one, but all immigrant communities suppose to be the main subject of the activities of this association. Members of *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* emphasized there their role in acting for "egalitarian policies for immigrant communities in Portugal" and "equal access to rights and services for immigrants" The question is, therefore, what is the main focus of attention for this association now. This is worth keeping in mind when looking at particular activities undertaken by its members.

Migratory flows in Portugal and general migratory context of Lisbon

As noted above, Portugal is one of the best-rated European countries in terms of an immigrant integration policy. This is guite an achievement considering Portugal's short immigration history. Taking 1974 (the year of the Carnation Revolution) as a starting point for this history, it can be divided into four phases. First, continuing until the mid-1980s it was primarily characterized by the influx of people from former colonies, involving Portuguese returnees, after the final collapse of the Portuguese empire. People flowed mainly from Cape Verde (this migration stream dates back to the end of the 1960s), Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. The initiation of the second phase coincided with the Portuguese accession to the European Economic Community (EEC). And from that moment on, apart from Africans, Brazilians in large number started to come to Portugal (Peixoto et al. 2009: 180–181). Their influx mainly consisted of young, highly skilled men and women. Doctors, dentists, engineers, and journalists were among them (Wall et al. 2005: 16; Diniz 2005: 200). (Moreover, during the 1980s and 1990s, Brazilian immigrants were higher qualified than other immigrant groups in Portugal (Bógus 2007: 50)). Brazil was in an economic crisis at that time. With the third phase of immigrant history, Portugal faced a real challenge. "At the end of the 1990s, there was a massive influx from Eastern European countries, with no

¹¹ Ibid., art. 3(1)(a) to (g), p. 5–6.

¹² Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, O que fazemos, https://casadobrasildelisboa.pt/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

¹³ Ibid.



previous cultural, historic[al] or linguistic relations with the receiving society" (Peixoto et al. 2009: 181). Also, a new flow from Brazil came at that time. As opposed to the previous stream, this one was largely composed of low skilled, undocumented migrants, looking for a job in the hotels, restaurants or commerce sectors (Peixoto et al. 2009: 181; Miranda 2009: 33). Apart from that, Portugal was becoming a destination country for more and more Asian migrants. Finally, the fourth phase was marked by the effects of the economic recession of the early 21st century. However, as has already been mentioned, the outflow trend seems to be reversing.

As to the Lisbon context, the Portuguese capital is part of the Lisbon district (*distrito de Lisboa*), one of the eighteen administrative units of this type (*distritos administrativos*) in the continental component of the country. In 2018, the Lisbon district was inhabited by 2,265,832 people in total (PORDATA). 213,065 of them were foreign residents¹⁴ (9.4%). And among immigrants with residence permits, 43,066 persons were Brazilians¹⁵ (20.2%). In 2019, the number of foreign residents of the Lisbon district increased to 260,503 and Brazilians – to 60,469¹⁶, constituting 23.2% of them. In 2018, inhabited by 507,220 people in general, the municipality of Lisbon had 78 614 foreign residents, of whom 12 021 were Brazilians¹⁷. Thus, documented immigrants constituted 15.5% of that area population, and Brazilians made up 15.3% of foreign residents.

Theoretical Framework 1 – numerous aspects of integration

Since the main aim of this article is to present *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* as an association working on maximizing the level of integration of immigrants within the Lisbon community, the concept of immigrants' integration is of vital importance here.

As Aleksandra Grzymała-Kazłowska states, there are four fundamental meanings of the term integration in respect of immigrants. Each of these understandings is connected to a particular context. The first one is being used in the migration research sphere to describe the process of foreigner inclusion into the host society (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 29). "From this perspective, it is worth emphasizing that the integration of immigrants with the host society not only does not exclude the maintenance of their cultural identities but even assumes keeping their at least partial difference" (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 30). The second way of understanding integration is related to the normative and ideological domain. Here, integration is perceived as the

¹⁴ SEFSTAT, portal de estatística, Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, https://sefstat.sef.pt/forms/distritos.aspx, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Anuário Estatístico da Área Metropolitana de Lisboa 2018, Instituto Nacional de Estatística /Statistics Portugal, https://www.ine.pt/xportal/xmain?xpid=INE&xpgid=ine_publicacoes&PUBLICACOESpub_bo ui=410495118&PUBLICACOESmodo=2, 62, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

perfect condition (without any cultural, structural, or functional tensions) in which the social system should be. On the one hand, it may lead to adopting an inclusive approach to immigrants within the receiving society. On the other, it may result in the conviction that foreigners should not be admitted to the hosting country at all. The third meaning of the term integration is set in the social policy context. From this perspective, related to the previous one, integration is the principle behind the law and institutional practice in the sphere of the functioning of immigrants within a diverse society. The emphasis here is put on activities aimed at reducing problems and conflicts of a social character. Comparing to the third understanding of integration, this one stresses the role of the state and its competent institutions in creating and pursuing integration policy even more. However, integration policy is perceived as the social one in this sense. And integration itself is an expressed desire for expected, measurable by specific parameters, effects. Finally, the last fundamental meaning of integration, not alien to the previous two contexts of this term, is connected to politics. The case of presenting immigrants in the category of a problem to gain in something of great value, as power for politicians or audience's attention for journalists, seems to be particularly clear here (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 30–31).

Paying special attention only to the first of the contexts mentioned above, the research and descriptive one, the ambiguity of the immigrants' integration concept cannot be ignored. The sentence which is to be found in a 20-year-old publication that "[t]here is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant (...) integration" (Castles et al. 2001: 12) continues to be valid.

These various perceptions can be divided into three main categories from the perspective of defined research goals. First, the notion of integration is helpful to explore the experiences of migrants and situations in which they are. Second, this term is proved useful as well to describe relations between immigrants and the host society. Third, the concept of integration can also be used to examine existing opportunities for and barriers against migrants, especially of institutional and legal nature, in a given receiving state. There is a partial correspondence between these categories and three levels of research on integration: the micro-, meso- and macrostructural. The first level embraces individuals and small groups. The second – local communities. The third – complex structures as the labour market (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 33–35). As to complexity, this is a crucial characteristic of social context by which the variety of the integration process shaping factors are determined. Being documented (or undocumented) immigrants, political participation, the problem of employment, age and sex of the newcomer, command of the host society language, and the issue of preserving one's own culture are just some of them. When categorized, they form dimensions of integration, among which the legal, institutional, social, economic, and cultural ones can be indicated (Biernath 2008: 180-206).

Moreover, integration can be perceived more from a structural or processual perspective. The first of them focus on the relations between chosen components of



social structure. Adopting the second approach entails highlighting the dynamism of the integration phenomenon. Finally, it can be characterized as a one- or two-sided process. Integration seen from a one-sided viewpoint is based on the assumption that it is just the immigrant who adapts to the host society (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008: 35). A two-sided integration is "a reciprocal learning process" (Habermas 2007: 124), where both sides, immigrants as well as the host society should make some effort.

It is also significant that integration is not the only term that describes the issue connected with receiving immigrants in society. Assimilation, acculturation, incorporation, inclusion or participation (see: Jaczewska 2015: 28) seem enough to mention here. Each of them can be defined in many ways and even used to characterize the other. As Hieronim Kubiak states, for instance, integration and acculturation are processes of assimilation (Kubiak 1980: 15). Similarly, Wolfgang Bosswick and Friedrich Heckmann (2007: 1) describe integration as "the process of inclusion of immigrants in the institutions and relationships of the host society".

The most absorbing issue seems to be related to the interaction between perceiving the terms integration and assimilation precisely. Sometimes it is even impossible to draw the line between them. It is especially evident, taking into account, "stemming from dissimilar social and historical context" (Gońda et al. 2021: 242), European and American approaches to these concepts. The notion of integration basically assumes the maintenance of immigrants' cultural identity, as already been noted during outlining the migration research sphere of integration (the first out of four understandings of this term distinguished by A. Grzymała – Kazłowska). However, there are scientists, who put forward an idea of turning back to the concept of assimilation, particularly in the United States of America. Richard Alba and Victor Nee are among them. They intend to reformulate the – based on the considerations of William Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole -notion of assimilation, which "(...) in recent decades (...) has come to be viewed by social scientists as a worn-out theory which imposes ethnocentric and patronizing demands on minority peoples struggling to retain their cultural and ethnic integrity" (Alba, Nee 1997: 827). (Many scientists perceive the idea of assimilation this way; Krystyna Iglicka (2003: 10) thinks no different, for instance). R. Alba and V. Nee (1997: 832) challenge (also stemming from the considerations of W. L. Warner and L. Srole) the assumption that the process of assimilation is straight-line, which means that each new generation of immigrants increasingly adapts to the receiving society. They are as well against reducing assimilation to a purely one-sided process.

By intent, our definition is agnostic about whether the changes wrought by assimilation are one-sided or more mutual. Indeed, there should be no definitional prescription on this point, for it is likely that the unilaterality of the changes depends upon the minority group, the era, and the aspect of group difference under consideration (Alba, Nee 1997: 864).

As already said, the research context of integration is not the only one where this term is used. Normative and ideological circumstances, as well as political ones, have an impact on the career of the concept of integration (Jaczewska 2015: 25). In 2006 integration found its place in the policy brief of the International Organization of Migration, where it was characterized as

the process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups. It generally refers to a two-way process of adaptation by migrants and receiving societies, while the particular requirements for acceptance by a host society vary from country to country (IOM 2006: 2).

It should be emphasized that this definition has a lot in common with Rinus Penninx's concept – described below. Moreover, this understanding of integration is also present in European Union documents. As stated by the Commission of the European Communities, for example, "(...) it is (...) essential to create a welcoming society and to recognise that integration is a two-way process involving adaptation on the part of both the immigrant and of the host society" (2000: 19).

Bearing in mind the above, taking one of the concepts of integration as a theoretical framework of this text seems to be supported enough. As to assimilation, the R. Alba and V. Nee perspective on it is useful for sure. However, having the two-sided and not straight-line idea of integration, leaving assimilation in its classic version and treating it (likewise integration) as Max Weber's ideal type, seems to make even more sense.

Theoretical Framework 2 - Rinus Penninx's idea of integration

To show that the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is a dynamic immigrant association working on increasing the level of integration and reducing the phenomenon of individual marginalization within the Lisbon community, it is considered as an "expression of mobilized resources and ambitions" from the Rinus Pennix's (2004: 142, 141) concept of integration where "the process of becoming an accepted part of society" is meant by this term. So defined integration occurs in three dimensions (legal/political, socio-economic, and cultural/religious) as well as on three levels (individual, collective, and institutional). This article refers to three dimensions from Peninx's concept one by one to organize the activities undertaken by Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, taking the collective level as the central perspective of this reflection. First, however, a brief description of the key elements of Penninx's concept of integration is needed.

As already noted, the dominant perspective to conducted reflection is a group one. Nevertheless, the characterization of other levels is also of significance here. Despite having different operating mechanisms, the results of them in terms of these levels are interrelated.



Institutional regulations determine to a great extent the opportunities and scope for action of organizations. (...) Institutions and organizations (...) create the structure which defines the opportunities and limitations for individuals. It is also possible that individuals may mobilize and change the landscape of organizations and potentially contribute to significant changes in institutional arrangements (Penninx 2004: 142).

As to the individual level, researchers pay attention to such criteria as a place of residence, employment, education, and both the social and cultural adaptation of a respective immigrant to the host society.

Immigrant organizations are significant determinants of the collective level, which play a crucial role in this text. Activities that these institutions undertake may contribute to the inclusion of immigrants into civil society. And in the long term even lead to go into partnership in integration policy. However, immigrant organization actions may as well result in isolation or even exclusion from a host society.

The third level, at which the integration process takes place, is the institutional one. The institution here has a sociological meaning of "a standardized, structured and common way of acting in a socio-cultural setting" (Penninx 2006: 12). Within this level, Penninx identifies two institutions, particularly important for the integration of immigrants: the general public institutions of receiving society at the national or local level and the specific to immigrant groups themselves. The education or political system and the institutional way of organizing the labour market are good examples of the first kind of institution. The formal and informal norms that condition the functioning of the general public institutions of receiving society may not just limit but completely prevent immigrants from access to these institutions. A political system is a perfect example of this kind of institution, which in many countries, both at the central and local level, completely exclude foreign residents for formal reasons. And the social insurance system illustrates the institution partially denying the access of immigrants by law. They are allowed to use only some of the benefits offered to citizens. However, as already noticed, informal norms of behaviour also have an impact on the functioning of general public institutions. And even

if access for all residents, including immigrants, is in principle guaranteed, such institutions may hinder access (...) for immigrants (...) by their – historically and culturally determined – ways of operating, not taking into account specific characteristics of the migrants' situation caused by their migration history, their cultural and religious background, or language (Penninx 2006: 12).

Bearing this in mind, Penninx emphasizes the importance of the fullest possible harmonization of the activities of general public institutions in their functioning with an increasingly diverse society. In this context, integration and exclusion can be regarded in practice as 'mirrored concepts' indeed. The *specific to immigrant groups themselves* type of institutions, in turn, is relevant only to individuals who decided to adhere to

their structures, as opposed to the first kind of institutions. Created on a foundation of cultural values of a particular community, *specific to immigrant groups themselves, institutions* function mainly in the private sphere. Nonetheless, their activity may also be visible in the public domain. They can contribute to civil society, as is the case of various churches, cultural, educational, and entertainment institutions, or trade unions operating in Europe, both at national and local levels. However, this type of institution can be separated or excluded, as well (Penninx 2004: 142).

Now it is time to present the three dimensions of Penninx's perception of integration. The legal/political one boils down to the issue of recognition (or not) of immigrants as individuals with full rights as members of a political community. Within this dimension, scientists look first at the question of the foreigners' right to get a residence permit and to be politically active, especially in the meaning of participation in the decision-making process at local, regional, and national levels. Moreover, the functioning of other forms of political participation addressed to immigrants, for example, of a consultative nature, should not be omitted here.

The second dimension concerns the socio-economic status of foreigners and their rights in this area. Here (in some measure on the borderline between this and the first dimension), employee rights and the possibility of having access to socio-economic services offered by public institutions are taken into account. Within this dimension, it is necessary to verify, for example, whether there is an asymmetry between citizens' and immigrants' rights, both in terms of looking for a job (including obtaining institutional assistance) and getting it. It also should be ascertained if and to what extent Newcomers can make use of work-related benefits, such as state insurance services, social housing, or unemployment benefits.

The third dimension concerns cultural and religious rights. It should be examined here, among others, whether foreigners have the right to express their belonging to a given community of a cultural, religious, or ethnic nature. In addition, it is worth asking whether the mentioned above types of immigrants' groups have the same rights as native groups of this kind (Penninx 2004: 139).

Methodological note

To present Casa do Brasil de Lisboa as an immigrant association working on increasing the level of integration within the Lisbon community, information about the organization itself was collected first. The statute of the association and content of its website and Facebook were of great importance here. The above-mentioned Internet sources provided the necessary data to analyze both the association itself and its particular activities. To do this, information also collected on the websites of other entities cooperating with the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa was analyzed.

Moreover, due to two three-month visits to Lisbon, personally, verification of some activities of this association by the author of this article was possible. Due to



the Erasmus programme of traineeship, although not particularly in *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa*, (period of the mobility: 01/03/2019 – 31/05/2019) and the Ryoichi Sasakawa Young Leaders Fellowship Fund (period of the mobility: 11/11/2019 – 11/02/2020), author could participate in some of the activities undertaken by this immigrant association. These stays were also helpful in collecting literature and reports, the analysis of which allowed presenting an outline of the Portuguese migration context.

Legal/political dimension

As has already been noted, Penninx's concept of integration serves as the theoretical framework for taking under consideration the activities of the *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa*. However, it should be remembered that this article looks at the integration process from the perspective of an immigrant organization. And no matter how influential that kind of entity is, it always belongs to the immigrants, the weaker of two essential parts involved in the integration process. The other one – receiving society (with its political power, as well as institutional framework and its reactions to newcomers) plays a much more decisive role in this regard (Penninx 2004: 142). Moreover, it is worth reminding that the following reflection focuses on the city level.

Bearing in mind that what the legal/political dimension comes down to is whether immigrants are recognized to have full rights as members of a political community or not, it is time to ask if *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* acts in this sphere. First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to political participation on the local level, leaving issues such as legalization of stay, access to nationality, and family reunion aside as determined by the state. As is defined in the Migrant Integration Policy Index "Portugal supports immigrant civil society and consultative bodies, although voting rights remain uneven and limited" (MIPEX 2020). Foreign residents can exercise electoral rights on the local level if their countries of origin sign reciprocity agreements with the Portuguese state¹⁸. (This is a very good example of the fundamental inequality in terms of the political power of the two essential parts of the integration process.) Brazil did that, and therefore adult Brazilians can vote and stand for elections of local authorities in Portugal. To vote, having a residence permit for two years at least is required for them. To stand as a candidate, having a residence permit for not less than four years is a requisite¹⁹.

¹⁸ "Under reciprocal terms, the law may accord foreigners who reside in Portugal the eligibility to vote for and stand for election for officeholders of local authority organs". *Constitution of the Portuguese Republic* of 1976 with Amendments, art. 15(4), https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/laws/en/pt/pt045en.pdf, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

¹⁹ Solicitar residência em Portugal, *Estatuto de Igualdade de Direitos e Deveres*, Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, https://imigrante.sef.pt/solicitar/estatuto/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020). What is more, under the legal provision of the Equal Rights and Duties Statute (*Estatuto de Igualdade de Direitos e Deveres*) of 2000, Brazilians can obtain other political rights. See: *Tratado de Amizade*, *Cooperação e Consulta entre*

Members of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa emphasize the importance of the political participation of immigrants on many occasions. Undertaken by this association at the turn of 2018 and 2019 a project called Migrant Participates – Paths to Equality (Migrante Participa – Caminhos para a Igualdade) is a clear illustration of that. The Migrant Participates project consisted of twelve open to everyone meetings and the final seminar. The meetings were held at the seat of the association. The final seminar took place in the auditorium located in the Lisbon National Support Centre for the Integration of Migrants (Centro Nacional de Apoio à Integração de Migrantes – CNAIM).²⁰ It is worth mentioning that finance for this project came from the Support Program for Immigrant Associations 2018. As to the importance of the political participation of immigrants, the first of the mentioned meetings concerned the issue of the lack of political commitment of immigrant women. The discussion drew some conclusions. The specific dynamic of migrant life, lack of migrants in political parties, and lack of identification with the local community were indicated among the reasons for the low political participation of migrant women. At the same time, members of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa signalled ways of solutions. They stressed the importance of "making immigrants aware that the lack of Portuguese nationality does not mean that no opportunities for political participation are open to them²¹.

In Portugal, apart from the national level²², there are also local consultative structures for immigrants. There is a Municipal Council for Interculturality and Citizenship

a República Portuguesa e a República Federativa do Brasil, 2000, Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 83/2000, Diário da República n.º 287/2000, Série I-A de 2000-12-14, art. 17, https://dre.pt/pesquisa//search/583237/details/maximized, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

²⁰ There are three such, dedicated to immigrants, centres in Portugal (Lisbon, Porto, Faro). The establishment of them was based on the notion of centralized client service. At these centres, "(...) the pre-sorting and reception office has a crucial impact in increasing the efficiency and efficacy of (...) service provision. The first contact and welcome to immigrant[s] (...) are provided at this office by a team of cultural mediators, who, in accordance with whatever issue is presented, guide the user to the appropriate service in order to resolve it, issuing a service ticket. (...) The CNAIMs also run other support services in seven different areas, operated by cultural mediators, in the same building[s] where government agencies provide their services [such as] legal support, family reunification support, [and] social support". These centres were formed in 2004 as the National Immigrant Support Centres – *Centros Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante* – *CNAIs*. (Reis Oliveira et al. 2009: 71).

²¹ Projeto: Migrante Participa – Caminhos para a Igualdade Seminário Final Migrantes e a Igualdade de Oportunidades, Participar para Integrar, Documento de Recomendações, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, 2019, 1–2.

²² There is a special consultative body called the Council for Migration (*Conselho para as Migrações – CM*). The role of this council is to support and participate in the functioning of the public institution High Commission for Migration (*Alto Comissariado para as Migrações – ACM*). Thus, the Council for Migration has a chance to contribute to some extent to outlining policies relevant to migrants. Among others, representatives of migrant communities sit on this council. The main person to speak on behalf of the Brazilians is the president of the Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Cynthia de Paula. See: Conselho para as Migrações (CM), https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/conselho-para-as-migracoes-cm-, (Accessed: 05.12.2020); Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM), https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/o-que-fazemos-, (Accessed: 05.12.2020); Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM), Auto de Tomada de Posse, 1, https://www.acm.gov.pt/documents/10181/362491/ Auto de Posse CM 15 03 2021.pdf/b2483500-09f6-4667-8a3e-6be8ae6c87e1, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).



(Conselho Municipal para a Interculturalidade e Cidadania) in Lisbon²³. As it is in the text of a Lisbon Municipality website, that council "currently plays an important role as a consultative structure of the municipality, integrating several associations and promoting its active participation in the civic life"²⁴. Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is one of these associations²⁵.

As noted above, the political system is a perfect example of the general public institution that in many countries formally excludes foreigners even on the local level. Although in the case of Portugal, complete exclusion at the local level does not exist, it would be difficult not to see the multitude of barriers, involving informal ones as well, encountered by foreigners there. *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* works to increase the political participation of immigrants and use the less formal ways of political engagement to improve the local reality.

Between the legal/political and socio-economic dimension

Despite not taking up the issue of regulations of vital importance to immigrants, such as legalization of stay, the access to information on that kind of matter cannot be overlooked in this text. Casa do Brasil de Lisboa runs, in partnership with the Lisbon City Council, the Orientation and Referring Office (Gabinete de Orientação e Encaminhamento – GOE), which is a part of the Local Centres to Support Immigrants' Integration Network (Rede de Centro Local de Apoio à Integração de Migrantes – CLAIM)²⁶. This office is open to all immigrants – at present, due to the pandemic of covid 19, in

²³ This, created in 1993, Lisbon consultative structure for immigrants, until 2009 was called a Municipal Council for Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities (*Conselho Municipal para as Comunidades Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas*). Lisboa, Município de Lisboa, Direitos Sociais, Cidadania, Interculturalidade, Conselho Municipal para a Interculturalidade e Cidadania, https://www.lisboa.pt/cidade/direitos-sociais/interculturalidade, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Other associations that constitute the mentioned consultative structure are: Associação Cristã de Apoio à Juventude Cigana (ACAJUCI), Associação SOS Racismo, Associação Caboverdiana de Lisboa, Associação Mulher Migrante, Associação para Timorenses (APARATI), Associação dos Ucranianos em Portugal (AUP), Associação dos Amigos do Príncipe (AAP), Associação dos Amigos da Mulher Angolana, Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social (AGUINENSO), Casa de Moçambique, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa (CBL), Comunidade Islamica de Lisboa, Comunidade Israelita de Lisboa, Instituto para a Cooperação e Desenvolvimento Internacional (ICDI), Serviço Jesuíta de Apoio aos Refugiados (JRS), Obra Católica Portuguesa de Migrações (OCPM), Solidariedade Imigrante Associação Para a Defesa dos Direitos dos Imigrantes (SOLIM). Ibid.

The first local centres started to operate in early 2003 before national centres were formed. Currently, 127 of them are in both continental and non-continental parts of Portugal. "Their mission is to go beyond the information, providing support during the whole process of reception and integration of immigrants, coordinating with the different local structures, and promoting interculturality at a local level". CLAIM Network – Local Centres to Support Immigrants' Integration, https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/rede-claii-centros-locais-de-apoio-a-integracao-de-imigrant-3, (Accessed: 05.07.2021).

a digital way predominantly²⁷ – looking for support in the sphere of regularization of their position in Portugal. Going there, immigrants can also count on guidance on access to public and private services, such as health, education, justice, or social security. What is more, GOE passes on information on employee rights and other issues related to the integration of immigrants in Portuguese society²⁸. Thus, this office combines the activities attributed to the legal/political as well as socio-economic dimensions.

The same applies to another project being realised by this association since 2012 called Welcome Group (*Grupo Acolhida*). It is a mutual aid group, creating

space for conversations, sharing information and experiences – since that reduce isolation – provide reflections, and increase the chances of overcoming difficulties through the formed solidarity network. In such a way, an immigrant activates an attitude of insertion into the new social reality of contributory participation with rights and duties (dos Reis et al. 2016: 451).

Keeping it in mind, ten specific objectives of this project were adopted, among which the following can be found. First, sharing and expanding each other's experiences of dealing with everyday life in a new reality. Second, acting for increasing the empowerment of the individuals and strengthening their leadership qualities. Third, providing information on the work search techniques, job interviews, CV preparation, and other subjects useful for participants. (Moreover, some of the goals underlying this group are at least indirectly related to the cultural dimension. Encouraging involvement in local cultural life can be pointed out as an example.) The need for creating the Welcome Group was taking shape through the experience of the GOE as well as presented below the Professional Insertion Office (Gabinete de Inserção Profissional – GIP). Working there experts realized that coming immigrants waited for something more than just responding to their questions. Lasting 1,5h, Welcome Group meetings take place at fortnightly intervals (dos Reis et al. 2016: 451–452). (However, the personal meetings have been suspended since March 2020 due to the pandemic²⁹ but returned digitally, on the 20th of January 2021, via zoom)³⁰. The meetings can be divided into four parts, as follows, the presentation of the subject, spare time for individual elaboration, working on it in a group, and identifying collective

²⁷ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Ciclo de Sessões Informativas, 12.01.2021, https://www.facebook.com/casadobrasildelisboa/photos/a.883315941758334/3636690703087497/?type=3&theater, (Accessed: 20.01.2021).

²⁸ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Intervenção social, Igualdade de oportunidades, https://casadobrasildel-isboa.pt/integracao/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

²⁹ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Grupo Acolhida, https://www.facebook.com/casadobrasildelisboa/photos/a.203557983067470/2798765173546725/?type=3&theater, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³⁰ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Conhece o Grupo Acolhida?, https://www.facebook.com/casadobrasildelisboa/photos/a.203557983067470/3655951977828036/?type=3&theater, (Accessed: 20.12.2020); Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Grupo Acolhida, https://www.facebook.com/casadobrasildelisboa/photos/a.203557983067470/3664204053669495/?type=3&theater, (Accessed: 22.01.2021).



outcomes (dos Reis et al. 2016: 453). This group is not limited to a certain number of people. Every immigrant can participate as often as they want.

In 2014 Welcome Group acted as Welcome Project, Are We Here and Now? (*Projeto Acolhida, Estamos aqui e Agora?*), operating with the support of the Active Citizenship Program (*Programa Cidadania Ativa*), obtaining funds from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian)³¹ and the EEA Grants. That year, several additional training courses were conducted. Fifty-two people took part in English, citizenship, computer, entrepreneurship, and in employment active search courses as well, for instance (dos Reis et al. 2016: 453).

Between July 2017 and December 2018, the Welcome Group was functioning within the Synergy in Action Project – What unites us? Participatory Methodologies and Integration of Nationals of Third Countries (*Projeto Sinergia em Ação – O que nos une? Metodologias Participativas e Integração d@s NPT – Nacionais de Países Terceiros*). This project was composed of activities realized by five Lisbon-based entities: Casa do Brasil de Lisboa as a promoter, Associação Renovar a Mouraria³², Fundação Cidade de Lisboa)³³, Associação Girassol Solidário³⁴, and Núcleo Dinamia' CET-ISCTE (Centro de Estudos sobre a Mudança Socioeconómica e o Território – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa)³⁵. Finance came from the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and was managed by the Portuguese High Commission for Migration³⁶ (Alto Comissariado para as Migrações – ACM)³⁷.

³¹ This foundation was established in 1956 by the last will of Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian, a philanthropist of Armenian origin who spent the last years of his life in Lisbon. Its "main purpose is to improve the quality of life through art, charity, science and education. The Foundation directs its activities from its headquarters in Lisbon and its delegations in Paris and London, with support provided by Portugal in Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOP) and East Timor, as well as in countries with Armenian Communities". *Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation*, https://gulbenkian.pt/en/the-foundation/overview/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³² Associação Renovar a Mouraria is a non-governmental organization that acts for social and cultural revitalization and the local development of the Lisbon neighbourhood Mouraria. Associação Renovar a Mouraria https://www.facebook.com/pg/renovar.a.mouraria/about/?ref=page_internal, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³³ The mission of this foundation is not only in Lisbon but also in the Portuguese-speaking parts of the world. Fundação Cidade de Lisboa, https://www.fundacaocidadedelisboa.pt/pt/fundacao/missao-visao-e-valores/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³⁴ This association "provides humanitarian, psychosocial, cultural, recreational, and intercultural mediation support to persons evacuated from the Republic of Cape Verde to Portugal for medical treatment". Girassol Solidário – Associação de Apoio aos Doentes Evacuados de Cabo Verde, https://pl-pl.facebook.com/pg/girassol.solidario/about/?ref=page_internal, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³⁵ This is a research unit of the University Institute of Lisbon called the Centre for Socio-Economic and Territorial Studies. *Dinamia*' *CET-ISCTE*, https://www.dinamiacet.iscte-iul.pt/about, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³⁶ Fundação Cidade de Lisboa, Sinergia em Ação – O que nos une? Metodologias Participativas e Integração d@s npt, https://www.fundacaocidadedelisboa.pt/pt/intervencao-iniciativas-projetos/projetos-em-curso/sinergia-em-acao-o-que-nos-une-metodologias-participativas-e-integracao-d-s-npt.html, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

³⁷ As has already been noted, the High Commission for Migration is a public institute. The main task of it is "collaborating on determining, executing and assessing the public, transversal and sectorial poli-

Another project carried out by Casa do Brasil de Lisboa that combines the legal/ political and socio-economic aspects of integration is the Information Sessions Cycle (Ciclo de Sessões Informativas)³⁸. Between July 2017 and December 2018, these sessions, just as Welcome Group, were part of the Synergy in Action Project – What unites us? Participatory Methodologies and Integration of Nationals of Third Countries³⁹. The session cycle addresses various relevant to immigrants subjects. Foreigners can gain knowledge of the regularization of stay in Portugal, labour rights or access to health, for instance.⁴⁰. At present, because of the pandemic restrictions, these sessions are undertaken with the help of digital ways of communication. In this form, using the zoom platform, on the 19th of January 2021, an information session on issues related to the access of a Portuguese citizenship was held⁴¹. Realized on the 17th of November 2020, the digital session on access to the labor market for immigrants in Portugal is another example. It is important to note that both of these events took place in partnership with the Lisbon City Council within the Lisbon Welcomes (Lisboa Acolhe) project⁴². The aim of which is "to disseminate the rights and duties of the migrant people and to enhance civil society in the city of Lisbon"43. Under this project, Lisbon Welcomes – Participatory Portal to and from Immigrants (*Lisboa* Acolhe – Portal Participativo de e para Imigrantes) has been made to happen. The main purpose of this portal is "gathering information necessary for the integration of migrants and the appreciation of civil society in the Portuguese capital"44. It should also be mentioned that immigrants could take part in the process of the creation of the portal. At the seat of Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, nine open meetings on this were held. The first one took place on the 26th of November 201945, when three hours were dedicated to listen to and discuss with immigrants their needs and visions of the emerging portal. In addition to the members of the association, about twenty people attended that meeting⁴⁶. Subsequent meetings focused on clarifying what

cies concerning migrations that are relevant for the integration of migrants". Alto Comissariado para as Migrações (ACM), https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/o-que-fazemos-, (Accessed: 20.01.2020).

³⁸ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Intervenção social...

³⁹ Fundação Cidade de Lisboa, Sinergia em Ação...

⁴⁰ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Intervenção social...

⁴¹ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Ciclo de Sessões Informativas, https://www.facebook.com/casadobrasildelisboa/photos/a.203557983067470/3620695348020366/?type=3&theater, (Accessed: 20.01.2020).

⁴² Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Ciclo de Sessões Informativas, https://www.facebook.com/lisboaacolhe/photos/a.116073973250004/216826019841465/?type=3&the ater, (Accessed: 20.01.2020); ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, https://www.facebook.com/pg/lisboaacolhe/about/?ref=page_internal, (Accessed: 20.01.2020).

⁴⁵ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Encontro Aberto – Construção do Portal Lisboa Acolhe, https://www.facebook.com/events/1517016081789881/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁴⁶ The author of this article also participated in that meeting.



information immigrants expect on specific subjects, such as housing,⁴⁷ health⁴⁸, labor market and entrepreneurship⁴⁹, racial discrimination⁵⁰, and civic participation⁵¹. On the 6th of February 2020, an information session on rental housing in Lisbon took place. This meeting was prepared in partnership with the Association of Lisbon Tenants (*Associação dos Inquilinos Lisbonenses* – AIL). It is difficult to disagree with the statement that "[i]n addition to the high price and the scarcity in the offer of real estate, the lease contracts generate many doubts for those who have just arrived in the city"⁵². Thus, the Lisbon housing issue is raising by *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* rather regularly. On the 27th of February 2020, this association organized the lecture entitled "Gentrification, Tourism and Housing Crisis in Lisbon" by Luís Mendes of AIL⁵³.

Socio-economic dimension

As to the mentioned above Professional Insertion Office – set up to support people "on their path to insertion (…) into the labour market"⁵⁴ – Casa do Brasil de Lisboa runs it since 2009, the year in which that kind of agency started to function in various public or private non-profit entities. Supported by the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural – ACIDI)⁵⁵ and the Institute of Employment and Professional Training, (In-

⁴⁷ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Segundo Encontro Aberto – Construção do Portal Lisboa Acolhe, https://www.viralagenda.com/pt/events/837058/segundo-encontro-aberto-construcao-do-portal-lisboa-acolhe, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁴⁸ Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Terceiro Encontro Aberto – Construção do Portal Lisboa Acolhe, 14.01.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/2475867479349869/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁴⁹ Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Quinto Encontro Aberto – Construção do Portal Lisboa Acolhe, 28.01.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/270748453894565/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵⁰ Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Discriminação Racial – Oitavo Encontro do Projeto Lisboa Acolhe, 20.02.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/190183162233724/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵¹ Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Participação Cívica – 9º Encontro do Projeto Lisboa Acolhe, 03.03.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/446862419368094/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵² Lisboa Acolhe, Portal Partcipativo de e para Imigrantes, Facebook, Sessão Informativa sobre Arrendamentos, 06.02.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/525136261474746/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵³ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Facebook, Palestra "Gentrificação, Turismo e Crise Habitacional em Lisboa", 27.02.2020, https://www.facebook.com/events/297917984506455/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵⁴ Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional, Gabinetes de Inserção Profissional, https://www.iefp.pt/gabinetes-de-insercao-profissional, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵⁵ Established in 2007, High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue has transformed into the already mentioned High Commission for Migration (ACM).

stituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFP)⁵⁶ a network of ten offices, which until 2019 led 1,537 immigrants to their work placement, was created (Neves 2018). Currently, there are eleven such agencies⁵⁷, working through a partnership protocol between the Institute of Employment and Professional Training and the High Commission for Migration⁵⁸. As regards the Professional Insertion Office located in *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa*, until 2019, 2,739 immigrants – predominantly Brazilians, but also persons of Nepali, Indian, and Pakistani origin – were registered there (Neves 2018). This office, among others, provides the development of job search and preparing CV techniques for immigrants, informs them on support entrepreneurship measures, and disseminates the job offers. The office also goes into partnership with companies and training organizations to offer more possibilities to its clients⁵⁹. The activities of the Professional Insertion Office are fully in line with the socio-economic dimension of the integration process evidently.

Cultural/religious dimension

Keeping in mind that Penninx's concept of immigrants' integration covers three dimensions, it is time to take a look at the activities of *Casa do Brasil de Lisboa* from the last one – the cultural/ religious dimension. It is worth asking whether members of this association express their belonging to Brazilian culture. In the context of Penninx's concept, the term of culture is perceived in its narrower sense, including mainly art and customs. (The broad, anthropological Edward Tylor's definition of culture, for example, would accommodate all three dimensions of integration (see: Kłoskowska 2015: 21–22)).

First of all, it should be noticed that although both the Portuguese and the Brazilians speak Portuguese, the Brazilian version of that language differs from the Portuguese one, which often enough leads to discriminatory behaviour of Portuguese. Within the second edition of the Migrant Participates project, one of the meetings addressed the issue of speaking Portuguese in a Brazilian way from the linguistic perspective⁶⁰.

This is the Portuguese public employment service. Promoting the creation and quality of jobs and fighting against unemployment through professional training are its main tasks. Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional – IEFP, https://www.iefp.pt/instituicao, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵⁷ Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional, 4.ª EDIÇÃO GIP 2019–2021, Rede GIP IMIGRANTE, https://www.iefp.pt/documents/10181/9270873/Rede+GIP+Imigrante_05-08-2020/c6928b6f-717e-4950-9438-84d76161a492, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁵⁸ It is worth noting that Professional Insertion Offices for immigrants constitute one of two specific networks. The other one, composed of six offices, is dedicated to supporting persons with disabilities. Moreover, there is a general network of 426 such offices for unemployed Portuguese people. Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional, Gabinetes de Inserção...

⁵⁹ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Intervenção social...

⁶⁰ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Tertúlia: O Português do Brasil Falado em Portugal, https://www.facebook.com/events/2511711855770909/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).



Casa do Brasil de Lisboa organizes screenings of films made by Brazilian filmmakers and of Brazilian themes⁶¹. Moreover, this association carries out a choral project called *Coralzim*, which is conducted by Leandro Bonfim with a focus on the repertoire of Brazilian popular music⁶². Dancing events to the rhythm of Brazilian music should also be mentioned here⁶³.

Conclusions

Bearing in mind that Casa do Brasil de Lisboa is considered in this text as an "expression of mobilized resources and ambitions" of the second level of Penninx's (2004: 142) concept of integration, it has to be recognized that this association has gathered an admirably large supply of these goods. And all that seems to be used for the purpose of becoming "an accepted part of society", within all three distinguished dimensions. Activities outlined here undertaken by Casa do Brasil de Lisboa contribute to the inclusion of immigrants (not only the Brazilian ones) into the Lisbon civil community as well as the Portuguese civil society. What is more, the activity of this association has driven it into partnership in integration policy to some extent. This is evidenced by belonging to consultative bodies, both at the local and central levels. Of course, it does not mean merging into the local community or Portuguese society in the classic sense of the term assimilation. Neither does it mean turning a blind eye to the formal and informal barriers faced by immigrants in the Portuquese socio-political context. On the contrary, in cooperation with the general public institutions of receiving society on the one hand and other specific to immigrant groups themselves on the other, Casa do Brasil de Lisboa keep on trying to equip individual migrants with qualifications needed to deal with various institutional barriers and other types of them.

Finally, here also comes the reflection that, beyond any imperfections, within the framework of the Portuguese integration policy at both a local and national level, quite a lot of space for the active immigrant associations has been left. Although it is certainly worth asking the question of what the situation is in smaller local communities in Portugal.

⁶¹ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Ciclo de Cinema Político Brasileiro em Lisboa, https://www.facebook.com/events/510692016200347/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁶² Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Recomeço do Coralzim – Inscrições obertas, Recomeço do Coralzim – Inscrições obertas, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

⁶³ Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, Aulas de Forró & Samba de Gafieira, https://www.facebook.com/events/1447656725388925/, (Accessed: 05.12.2020).

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