

Brazilian Mobile Consulate Survey  
New Orleans, LA, June 22-23, 2007

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Brazilians are a new immigrant group that arrived in New Orleans seeking employment in clean-up and rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina struck on August 29, 2005. Little is known about them since few were present before Katrina, and they are highly mobile and often take measures to avoid detection by authorities. The June 22-23, 2007 visit of the mobile Brazilian consulate to New Orleans was an excellent opportunity to survey Brazilian nationals, especially recent arrivals, in the New Orleans area. The consulate issued passports and other government documents on the days of their visit. The consular visit is an opportunity to efficiently survey migrants in an environment where they will feel comfortable to answer questions about their work and migration experiences. The sample is likely to have more recent arrivals and more undocumented migrants than would be found in a random sample of Brazilian immigrants in the area. This was the first visit of the Brazilian mobile consulate in New Orleans and it attracted about 500-600 Brazilian immigrants.

The questionnaire is a modified version of the National Day Labor Survey and the Mexican Migration Project Survey. A team of 9 bi-lingual interviewers carried out the survey. Each respondent was informed that the interview was anonymous and their answers would be confidential. They were offered phone cards worth \$10 as an incentive for their participation. Respondents were informed that they could refuse to answer any question or terminate the interview at any time. In general, respondents felt comfortable answering the interviews which took place inside the building where the Brazilian consulate services were being offered or in the area immediately outside the building. Most respondents were happy to participate.

The following report demonstrates how the Brazilian population in New Orleans increased after Hurricane Katrina as new demand for construction workers surged and wages were comparatively high. The survey shows that the majority of Brazilians in the New Orleans area and the region are unaccompanied men, many having wives and children in Brazil. Most migrants came to New Orleans from other parts of the U.S. in search of work, and found work through their connections with friends, other Brazilians, and family members. Most Brazilians (87.5%) arrived in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, with a median duration in the U.S. of 1.2 years. Two in five migrants expressed intentions to stay in New Orleans permanently or for more than 2 years; most intended to stay less than 2 years or they didn't know. This uncertainty underlines their tenuous legal status in the U.S.: 86.2% reported that they were unauthorized migrants. These workers are particularly vulnerable to abuse by employers, police and are often crime victims. Furthermore, many work in dangerous jobs and 1 in 3 reported experiencing an injury on the job. The report gives a sense of the scale of the change in the Brazilian population after Katrina and their living and working conditions.

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## I. Migrant's demographic and family characteristics

Newcomer migrants in New Orleans are often assumed to be unaccompanied young men who are willing to live in non-family, often cramped living arrangements in order to earn and save as much as possible. This stereotype holds for the majority, but the results of the survey show that there is substantial variation. Most of our sample is made up of men (78.8%), but nearly a quarter is women. The sample includes only working age respondents: the average age for the sample is 33.6, ranging from age 18 to 64. The majority of respondents reported being currently married or in a common-law union (45.5%) or formerly married (10.6%). Far more are single (43.9%) than would be expected in Brazil for a group with a similar age distribution. The majority of the sample report having children (66.7%). However, only 14.9% of those who are married or have children live with their families in New Orleans or elsewhere in the region. The majority have their families in Brazil (72.3%). The Brazilians in New Orleans largely conform to the stereotype of unaccompanied men, though many have families in Brazil.

Table 1. Demographic and family characteristics

Variable	N	% or mean and standard deviation
Sex		
Female	14	21.5 %
Male	51	78.5 %
Age	65	33.7 (10.4)
Marital Status		
Single	28	43.1 %
Married or common-law	30	46.2 %
Divorced, separated or widowed	7	10.7 %
Parental Status		
Parent	44	67.7 %
Number of children	44	1.9 (1.0)
Current location of respondent		
New Orleans area	65	100.0 %
Location of families		
New Orleans or Louisiana	7	14.9 %
Brazil	34	72.3 %
Only spouse in NO/LA	2	4.3 %
Only children in NO/LA	1	2.1 %
Some Brazil and some here	3	6.4 %
No spouse or children	18	Not counted

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

## II. Education:

Most respondents report that they have a primary or secondary education in Brazil (81.8%). This is far more than the Brazilian population as a whole, in which only 44.0 % adults age 20 or older have some primary or secondary education<sup>2</sup>. Other studies of Brazilian migrants in the U.S. also find that migrants are drawn from those with higher education<sup>3</sup>. However, most migrants have a weak command of English. Nearly half of respondents said they speak ‘a little’ English (48.5%), while another third said they speak it somewhat or well (36.4%). Respondents are less likely to read or write in English than to speak it: 42.2% said they don’t read it at all and 49.2% said they don’t write it at all. Since most have acquired their English language skills “on the job” and they have very short durations in the U.S., it is not surprising that they report so little English language ability.

Table 2. Education and language ability

Variable	N	% distribution
Educational attainment		
No education	1	1.5 %
Some or complete primary school	25	38.5 %
Some or complete lower secondary school	29	44.6 %
Some or complete preparatory school	9	13.9 %
Some or complete university	1	1.5 %
Speaks English:		
Not at all	10	15.4 %
A little	32	49.2 %
Somewhat or well	23	35.4 %
Reads English: (N=63)		
Not at all	27	42.9 %
A little	22	34.9 %
Somewhat or well	14	22.2 %
Writes English: (N=62)		
Not at all	31	50.0 %
A little	18	29.0 %
Somewhat or well	13	20.9 %
Total	65	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65.

<sup>2</sup> In April 1996, the Monthly Employment Survey {Pesquisa Mensal de Emprego} found that of all people age 20 and older in the metropolitan regions of Recife, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo e Porto Alegre, only 44.0% had some level of primary or secondary education. Source: [http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/indicadoresminimos/suppme/default\\_educacao.shtm](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/condicaodevida/indicadoresminimos/suppme/default_educacao.shtm)

<sup>3</sup> Marjorie S. Margolis. 1994. Little Brazil: An ethnography of Brazilian immigrants in New York City. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### III. Migratory Patterns

Brazilians have only begun emigrating in large numbers since the 1990s<sup>4</sup>. They have mostly settled in New York City, Boston, Miami, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston and Washington D.C. – all cities with large immigrant populations. The possibility of undocumented migration from Brazil to the U.S. increased between 2000 and 2005 when the Mexican government allowed Brazilians to enter their country without visas. As a result of the number of Brazilians using this as a way to enter the U.S. the Mexican government halted this policy<sup>5</sup>. Once the migration flow begins, however, the social networks make it easier to continue.

The median duration of the New Orleans’ Brazilians in the U.S. is 2.7 years, and the median duration in New Orleans or the nearby region is 1.4 years<sup>6</sup>. Most migrants were on their first trip in the U.S. (90.8%). Most had been in one other destination in the U.S. before coming to New Orleans (median duration=2.0). The New Orleans arrivals mostly come from Massachusetts (43.8%) and Florida or Georgia (34.4%). Only a very few have come directly from Brazil (9.4%). It is likely that migrants who came to New Orleans after Katrina were those who were least settled in other places in the U.S. and came seeking the high wages and employment opportunities in the post-Katrina economy.

Table 3a. Migratory patterns

Variable	Frequency	Median	Mean	S.D.
Duration of most recent U.S. trip (years)	64	2.7	3.6	2.6
Duration of current stay in NOLA (years)	64	1.2	1.4	1.6
Number of U.S. trips	65	1.0	1.2	0.6
Number of U.S. destinations on current trip	65	2.0	2.2	0.7

Table 3b. Migratory patterns

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
% currently residing in New Orleans	65	100.0 %
% in New Orleans before September 2005	65	12.5 %
Number of U.S. trips		
First U.S. trip	59	90.8 %
Second U.S. trip	2	3.1 %
Third or higher order U.S. trip	4	5.1 %
Previous place lived/worked (N=64)		
Brazil	6	9.4 %
Massachusetts	28	43.8 %
Florida or Georgia	22	34.4 %
Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania	6	9.4 %
California	1	1.6 %
Kansas	1	1.6 %
Total	65	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

<sup>4</sup> Kathryn Gallant. 1996. “The Brazilians are Coming.” Brazzil. <http://www.brazzil.com/cvrmar96.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> Chris Kraul and Nicole Gaouette. 2005. “Brazilian illegal immigration into U.S. is targeted by Mexico.” The Los Angeles Times, September 15, 2005.

<sup>6</sup> The median measures the middle of the distribution of scores. It is a preferable statistics to the mean or average since it is not as affected by extreme cases, such as migrants who have permanently settled and have long durations of residence.

Migrants gave multiple reasons for coming to New Orleans. The most common reason was that they had heard about better jobs here (69.2%). Migrants usually find out about new opportunities through the networks of friends, families and acquaintances who are also migrants<sup>7</sup>. However, just as they were drawn to New Orleans by economic opportunities, they are likely to move on as well. Two in five (41.6%) report they are only likely to stay for less than 2 years. Another 18.5% are uncommitted and don't know how long they will stay. However, 9.2% say they will stay permanently and 30.8% say they will stay more than 2 years. Other researchers working with this population report that many Brazilians feel comfortable in New Orleans because of its Latin American flavor, particularly expressed in Mardi Gras and its music culture<sup>8</sup>. Whether these intentions are permanent is uncertain, however, since 86.2% do not have legal permission to live or work in the U.S.

Table 3b. Migratory Patterns

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
<b>Reasons for coming to NO/LA</b>		
Friends and family are here	10	15.4 %
Heard about better jobs here	45	69.2 %
Employer connections	4	6.2 %
Knew there were immigrants here	1	1.5 %
New Orleans needed workers	8	12.3 %
Coyote brought here	0	0.0 %
<b>Plans to stay in New Orleans</b>		
Less than 6 months	2	3.1 %
Between 6 and 12 months	9	13.9 %
Between 1 and 2 years	16	24.6 %
More than 2 years	20	30.8 %
Permanently	6	9.2 %
Don't know	12	18.5 %
<b>Legal status</b>		
U.S. citizen	1	1.5 %
Permission to work and live in U.S.	8	12.3 %
Undocumented	56	86.2 %
Total	65	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

<sup>7</sup> Fussell, Elizabeth, and Douglas S. Massey. "Limits to the Cumulative Causation of Migration: International Migration from Urban Mexico." *Demography* 41(1): 151-171; Massey, Douglas S., and Kristin Espinosa. 1997. "What's Driving Mexico-US Migration?: A Theoretical, Empirical and Policy Analysis." *American Journal of Sociology* 102:939-99.

<sup>8</sup> Annie McNeill Gibson. 2007. *Brazuca in NOLA: A Cultural Analysis of Brazilian Immigration to New Orleans Post Katrina*. Unpublished manuscript.

#### IV. Employment Patterns

Migrants were drawn to New Orleans after hurricane Katrina struck on August 29, 2005 and the failure of the levees caused 80% of buildings in the city to be flooded. Since men and women concentrate in different sectors of the labor market, I distinguish men's and women's occupations. Among men, the vast majority (86.0%) reported being employed in construction or manufacturing work. The remainder was distributed among the other occupations. Most women worked in personal services or domestic labor (50.0%), with smaller proportions in services (14.3%) or another unspecified occupation (14.3%). A surprisingly large percentage (14.3%) was employed in construction given that this is not a traditionally female occupation. Only one woman was not in the labor force (7.1%). Construction employment is clearly the magnet for most of these migrants.

Table 4a. Employment Characteristics of Mexicans in New Orleans

Variable	Frequency	% distribution
<b>Men's current occupation in New Orleans (N=49)</b>		
Agricultural worker	0	0.0 %
Manufacturing or construction	43	86.0 %
Transportation	0	0.0 %
Services	0	0.0 %
Personal services/domestic labor	3	6.0 %
Other	3	6.0 %
Not in labor force	0	0.0 %
<b>Women's current occupation in New Orleans (N=14)</b>		
Agricultural worker	0	0.0 %
Manufacturing or construction	2	14.3 %
Transportation	0	0.0 %
Services	2	14.3 %
Personal services/domestic labor	7	50.0 %
Other	2	14.3 %
Not in labor force	1	7.1 %

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

Although day laborers who wait for work at informally established street-corners are a highly visible, post-Katrina phenomenon in New Orleans, this is not the most common way that newcomer Latinos find employment. Even in other cities where Latino migrants concentrate, it is not the most common or the most desirable method for seeking employment<sup>9</sup>. Only 9.2% of the sample responded that they had ever looked for work this way in New Orleans, and rates of such searching were similar for pre- and post-Katrina Brazilians. Of those who had ever looked for work at day labor pick-up sites, none said they usually seek work this way.

Migrant's social networks draw members to new destinations with the lure of employment. Typically an employed migrant lets network members know that his or her employer is seeking laborers, and often employers ask their current employees to recruit new workers. The majority of migrants say that they found their current job through a neighbor or acquaintance (65.0%), a family member (15.0%), or a friend (6.7%). None say they found their current job at a street corner pick-up site. A small percentage say they found work through an employment center (1.7) or temporary agency (6.7%). This underscores the power of migrant's social networks to generate a rapid response labor force after a disaster.

Table 4b. Methods of seeking employment

Variable	Frequency	% distribution
Ever looked for work on street corner? (N=65)	6	9.2 %
% of pre-Katrina Brazilians (N=8)	1	12.5%
% of post-Katrina Brazilians (N=55)	5	9.1%
Normally seek work on street corner? (N=65)	0	0.0 %
How did you find out about your current job? (N=60)		
Through family members	9	15.0 %
Through friends	4	6.7 %
Through a neighbor or acquaintance	39	65.0 %
Through a migrant club	0	0.0 %
Through an employment center	1	1.7 %
Through a temporary agency	4	6.7 %
Through a recruiter	0	0.0 %
At a street corner pick-up site	0	0.0 %
An advertisement (TV, radio, internet, newspapers)	0	0.0 %
Other	3	5.0 %
Total	65	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 145 for the total employed unless otherwise specified by a note saying (n=xxx).

<sup>9</sup> Valenzuela, Abel, Nik Theodore, Edwin Meléndez, and Ana Luz Gonzalez. 2006. On the Corner: Day Labor in the United States. Accessed January 2006: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/issr/csup/index.php>

The demand for construction workers drew Brazilians to New Orleans. Latinos are concentrated in construction work throughout the country<sup>10</sup>. New Orleans attracted these workers because of the comparatively higher wages offered here. The mean hourly wage reported by Brazilians in New Orleans is \$18.58 and covers a much higher range when broken down by percentiles. Those who worked in jobs elsewhere in the U.S. before coming to New Orleans reported earning only \$12.77 per hour with a lower distribution overall. Highly mobile migrants are very sensitive to the differences in wages between places. Thus, it may be the case that when wages in New Orleans fall, the migrants will also move on to find more profitable employment<sup>11</sup>.

Table 4c. Wages and hours

	Frequency	Mean	25 <sup>th</sup> Percentile	50 <sup>th</sup> percentile	75 <sup>th</sup> Percentile
Hourly wage in current job in NOLA	58	18.58	13.00	15.00	20.00
Hourly wage in previous location	63	12.77	8.00	10.00	14.00
Total	65				

Note: many cases were missing responses to the questions about hours worked per day (hours) and days worked per week (days) due to a problem in the translation of the questionnaire. I decided not to present these results because they were not consistently reported.

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<sup>10</sup> Pew Hispanic Center, 2007. "Construction Jobs Expand for Latinos Despite Slump in Housing Market," <http://pewhispanic.org/files/factsheets/28.pdf>

<sup>11</sup> Jenalia Moreno, 2006. "As more immigrants go to New Orleans to help rebuild the city, laborers say they're making less; Cleanup work draws a crowd." The Houston Chronicle, October 29, 2006.



## V. Living arrangements

The temporary nature of most respondent's stay in New Orleans is apparent from their living arrangements. Most live in either an apartment (49.2%) or a house (44.6%). In most cases (93.9%) their housing is rented. In post-Katrina New Orleans housing is at a premium, since so much of the housing stock was damaged. Early after the hurricane many migrants were reported to be living in parks, cars, abandoned houses, or at their worksites, but nearly two years later it appears that most migrants have found more healthful and stable arrangements.

Nevertheless, they often economize by sharing a single housing unit among many people. On average, respondents reported having 4.1 people living in their household. This is exceptionally high given that most do not have their spouses or children with them: the average number of adults (over age 16) in a household is 3.8. This considerably reduces the average cost of housing. The average housing unit costs \$996.15 per month, but each adult pays about \$298.07 in housing costs per month. Economizing on housing allows many migrants to remit substantial amounts to their families in Brazil.

Table 5. Living arrangements

Variable	Frequency	% or mean and S.D.	
Type of housing			
Apartment	32	49.2	
House	29	44.6	
Mobile home	1	1.5	
Hotel	3	4.6	
Housing payment (n=156)			
Own	1	1.5	
Rent	61	93.9	
Free	3	4.6	
Residents in housing unit	65	4.1	1.7
Adults in housing unit	64	3.8	1.8
Cost of paid housing unit	52	996.15	326.56
Cost per adult resident in housing unit	52	298.07	187.00
Total	65		

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

## VI.a Employer abuse of Brazilian workers in New Orleans

There have been several highly visible legal cases brought against large employers on behalf of migrants who have not been paid. Far more have been settled out of court, but most cases have probably gone unreported<sup>12</sup>. The respondents in this survey substantiate this impression: 30.8% report that they have experienced non-payment by an employer, and of those who reported this happening, most said it had happened to them on average 2 times. Similarly, 18.5% report being paid less than agreed, on average 2.6 times. Another 12.3% report that they were made to work more hours than agreed to, on average about 2.4 times.

Other abuses on the part of the employer are not related to earnings, but are simply mistreatment of workers. Being abandoned at the work site, denied breaks or water, insulted, threatened or even experiencing violence are not uncommon complaints. It is likely that this mistreatment is concentrated among certain types of workers and certain employers. It isn't clear from this survey whether these abuses are more common in New Orleans than elsewhere, but no such abuse should be tolerated anywhere.

Table 6a. Employer abuse, interaction with police and experience as crime victims

Variable	Frequency	Percentage	Mean # incidents
Employer abuse			
Employer didn't pay	20	30.8	2.0
Employer paid less than agreed	12	18.5	2.6
Employer made workers work more hours	8	12.3	2.4
Employer abandoned workers at worksite	1	1.5	5.0
Employer didn't give breaks or water	4	6.2	2.0
Employer was violent	4	1.5	1.0
Employer insulted or threatened workers	6	9.2	2.7
Total	65		

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

<sup>12</sup> Sam Quiñones. 2006. "Many of Katrina's Workers Go Unpaid; With oversight lacking, layers of subcontractors take advantage of a cash-based economy and those hired to help in the reconstruction." Los Angeles Times, September 11, 2006; Gwen Filosa. 2006. "Builder to pay for lost wages: It settles migrant laborers' suit." The Times-Picayune (New Orleans). September 9, 2006; Gerard Shields. 2007. "House probes N.O. labor: Accusations fly of abuse, sloth." The Advocate (Baton Rouge), Capital City Press. June 27, 2007.

## VI.b Police treatment of Brazilians in New Orleans and crimes against Brazilians

Since many Brazilians are undocumented migrants, they are wary of the police or any other U.S. legal authority. In New Orleans, the police have been unfamiliar with their role in enforcing migration law and so migrants are more likely to avoid them. This makes migrants targets for criminals who know they often carry cash and will not go to the police. The survey found that significant, though small, percentages of Brazilians had had negative interactions with the police. The most common experience was that they were fined for driving without identification (28.8%). Another 13.6% had been arrested. Although we did not ask about the crime they had been arrested for, many volunteered that they had been arrested while driving without identification. Over 16% had been asked about their legal status and 12% had had their legal papers confiscated, though it isn't clear if those papers were genuine or not. We did not inquire heavily into the nature of these interactions since they were often a sensitive subject for the migrants. The results demonstrate, however, that the migrants have cause to avoid the police. This makes them vulnerable to becoming crime victims since criminals believe they will not report crimes to the police.

The most common crimes against the respondents were robbery (16.7%) and battery (6.0%). It is likely that crimes against migrants were not more widespread because migrants take measures to protect themselves. For example, it is common to see groups of 3 to 8 Latino men walking together in the evenings. This is not only because they are socializing and having fun, but because they are safer in groups than they are traveling alone. The migrants may also minimize their exposure to crime and police interaction by working long hours and spending their leisure time relaxing at home. Only in the past year have more restaurants, clubs, and other social gathering spaces have opened up that cater to the working class Latino population. As the migrants become more settled measures should be taken to create an atmosphere of safety and trust between the police and Latino migrants to ensure that they do not remain easy targets for criminals in a city that is already overwhelmed by crime.

Table 6b. Police treatment and crimes against Brazilians

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Mean # incidents
<b>Police treatment</b>			
Insulted or harassed	3	6.0	2.0
Arrested	8	13.6	1.0
Fined	18	28.8	1.8
Legal papers confiscated	7	12.1	1.0
Asked about legal status	10	16.7	1.6
<b>Victim of crime?</b>			
Robbery	1	16.7	1.0
Attack	2	3.0	1.0
Assault	3	4.5	1.0
Battery	1	6.0	1.3
Sexual abuse/rape	1	3.0	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>		

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

## VII. Health and health care

Migrants are usually healthy workers when they arrive in the U.S. and therefore it is not surprising that most classify themselves as being in excellent, very good, or good health. The jobs that they engage, however, pose serious risks to their good health. Only (27.4%) reported that their job is dangerous, but about a third (33.3%) of workers reported having been injured or become ill on the job at least once. They listed risks such as working on roofs or in contaminated buildings without protection, lifting and unloading heavy objects, and the danger of injury from construction equipment. The health problems were typically minor physical injuries such as cuts, puncture wounds from nails, falling or having something fall on them (42.9%). Another common problem was respiratory illness or infection (19.0%). Many workers do not understand the danger of exposure to dust, asbestos, and mold, and do not take proper precautions at work<sup>13</sup>. The survey did not ask about their knowledge of these hazards or whether their employers gave them protective equipment.

Table 7a. Health and on-the-job injuries

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Recent health (N=63)		
Excellent	19	30.2
Very good	12	19.0
Good	26	41.3
Regular	6	9.5
Bad	0	0.0
Is your job dangerous? (N=62)		
Yes	17	27.4
No	45	72.6
Ever experienced on-the-job injury (N=63)	21	33.3
Type of injury or illness (N=21)		
Minor physical injury (cuts, falls, etc...)	9	42.9
Broken bones	0	0.0
Infections/respiratory illness	4	19.0
Other	8	38.1
Total	65	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.

<sup>13</sup> Tomas Aguilar and Laura Podolsky. 2006. Risk amid Recovery: Occupational Health and Safety of Latino Immigrant Workers in the Aftermath of the Gulf Coast Hurricanes. UCLA Labor and Occupational Safety and Health Program (LOSH) and the National Day Laborers Organizing Network (NDLON). [http://www.colectivoflatlander.org/Site/English\\_files/risk\\_amid\\_recovery-1.pdf](http://www.colectivoflatlander.org/Site/English_files/risk_amid_recovery-1.pdf)

Of those who were injured more than 2/3s (71.4%) sought medical care. Four out of every five who sought such care typically received it (80.0%). The largest percentage of injured workers couldn't pay for their treatment (33.3%), while another quarter (25.0%) had their care paid for by their employer. Of those who did not seek or receive medical care, the most common reason was that they did not know where to go (40.0%) or perceived that there were few medical options. The rest (20.0%) said a language barrier prevented them from getting care. While lack of insurance and lack of knowledge about health care are important barriers to obtaining health care, it seems that among the Brazilians the lack of communication because of language is one of the largest barriers.

Table 7b. Medical care

Variable	Frequency	Percentage
Sought medical care? (N=21)	15	71.4 %
Received medical care? (N=15)	12	80.0 %
How did you pay for medical care? (N=12)		
Medical insurance through employer	0	0.0 %
My own health insurance	0	0.0 %
Paid for it myself	0	0.0 %
Paid by my employer	3	25.0 %
Free treatment	0	0.0 %
I couldn't pay	4	33.3 %
Other	5	41.7 %
Why didn't receive medical care? (n=5)		
Could not pay	0	0.0 %
Didn't know where to go	2	40.0 %
Doesn't have medical insurance	0	0.0 %
Few medical options	2	40.0 %
Doesn't speak English/no Portuguese speaker	1	20.0 %
Total	66	

Note: The number in the column labeled N is the number with a specific characteristic (the numerator). The base number (denominator) is 65 unless otherwise specified.