

Tufts University
Department of Portuguese

BRAZILIAN ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN BOSTON

Senior Thesis
by Paulina Jedrzejowski

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelor Degree in International Relations

May 2019

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor Cristiane Soares, for guiding me through the process of writing my thesis. Thank You for inspiring me to produce my best writing. I would also like to thank my second reader, Professor Felipe Dias, for all of his help during the process of this study. Furthermore, I am forever indebted to my parents, grandparents, Damian Jedrzejowski, and Diego Baião for believing in me and supporting me through my academic journey.

Chapter 1: Introduction

When filling out a Census Form, how many times have you stopped to think about which ethnic category you fit into? If you fit nicely into the Census categories, you probably have never stopped to think if all Americans fit perfectly into the U.S. Census categories. As a Sophomore at Tufts University, I had the opportunity to do an internship in the SomerViva Program at the Somerville City Hall. SomerViva is a program that recognizes the contributions of immigrants and strives to ensure their voices are heard. While interning at SomerViva, I encountered many Brazilians. As someone who was only beginning to learn about the issues Brazilians encounter when identifying themselves on the U.S. Census, I would assume Brazilians are Latinos. Yet, I soon found out the ethnicity question was much more complicated. My experience as well as previous researchers have shown that Brazilians do not always agree with the ethnic categorization in which American society classifies them. On one hand, Brazilians don't identify themselves as Latinos. Moreover, their preferred category for ethnic classification is "Brazilian", a category not included in the Census.

In light of this reality, I asked myself: Does the way Brazilians classify themselves impact how organization see them and give them access to resources? Does this classification issue affect how Brazilians mobilize to fight for their rights?

To the best of my knowledge, no research has investigated if there is a difference in how organizations classify Brazilians or if there is any relationship between this classification and political mobilization among Brazilians. Resources accessible to Brazilians or accessed by Brazilians may be limited if there is a difference and if this difference affects the political mobilization among Brazilians.

Rationale

This study sheds light on how Brazilians receive and have access to services. Understanding if differences in ethnic classification do in fact have an influence in the political mobilization of Brazilians may have significant policy implications. If the relationship between ethnic classification and political mobilization is confirmed, it could mean that Brazilians will continue to have difficulties in uniting and mobilizing to fight for issues relevant to their population. Acknowledging this relationship may lead Brazilians to find ways to approach this difference in a more informed way and become more cohesive.

Research Questions

This study addresses two research questions: Is there a difference in how American, Brazilian and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians? If so, how can this difference in ethnic classification affect the political mobilization of Brazilians? Ethnic classification indicates whether or not someone is of Hispanic or Latino origin. Political mobilization refers to how readily a group of people advocates for their rights and if they access all of the resources that are available to them. My hypotheses are that there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians and that this difference affects the political mobilization among Brazilians.

Interview Questions

To test my hypotheses, I conducted interviews with American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations located in the Boston area which provide resources to these specific populations. Resources, in this study, are defined as intangible goods that help people raise their standard of living. Such services include bilingual education, English as a second language classes, or information about affordable housing. In order to answer my research questions, I interviewed

employers of three American organizations, three Brazilian organizations, and three Hispanic organizations, asking them the following questions:

1. How would you classify a Brazilian? (I provided the official Census classification)
2. In your opinion, do Brazilians take advantage of the resources that are available to them?
3. Do you think that Brazilians mobilize to advocate for their rights?
4. Do you think there is any relationship between how Brazilians identify themselves and their political and social mobilization?

The first question directly answered the first research question and questions two, three, and four generated data which answered the second research question.

Each interview was recorded and transcribed. Data was classified in order to provide a qualitative analysis.

The next chapter presents the U.S. Census categories and the main theories of how Americans and Hispanics identify Brazilians, and how Brazilians identify themselves. It also discusses different theories researchers propose for the lack of political mobilization in the Brazilian community.

Chapter 2: Brazilian Ethnic Identity and Political Mobilization in the United States

Theories of Identity

Identity. What is it and how does it impact our everyday life? James D. Fearon (1999) claims that the word identity is presently used in two linked senses, which may be termed as “social” or “personal”. As a social category, it is defined by membership rules and (alleged) characteristic attributes or expected behaviors. As a personal identity, it distinguishes features that a person takes a special pride in or views as unchangeable but socially consequential. When a person migrates, personal identity may not change but their social identity will as one interacts with new cultural, linguistic, and social norms.

There are four definitions of identity that will be considered in this paper. Beserra (2006) mentions Anderson, who proposed the following theory: “The nation is an imagined political community. In this case all nationals, whether living at home or abroad, are included in such a concept” (In Beserra 72). On the other hand, Judith Butler argues that identity is not an idea that is free floating, but is a result of daily, embodied performances (In Gibson 187). She explains that as opposed to others who argue that actions are the result of an identity, identity is a result of daily actions. Margolis (2007) mentions the work of Frederick Barth, who proposes a relationship between national/ethnic identity and the identity of others. He claims that it is not the shared culture that defines the group but the differences between the group and others. (Margolis 214). According to Martes (2007), research has shown that national identity tends to supersede ethnic identity, in three situations: when related to the generational variable, when immigrants seek protection from the bias that ethnic classifications often impose, and under circumstances restricted to self-identification (233).

These definitions, although different, are fundamental to comprehending the results of this study. According to Anderson's definition of identity as a nation being an imagined political community, it would be expected that people from the same nation would unite politically. They would either advocate for their rights, form organizations, or identify as one national group. Although some of these characteristics can be observed in the Brazilian community in Boston, others are not as apparent (i.e. lack of political mobilization). Thus, even though Brazilians usually identify as Brazilian in the United States, they do not come together as a political community. Butlers' definition of identity is important because it points to the fact that identity is formed through actions. Thus, following her logic, Brazilians' lack of political mobilization must have an effect on their identity or may influence the way they are seen by American and Hispanic organizations. Furthermore, Barth's definition of identity could explain why Brazilians position themselves in opposition to Hispanics and why many of them do not want to be considered as Hispanic or Latino. Martes' definition of identity is similar to Barth's. Following her logic, Brazilians would strive to be recognized as Brazilians and not as Latinos. Yet, her argument does not explain why some Brazilians may choose to not identify as Brazilian.

These definitions will be of fundamental importance when answering the two research questions this study proposes.

Ethnic Classification on the U.S. Census

In the United States, ethnic group identification is constructed through the Census. To understand why Brazilians have difficulty in understanding their ethnic identity in the United States, it is important to understand the categories that appear on the Census. The category on the U.S. Census that results in the most confusion when classifying Brazilians is "Hispanic"/Latino. In the 1970s, the Federal Office of Management and Budget created the term "Hispanic"

(Beserra 63). Since then, it is an imposed label that is seen as the main vehicle for ethnic classification and discrimination in the United States. According to Falconi and Mazzotti (2007), the Census Bureau defines the term “Hispanic” in extremely broad terms: “People of Hispanic origin share an ethnicity, but may be of any race. Hispanic include Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, South and Central Americans, and others with markedly different characteristics” (5). The original purpose of the definition was to group the Puerto Rican and Chicano/Mexican American populations. The origins of the term “Latino” are connected to the rise of the social and political movements in the 1960s and resulted from an attempt to include all Latin-American immigrants under the same political category (Beserra 63). Even though these two terms are meant to define different populations, many times they are used as synonyms to avoid the confusion caused by their definitions. This is very problematic because it disguises the diversity that exists among Latinos and overemphasizes the Spanish aspects of South America.

Another problem is that the American Census does not account for all South American countries. Margolis (1994) claims that individuals who would like to identify as “Hispanic” and “Latino” and have their country enumerated must check the box “Yes, other Spanish/Hispanic” and fill in the adjacent blank with their country of origin (29). Margolis (2007) also mentions the work of Jorge del Pinal, chief of ethnic and Hispanic statistics at the Bureau of the Census, who argues that this designation was created after deliberation on the problem of how best to group former “Spanish-speaking” or “Spanish-surnamed” people. The issue was that not all of the people considered “Hispanic” spoke Spanish nor had Spanish surnames (229). According to Margolis (1994), the solution to this problem was to have a category, “other Spanish/Hispanic”. Instructions that accompanied the 1990 Census form specify that the box marked “other Spanish/Hispanic” should be checked by people of the following origins: “Mexican, Mexican-

American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Argentinian, Colombian, Costa Rican, Dominican, Ecuadorean, Guatemalan, Honduran, Nicaraguan, Peruvian, Salvadoran, and [those from] other Spanish-speaking countries of the Caribbean or Central or South American, or from Spain” (279). The Census Bureau stressed the great improvement in the 1990 Census over the 1980 Census in its recognition of Latinos in the United States. There was an improvement, yet, Brazil was still not part of the list of countries even though Brazilians are Latin Americans.

Since Brazil is a Lusophone country, Brazilian immigrants do not identify as “Hispanic” and are not considered “Hispanic” by the U.S. Census, state Ramos-Zayas (2008) (284). On the other hand, Margolis (2007) highlights that the terms “Latino” or “Latino community” do encompass Brazilians but Brazilians tend to avoid this classification since the term is usually associated with Spanish speakers (229).

For the reasons mentioned above, the term should not be used by American and Hispanic organizations to identify Brazilians. Yet, the term “Latino” has a political origin in the United States. Since it was a term used to unite people from different countries of Latin America in the United States, American and Hispanic organizations might use it to identify Brazilians. It is important to notice, however, that the term “Latino” in Portuguese is used mostly to identify things related to the Spanish-speaking Latin America, which explains why Brazilians avoid its use when it comes to identifying themselves. It is easy to recognize how confusion in ethnic categorization might arise when classifying Brazilians.

American Ethnic Classification of Brazilians

Margolis (2008) argues that Brazilian identity is a particularly loaded issue in the United States where Latin America is often portrayed as “just one civilization artificially divided into different countries” (220-221). Part of the mystification of Brazilian identity in the United States

stems from the fact that although Brazilians are Latin Americans, they do not fit neatly into this common American concept.

There are two ways in which Brazilians are perceived by the American community. McDonnell and Lourenço (2008) argue that Americans do not know how to ethnically classify Brazilians nor are they interested in the correct ethnic classification of Brazilians (165) while Margolis (1994) argues that Americans ethnically classify Brazilians as Hispanics (Margolis, 17). According to Margolis, Brazilian immigrants are seen as Hispanics because many of them live in parts of the city where Spanish is commonly spoken and because they often work with Hispanics. Most Americans simply do not know that Brazil is in any way distinct, linguistically or culturally, from the rest of Latin America. Furthermore, Margolis states that Americans do not realize that the term “Hispanic” is a misnomer (242). This inability of the American society to approximate Brazilian ethnic classification to the way Brazilians would like to be ethnically classified affects the way Brazilians negotiate their Brazilian-ness in the United States.

McDonnell and Lourenço and Margolis provide a basis for understanding how American organizations ethnically classify Brazilians. Even though they present two different sides of an argument, they both point to the ignorance of the common American population with regards to the classification of Brazilian immigrants. Following their logic, Americans are ignorant of who Brazilians really are and should not be able to provide much information about Brazilians.

Brazilian Self-Classification

The Brazilian community in the United States shows a greater tie to their national identity than to their ethnic identity. In the United States, the construction of a Brazilian identity is connected to factors such as the relative position of the Brazilian immigrant population in relation to other immigrant populations and the specific needs of the American cultural market

(Beserra 156). The Brazilian community is always evolving. Taking into consideration Anderson's theory (1983) previously mentioned, one could argue that this is because identity is always imagined by a regionally, racially, and socioeconomically diverse group of Brazilians and because immigrants find themselves represented and perceived by Americans or by Hispanics in ways they were not familiar with in the past.

According to researchers, there are three ways in which Brazilians wish to be seen: as Brazilian, Hispanic, or American. McDonnell and Lourenço argues that Brazilians would like to identify by their nationality in the United States since they do not see themselves of Latina, Latin American, or Hispanic origin (164). Researchers argue that Brazilians have long been indifferent to their South American neighbors, dismissing shared Iberian roots, and even being unfamiliar with other Latin American cultures. They also believe themselves to be closer to the colonizers, in terms of mental disposition. Margolis (1994) states that this places them above the "other" Latinos, whom they consider distant in terms of attitude (242-243). Brazilians also tend to maintain strong ties to Brazil and reject ethnic and racial labels. National identity is highly salient for this population and is the primary reference for socializing and for collective activities. Margolis highlights Brazilian Anthropologist Darcy Ribeiro's observation, "the Brazilian people see themselves as unique, as singular" (242-243). This is why it is so difficult for Brazilians to identify using other categories different from their nationality.

According to Margolis, Brazilians in the United States have created a distinct identity, a "Brazuca identity" (242-243). *Brazuca* is a colloquialism for Brazilian immigrants in the United States and first appeared in print in the late 1980s. In her research Marrow (2007) states, even community leaders have encouraged Brazilian immigrants to maintain their pre-migration ethno-racial identity by marking "other-Brazilian" on any form that asks for racial or ethnic

identification (70). Brazilian immigrants try to resist external U.S. categorizations that homogenize them as whites, blacks, or Hispanics/Latinos, without recognizing their primary Brazilian identities. Most Brazilians think it is important to demarcate their nationality.

The two other classifications, Hispanic and American, are not usually chosen by most Brazilians. Beserra argues that economically disadvantaged Brazilians tend to identify themselves with other “non-white” groups (66). In situations where access to resources is enhanced, Brazilians do not mind being identified with Hispanics. McDonnell and Lourenço highlight that Brazilians sometimes identify as Americans (170). This usually occurs when they are aware that holding onto “Brazilian” as a part of their identity may exacerbate their exclusion from U.S. culture.

Hispanic Classification of Brazilians

There is limited research on how Hispanic communities identify Brazilians. Margolis (1994) argues that Hispanic businesses and media are sometimes confused about how to designate Brazilians (251). For example, in the 1990 “Directory of Hispanic Auto Dealers,” seven Brazilian dealers were listed as Hispanic. Margolis is the only researcher who shows any studies on how the Hispanic community identifies Brazilians. Yet, her research is very limited.

Political Mobilization among Brazilians

Even though Brazilians feel comfortable declaring their national identity, there is an absence of political mobilization within the community when compared to the Hispanic community. Political mobilization refers to how readily a group of people advocates for their rights and if they access the resources that are available to them. Martes (1999) mentions the work of Maxine Margolis who states that the lack of community associations is one of the most striking aspects of the Brazilian community (Martes 170). There are several reasons why

Brazilians have not been able to massively politically mobilize. Most of these reasons revolve around economic, social, and cultural factors.

Margolis (1994) states that Brazil lacks the tradition of clubs and mutual interest associations that exist in the United States. Margolis highlights the work of Conrad P. Kottak (1990) who claims, “In Brazil, where home and extended family hold their own so vigorously against the external world, non-kin associations are fewer” (In Margolis 1995). Another contributing factor could be the Brazilian dictatorial government from 1964 to 1985. It was an era of oppression thus people were not taught how to advocate for their rights in school. Many Brazilian immigrants living in the United States today were born during this era, thus, they were either never taught how to advocate for their rights or think that even if they do advocate for their rights they will not be heard.

Jones-Correa (2007) claims that education is highly correlated with political participation of all kinds (5). According to Joseph (2015), although some Brazilians may have an education level lower than the average American, Brazilians are more likely to have a higher level of education in comparison to other Latin American immigrants (6). This means that even though education may be one of the causes of political mobilization, it does not explain the lack of political mobilization amongst Brazilians. If Brazilians have a higher education level than Hispanics, according to this rationale, then they should have a higher level of political mobilizations than Hispanics.

Beserra proposes that the Brazilians who reject association with other compatriots are those who believe that their assimilation into American society can be complete and that it is only a matter of individual effort (74). Dissociation from other Brazilians is an important requirement in this sense. Beserra mentions the work of Bonacich who proposes that there is not

much empirical evidence which supports the belief that people of the same ethnicity always compromise homogenous and highly cooperative communities (In Beserra 73). This difference amongst Brazilian immigrants with regards to their identity may be one of the more persuasive reasons to explain the lack of political mobilization amongst the Brazilian community. Could this be a result of only personal identity or is it also a result of social identity? If it is a result of social identity, could it also be a result of the complexity in their ethnic identification?

Beserra argues that there is an absence of political mobilization amongst the Brazilian community because Brazilians are not as numerous as other immigrant groups, they are not as physically distinguishable, and they have a very recent immigrant history (73). Thus, they have not built an immigrant “know-how” the way the Hispanic community has. Latin America, overall, has been sending large numbers of people to the United States for years, and the Latino/Hispanic population is the largest “minority” in the United States (McDonnell and Lourenco, 164). Thus, Hispanics are more present than Brazilians. Hispanics are also one of the stake-holders during elections and politicians have to rely on their votes when running for office. Since the Brazilian presence is new and weaker, even if they advocate for their rights they will not be heard to the extent that Hispanics will.

There are numerous reasons for why political mobilization amongst the Brazilian community is not as active as the political mobilization amongst the Hispanic community. Thus far, there has been limited research focusing specifically on how the American and Hispanic community identifies Brazilians. The few researchers who have investigated this issue point to the ignorance among American and Hispanic communities in regard to the Brazilian population. If Brazilians do in fact feel neglected, this might also influence their political mobilization.

Building upon the existent studies, my research focuses specifically on how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic identify the Brazilian community in Boston and what impact this has on Brazilian political mobilization in Boston. The next chapter presents the data collected in interviews with nine of these organizations.

Chapter 3: Analysis

In this chapter, data collected from interviews with representatives of the nine organizations will be presented and analyzed. The interviews were conducted between October and December 2018 at the headquarters of each of these organizations in Boston.

The first research question this study seeks to answer is: Is there a difference in how American, Brazilian and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians? Aiming to collect data to answer this question, participants were asked the following question: According to the Census classifications, which category would you use to classify a Brazilian?

Participants were presented with the following categories from the official U.S Census and asked to classify a Brazilian according to these categories.

1. Is Person 1 OF Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
 - No, not Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
 - Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano
 - Yes, Puerto Rican
 - Yes, Cuban
 - Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
2. What is this person's race?
 - White
 - Black, African Am., or Negro
 - American Indian or Alaska Native
 - Asian Indian
 - Chinese
 - Filipino
 - Japanese
 - Korean
 - Vietnamese
 - Native Hawaiian
 - Guamanian or Chamorro
 - Samoan
 - Other Pacific Islander
 - Other Asian
 - Some other race

Below, is the data on how representatives from the nine organizations ethnically and racially classified Brazilians:

Interviewee/ Organization	Is Person 1 OF Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?	What is this person's race?
Interviewee 1 (Brazilian Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 2 (Brazilian Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 3 (Brazilian Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 4 (American Organization)	Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Depends on Phenotype
Interviewee 5 (American Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Depends on Phenotype
Interviewee 6 (American Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 7 (Hispanic Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 8 (Hispanic Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian
Interviewee 9 (Hispanic Organization)	No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	Brazilian

Interviewees 1, 2, and 3, who are from Brazilian organizations (BOs), all stated that they would ethnically classify a Brazilian as non-Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, and racially as Brazilian. Interviewees 4, 5, and 6, who are from American Organizations (AOs), did not have a clear consensus in their ethnic and racially classification of Brazilians: Interviewee 6 stated they would ethnically classify a Brazilian as non-Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, and racially as

Brazilian. Interviewee 4 classified Brazilians as another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin but said their racial classification would depend on the Brazilians' phenotype. Interviewee 5 stated they would classify Brazilians as non-Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin but agreed with Interviewee 4 and said their racial classification would depend on the Brazilians' phenotype. Interviewees 7, 8, and 9, who are from Hispanic Organizations (HOs), stated they would ethnically classify a Brazilian as non-Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, and racially as Brazilian.

As can be seen from the data, the first hypothesis can be confirmed. The results indicate a discrepancy between how the American organizations and other organizations classify Brazilians. On the other hand, the data shows that representatives at Hispanic organizations are aware of how the Brazilian population classifies itself.

According to Interviewee 1, when Brazilians first arrive to the United States, many classify themselves as White and those who cannot pass as White classify themselves as Brazilian. This organization discusses the meaning of race and ethnicity in the United States with Brazilians. Interviewee 1 also states that it is difficult for Brazilians to classify themselves as Latino because they get stuck on the binary meaning of Latino (what Latino means in the United States and what Latino means in Brazil). When this occurs, many Brazilians go back to identifying themselves as Brazilian. According to Interviewee 1, this classification is very comfortable for Brazilians because they have been classifying themselves as Brazilian their entire life. All of the Interviewees from BOs agreed that there is a need for the Brazilian population to understand the ethnic and racial system in the United States.

According to Interview 2, people who do not engage in the American culture have a difficult time understanding how race plays a role in the United States. The way Brazil and the

United States perceive race and ethnicity is very different. Some Brazilians state that they are White or Black but they do not understand how they are perceived by Americans. Interviewee 2 also stated that Brazilians should identify themselves as Latino because they are from Latin America. Yet, this Interviewee stated she only identifies as Latina when she is not in the United States since she understands that for Americans the word “Latina” is a synonym for Spanish speaker. According to this Interviewee, this is a perception shared by other Brazilians as well.

According to Interviewee 3, in Brazil, there are no distinct racial categories because many races are recognized. Brazilians do not bind to only one racial identity. Thus, it is hard for Brazilians to decide if they are White or Black in the United States because there are many different races in between those two. Interviewee 3 stated that some Brazilians may have never had to decide what race they are and may have not even thought about it. Thus, it may not only be unnatural for the Brazilian population to categorize themselves within one racial category but the population may not be aware of what these categories actually mean. Interviewee 3 also believes that some Brazilians may have a hard time classifying themselves as Latino because they have been unable to attend school and thus, may not understand that Brazil is part of Latin America. As Interviewee 2, Interviewee 3 agrees that being called Latina in the United States implies being a Spanish speaker. Interviewee 3 also stated that if Brazilians had an option like Other or Brazilian in the Census, they would more likely choose to identify according to that classification than to identify as Latino.

Interviewee 4 and 8 didn't add any other thoughts about how they would classify Brazilians. Based on the answers to questions that followed, it shows that Interviewee 4 did not have a lot of experience with the Brazilian immigrant group. Interviewee 5 stated that labels are created by other entities for specific purposes but they are not necessarily labels that are

embraced by people from specific regions. According to Interviewee 6, when people ask Brazilians where they are from they will say they are from Brazil. It seems like Brazilians differentiate themselves from other Latin Americans. Interviewee 6 thinks that maybe the Brazilian community wants to classify themselves as Brazilian because they perceive the classification of Brazilians as more prestigious than the classification of Latino in the U.S. society. Interviewee 7 stated that Brazilians are Latin Americans but they don't feel like Latinos. This is a result of the fact that they do not even speak the same language as most Latinos. Interviewee 9 never looks at Brazilians as Latinos. The Interviewee only looks at Brazilians as Brazilians.

The second question this study seeks to answer is: If there is a difference between how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians, how can this difference in ethnic classification affect the political mobilization of Brazilians? The researchers' hypothesis regarding this question is that a difference in ethnic classification would affect the political mobilization of Brazilians. The first question that was asked to participants, aiming to answer the second question was: Do Brazilians take advantage of the resources that are available to them? As mentioned in Chapter 1, resources, in this study, are defined as intangible good that help people to raise their standard of living. Representatives at different organizations in Boston have different views about the utilization of resources by Brazilians, as can be seen in the next table:

Interviewee/ Organization	Do Brazilians take advantage of all of the resources that are available to them?
Interviewee 1 (Brazilian organization)	Only those who are aware of the resources available
Interviewee 2 (Brazilian organization)	No, because they are not well informed
Interviewee 3 (Brazilian organization)	No, because they are not aware of the resources available
Interviewee 4 (American Organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 5 (American Organization)	As long as there is infrastructure to inform and educate them about the resources available; otherwise, no.
Interviewee 6 (American Organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 7 (Hispanic Organization)	Yes
Interviewee 8 (Hispanic Organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 9 (Hispanic Organization)	I don't know

All Interviewees from BOs stated that the possibility of Brazilians taking advantage of all of the resources that are available to them depends on their knowledge about these resources. Interviewee 1 also explained that for this exact reason, the Brazilian organization she works for helps Brazilians understand what resources are available to them. Interviewee 2 also agrees that Brazilians do not take advantage of the resources because they are not well informed. She stated that Brazilians usually think that the system in the United States works the same way as the system in Brazil, which is much more bureaucratic and limited. Interviewee 3 highlighted that many Brazilians are afraid of letting organizations know where they live or how many people they live with, which may explain why they choose not to look for help.

Among the participants from AOs and HOs, four out the six remaining participants stated they do not know if Brazilians take advantage of the resources available to them. Interviewee 5 (AO), similarly to the participants from BOs, stated that Brazilians access to resources depends on their knowledge of the existent resources while Interviewee 7 (HO) stated that Brazilians do

take advantage of the resources available and are very proactive in applying for different resources.

This data might draw important information about the issue of the invisibility of the Brazilian population. If we consider that the data collected reflects the general perception and lack of knowledge among American and Hispanic organizations about the Brazilian population, it seems accurate to affirm that these organization are not aware of the needs of the Brazilian population and cannot effectively provide the resources it needs. It may also indicate that the Brazilian population does not seek resources at non-Brazilian institutions, if they seek resources at all. Furthermore, it points to the fact that the Brazilian population is living separately from the American and Hispanic population.

Aiming to gather more information to answer the second question, a second question was asked: Do Brazilians mobilize to advocate for their rights? In this context, rights refer to various civil rights (i.e. the right to not be discriminated, the right to attend city hall meetings, the right to public education etc.). Next, the data on the view of organizations regarding Brazilians' advocacy for rights is presented.

Interviewee/Organization	Do you think that Brazilians mobilize to advocate for their rights?
Interviewee 1 (Brazilian organization)	Somewhat
Interviewee 2 (Brazilian organization)	They are beginning to
Interviewee 3 (Brazilian organization)	They are learning to
Interviewee 4 (American organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 5 (American organization)	Yes, they do if they know how
Interviewee 6 (American organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 7 (Hispanic organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 8 (Hispanic organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 9 (Hispanic organization)	No

Interviewees 1, 2, and 3, all stated that Brazilians are beginning to mobilize to advocate for their rights. Interviewee 1 did not provide any significant comments. Interviewee 2 stated that Brazilians are beginning to advocate for their rights as individuals but not as a collective group. Interviewee 3 stated that Brazilians are learning that they have rights and, thus, learning how to mobilize for these rights. According to this Interviewee, Brazilians are learning that they can access more information about resources at various community fairs, they are learning about affordable housing programs and, consequently, more Brazilians are applying to these programs today. In 2018, for instance, approximately one hundred Brazilians applied to participate in an affordable housing program and approximately ten Brazilians were accepted.

Among participants from AOs and HOs, four out of the six stated they do not know if Brazilian mobilize for their rights. Interviewee 5 stated that Brazilians advocate for their rights if they know how to mobilize, and Interviewee 9 stated that Brazilians do not mobilize for their

rights. Interviewee 4 stated that Brazilian organizations need to be bigger and more active than they currently are. This Interviewee also pointed to the fact that Brazilians need to know about resources that exist and how to access these resources. Interviewee 6 stated he is not familiar with any Brazilian organizations. Interviewee 8 does not see the Brazilian organizations that exist as advocacy groups. Interviewee 5, 7, and 9 do not provide any comments. Once again, the lack of information or knowledge regarding the Brazilian population was evident among the majority of the non-Brazilian participants.

Aiming to gather more information to answer the second research question, the participants were asked to answer a third question: Do you see any relationship between how Brazilians identify themselves and their political and social mobilization? Below, participants' answers are summarized:

Interviewee/Organization	Do you see any relationship between how Brazilians identify themselves and their political and social mobilization?
Interviewee 1 (Brazilian organization)	No
Interviewee 2 (Brazilian organization)	Yes
Interviewee 3 (Brazilian organization)	Maybe
Interviewee 4 (American organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 5 (American organization)	Yes
Interviewee 6 (American organization)	Yes
Interviewee 7 (Hispanic organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 8 (Hispanic organization)	I don't know
Interviewee 9 (Hispanic organization)	Yes

It's interesting to notice that, for the first time, participants BOs disagreed on their answers. According to Interviewee 1, there is no explicit relationship between how Brazilians identify themselves and their political and social mobilization. The Interviewee thinks social classism has a more viable influence on Brazilian political and social mobilization. According to this participant, there is a rigid class system in Brazil where the rich, the poor, and the very poor do not socialize nor occupy the same spaces. When Brazilians arrive in the United States, they become immigrants and the previous class divisions theoretically cease to exist. Interviewee 1 affirmed that wealthier Brazilians in the United States feel embarrassed by less privileged Brazilians. More specifically, wealthier Brazilians feel resentment for losing their previous social status, according to Interviewee 1. The poor do not care about their social status since they are able to earn money. To Interviewee 1, Brazilians will never become cohesive.

Interviewee 1 stated that another cause of the lack of political and social mobilization of Brazilians is the undocumented status of many Brazilians. Interviewee 1 stated that Massachusetts is the home of the largest Brazilian community living outside of Brazil. It also has the largest population of undocumented Brazilians. Thus, many families have at least one member of the family who is undocumented. According to Interviewee 1, when Brazilians are in these types of living situations, they do not want to expose another family member who may not be documented. Thus, they will not participate in political and social mobilization because they are afraid for the safety and well-being of their loved ones.

According to Interview 2, there is a relationship between how Brazilians identify themselves and their political and social mobilization. To Interviewee 2, the way the United States views race is very different from the way the rest of the world views race. Brazilians feel as if they are invisible in the U.S. society because they do not see themselves as people of color

while they perceive the society does see them as people of color. To Interviewee 2, the fact that Brazilians and Americans perceive race through different lenses may have a direct effect on how Brazilians mobilize. According to Interviewee 2, Brazilians feel invisible in the society, therefore they don't believe mobilizing is worthy.

According to Interviewee 3, there may be a relationship between how Brazilians identify and their political and social mobilization. This may result from the question of race not being clear to Brazilians in the United States. To Interviewee 3, Brazilian political and social mobilization could change if an option that specifically identifies them as Brazilian becomes available. Furthermore, Interviewee 3 stated that Brazilians are learning how to mobilize for their rights. The organization where the Interviewee works invites Brazilians to participate in City Hall meetings. Interviewee 3 also thinks that the immigration status of many Brazilians is keeping them from mobilizing politically and socially because it makes them afraid of answering the Census. The organization has been working on campaigns to increase the number of Brazilians who answer the municipal Census because this is the only way the organization can increase the variety of resources available for Brazilians. Brazilians, however, are afraid of letting the organization know where they live or how many people they live with. Overall, Interviewee 3 thinks that it will take time for Brazilians to begin to mobilize politically and socially.

Interviewee 4, 7, and 8 do not know if there exists a relationship between Brazilian identity and their political and social mobilization. Interviewees 4 and 8 did not make any significant comments. According to Interviewee 7, Brazilians try to access resources at this organization but language is a barrier, since Brazilians usually try to speak in Portuguese to Spanish speakers. Yet, the Spanish speakers do not understand Portuguese. The Interviewee

stated that Brazilians may also be trying to access Spanish recourses but the Interviewee is not sure.

According to Interviewee 5, 6, and 9 there is a relationship between how Brazilians identify and their political and social mobilization. To Interviewee 5, labels are created by other entities for specific purposes but these are not necessarily labels that are embraced by particular people from specific regions, which could explain why Brazilians seemed to have more resistance to mobilize. Interviewee 9 stated that if the Brazilian and the Hispanic community could unite, they would be able to achieve more than each community will be able to achieve separately but Brazilians seem not to want to work with the Hispanic community.

The data collected in this study might draw important information about Brazilian ethnic classification and political mobilization. The first research question this data aimed to answer was: Is there a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organization ethnically classify Brazilians? The hypothesis was that there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians. The results of this study indicate, in fact, a discrepancy between how the American organizations and other organizations classify Brazilians. They also show that representatives at Hispanic organizations are aware of how the Brazilian population classifies itself. Thus, Hypothesis 1 could be confirmed.

The second research question this data aimed to answer was: If there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians, how can this difference in ethnic classification affect the political mobilization of Brazilians? The hypothesis was that this difference in ethnic classification does affect Brazilian political mobilization. As can be seen from the data, Hypothesis 2 can be partially confirmed. The difference in Brazilian

ethnic classification is one of the reasons for the lack of political mobilization but there are a number of other reasons. In the next chapter, the implication of these findings will be discussed.

Chapter 4: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to assess how Brazilian ethnic classification affects their political mobilization. The results presented indicated that there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians, which may have an impact on how Brazilians access resources. Yet, ethnic classification is not the only aspect that affects Brazilians' access to resources. Besides ethnic identity, the most often stated reasons for the lack of political mobilization amongst Brazilians are classism, education, and migratory status. It seems important at this point to go back to some of the researches previously presented and see how they apply to the data collected in this study.

Regarding the theories of identity, it might be beneficial to recall the four main definitions described in the beginning of chapter 2. These definitions are:

1. Imagined identity based on the nation (Anderson)
2. Identity as performed through daily activities (Butler)
3. Relationship between national and ethnic identity and the identity of other groups within the same country (Barth)
4. National identity as superseding ethnic identity (Martes)

Based on the data collected in this study, it is easy to recognize that these four definitions of identity can be noticed to some extent in the case of the Brazilian community in Boston. This adds a layer of complexity to the issue.

When talking about ethnic and racial classification, Marrow (2007) states that, "Even community leaders have encouraged Brazilian immigrants to maintain their pre-migration ethno-racial identity by marking "other-Brazilian" on any form that asks for racial or ethnic identification" (70). Furthermore, McDonnell and Lourenço (2008) states that Brazilians want to

identify as Brazilian (164). This study supports the findings of Marrow (2007) and McDonnell and Lourenço (2008). In this study, Interviewees from Brazilian organizations (BOs) ethnically classify Brazilians as non-Latino, Hispanic or Spanish origin and racially as Brazilian.

McDonnell and Lourenço also states that Americans do not know how to classify Brazilians nor are they interested in the correct ethnic classification of Brazilians (165). The results in this study support McDonnell and Lourenço's finding that Americans do not know how to classify Brazilians. As it was pointed out earlier, this inability to categorize the Brazilian population might contribute to the invisibility of the Brazilian community, even among other immigrant groups, which could be detrimental for the political mobilization of such a group.

Margolis (1994) findings, however, could not be confirmed in this study. She states that Americans classify Brazilians as Hispanics. The data in this study did not support this hypothesis. In this study, Interviewees from Hispanic organizations (HOs) classified Brazilians as non-Latino, Hispanic or Spanish origin and as Brazilian. This contradiction may be due to the fact that Margolis conducted her study in New York City and its surrounding areas while the present study was conducted in Boston. Boston has a much larger concentration of Brazilians, which results in a higher likelihood of interaction between Hispanics and Brazilians. Based on the responses from HOs, it seems that Hispanics have at least some understanding of the Brazilian population in Boston.

Also, according to Margolis (1994), Brazilians have long been indifferent to their South American neighbors, dismissing shared Iberian roots, and being unfamiliar with other Latin American cultures (242) and believe themselves to be closer to the colonizers, in terms of mental disposition (242-243). That may explain why Brazilians see themselves as the "other" Latinos. The Interviewees in this research clearly share this opinion. All of the Interviewees from BOs

state that they do not see themselves as Latino because, to them, the word *Latino* means something associated with Spanish-speaking countries in South America. Since they do not speak Spanish nor share a Spanish culture, they do not see themselves as Latinos. Yet, none of the Interviewees from BOs state that they see themselves as superior to other Latin Americans. Nevertheless, an Interviewee from one AO stated that he has noticed that Brazilians see themselves as superior to other Latinos. If Margolis is correct, the idea of being better than Latinos or Hispanics may be such an engrained idea among Brazilians that they may not even see it as something that needs to be addressed. On the other hand, the idea that Brazilians are better than Latinos may also be a construct created by Americans and Hispanics and may not actually exist.

The findings in this study also suggest that Brazilians are not accessing all of the resources that are available to them, which seem to confirm some of Margolis' comments, who claims many Brazilians may not be aware of the different resources that are available to them. In this study, all Interviewees from BOs and one Interviewee from an AO stated that only the Brazilians who are informed about the resources will access the resources. Thus, it is important for Brazilian organizations to inform Brazilians about these resources.

Aiming to engage the Brazilian community in civil citizenship in the United States, BOs need to go where Brazilians are. SomerViva, for instance, a program that serves Brazilians, Haitians, and Hispanics at the Somerville City Hall, translates all informative materials into Portuguese. For example, SomerViva distributes internet content and newsletters in Portuguese and offers a multitude of community programs in Portuguese. Furthermore, the organization goes where Brazilian communities are to inform them about their civil rights. The coordinator of the Portuguese branch of SomerViva states that if they would only translate documents, Brazilians

would never actually seek access to these documents, and, thus, they would not know about the available resources.

Another important finding in this study regards education as one of the reasons for the lack of political mobilization among the Brazilian community. According to Jones Correa (2007), education is highly correlated with political participation of all kinds. The findings in this study partially support Correa's claim. The potential problem with Correa's argument is that Jones Correa does not look specifically at the prevalence of civil citizenship education. Although normal education is important for overall knowledge about the political systems, civil citizenship education is even more important and Brazilians may not have in-depth education about civil citizenship. For example, Interviewee 2 states that many of the individuals who are currently in the United States were born during or after the 1964- 1985 Brazilian dictatorship. These Brazilians were never taught how to advocate for themselves. This statement is supported by other Interviewees. All of the Interviewees from BOs stated that Brazilians are beginning to mobilize to advocate for their rights. Thus, even though Brazilians may be more educated than Hispanics, they will not mobilize for their rights if they do not have the knowledge about how to mobilize for their rights.

Another instance where the lack of political mobilization is evident is in the low numbers of Brazilian respondents to the Census. The Census plays a critical role in American political and social life. According to Census responses, power is increased for a particular group or more resources are allotted to a specific region or ethnic/racial group. The Census also allows politicians to strategize for their political campaigns. Politicians want to garner as many supporters as they can during elections. Understanding the size of the Brazilian population would allow politicians to make more informed decisions with regards to the Brazilian population and

to allocate more resources to the Brazilian community. Brazilians may also become an important stakeholder in elections if politicians are aware of how many Brazilians reside in Massachusetts. Many undocumented Brazilians, however, are afraid that, if they complete the Census, they will have a higher probability of getting deported. This can be seen by their invisibility in the community. When asked questions about how often Brazilians access resources and about Brazilian political mobilization, many participants from AOs and HOs stated that they do not know. This suggests that Brazilians try to blend into the American society and remain invisible. Moreover, other Brazilians do not know how they should identify ethnically and racially and many times they make decisions based on their ethnic or racial identification in Brazil. If the Brazilian community had a cohesive classification, they would be able to present themselves as a more numerous group.

Even though there are numerous reasons for the lack of political mobilization among Brazilians, the purpose of this study was to analyze if ethnic classification influences Brazilian political mobilization. Currently, there is a push to create a political and cohesive Brazilian identity and to build power as the Brazilian community. According to Interviewee 1, this movement is led by people who have been here for a long time, who always had a vision, and who see the importance of building political power because they feel like there is a need for political representation in the community. There are more Brazilians who are joining this social movement and working towards building voter registration and civic participation. Thus, it seems that Brazilians are beginning to mobilize for their rights.

If ethnic classification is one of the reasons for the lack of political mobilization in Boston, it may lead to isolation between the Brazilian and the Hispanic community. Usually, the Brazilian community and the Hispanic community are encountering very similar problems but if

they think they are not, then they will remain separate. Interviewee 8 stated that the Brazilian community does not want to organize with the Hispanic community. This may be a result of the fact that Brazilians do not see themselves as Hispanic nor Latino. Yet, cooperation between the Brazilian and the Hispanic community has been beneficial to both groups in the past. Interviewee 8 has successfully worked with Brazilian organizations in the past. Together, the organizations were able to pass the Domestic Workers Bill of Rights in Massachusetts which expanded the rights of domestic workers. Thus, it may be beneficial for the Brazilian and the Hispanic community to mobilize for rights together. This may be difficult for the Brazilian community because the Brazilian community may be afraid that if they begin to mobilize with the Hispanic community then they will be recognized as Hispanic.

Assimilation

A final component that seems to have relevance in this equation is assimilation especially among youth and well-educated Brazilians. Even though there are Brazilians who are trying to mobilize for political rights as a cohesive group, there are also Brazilians who do not want to be part of this movement. According to Beserra (2006), “The Brazilians who reject association with other compatriots are those who believe that assimilation into American society can be complete and that it is only a matter of individual effort” (72). The subsection of the Brazilian population that most likely has an assimilationist perspective are the young and well-educated Brazilians and Brazilian-Americans. It is also these cohorts of the Brazilian community that have the most opportunities to advocate for political rights for the community and to make the community more cohesive. Thus, understanding the views of the younger cohort within the Brazilian community may contribute to further knowledge about how to educate Brazilians about their civil citizenship.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Differences in ethnic and racial classification of Brazilians may exist in Boston and they may be one of the many causes of the lack of political mobilization among Brazilian immigrants. The two research questions this study sought to answer were:

1. Is there a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians?
2. If there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians, does this difference affect Brazilian political mobilization?

The two Hypotheses presented were:

H1: There is a difference in how America, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians.

H2: The difference in ethnic classification does affect Brazilian political mobilization.

The data gathered in this study confirmed hypothesis 1 and partially confirmed hypothesis 2. Participants answers made clear that there is a difference in how American, Brazilian, and Hispanic organizations ethnically classify Brazilians. However, ethnic classification was only one of the reasons mentioned by participants to explain the lack of political mobilization among Brazilians in Boston and many other causes are believed to exist.

This study proposes that Brazilian organizations continue to educate Brazilians about resources and about how to mobilize for further rights. Brazilian organization should also continue to encourage Brazilians to complete the U.S. Census and to identify themselves as Brazilians. This may result in the recognition of the Brazilian community in Boston and Massachusetts and may make Brazilians an important stake holder in elections. Brazilian organizations also need to learn how to incorporate Brazilian and Brazilian-American youth into

the Brazilian community. Even if older Brazilians begin to advocate for rights, it is up to the youth to continue this work in the future. If Brazilian and Brazilian-American youth will not identify with the Brazilian community, they will most likely not continue to mobilize for rights for this community. Thus, it is imperative for Brazilian organizations to form projects or events that target Brazilian and Brazilian-American youth.

Potential future studies include:

1. Understanding how Brazilian organizations are integrating youth (if at all), how the Brazilian and Brazilian-American youth identify, and how they would like to be integrated into the Brazilian community
2. Replicating this study with a larger sample of organizations
3. Interviewing Brazilian and Brazilian-American individuals (using the same questions)

Overall, the Brazilian community is an understudied immigrant group in the United States that warrants more attention.

Work Cited

Beserra, Bernadete. *Brazilian Immigrant in the United States: Cultural Imperialism and Social Class*. LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2006.

Gibson, Annie McNeill. *Post-Katrina Brazucas: Brazilian Immigrants in New Orleans*. Uno Press, 2012.

Falconi, José Luis, and José Antonio Mazzotti. Introduction. *The Other Latinos: Central and South Americans in the United States*. Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 1-16.

Fearon, James D. "What is identity (as we now use the word)." *Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University, Stanford, California*, 1999, pp. 5.

Jones-Correa, Michael. *Swimming in the Latino Sea: The Other Latinos and Politics*. Edited by José Luis Falconi and José Antonio Mazzotti, Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 6

Joseph, Tiffany D. *Race on the Move: Brazilian Migrants and the Global Reconstruction of Race*. Stanford Studies in Comparative Race and Ethnicity. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2015.

Marrow, Helen B., *Who Are the Other Latinos, and Why?* Edited by José Luis Falconi and José Antonio Mazzotti, Harvard University Press, 2007. pp. 70.

Margolis, Maxine L., *Becoming Brazucas: Brazilian Identity in the United States*. Edited by José Luis Falconi and José Antonio Mazzotti, Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 214, 220, 221.

Margolis, Maxine L., *Brazilian Immigration to the United States: Research and Issues for the New Millennium*. Edited by Clémence Jouët-Pastré and Leticia J. Braga, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 342-343.

Margolis, Maxine L. *Little Brazil: An Ethnography of Brazilian Immigrants in New York City*. Princeton University Press, 1994.

Martes Ana Cristina Braga (translated by Allan Vidgal), “Neither Hispanic, nor Black: We’re Brazilian”. Edited by José Luis Falconi and José Antonio Mazzotti, Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 233.

Martes, Ana Cristina Braga. *Brasileiros Nos Estados Unidos: Um Estudo Sobre Imigrantes Em Massachusetts*. São Paulo, SP: Paz e Terra, 2000.

McDonnell, Judith, and Cileine de Lourenco. *Brazilian Immigrant Women: Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Transnationalism*. Edited by Clémence Jouët-Pastré and Leticia J. Braga, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 164, 165, 170.

Ramos-Zayas Ana, *Between “Cultural Excess” and Racial “Invisibility”: Brazilians and the Commercialization in Newark*. Edited by Clémence Jouët-Pastré and Leticia J. Braga, Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 284.