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To be or not to be (Hispanic or Latino)

Brazilian racial and ethnic identity in the United States

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ABSTRACT I use 1990 US census data and 22 semi-structured interviews with Brazilian immigrant youth in Boston to show how Brazilians are becoming racialized into the black–white binary of American society, but how over time they manage to escape the downward mobility of Hispanic/Latino categorization by becoming ‘American’ and playing off US natives’ Spanish-centered understanding of Hispanics/Latinos (which does not include them). Successful Americanization for Brazilians means not becoming part of a stigmatized Hispanic/Latino group associated with low socioeconomic status, racial discrimination and, on the heels of massive new immigration from Latin America, disempowered immigrant status – rather than becoming ‘Hispanic/Latino’ as part and parcel of becoming ‘American’. The Brazilian case exposes some of the assumptions behind dominant US racial/ethnic categories (particularly ‘white’ and ‘black’), and it lays bare the complexities and contradictions in the Hispanic/Latino ‘panethnic’ category, pinpointing anew its *racial basis* and *embedded immigrant analogy*. That Hispanic/Latino classification continues to conflate race and immigrant status as US-bound immigration from Latin America has increased, expanded, and raised the *foreign-born* share of the US ‘Hispanic/Latino’ population prompts a re-evaluation of who the group includes (and why or why not), as well as a reassessment of African American/Latino positions and relations in the US ethno-racial hierarchy.

KEYWORDS assimilation ● Brazil ● immigration ● panethnicity ● racialization

INTRODUCTION

Immigrants both react to and transform notions of race and ethnicity in the USA (Anderson and Fienberg, 1999; Bailey, 2001; Rodríguez, 2000; Waters, 1999). New immigrants enter the USA with their own notions of race and

ethnicity, formed by different historical processes in their countries of origin. Upon their arrival, they 'learn' and react to predominant US notions of race and ethnicity, quickly figuring out where the USA and its natives 'see' them. At the same time, new immigrants work to maintain their original identifications and notions of race and ethnicity – challenging US notions and the way that US natives 'see' and incorporate them along the way. In a dialectical convergence of external and internal identifications – a meeting of what Cornell and Hartmann (1997: 82) term 'assertive', voluntary, or internal identification *from the inside* and 'assigned', involuntary, or external identification *from the outside* – both host country and immigrant notions of race and ethnicity are asserted, challenged, and reorganized. The results of this interactive process tell us much about the ways in which race and ethnicity factor into immigrant incorporation and affect social hierarchies and inequalities in the USA. Here I use Brazilians in the USA to explore some of the processes in this ethno-racial modification and challenge, and to lay bare some of the contradictions and complexities in the US racial/ethnic classification system, particularly in regards to Hispanic/Latino 'panethnicity'. Such complexities are very evident in the Brazilian case, but are also present in many others.

Brazilians make an interesting case study for several reasons. First, they have received relatively little attention in the US immigration literature thus far.¹ Second, Brazil has treated race differently throughout its history from the US, and although both systems are changing somewhat to look like the other, they have often been treated as polar opposites (Nobles, 2000). The simple distinction is that historically the USA has abided by a strict and polarized white–black binary, while Brazil has developed more of a racial 'continuum'. That is, in the USA blackness has been defined and solidified historically by the one-drop-of-blood rule of hypodescent, so that anyone with any African ancestry at all is defined as 'black', or at least 'not white', whereas in Brazil blackness has been defined by a different 'one-drop' rule, so that anyone with any European ancestry at all is defined as 'potentially white', or at least 'not black'. This has made whiteness a much more inclusive category in Brazil than in the USA. Although Brazil exhibits a clear hierarchy of desirability – with whiteness ranking much higher on the socioeconomic and cultural totem poles than blackness – like many other Latin American countries, its history of nation-building and racial formation stands in stark contrast to the USA's polarized vision of whiteness/blackness, history of racial exclusion in nation-building processes, and 'one-drop' rule in which perceived or imagined African ancestry makes an individual 'not white' (Bailey, 2001; Davis, 1991; Degler, 1986; Harris, 1964; Marx, 1998; Nobles, 2000; Skidmore, 1993; Wacquant, 1997; Wagley, 1965; Winant, 1992).

Third, Brazil boasts its own proud and complex history of immigration and multiculturalism, which means that US-bound immigrants from Brazil

exhibit a range of skin colors and ancestral heritages that do not always fall easily or singularly into any one of the existing US ethno-racial categories: white, black, Asian, Native American, or Hispanic/Latino.² Therefore, individual Brazilians both see themselves and are 'seen' by US natives in different ways, and Brazilians as a group face multiple options for incorporation into the American ethno-racial hierarchy. Fourth, even though Brazilians are not officially considered to be Hispanics (as of 1980) or Latinos (as of 2000) in the USA, US public opinion often categorizes them as part of this group in ways I will explore further. Examining Brazilians, therefore, allows us to see how they are becoming incorporated into the overall US ethno-racial hierarchy, in particular how they are (or are not) being incorporated into the boundaries of Hispanic/Latino 'panethnicity' in the USA, and why.

METHODOLOGY

I use detailed 1990 US census data³ extracted from Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS) and 22 semi-structured interviews with Brazilian immigrant youth in Boston⁴ to carry out my research. This dual methodology allows me to explore several things: first, how official US race/ethnicity forms define and treat Brazilians; second, how Brazilians self-identify on official US race/ethnicity forms, especially by generational status; and third, how and why Brazilian youth identify themselves and interpret major US racial/ethnic categories.

I focus on 1.5- and second-generation children of immigrants instead of adult immigrants for several reasons.⁵ Nativity and age are significant because adolescence is a primary period of social and psychological identity formation (Erickson, 1963), and because identity formation occurs in a US context for these children. Brazilian children, both immigrant and US-born, experience life in the USA differently from their parents because they attend US schools and have more contact with children of other racial and ethnic groups (Martes, 2000, in press; Menezes, 2002; Sales, 2001). In this way, they do not harbor the same experience with, or knowledge of, race and ethnicity in Brazil as do adult Brazilian immigrants, and so the processes of ethno-racial identity formation are different for them than for adult Brazilian immigrants, who experience adolescence in a Brazilian context and who, like all immigrants, identify most strongly by national origin. Because the ways in which immigrants are incorporated into US society hinge largely on later-generation actions and identifications (Bailey, 2001; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, in press; Waters, 1999), looking to the identifications of Brazilian youth who are coming of age in the USA today⁶ helps us understand the long-term picture of Brazilians'

incorporation into the US ethno-racial hierarchy better than looking at adult immigrants alone.

OVERVIEW

In this article, I show how official categorization as non-Hispanics/Latinos works in conjunction with Brazilians' own self-identifications as non-Hispanics (and non-Latinos, where Latino equals Hispanic) (Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press; Ribeiro, 1999; Sales, 1999a; 1999b) and US natives' ratifications of those self-identifications to produce a linear rather than reactive path of ethnic incorporation into US society (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996).⁷ In other words, official US logic that defines Brazilians *outside* the boundaries of Hispanic/Latino panethnicity meets the various logics that individual Brazilians employ to differentiate themselves from Hispanics (and Latinos, where Latino equals Hispanic). When these logics are then ratified from the outside by US natives – which they largely are, after some negotiation – Brazilians move along their desired course to become 'full' or 'hyphenated' Americans instead of panethnic Hispanics/Latinos.⁸

The official logic of Brazilians as non-Hispanics/Latinos and the self-identification logics of Brazilians as non-Hispanics (and sometimes non-Latinos) often come into real conflict with the way that many US natives view foreign-born Brazilian immigrants as Hispanics/Latinos. But by the second generation, Brazilians have become 'American' in several ways. First, they identify themselves somewhere between 'Brazilians' and 'Americans' rather than as 'Hispanics/Latinos' (Martes, 2000, in press; Menezes, 2002; Sales, 2001). Second, they use 'Latino' as an identifier that might include and encompass Brazilians in a collective sense only in so far as 'Latino' is connected to being 'foreign' and does not extend into later generations. Third, they identify more as just 'white' and just 'black' than their immigrant counterparts, both of which are viewed as markers of true 'American' identity. I conclude by examining the main implications these findings have for ethno-racial inequality and hierarchy in the USA.

BRAZILIANS IN THE US: THE AMERICAN VIEW

Official identification

On the US census, Brazilians face no official rules or regulations with respect to race. In other words, the US census does not dictate that all

Brazilians 'are' of any race. Instead, individual Brazilians (like other Latin Americans) are instructed to self-identify their race however they would like – choosing from the official 'white', 'black', 'Native American', 'Asian/Pacific Islander', or 'other race' categories in 1990, and choosing one or more of these racial categories in 2000, following the US census' move to recognizing multiraciality (see Nobles, 2000; Perlmann, 2000; Perlmann and Waters, 2002).

On the other hand, Brazilians are officially defined as both non-Hispanic (as of 1980) and non-Latino (as of 2000) on the US census. Since 1977, the US Census has complied with the official definition of Hispanic developed by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). In 1977, OMB officially defined 'Hispanic' as any 'person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race' (US OMB, 1995) – and since Brazilians are not deemed to have 'Spanish origin or culture', they are not considered to be Hispanic. In 1997, OMB incorporated the label 'Latino' into its official definition of 'Hispanic' origin ethnicity so that as of the 2000 census, an 'Hispanic/Latino' is also any 'person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, and other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race' and 'The term, "Spanish Origin", can be used in addition to "Hispanic or Latino"' (US OMB, 1997b). A change made to improve Hispanic origin response rates among persons who, especially on the US west coast, identify as Latino but not Hispanic (US OMB, 1997a, 1997b), this definition also excludes Brazilians since they do not have 'Spanish origin or culture'.

However, these official definitions do not always mesh with US natives' views of Brazilians, or even with some of Brazilians' own self-conceptions – contradictions and complexities which underlie the controversy over where Brazilians 'fit into' the US ethno-racial schema, and which give the Brazilian case its significance. To better understand these complexities, I first identify three main logics of external identification that often categorize Brazilians as Hispanics/Latinos in the USA – forming, very roughly, 'the American view' of Brazilians and many other Latin Americans – and then turn to their self-identifications.

Three logics of Hispanic/Latino external identification

US natives are not usually familiar with the local and national origins of new immigrants, nor are they familiar with much of Latin American (not to mention Brazilian) history, geography, and culture (Margolis, 1994, 1998). Therefore, they often identify Brazilians according to dominant US ethno-racial categories, usually the same ones the US census utilizes and publicizes on forms throughout the country: white, black, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, and Native American (Hollinger, 1995; Martes, in press).

Further complicating this are differing public conceptions of what I term

the linguistic, geographic, and racial logics used to define the boundaries of Hispanic/Latino panethnicity in the US. Even though Hispanic and Latino are officially considered equivalent in the USA, and even though they are often used interchangeably, when US natives stop and think about these labels they often get confused over issues of content, meaning, and boundary. Particularly problematic is that the label 'Latino' can sometimes be conceptualized as more comprehensive than 'Hispanic', becoming a more widely applicable identifier. Even research conducted by OMB officials during the 1997 transition from 'Hispanic' to 'Hispanic/Latino' origin ethnicity displays this confusion:

The term, 'Latino', includes a diverse group of people from many national origins, races, and backgrounds. Some understand the term, 'Latin' or 'Latino' to include Europeans such as Italians, French, Portuguese, Romanians, and Spaniards. Cognitive research by the census Bureau indicates some understand 'Latino' as meaning from Latin America, 'Hispanic' as meaning someone who speaks Spanish, and 'of Spanish origin' as someone from Spain or with a distant relative who was Hispanic. (US OMB, 1997a)

These ambiguities show how different logics are often twisted to *include rather than exclude* Brazilians within boundaries of Hispanic/Latino identity.

1. First, the *linguistic logic* of Hispanic/Latino identity follows two routes: to most US natives, 'Hispanic/Latino' is interpreted as deriving from the Spanish language, which would imply that anyone speaking Spanish or anyone with an ancestor who spoke Spanish, may be identified as Hispanic/Latino. But to some US natives, 'Latino' may be interpreted as deriving from the Latin language, which would imply that anyone speaking a language derived from Latin (French, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian, or Spanish), or anyone with an ancestor who spoke one of these languages, may be identified as Latino. As a consequence, US natives who erroneously think that Brazilians speak Spanish often identify them as Hispanics/Latinos (also Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press). And sometimes when US natives cannot tell the difference between Portuguese and Spanish (because of their linguistic similarities) or when US natives claim that Portuguese is a Latin-derived language and so qualifies for being Latino, they may identify Brazilians as Latinos.

The linguistic logic of Hispanic/Latino identity expresses US natives' greater understanding of the divide between English (in the USA) and foreign languages (particularly Spanish, but also Latin-derived languages) than it does of the differences among foreign languages or the differences among immigrants who speak different languages and their descendants in the USA. In the US the linguistic

logic is particularly likely to fall down on Spanish and Portuguese-derived languages. In 1990 census data, Hispanic origin ethnicity was more frequently claimed by immigrants from Portuguese – rather than French – or Italian-speaking countries (even in Africa), and the Philippines (a former Spanish colony). In the USA, French and Italian enjoy more independence and popularity as ethnicities and languages in and of themselves, whereas Portuguese is not only less well-known and recognized, but more closely associated with Spanish (Marrow, in press).

2. Second, the *geographic logic* of Hispanic/Latino identity follows the same two routes: to most US natives, ‘Hispanic/Latino’ is interpreted as deriving from Spanish Latin America, which would imply that anyone from Spanish-speaking Latin America, or with an ancestor from Spanish-speaking Latin America, may be identified as Hispanic/Latino. Furthermore, to some US natives, ‘Latino’ may be interpreted as deriving from all of Latin America, which would imply that anyone from Latin America, or with an ancestor from Latin America, may be identified as Latino. As a consequence, US natives who erroneously think Brazilians hail from Spanish Latin America often identify them as Hispanics/Latinos (also Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press). And sometimes when US natives conceptualize Brazil as part of Latin America because of its geographic location in the hemisphere, they identify Brazilians as Latinos as well.

The geographic logic of Hispanic/Latino identity expresses US natives’ greater understanding of the geographical divide between North America (as the USA and Canada) and Latin America (including Mexico and Brazil), than it does of the differences among Latin American countries or the differences among immigrants from Latin America and their descendants in the USA. In the USA, the geographic logic is particularly likely to fall down on countries located within continental Latin America and countries forming the Spanish-speaking Caribbean. In 1990 census data, Hispanic origin ethnicity was more frequently claimed by immigrants from Belize, Brazil, Suriname, and Guyana (countries forming part of continental Central and South America) and Haiti (which shares an island with the Dominican Republic), than by immigrants from any of the smaller Caribbean countries (except Dominica). In the USA, ‘Hispanic/Latino’ often assumes a geographic boundary that includes all countries from continental Latin America but, on the other hand, is usually willing to make an exception for the English, Dutch, Portuguese, and French-speaking ‘Caribbean’ (Marrow, in press).

3. Third, the *racial logic* of Hispanic/Latino identity also follows two routes: to most US natives, ‘Hispanic/Latino’ is interpreted as

deriving from a 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial' race associated with Spanish Latin America, which would imply that anyone of such a mixed race or with an ancestor of such a mixed race may be identified as Hispanic/Latino. But to some US natives, 'Latino' is interpreted as deriving from a 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial' race associated with all of Latin America (not just Spanish Latin America), which would imply that anyone of such a mixed race or with an ancestor of such a mixed race may be identified as Latino. As a consequence, US natives who see Brazilians as 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial' – usually considered in the USA to be some mixture of European, African, Indian, and/or Asian influences – often identify them as Hispanics/Latinos.⁹ Even US natives who may understand that Brazil has had a different history of racial mixing and immigration than other Latin American countries may continue to identify Brazilians as Latinos by virtue of their 'mixed' racial heritage.

The racial logic of Hispanic/Latino identity expresses US natives' polarized understanding of what it means to be white or black (usually considered native to most US natives and erroneously viewed as 'fixed and objective, reflections of natural categories and differences' (Bailey, 2001) versus a collection of skin colors in between (usually and erroneously associated with Latin Americans). It pays less attention to the great variety of skin color differences among immigrants from Latin America and their descendants in the USA, not to mention among US 'whites' and 'blacks'. In the USA, the racial logic is particularly likely to fall down on immigrants from Latin American countries with higher indigenous populations (i.e. many Andean and Central American countries). In 1990 census data, Hispanic origin ethnicity was most frequently claimed by the same Latin American national-origin groups where at least one-third of persons also checked 'other race': Salvadorans, Mexicans, Guatemalans, Ecuadorians, Dominicans, Hondurans, Peruvians, Nicaraguans, and Colombians (with Bolivians close behind, and Cubans being the one exception). In the USA, 'Hispanic/Latino' often assumes a racial boundary that includes these more 'mixed' or 'mestizo' Latin American national-origin groups but, on the other hand, is sometimes (but not always) willing to make an exception for the 'disproportionately white' national-origin groups (those coming from countries with high historical rates of European immigration, especially in South America) or the 'disproportionately black' national-origin groups (those coming from countries with the most historical experience with the Atlantic slave trade, such as Haiti, Guyana, and Panama) (Marrow, in press).

As Foner argues, the *racial logic* is what ultimately drives US natives' conceptions of 'Hispanics/Latinos':

Is [the term Hispanic] just an ethnic category, a synonym for people whose origins are in Latin America and the Spanish-speaking Caribbean and who are seen as having a distinctive cultural heritage or background? The census treats Hispanics this way, since it asks people who say they have Hispanic origins to indicate their race as well. . . . Thus, the census category 'non-Hispanic whites' [and 'non-Hispanic blacks'] was invented. But read nearly any New York newspaper or hear people talk on the street and it becomes clear that Hispanic stands for something more than ethnicity. There has been a gradual racialization of Hispanics – a belief that physical characteristics, particularly skin color, are involved. Indeed, by treating Hispanics as a group equivalent to blacks in antidiscrimination and affirmative-action policies, the federal government has contributed to raising Hispanic to the status of a racial category . . . Hispanic . . . generally means someone who is 'too dark to be white, too light to be black, and who has no easily identifiable Asian traits'. (2000: 156)

Indeed, *often* in official treatment and *certainly* in public opinion, the geographic and racial logics intertwine because US conceptions of race revolve around connections to broad geographical regions, and because Hispanic/Latino origin ethnicity is often conflated with Latin America as a region, as well as with race.

Parceling out these three logics of Hispanic/Latino external identification makes Brazilians interesting precisely because they lie on the margins of each. They speak Portuguese, they come from a country in continental South America, and they come from a country with a proud and complex history of (European, African, Asian, and Middle Eastern) immigration, indigenous heritage, and 'racial mixing' – potentially qualifying them for Hispanic/Latino categorization along all three logics.

BRAZILIANS IN THE US: THE BRAZILIAN VIEW

Self-identifications in the US census

Table 1 shows that in 1990, 83.2 percent of Brazilians in my sample identified as 'white', 2.1 percent as 'black', and 12.9 percent as 'other race'.¹⁰ These results roughly parallel other surveys of Brazilian immigrants' racial/ethnic identifications¹¹ and are not surprising for several reasons. First, race and class have always been highly correlated in Brazil – with higher-class status being associated with lighter skin color (Degler, 1986;

Table 1 Racial identification of Brazilians in the USA, 1990 US census^a

Major US racial groups ^b	Foreign-born		US-born		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	78,077	82.7	16,031	85.7	94,108	83.2
Black/negro	1631	1.7	733	3.9	2364	2.1
American Indian races	29	.0	75	.4	104	.1
Asian/Pacific Islander races	1738	1.8	191	1.0	1929	1.7
Other race ^c	12,932	13.7	1674	8.9	14,606	12.9
Total	N = 94,407 83.5		N = 18,704 16.5		N = 113,111 100.0	

^a Included in this analysis are all persons in the sample who either marked their place of birth as 'Brazil', or who both marked their place of birth as in the USA (including US territories) and at least one of the two ancestry categories as 'Brazilian', on the long-form census questionnaire. See US OMB (1997b) for official definitions of major US racial groups.

^b The crosstabulation of race responses by nativity is significant. Pearson's χ^2 is 942.48839 (significant at $p < .001$).

^c Includes all persons who marked the 'other race' category and who did *not* write in a more detailed origin that could be recoded under one of the previous designated racial groups. In general, 'other race' includes all persons who checked 'other race' and then wrote in more detailed Hispanic origin responses, as well as non-Hispanic origin responses such as Brazilian. I was not able to analyze race responses by absence or presence of detailed write-in entries, because the responses were already grouped together in my PUMS sample.

Source: 1990 5 percent PUMS extract, weighted data (Bureau of the Census, 1992a, 1992b).

Harris, 1964; Skidmore, 1993; Wacquant, 1997; Wagley, 1965). Second, Brazilian immigrants in the USA are more likely to come from middle- and upper-middle-class origins, and therefore to self-identify as 'white', than the general population in Brazil (Margolis, 1994, 1998). Martes (in press) confirms that most adult Brazilian immigrants enter the USA thinking of themselves as 'white' in the more expansive Brazilian sense of the term even if not in the more restrictive American sense of the term.

Most interesting in Table 1 is that US-born Brazilians are significantly more likely to identify as just 'white' (85.7 percent versus 82.7 percent) or just 'black' (3.9 percent versus 1.7 percent) and significantly less as some 'other race' (8.9 percent versus 13.7 percent) than their immigrant counterparts in 1990. Thus, there is a small but important generational difference within Brazilians' racial identifications. US-born Brazilians self-identify more in line with the powerful black-white binary that has long dominated race relations and the racial hierarchy in the US than their immigrant counterparts.

In contrast, Brazilians' answers to the 1990 Hispanic origin ethnicity question are not so clear. Despite OMB's official definition, some Brazilians (and other officially 'non-Hispanic' immigrants) marked themselves as 'other Hispanic' in 1990, while many officially 'Hispanic' immigrants marked themselves 'not Hispanic' (Marrow, in press). However, OMB's definition works to solidify the official boundary between Hispanic and non-Hispanic groups. Census coding procedures buffer Brazilians and other 'non-Hispanic' groups from having their answers count as 'Hispanic' – by keeping those responses made by individuals OMB considers to be 'Hispanic' within this category, but removing some of those responses made by individuals OMB considers to be 'non-Hispanic' outside of this category.

To illustrate, 1990 census officials changed (or 'cleaned', in official terminology) some Hispanic origin responses. Census officials coded answers to the 1990 Hispanic origin ethnicity question differently depending on, first, whether a respondent included a detailed write-in response in his or her answer (like Latino or Dominican), and second, whether a respondent filled out a short-form or long-form census questionnaire. Specifically, 1990 census officials *did not* review any write-in responses on the short-form questionnaire (95 percent of all questionnaires) – leaving all 'other Hispanic' answers on those forms as they were. But they *did* review write-in responses on the long-form questionnaire (5 percent of all questionnaires) – changing all 'other Hispanic' answers accompanied by a detailed write-in response that they considered to be non-Hispanic to say 'not Hispanic' instead. Therefore, where a Brazilian marked 'other Hispanic' followed by 'Brazilian' or some other 'non-Hispanic' response, he or she was categorized as 'other Hispanic' on the short-form questionnaire, but as 'not Hispanic' on the long-form questionnaire. My PUMS sample data only capture responses from the long-form questionnaire (where these 'conflicts' were 'cleaned'). But original codes remain so that I am able to treat all 'cleaned' responses both ways – as 'not Hispanic' as well as 'other Hispanic'. Table 2 presents Brazilians' responses to the Hispanic origin ethnicity question on the long-form questionnaire – at the top, before their responses were 'cleaned' and at the bottom, after official cleaning (based on my own calculations). The two pictures look different, and so I discuss each of them briefly.

First, after being 'cleaned' by census officials, the top part of Table 2 shows that 90.9 percent of Brazilians identified as 'not Hispanic' in 1990, while only 1.4 percent of Brazilians identified as some Hispanic origin ethnicity and only 7.8 percent of Brazilians identified as 'other Hispanic'.¹² Viewing Brazilian immigrants as non-Hispanics suggests a pattern in which *US-born Brazilians identify more as Hispanics than Brazilian immigrants*. That is, being born in the US (versus Brazil), being younger (versus older), speaking Spanish (versus another language), and reporting some 'Hispanic' ancestry (versus some 'non-Hispanic' ancestry) *increases* US-born

Table 2 Hispanic origin ethnic identification of Brazilians in the USA, 1990 US census^a

<i>Major US Hispanic origin ethnic groups^b</i>	<i>After official census cleaning</i>					
	<i>Foreign-born</i>		<i>US-born</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Not Spanish/Hispanic	86,410	91.5	16,361	87.5	102,771	90.9
Mexican/Mexican Amer./Chicano	246	.3	502	2.7	748	.7
Puerto Rican	297	.3	269	1.4	566	.5
Cuban	67	.1	132	.7	199	.2
Other Spanish/Hispanic ^c	7387	7.8	1440	7.7	8827	7.8
Total	<i>N</i> = 94,407	83.5	<i>N</i> = 18,704	16.5	<i>N</i> = 113,111	100.0

<i>Major US Hispanic origin ethnic groups^d</i>	<i>Before official census cleaning</i>					
	<i>Foreign-born</i>		<i>US-born</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
Not Spanish/Hispanic	64,618	68.4	13,439	71.9	78,057	69.0
Mexican/Mexican Amer./Chicano	246	.3	502	2.7	748	.7
Puerto Rican	297	.3	269	1.4	566	.5
Cuban	67	.1	132	.7	199	.2
Other Spanish/Hispanic ^c	29,179	30.9	4362	23.3	33,541	29.7
Total	<i>N</i> = 94,407	83.5	<i>N</i> = 18,704	16.5	<i>N</i> = 113,111	100.0

^a Included in this analysis are all persons in the sample who either marked their place of birth as 'Brazil'; or who both marked their place of birth as in the USA (including US territories) and at least one of the two ancestry categories as 'Brazilian', on the long-form census questionnaire. Statistical Directive No. 15 defines Hispanic as a person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race (US OMB, 1995)

^b The crosstabulation of Hispanic origin response by nativity is significant. Pearson's χ^2 is 2166.30290 (significant at $p < .001$)

Table 2 *Continued*

^cIncludes all persons who marked the 'other Spanish/Hispanic' category and who also wrote in more detailed Hispanic origins such as: (some) Spanish, Hispanic, Latin, Latin/Central/South/Spanish American, Criollo, Central/South/Spanish/Meso American Indian, Mestizo, Tejano, Californio, Nuevo Mexicano, a name of a Spanish-speaking Latin American country (i.e. Dominican).

^dHad the 1990 US census adopted this definition of Brazilians as 'other Hispanic'; that the crosstabulation of Hispanic origin identification by nativity would have still been significant: Perason's χ^2 would have been 2466.94315 (significant at $p < .001$). But foreign-born Brazilians would have appeared to be more, rather than less, likely to identify as 'other Hispanic' than their native-born counterparts.

Source: 1990 5 percent PUMS extract, weighted data (Bureau of the Census, 1992a, 1992b).

Brazilians' identifications as Hispanics relative to their immigrant counterparts. If true, this picture parallels research showing greater Hispanic origin identification among US-born members of other Latin American-origin groups (Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans) – a simultaneous trend of becoming more 'Hispanic' as well as more 'American' (Jones-Correa and Leal, 1996).

In contrast, the bottom part of Table 2 displays what the data would show if all 'other Hispanic – non-Hispanic write-in response' were kept as 'other Hispanic'. Here, we see that a much lower percentage of Brazilians in my sample identified as 'not Hispanic' (69.0 percent versus 91.5 percent), and that a much higher percentage identified as 'other Hispanic' (29.7 percent versus 7.8 percent). Looking at the data this way and considering all Brazilian immigrants who identified themselves as 'other Hispanic' to be Hispanic suggests a pattern in which *Brazilians' Hispanic identifications are more of an immigrant than a later-generation phenomenon*. Despite somewhat higher percentages of US-born Brazilians identifying as Mexican/Mexican American/Chicanos and Puerto Ricans relative to their immigrant counterparts, a small but significantly higher percentage of US-born Brazilians identify as non-Hispanics than do their immigrant counterparts (71.9 percent versus 68.4 percent).

The better data to follow are those at the bottom of Table 2 in which *Brazilian immigrants identify more as some Hispanic than US-born Brazilians*. These data are preferable because they capture the ambiguity surrounding *Brazilian immigrants'* ideas of where they 'fit into' the US ethno-racial schema, and it is foreign-born Brazilians rather than their US-born children who confront more external categorization as Hispanics/Latinos. What is important to extract from this technical description of census responses is that OMB's official definition of Hispanic/Latino identity encourages Brazilians and other officially 'non-Hispanic' groups to identify as non-Hispanic – first by presenting a formal definition alongside the census question that excludes groups not of 'Spanish origin or culture', and second by 'cleaning' some of their 'other Hispanic' responses outside

this group. To the extent that they agree on who this group includes – i.e. Spanish speakers, immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries, or people claiming ‘Spanish culture or heritage’ – OMB’s categorization of ‘non-Hispanic’ groups as non-Hispanics dovetails with US public opinion.

As for the 2000 US census, not only does OMB now define ‘Latino’ as equivalent to ‘Hispanic’, but going even further, the 2000 US census will ‘clean’ all ‘other Hispanic/Latino’ responses accompanied by detailed write-in responses not considered to be Hispanic/Latino to say ‘not Hispanic/Latino’ – both on the short-form and long-form census questionnaires (Suro, 2002: 4). In short, Brazilians will be even more strongly categorized as non-Hispanics/Latinos 2000 than they were as non-Hispanics in 1990. This even though Brazilians are more likely to identify as Latinos than as Hispanics – because the term ‘Latino’ is more comprehensive than ‘Hispanic’ to many Brazilians, interpreted in such a way that both Brazilians and Hispanic groups can belong to a larger ‘Latino’ category (Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press).

Self-identifications in qualitative research

A relatively clear picture of Brazilians’ incorporation into the US ethno-racial hierarchy is now emerging. Researchers note that Brazilian immigrants tend to identify according to their pre-migration ethno-racial schemas. Mirroring 1990 census data, when asked to identify racially, Brazilians largely report that they are ‘Brazilian’ or ‘white’. Indeed, the prevailing sentiment shared by most Brazilian immigrants in the US mirrors that of 17-year old José: ‘I am not Spanish, not Hispanic, not Cuban or anything like that. I am Brazilian’. Tables 3 and 4 shows that this vision of Brazilians’ primary racial identity as a ‘fixed’ identity expressed in terms of nationality (Rumbaut, in press) operates even into the second generation, although it gets suppressed by official US forms asking for racial identity in terms of dominant US racial categories. Instead, skin color and nationality come together to make ‘white’ and ‘other race – Brazilian’ the most frequent ways that Brazilians express their racial identities (also Martes, in press).

That many first- and second-generation Brazilians conceptualize their race in ‘fixed’ national terms is not surprising given the way that Brazil has officially incorporated racial mixing into its nation-building project, or the similar ways in which other Latin Americans often describe their ‘race’ as equivalent to their ‘nationality, culture, familial socialization, birthplace, skin color, ethnicity, or a combination of these’ (Montalvo and Codina, 2001: 322; Bailey, 2001; Rodriguez, 2000). In the mid-20th-century, Brazilian racial thought was dominated by *racial democracy* and its elevation of racial mixing and racial equality – conceptualizing all Brazilians as part of one and only one ‘Brazilian’ race, a legacy that lives on today despite the

Table 3 Brazilian youth's responses to questions of race

<i>Interview Question</i>			
	<i>What is your race? Open-ended question</i>	<i>What is your skin color? Open-ended question</i>	
Brazilian	12 (55%)	White	11 (50%)
White	2 (9%)	Moreno (dark)	6 (27%)
Black ^a	2 (9%)	White (but partly black, moreno, or not really white)	3 (14%)
Moreno/mixed	2 (9%)	Morena clara (roughly, lighter mixed)	1 (5%)
Hispanic	1 (5%)	Amarela (roughly, yellow)	1 (5%)
Other	1 (5%)		
Don't know	1 (5%)		
No answer	1 (5%)		
Total	22	Total	22

^a One of these youth considers himself black in Brazil but Latino in the US since he 'is an immigrant'.

Source: Author's interviews, Boston 2002.

rise of the Afro-Brazilian movement (Nobles, 2000). Moreover, the predominance of 'white' skin color/racial identifiers among my interviewees also stems from the way that Brazil has officially incorporated whiteness into its nation-building project. For example, an official ideology of 'whitening' preceded racial democracy in the first decades of the 20th-century, in which Europeans, Africans, and Indians were mixing and, on the whole, 'becoming whiter' (Davis, 1991; Degler, 1986; Harris, 1964; Marx, 1998; Nobles, 2000; Skidmore, 1993; Wacquant, 1997; Wagley, 1965; Winant, 1992). Even though Brazilian racial thought has changed substantially since then, Nobles (2000, Ch. 3) shows that the legacy of white superiority still holds much sway, to the effect that many Brazilians either identify or desire to identify as 'whiter' than their phenotype might suggest, for the social rewards that doing so confers.¹³ Indeed, with few exceptions, foreign-born

Table 4 Brazilian youth's responses to a copy of the 2000 census' official race question

What is this person's race? Mark one or more races to indicate what this person considers himself/herself to be

White	8 (36%)
Other – Brazilian	4 (18%)
White AND other – Brazilian	2 (9%)
American Indian	2 (9%)
White AND other – Hispanic	1 (5%)
White AND other – Latin American	1 (5%)
White AND other – Brazilian Indian	1 (5%)
White AND Black AND American Indian	1 (5%)
Didn't answer	2 (9%)
Total	22

Source: Author's interviews, Boston 2002.

respondents identify their skin colors the same way in the US as they say they did there, as *brancos* (whites), *morenos* (dark/mixed), *morenos claros* (clear mixed), etc. That is, they consider themselves 'white' or 'black' both in Brazil and in the USA, conceptualizing US whites and blacks as also white or black but (in one respondent's words) 'really white' (*bem brancos*) or 'really black' (*bem pretos*) (also Martes, in press). The only exceptions to this trend are two youth who self-identify as 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' in the USA (whereas they reported thinking of themselves as 'white' and 'black' in Brazil, respectively). These exceptions represent interpretations of the terms 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' to mean 'immigrant'.

Moreover, Brazilian immigrants reject US labels that challenge their previous self-identifications from Brazil. The labels 'white', 'African American/black', and 'Hispanic/Latino' carry US meanings and associations, and so most Brazilians eschew them unless they can modify them

somehow to meet their previous self-identifications, or gain some advantage through them (Fleischer, 2000; Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press; Resende, 2002; Sales, 1999a, 2001). That is, Brazilian immigrants usually identify as ‘whites’, ‘blacks’, or ‘Latinos’ based on the meanings these labels carry for them *outside* the USA, and they reject these labels if their meanings are not adequately recognized in the USA – that is, if *they are treated derogatorily* or if *internal diversity within these groups is not acknowledged*. For example, many respondents reject the USA’s exclusive view of whiteness and continue to identify themselves as ‘whites’ in a Brazilian manner – that is, unless they are what one respondent calls ‘really, really black’. As Cristina explains, even though most Brazilians see themselves as ‘white’, different racial logics defining whiteness in the US often work to externally categorize them as blacks or Hispanics/Latinos (also Fears, 2002; Martes, in press):

Respondent: Yes, It’s different. In Brazil you are white even though you can descend from anything, you can be almost black but still white, you see? You only need to be a little bit light [*clarinho*], and you are white. In Brazil there is no mestizo, nor other things: you are white, black, or Indian. And to be classified as Indian you have to live in a tribe, and to be black you have to be really, really, black, really dark. But here it’s different.

Interviewer: So you’re saying that there is more room to be white in Brazil?

Respondent: Uh huh. Here [in the United States] you have to have two [white] ancestors, you have to be born here or in Europe to be considered white. But on the forms, I still mark white . . . I don’t know . . . I’m not of another race. I am white. (Cristina, 17)

A second example is that Brazilians identify as Latinos according to its Brazilian meaning, and not according to the 2000 US census’ definition that Hispanic and Latino denote the same thing (also Martes, in press). Table 5 shows that only two of the respondents identify as ‘Hispanics’ (9 percent), while 12 identify as Latinos (55 percent). The higher ‘Latino’ identifications rest on the demand that ‘Latino’ not be homogenized or reduced to ‘Hispanic’ (which respondents believe is someone who speaks Spanish or comes from a Spanish-speaking country). As Vera illustrates, Brazilians do not mind being called ‘Latinos’ in the USA, *as long as* US natives understand that they are ‘Brazilian’ Latinos and are not equated with Hispanics:

Respondent: I am Latino, but I am from Brazil. (Vera, adult Brazilian immigrant)

or treated derogatorily for being Latino:

Interviewer: And if people in the United States were to have better opinions about Latinos and were to not discriminate against them, would you mind being called a Latino then?

Table 5 Brazilian youth's Hispanic/Latin American/Latino identifications

Response	Interview question			
	<i>Do you consider yourself Hispanic?</i>	<i>Do you consider yourself Latin American?</i>	<i>Do you consider yourself Latino/a?</i>	<i>Do other Latin Americans, Spanish-speakers, include you when they use the term Latino?</i>
Yes	2 (9%)	17 (77%)	12 (55%)	9 (41%)
No	19 (86%)	5 (23%)	9 (41%)	9 (41%)
Didn't answer/ didn't know	1 (5%)	–	1 (5%)	2 (9%)
Maybe, it depends	–	–	–	2 (9%)
Total	22	22	22	22

Source: Author's interviews, Boston 2002.

Respondent: No. If it's better off, why not? Why bother? (Maria Luisa, US-born, 11)

However, Cláudia makes clear that when Brazilians are not differentiated from other 'Hispanic' groups, or when one's Brazilian identity is not adequately acknowledged within the larger Latino grouping, Brazilians reject this panethnic label even though they may have accepted it in Brazil:

Respondent: Regarding race, we are Latinos but not here in the US. Here Latino means Spanish speakers. Americans do not include Brazilian under Latinos. When they have anything Latino, it is all in Spanish and has nothing to do with Brazil. But for the rest of the world we are Latinos. (Cláudia, adult immigrant)

Similarly, Martes (in press) and Resende (2002) describe the ways in which Brazilian community leaders have encouraged Brazilian immigrants to maintain their previous ethno-racial identities by marking 'other - Brazilian' on any form asking for race or ethnicity. In this way, Brazilian immigrants explicitly try to resist external US categorizations that homogenize them as 'blacks' or 'Hispanics/Latinos' without adequately recognizing their full identities and the internal diversity inherent in such labels -

Table 6 Brazilian youth's responses to a copy of the 2000 census' official Hispanic/Latino origin ethnicity question

Is this person Spanish/Hispanic/Latino? Mark the 'No' box if not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino

Not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	11 (50%)
Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino – Brazilian	6 (27%)
Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino – Latino	2 (9%)
Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino – Brazilian-American	1 (5%)
Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino	1 (5%)
Not Spanish/Hispanic/Latino AND Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino – Brazilian	1 (5%)
Total	22

Source: Author's interviews, Boston 2002.

although their opposition to 'whites' is weaker, since being white entails more power, both in Brazil and the USA.

Furthermore, Brazilian youth identify more consistently as 'Latin Americans' (77 percent) than Hispanics or Latinos (Martes, 2000, in press). Only one of the respondents justified her sense of being 'Latin American' by the fact that Brazil is part of the Americas and, like other countries in the Western hemisphere, bears as much claim to being 'American' as the USA. Rather, the large majority of them agree in their characterization of 'American' as pertaining to the USA. For these children, speaking English, having spent time in the USA, having participated in US customs, and most importantly, being a US citizen are markers of 'American' identity. They justify their sense of being 'Latin American' by having migrated to the USA and becoming 'American'. That is, they believe that they *gain* the 'American' part and *lose* the 'Latino' part of their identities by migration, in contrast to the vision that in becoming Americans, Latin American immigrants might also become 'Hispanics/Latinos'. As Maria Luisa illustrates, Brazilians perceive 'Latino' to mean 'foreign' and therefore 'un-American':

Respondent: Latin American is almost American. They get the greencard or whatever. The Latino is just Latino.

Interviewer: And what does Latino mean to you?

Respondent: For me? Different culture, different people. (Maria Luisa, US-born, 11)

In this way, Brazilian youth reject the homogenizing US Hispanic and Latino labels because of their association with ‘foreign’ immigrant status and cultures. Instead, picking up their ‘American’ identifier by coming to, or being born in, the USA, they combine this identifier with a national-origin (‘Brazilian’) or regional Latin American-origin (‘Latin[o]’) identifier, and reject the plain ‘Latino’ identifier when it does not respectfully capture their complex and increasingly ‘American’ identities. As Table 7 illustrates, by the second-generation Brazilians become full or hyphenated Americans.

The seven 1.5-generation interviewees who report that time living in the USA makes them feel more rather than less ‘Latino’ explain that this is because migration makes them more consciously aware of being ‘foreigners’:

- Interviewer: So for you what is it that makes a person Latina?
- Respondent: Knowing where they came from, where it is they are from.
- Interviewer: . . . And in your opinion, do you think that your time spent living in the United States has made you feel more, or less Latina?
- Respondent: More . . . Because I learned it and now I feel a little Latin American. (Silvana, age 14)

Table 7 Length of time and US nativity on Brazilian youth’s ethnic identifications

		<i>Interview question</i>	
<i>Would you say that your time spent living here in the United States has made you feel more or less Latino?</i>		<i>What do (you or any Brazilians that you know who were born here in the United States) refer to themselves as? [Open-ended Question]</i>	
More	7 (32%)	Brazilian	4 (18%)
Less ^a	1 (5%)	American	5 (23%)
Nothing Different or Never Felt Latino	9 (41%)	Brazilian-American	11 (50%)
Some of Both	1 (5%)	Didn’t answer	2 (9%)
Didn’t answer	4 (18%)		
Total	22	Total	22

^a This is a US-born Brazilian who says she is less Latino than Brazilian immigrants, because she identifies as ‘Latin American’ and sees ‘Latinos’ as foreign.

Source: Author’s interviews, Boston 2002.

Table 8 Brazilian youth's responses to questions about power and discrimination among US racial/ethnic groups

<i>Interview question</i>			
<i>In what order would you rank the following groups according to the power they have in Boston?</i>		<i>Would you rank the following groups on who is the most discriminated against in the United States?</i>	
	<i>Median value</i>		<i>Median value</i>
Whites	1	Whites	5
Blacks	2	Blacks	1
Latinos	3	Latinos	2
Portuguese	4	Portuguese	4
Cape Verdeans	5	Cape Verdeans	3
Total (1 not asked)	21	Total (5 not asked)	17
	<i>Number of responses</i>		<i>Number of responses</i>
Blacks more powerful than Latinos	12 (57%)	Blacks more discriminated than Latinos	8 (47%)
Latinos more powerful than Blacks	8 (38%)	Latinos more discriminated than Blacks	7 (41%)
Blacks and Latinos equally powerful	1 (5%)	Blacks and Latinos equally discriminated	2 (12%)
Total (1 not asked)	21	Total (5 not asked)	17

Source: Author's interviews, Boston 2002.

But most respondents report never having felt 'Latino', primarily because they felt 'Brazilian' in Brazil and think that 'Latinos' in the USA does not include them since it only refers to people from Spanish-speaking countries (both on official forms and in everyday public opinion). All youth respondents report feeling more 'American' than their parents, and the two US-born youth report feeling less 'Latino' than their immigrant counterparts by virtue of being more 'American' than they:

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself American?

Respondent: Yes. Because I was born here.

Interviewer: And, in your opinion, do you feel more or less Latino than Brazilians who were born in Brazil and then migrated here?

Respondent: Less . . . They are immigrants. They don't know the culture and language here. (Taciana, US-born, 12)

Thus, the generational picture of Brazilians' self-identifications supports a trend in which Brazilians become *less rather than more Hispanic/Latino* as time passes, precisely by becoming *more rather than less American*.

A third example of how Brazilians eschew US racial/ethnic labels unless they can modify them to meet their previous self-identifications or gain some advantage in them – one that bears emphasizing – is that respondents who identify as 'black' or know another Brazilian who identifies as 'black' explain that this is because blackness can be both a marker of American-ness and *also* of what one of the respondents terms 'super Brazilian-ness'. In this way, for the few Brazilians who identify as 'black', doing so neither challenges claims to 'American-ness' nor 'Brazilian-ness' (although it may negate one's claims to whiteness and therefore power in both countries and be a less desirable identifier for that reason).

Moreover, for a Brazilian in Boston to identify as 'black' is not the same thing as to identify with a stigmatized minority group, such as Hispanics/Latinos (Martes, in press; Sales, 1999a). In fact, the foreign-born respondents who have experience living in Brazil – where most blacks are treated disrespectfully because of the correlation between race and class and Brazil's greater emphasis on class differentiations as markers of social status – think that US blacks are treated quite favorably in comparison to Brazilian blacks (Martes, 2000).¹⁴ When asked to rank a set of American ethno-racial groups in order of the power they have and how discriminated against they are in the US, Table 8 shows that a majority of the Brazilian youth (57 percent) ranked blacks as more powerful than Hispanics/Latinos, and several of them (41 percent) ranked blacks as less discriminated against than Hispanics/Latinos. This is not to say that Brazilian youth in Boston are not familiar with US blacks' struggle for civil rights or history of racial discrimination; Table 8 shows that they do recognize this. Rather, Brazilian youth view US blacks as more powerful than Hispanics/Latinos because of their birthright claims to US citizenship (which Brazilians see Hispanics/Latinos as lacking because they interpret this group to be largely 'foreign', of immigrant stock like themselves), because of blacks' higher population numbers than Hispanics/Latinos (even though the two groups' numbers have shifted), and because of blacks' greater political power in the USA than Hispanics/Latinos (what some of the respondents see as the *product* of Civil Rights era legislation and public opinion for US blacks).

To illustrate, 18-year old Luciano argues that Latinos are more discriminated against than blacks because they 'all came from another country', while Vera argues it is because of the resources and 'space' the post-Civil Rights era has afforded to blacks:

Respondent: Blacks have a lot of influence here in this country. They have space. They have a place for themselves. We all watch television programs with blacks in them here. They have a place that is theirs. And you don't see whites in their advertisements. So blacks occupy a space that is also significant in the culture here. (Vera, adult immigrant)

Respondents who identify Latinos as more powerful than blacks (38 percent) justify their answers based on population figures, as opposed to benefits of formal US citizenship or civil rights (at least in terms of how they interpret group sizes in their schools and neighborhoods, which often include many Hispanics/Latinos):¹⁵

Interviewer: Why do you rank Latinos in first place?

Respondent: Because in the United States there are many Latinos. (Renato, 13)

But by and large, even Latinos' growing population numbers are not enough to overcome the public 'space' and social recognition that US blacks now command as full 'Americans', despite their history of, and ongoing struggle against, racial discrimination.

This discrepancy is illustrated by respondents who report that the first thing Brazilians learn when they come to the USA is that a person can be sent to jail for disrespecting blacks, either by calling them *negros* (a rough Brazilian equivalent to US 'blacks', whereas in Brazil *preto* functions more like 'negro' does in the US) or by disrespecting them in any other way:

Respondent: For example, here race relations are taken more seriously than in Brazil. There if you have a black person in the family, you can call them 'Oh you shameless black, disgusting and so forth [*preto, safado, nejento e tal*]' . And either he could come and break your face and the two of you could fight, or nothing could happen. You say that here, and you are going to jail. Immediately! (Antônio, 16)

This sentiment was expressed several times in relation to US blacks, but never to Hispanics/Latinos. Brazilian youth do not perceive Hispanics/Latinos to benefit from publicly enforced anti-discrimination laws (because they are 'foreign', disempowered immigrants) whereas blacks are perceived as truly 'American' despite continuing to confront racial discrimination. Lilitiana emphasizes this distinction between *race* versus *immigrant status*:

Interviewer: Would you rank the following groups on who is the most discriminated against in the United States:

Respondent: Probably Cape Verdeans and then Latinos maybe and then blacks. I would say my main reasoning is immigration. I think I

tried to combine race and immigration. And I think that's kind of the way the balance would work out. (Liliana, 19)

Relatedly, Sales shows that Brazilians' stereotypes of Hispanics in Framingham, MA (as lazy, low-class people who live off welfare and sell drugs rather than working) sometimes extends to US blacks as well. However, she notes that because Brazilians have more contact and relationships with Hispanics than blacks, both in their jobs and neighborhoods, the stereotype tends to limit itself to Hispanics for the purpose of differentiation and self-affirmation (1999a: 184–5). Among the youth in my research, blacks are indeed viewed as 'more separate' than other groups. But the key to understanding their more positive views of blacks than Hispanics/Latinos lies not just in the relative separation of racial-ethnic groups, but also in the general sentiment that US blacks are real 'Americans' (as are whites and other groups who have become white, like the later-generation Portuguese):

Interviewer: In what order would you rank the following groups according to the power they have in Boston?

Respondent: Whites – 1; Blacks – 2; Portuguese – 3; Latinos – 4; Cape Verdeans – 5 . . . Because in the case of whites, here in the United States, you could say they are the majority. Blacks make up a part of the United States, too. The Portuguese do too . . . (Luciano, 18)

This distinction, along with 'African American pride' (Fears, 2002), helps explain why some Brazilians have less issue identifying as 'black' over time than as Hispanic/Latino. For Brazilian youth, being 'black' is certainly not as good as being 'white', but is better than being a 'foreign' Hispanic/Latino.

GETTING SELF-IDENTIFICATIONS RATIFIED: UNBECOMING HISPANICS/LATINOS

Many Brazilians look just 'white' or 'black' enough to escape external categorization as Hispanics/Latinos, which helps satisfy their own self-identifications or transforms the issue into one of proving 'whiteness' over 'blackness' (see Martes, in press). One still asks, however, what happens when Brazilians' self-identifications as non-Hispanics/Latinos are *not* ratified, and how does generational status and time spent in the USA affect this?

Brazilians differentiate themselves from Hispanics/Latinos using the same three logics of Hispanic/Latino identification that often group them together with Hispanics/Latinos – linguistic, geographic, and racial. That is,

Brazilians work to ‘convince’ US natives that the differences between themselves and Hispanics/Latinos are more important than their commonalities in lack of English language ability, immigrant status, foreign country of birth, and physical features – similarities usually more evident to US natives (Fleischer, 2000; Margolis, 1994, 1998; Martes, in press; Sales, 1999a, 2001). When asked if there is anything they do when people think they are Latinos, a majority report yes:

Respondent: If I am talking with someone and that person calls me Latino, I tell him that I am Brazilian so he’ll know better. (Júlio, 15)

For example, Taciana explains how the *linguistic logic* works to include Brazilians as Hispanics/Latinos, while Ana explains how Brazilians use it to separate themselves from Spanish-speaking populations:

Respondent: I think Americans are going to think we are Hispanics, because [Hispanics] speak similarly to us . . . even though Hispanics are different, they don’t understand our language, which is different. (Taciana, US-born, 12)

Interviewer: Do you think there is a difference between the words Hispanic and Latino?

Respondent: Yes. I think Hispanics are people who speak Spanish . . . (Ana, 14).

Berto explains how the *geographic logic* works to include Brazilians as Hispanics/Latinos, while Junior utilizes it differently to argue that ‘Brazil’ is neither ‘Latin American’ nor ‘Latino’ like some other countries are:¹⁶

Respondent: It’s interesting to see that sometimes Americans don’t put down Brazilian, but instead Latino, and that includes us. Because it’s the same thing. There [lá] and around Brazil . . . and it’s probably for that exact reason that Americans don’t put Brazilians but rather Latinos . . . If you get into the American way of speaking here, I wouldn’t be considered American because an American is someone born in North America. All of the others [os de lá] are considered Latino . . . He who was born in the other Americas [not North America] is Latin American. I learned it that way. (Berto, 13)

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself Latin American?

Respondent: No. Because Brazil isn’t Latin American. If Brazil were Latin American, I would feel a little bit that. Latin Americans are those who are Spanish, right? Latin Americans are the Uruguayans, people, right? I consider myself Brazilian. If Brazil were Latin American I would consider myself more Brazilian than Latin American.

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself Latino?

Respondent: No. Because I don't think Brazil is Latino. If Brazil were Latino, I would consider myself half and half, now that I don't know if it is . . . now I'm confused, you see. (Junior, 12).

Still other respondents utilize the *racial logic* to differentiate themselves from Hispanics/Latinos. As Paula explains, Brazilians are often identified as Hispanics/Latinos based on the way they 'look' – as 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown' or 'multiracial' – or at least, 'not white' and 'not black':

Interviewer: What do other people here think you are, in terms of your race/ethnicity?

Respondent: Most of the time, people ask us if we're Hispanic, and they come up and say, 'Oh you're Hispanic – what country are you from?' And because of appearance too, they think we are Hispanic. The majority of Brazilians look like Latinos [*parece com latino*]. (Paula, 13)

But while these youth understand that both they and other Latin Americans are racially 'mixed', many of them utilize the racial logic to express the content of Brazilian and Hispanic/Latino racial mixtures as different – with Hispanic/Latino racial mixture involving more significant doses of 'darker' indigenous or African features so as to make it 'more inferior' than Brazilian racial mixture. Cristina explains:

Interviewer: Do you consider yourself Latino?

Respondent: No. Because Hispanic is someone who speaks Spanish and Latino . . . I don't speak Spanish to be that either. And I'm not *morena* . . . so there is no reason for me to mark myself as that. I don't think I'm Latino because I don't have Indian blood and I don't have black blood to be considered Latino. (Cristina, 17)

Vera and Berto also explain why Brazilians are physically different than Hispanics/Latinos, who look more 'indigenous' or 'mestizo':

Interviewer: Is there anything you believe to be a characteristic that you are Brazilian?

Respondent 1: Ah, we are prettier than the others [Hispanics]. They are all the same! We are mixed.

Respondent 2: Hispanic people are all the same, we are . . .

Respondent 1: Mixed! We have European, African traces, you see? We have more racial mixture . . . They [Hispanics] are very equal physically. As much the men as the women. (Respondent 1: Vera, adult immigrant; Respondent 2: Berto, 13)

In this way, Brazilians 'buy in' to dominant US racial thought to differentiate themselves from 'racially inferior' Hispanics/Latinos and achieve upward mobility along the US ethno-racial scale. Depending on their individual physical features, they are largely successful in convincing Americans that they are not Hispanics/Latinos – something most easily done by

Brazilians who are seen by US natives as 'white' or 'black' instead of 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial'.

To illustrate, to different degrees US natives ratify Brazilians' claims because of the official and public association of Hispanics/Latinos with 'Spanish culture and origin' or Spanish language (both expressed in OMB's official definition of Hispanics/Latinos) and a stereotypical Hispanic/Latino appearance. If and when US natives ratify Brazilians' claims, Brazilians escape original external categorization as Hispanics/Latinos. This is the case for Brazilians like Rayane, who boast whiter skin colors, and European ancestral heritages (Italian, German, Portuguese, and Spanish were among those listed in my interviews and in 1990 census ancestry data) and who see their 'whiteness' ratified by US natives:

Respondent: People think that I'm American. I'm really white. (Rayane, 12).

It is also the case for Brazilians like Maria Luisa who boast very dark skin colors and African ancestral heritages and who see their 'blackness' ratified by US natives:

Respondent: I'm Brazilian and black. And you know, a lot of people, if they look at me, will not think I am actually Latina, I tell you that. (Maria Luisa, US-born, 11).

It is more complicated for Brazilians like Vera and Paula whose skin colors fall in between 'white' and 'black' and exhibit some indigenous, 'mixed', or 'mestizo' features, making them more consistently categorized as Hispanics/Latinos by US natives despite their self-identifications to the contrary. But by continuing to differentiate themselves from Hispanics/Latinos *linguistically* and *geographically*, and having their identifications as non-Hispanics/Latinos eventually ratified along those lines, 'mixed-looking' Brazilians like Vera and Paula are precisely the people who most forcefully *expose US natives' racialized views of Hispanics/Latinos* and *exclusive views of whiteness*. That is, once US natives recognize that Brazilians speak Portuguese and do not come from Spanish Latin America, they are then forced to reconsider 'mixed-looking' Brazilians' claims to *whiteness* or *blackness*, although the force of the US 'one-drop' rule makes the latter easier than the former. US natives may not ratify these racial identities, but they must at least reconsider them when 'Hispanic/Latino' no longer applies to Brazilians along linguistic or geographic lines. Consciously or not, they must evaluate more specifically the criteria by which they determine one's whiteness, blackness, or Hispanic/Latino identity.

Finally, there is a crucial generational component to this story. As mentioned earlier, almost all of the youth respondents report feeling 'more American' than their parents, and most report speaking and understanding English better than their parents by virtue of attending US schools and having wider social circles that encompass more friends and acquaintances

of different ethno-racial backgrounds. Depending on (again) their individual physical features, these youth are better equipped to resist external identification as Hispanics/Latinos by virtue of speaking better English and claiming a more legitimate 'American' identity than their parents. For many of them who still speak Portuguese or retain a foreign accent in English, attempts at differentiation are not always successful. But for the two US-born interviewees, Maria Luisa and Taciana, Hispanic/Latino external identification is easy to refute by virtue of full claims to US citizenship and, in Maria Luisa's case, speaking fluent English without an accent and 'looking black' instead.

Over time and into the second generation, then, the linguistic and geographic logics lose their powers and become thinner bases on which US natives categorize Brazilian youth as Hispanics/Latinos. When descendants of Brazilian immigrants speak English and have lost their parents' native tongue¹⁷ and claim US citizenship by birth (in Berto's words, when they are 'born in North America') – it is only the *racial logic* that remains for them to resist. In this way, *as a group*, US-born Brazilian-Americans are likely to encounter less external categorization as Hispanics/Latinos than their parents currently do. However, some US-born Brazilian-Americans with 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial' physical appearances (like Taciana) will continue to confront Hispanic/Latino categorization by virtue of their appearance.¹⁸

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

These findings suggest that Brazilians are becoming racialized into the black–white binary of American society, but that for the most part they manage to escape the downward mobility of Hispanic/Latino categorization by becoming 'American' and playing off US natives' Spanish-centered understanding of Hispanics/Latinos (which does not include them). Successful Americanization for Brazilians means not becoming part of a stigmatized Hispanic/Latino group associated with low socioeconomic status, racial discrimination and, on the heels of massive new immigration from Latin America, disempowered immigrant status – rather than becoming 'Hispanic/Latino' as part and parcel of becoming 'American'. Brazilian youth become Americans by *resisting* the 'foreign' Hispanic/Latino label, not by accepting it as a made-in-the-USA marker of American identity. It is a racialized term to them, of course. But ultimately race becomes part of a larger concern over *immigrant status* – a burden resolved not just by spending time in the USA and acquiring citizenship, but also through *racial identification* (toward 'white' and 'black').

This lays bare some of the complexities and contradictions in

Hispanic/Latino identification, pinpointing anew its *racial basis* but *embedded immigrant analogy*. The 'Hispanic' classification has always contained an 'embedded immigrant analogy' and included 'persons not confronted by racial discrimination' (Toro, 1998: 56), despite being created in order to define and protect a *racially*-stigmatized and discriminated group of *native-born* Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans (Anderson and Fienberg, 1999; Chávez, 1991; Oboler, 1995; Saragoza, et al., 1998). As Toro explains:

Congress's inability to state what it means by terms such as 'Hispanic' or 'Spanish origin' has been well documented in the legislative history behind the Civil Rights Acts. When enacting Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, even Chicano representatives used multiple terms to describe the same group in a single paragraph. Nonetheless, a thorough appraisal of the legislative history leads to the conclusion that members of Congress usually meant 'Mexican American and Puerto Rican' when they discussed 'Hispanics' or 'Spanish-speaking' people. (1998: 57)

This illustrates that, at base, Hispanic/Latino classification is about *race* rather than language, culture, nativity, or other characteristics associated with 'Spanish origin or culture'; it is about these other characteristics only in so far as they are intertwined or conflated with racialized treatment in the US context (as Latin American regional origin, Spanish surname, and Spanish language often are). Despite OMB's official definition of Hispanic/Latino as an 'ethnic' group that includes individuals of varying skin color, race, and immigrant status, then, both the *origins* as well as the *current official and popular use* of Hispanic/Latino classification confirm its racial rather than 'panethnic' nature.

However, the immigrant analogy has become more salient (and therefore more problematic) as it has become more comprehensive, reaching outward to encompass all of Spanish-speaking Latin America (and sometimes other places, like Brazil) whose members have comprised the 'new' post-1965 immigration and raised the *foreign-born* share of the US 'Hispanic/Latino' population (see Logan, 2001, 2002; Suro, 2002). This despite the fact that many members of officially 'Hispanic/Latino' groups are identified and treated as 'whites' or 'blacks' instead of 'Hispanics/Latinos', especially those comprising 'disproportionately white' and 'disproportionately black' national-origin groups:

Respondent: For example, to Americans . . . if you are white, and that can be Brazilian . . . if you are white with light eyes, they look at you differently than if you are *moreno* with hazel-colored hair.
(Luciano, 18)

but also including some members of more 'mixed-looking' groups: López and Stanton-Salazar illustrate how very light-skinned Mexican Americans are perceived by US natives as 'whites' and treated more favorably for that

reason, but with the consequence of being told they do not 'look Mexican' (2001: 71).

At the same time, as Luciano illustrates, race has declined neither in salience nor importance as immigration from Latin America has increased and expanded. In differentiating themselves from Hispanics/Latinos, Brazilian youth do not question the validity of this group, understanding that some individuals do embody and bear the brunt of a racialized 'Hispanic/Latino' appearance in the US, immigrants or not:

Interviewer: Do you think Americans have a stereotype of Latino?

Respondent: Yes. I would say it's a mestizo. (Liliana, 19)

Thus, while Hispanic/Latino classification may have grown out of concern over native-born Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, some new immigrants are 'raced' in similar fashion to them. These new immigrants are most likely to come from Latin American countries who confront the racial logic of Hispanic/Latino identification most closely – El Salvador, Guatemala, Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Peru, Nicaragua, Colombia, and Bolivia – although individuals from elsewhere also 'fit' US racial criteria for Hispanic/Latino classification. Over time, these immigrants may have a hard time overcoming the racial logic of Hispanic/Latino identification (changing 'race'), even as they overcome the linguistic and geographic ones (changing 'immigrant status') – although even they can manage the racial logic through *intermarriage and interracial births* (which can affect children's phenotypes and change self-identifications (Perlmann, 2000), *socioeconomic status* (which can heighten perceptions of, and claims to, whiteness, even in the USA where it has not traditionally done so, especially for blacks (Wagley, 1965), and *personal will and self-identification* (Glazer, 1997: 52).

Will the conflation of immigrant status and race have serious political or economic consequences in the future? The answer is beyond the scope of this project. But there is discontent and discussion over whether the 'Hispanic/Latino' category has served its original purposes in combating racial discrimination in the USA. Some say yes, but others argue otherwise – that it has exacerbated racial divisions and impeded us from seeing the progress being made by 'Hispanics/Latinos' who are not immigrants (Chávez, 1991), or that it has allowed for the *illusion of, without real, racial progress* through 'box-checking', the phenomenon that 'occurs when a person who is identified in the community as being part of the white or Anglo majority claims to be a member of a racially subordinated minority group and uses that status to reap benefits' (Toro, 1998: 54). If 'Hispanic/Latino' classification is intended to document, measure, and combat racial as well as other forms of discrimination – such as linguistic, ethnic, cultural, or regional/national-origin discrimination (Saragoza, et al., 1998: 46) – then even masqueraded as a racial category, the conflation of

immigrant status with race does not seem particularly problematic, as long as it can respond to changes in both. What is problematic is the elevation and use of the category as a solely racial one (given its place in the larger US racial framework). But if 'Hispanic/Latino' is meant to identify individuals discriminated against based on 'mixed', 'mestizo', 'brown', or 'multiracial' phenotype, then its failure to target only those people will pose major problems in the ongoing fight against racial discrimination.

Finally, Brazilian youth point us to another major realm of concern for the future: 'the uneasiness between blacks and Latinos' (Klor de Alva et al., 1998). Their interpretations of US blacks versus Hispanics/Latinos exemplify Klor de Alva's argument that: 'Blacks are the central metaphor for otherness and oppression in the United States . . . [but] we're in the United States and blacks are Americans. They're Anglos . . . They're Anglos of a different color, but they're Anglos' (1998: 184). Brazilian youth certainly see US blacks and Hispanics/Latinos as culturally different, but this difference comes about through formal US citizenship and the informal feelings of 'American identity' that such citizenship confers. Brazilian youth interpret blacks as more 'American' and more powerful than Hispanics/Latinos – not necessarily because US blacks stand higher on the US *racial* totem pole than Hispanics/Latinos, but because formal citizenship and the resources they have gained in recent decades raise them above 'foreign' Hispanics/Latinos. Klor de Alva describes this sentiment more broadly:

Affirmative action has had the capacity to create a black middle class. Many of these folks also have been the dominant group in the Civil Rights area and in other human rights areas. The net effect has been to create a layer, essentially of African Americans, within the public sphere that has been very difficult for Latinos to penetrate and make their complaints known. (Klor de Alva, et al., 1998: 186)

The feeling that blacks are no longer the most disadvantaged group in the US at the same time that they are still fighting for racial equality in what they see as a 'blacks-on-the-bottom' world is not ubiquitous, but neither is it unique, especially among new immigrants (and more so among those with few political or economic resources). In this respect, new large-scale immigration is forcing a major reassessment of racial competition and discrimination, as well as resolution, in the USA. In so doing, it is forcing us beyond 'a single hierarchy defined by the Black-White opposition' and toward a 'notion of a *field of racial positions* [that] consists of a plane defined by at least two axes – superior/inferior and insider/foreigner – [and that] helps us to grasp that group racialization processes are mutually constitutive and that they generate rankings along more than one dimension' (Kim, 1999: 106–7, 129).

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Notes

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- 1 Studies of Brazilians in the US include: Assis (1999); Badgley (1993); DeBiaggi (2002); Fleischer (2000); Goza (1994); Margolis (1994, 1995, 1998); Martes (2000, in press); Menezes (2002); Resende (2002); Ribeiro (1999); Sales (1999a, 1999b, 2001); and Souza (2002). This list is not exhaustive; their bibliographies may be used to locate more research on Brazilians.
- 2 US-bound Brazilian immigrants come from all states in Brazil (Martes, 2000).
- 3 I do not provide an empirical analysis of Brazilians' identifications on the 2000 US census, because detailed PUMS data have not been released yet (expected September 2003) and changes in the 2000 US census' wording of the race and Hispanic origin ethnicity questions and coding procedures will require a separate analysis. I use respondents' primary ancestry responses instead of parents' country-of-birth responses. The US census dropped its parents' country-of-birth question in 1970, substituting a more generalized 'ancestry' question that prohibits direct generational comparisons between immigrants and their children.
- 4 Qualitative research was conducted at schools and after-school programs in five areas of high Brazilian concentration in the Boston area (Somerville, Cambridge, East Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, MA). In line with the recency of US-bound Brazilian migration (Sales, 1999a), 19 of the interviewees were 1.5-generation immigrants (all living in the US between one and four years, with two living here much longer). Two of the interviewees were born in the US, and another was an immigrant parent of an interviewee who wanted to participate. Wherever possible, I also include relevant informal comments from conversations with Brazilians in the Boston area. All names of respondents have been changed.
- 5 In general, the first generation refers to immigrants who enter the USA after the age of 12; the 1.5 generation refers to immigrants who enter the USA after the ages of 5 or 6; and the second generation refers to US-born children of at least one foreign-born parent. The importance of nativity and age have been documented by researchers working with 1.5- and second-generation immigrants in the USA (Bailey, 2001; Fernández-Kelly, 1998; Portes and MacLeod, 1996; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rumbaut, in press; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2001; Waters, 1999).

- 6 Looking at the identifications of later-generation Brazilians will be even better, although the recency of US-bound Brazilian migration on a whole makes doing this time-dependent.
- 7 'Reactive ethnicity' refers to a resurgence of ethnic identification that occurs in response to discriminatory attacks on one's identity, whereas 'linear ethnicity' involves a gradual reduction of ethnic identification in the absence of discriminatory treatment.
- 8 Rumbaut (in press) differentiates between four identities exhibited by second-generation youth in the USA: full 'American' identities, full national identities (i.e. referring to the ancestral homeland or parents' country of birth, in this case 'Brazilian'), hyphenated identities (i.e. 'Brazilian-American'), and panethnic identities (i.e. 'Hispanic/Latino' and 'black/African American'). See also Portes and Rumbaut (2001).
- 9 Martes illustrates this logic when she describes an adult Brazilian immigrant who is 'easily identified as Latino in the United States' based on his 'dark hair, indigenous traits' (2000: 161-2).
- 10 Figures look similar in the 1980 US census: 85.1 percent white, 1.1 percent black, and 10.9 percent other race.
- 11 Margolis' survey of Brazilian immigrants in New York City yields: 83 percent white, 8 percent light-skinned persons of mixed ancestry, and 8 percent black (1994: 83). Martes' more recent survey of Brazilian immigrants in Boston and over the internet yields: 34 percent 'other race', 32.5 percent white, 19.5 percent 'never asked', 7.5 percent Hispanic, 5 percent 'don't know', 1 percent black, and .5 percent Asian (in press: 7).
- 12 Margolis (1994, 1995, 1998) suggests that these 'other Hispanic' responses are probably due to the way Brazilians are frequently confused with Hispanics in the US, or because the words 'South America' appear in the definition of Hispanic origin. However, I also view them as an indicator of where some Brazilians think they might 'fit into' the US's ethno-racial pentagon (Hollinger, 1995), based on any of the three logics of Hispanic/Latino identity I have described here.
- 13 This is the case in many Latin American countries (Bailey, 2001; Jones-Correa, 1998; Ch. 6; Oboler, 1995; Rodríguez, 2000, Ch. 6; Wade, 1997).
- 14 See Martes (2000) for a more detailed discussion of how Brazilian immigrants perceive racial discrimination against blacks in the USA versus blacks in Brazil, based on differences in notions of public citizenship/respect and the correlation between race and class in the two countries. Here, I focus more on the differences between their views of US blacks versus Hispanics/Latinos.
- 15 Local US context of reception certainly affects immigrant incorporation (Portes and Rumbaut, 1996, 2001). A regional-level example is that Brazilians' ethno-racial incorporation is taking a different shape in Miami from in Boston (at least for lower-class Brazilians) based on differing local contexts and population characteristics in these two cities (Martes, in press). Hispanics, in particular Cubans, wield much more power in Miami than they do in Boston (Osterman, 1993), which makes Hispanic/Latino a more positive identity there. A local-level example is illustrated in the Massachusetts case. While Sales (1999a) shows that Brazilians reside in predominantly Hispanic neighborhoods in Framingham, MA, Martes (2000, in press) argues that Brazilians and Hispanics do

not settle in the same areas of greater Boston. My research suggests that some do, while others do not – and that the difference may be important. Relative to Brazilian youth attending schools or living in higher-income Boston suburbs, Brazilian youth in central-city Boston (particularly East Boston) were more likely to: (1) be surrounded by a greater number of Hispanic classmates (based on my participant observation in the schools); (2) report having greater numbers of Hispanic/Latino than Portuguese/Cape Verdean friends (six reporting Hispanic/Latino and five reporting Portuguese/Cape Verdean in central-city Boston, compared to one and six in the suburbs, respectively); and (3) identify themselves as some ‘other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino origin’ on the sample 2000 ethnicity form (six reporting some ‘other Hispanic/Latino’ origin and seven ‘not Hispanic/Latino’ origin in central-city Boston, compared to three and six in the suburbs, respectively). However, since my sample size is small, findings should be taken as speculative. They do illustrate minor variations in the overall trend of racialization along black–white rather than Hispanic/Latino lines, but they do not overcome respondents’ identifications as full or hyphenated Brazilians, nor respondents’ tendency to see US blacks as ‘more American’ than Hispanics/Latinos.

- 16 See Martes (in press) for more detail on how Brazilians differentiate South America from Latin America in ways that US natives do not do.
- 17 See Portes and Hao (1998), Portes and Rumbaut (2001, Ch. 6), Portes and Schauffler (1996), and Rumbaut (in press) for confirmation that over time, children of immigrants lose competency in their parents’ native tongues (even Spanish) in favor of English. Not only does English language fluency increase over time for children of all immigrant groups, but it is the preferred language of the second generation.
- 18 See López and Stanton-Salazar (2001) for how this works among Mexican Americans.

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