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**Observing Census Enumeration of Non-English
Speaking Households in 2010 Census: Portuguese Report**

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U.S. Census Bureau standards and quality process procedures were applied throughout the creation of this report.

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U S C E N S U S B U R E A U

Helping You Make Informed Decisions

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1. Introduction

In 2010, the Census Bureau undertook the decennial census to enumerate the U.S. population, with a mission of counting everyone once, only once, and in the right place. Accurate enumeration of linguistically-isolated households in decennial censuses represents an enormous challenge for the Census Bureau. To meet this challenge, the Census Bureau developed a comprehensive language assistance program, which includes the 2010 Census fulfillment form in the top five non-English languages (Spanish, Chinese, Korean, Russian, and Vietnamese), language assistance guides in 59 languages, and telephone questionnaire assistance in the top five non-English languages.

Yet, as of the time of the 2010 decennial census the Census Bureau still lacked an adequate understanding of how linguistic isolation influenced the census data collection process amongst non-English-speaking households. Since many such households seemed unlikely to respond to the English mail-out and mail-back census questionnaires, it remained likely that the data they would provide would be obtained through face-to-face interviews. Consequently, a comparative study was designed to ethnographically observe Non Response Follow-up (NRFU) interviews with respondents from eight different communities of language to identify what, if any, social and linguistic factors were affecting the reliability and validity of the NRFU data collected from linguistically-isolated households.

This report focuses on the findings from the observational study of census enumeration conducted amongst households in which Portuguese was either the primary or only language spoken. Our overarching objective was to assess the extent to which the NRFU interview process obtained valid and satisfactory responses from respondents who were primarily or solely Portuguese-speakers, and to assess social, cultural and linguistic factors that created barriers or otherwise mediated that goal. Consequently our observations and analysis focused on several broad questions addressed by all ethnographic teams in the broader comparative study, namely:

- 1) How did the linguistic background of respondents whose sole or primary language was Portuguese rather than English affect their interaction with enumerators and their participation in the NRFU interview? Given the variation amongst the Portuguese dialects spoken in Southern New England (which though predominantly Portuguese from the São Miguel Island in the Azores, also includes Cape Verdean, continental Portuguese, and more recently arrived Brazilian variants) we also observed how communication during the interview process was affected by the interaction of these varieties of Portuguese during NRFU interviews.
- 2) What social and cultural factors affected interaction between enumerators and respondents and what effect did these have upon the communicative process? Our fieldwork documented specific socio-cultural mechanisms utilized to compensate for the linguistic barriers that occurred during the time of interaction between Portuguese speaking respondents (both of the same and of differing dialects) and non-Portuguese-speaking enumerators.
- 3) How was the challenge of translation addressed, and what role did interpreters play, how were they recruited, and what effect did they have upon the communicative process? Given the fact that census questionnaires were not translated into Portuguese and enumerators could only access a

Portuguese language guide online (which did not contain the hand-out on confidentiality and did not list racial/ethnic categories) we focused on how translation-on-the-fly occurred and on assessing its variability and effectiveness.

Following a brief overview of the history and community of Portuguese speakers in the U.S., this report describes the methods employed in this field study of NRFU respondents from this community in two locations in Southern New England with large concentrations of Portuguese speakers. This is followed by a discussion of our findings and finally by recommendations for improving future NRFU coverage amongst Portuguese speakers.

2. Historical Background: Portuguese Speakers in New England

Southern New England is home to one of the largest Portuguese-speaking communities in the United States. This community first expanded in the major seaport towns of New England throughout the 18th and 19th centuries attracted by the whaling industry. During the age of sail, whaling ships actively recruited Portuguese crew from the Azores Islands (West Europe) and the Cape Verde Islands (West Africa, at the time a Portuguese colony), to work aboard whaling vessels. Over time, crewmen settled in American port towns, where they initiated what has been a two-century long process of chain migration to the U.S. As communities expanded from port towns to the nearby textile mills, they developed regional and island-based communities along Southern New England. Hence, this study targeted primarily these communities where historically there has been a high concentration of Portuguese monolingual households.

Until the 1980s most Portuguese speakers in New England were originally from the Azores and from the Cape Verde islands (also speakers of Cape Verdean Creole). Most were from low income and in some cases food-insecure households. Particularly, the Azoreans are primarily from rural villages in the island of São Miguel (St. Michael). There are a few continental Portuguese in these areas, but this group has been primarily concentrated in New Jersey. After the 1980s, migration from Portugal declined as Portugal entered the European Union in 1987 opening new economic opportunities within the European Union. Chain migration from Cape Verde (independent in 1975) has slowed down, but has not ceased.

Finally, beginning in the 1980's a new, but steadily growing, wave of Portuguese-speaking migrants from Brazil began to settle in New England. Although also speaking a Portuguese dialect as their native tongue, this relatively recent vintage of immigrants from Brazil also differ in important ways from their counterparts from Portugal, the Azores and Cape Verde, whose settlement in the region preceded their own. The handful of social scientists who have most intensively studied this population agree that hard and fast numbers about even the most basic parameters of the Brazilian population are difficult to come in larger part because so many are in the U.S. illegally having overstayed their visas or entered clandestinely in the first place (rendering assessments of both past census and ACS data as likely to be significant undercounts (see Margolis 2008, 2009; Martes 2011; Jouet-Pastre and Braga 2008). While most of the Portuguese speaking immigrants who arrived in New England (prior to the 1970s) had little or no formal education and were often not even literate in their mother tongue, at

least two independent studies indicate that many more of the Brazilian migrants to New England arrive in the U.S. already literate in written Portuguese, with over half having completed secondary school and almost a third having some higher (university-level) education (Martes 2011; 50-53). Several independent studies suggest that Brazilian migrants are also a relatively young population (with over 60 percent in the 21-34 age bracket; and over 20 percent in the 35-45 age bracket) (Martes 2011; 50-53; Margolis 2008, 2009).

In the southern New England area that was the focus of our team's fieldwork Brazilians also seem somewhat less geographically concentrated in their settlement than Azoreans—likely a reflection of the differences between the types of (largely industrial) employment that originally attracted that latter population (leading them to settle in mill towns), and the broader range of service jobs to which contemporary immigrants seem to gravitate. Many Brazilians are undocumented migrants who originally planned to return to Brazil, but as has happened with other groups, increasingly extend their stay in the U.S. We should note that Brazilians appear to have been particularly hard for the local census offices to target because of widespread fears of the threat of deportation within this population.

Although, this segment of Portuguese-speakers was also the hardest to reach in our own study, our interviews with community activists and organizations seem to substantiate our own observations that most Brazilian immigrants have little if any experience with other forms of colloquial Portuguese. However, some, particularly those employed in the service sector (serving in restaurants, local stores, and hotels) have acquired enough competency in English to allow them to answer the census. Others who work long hours in construction, cleaning, and other menial jobs that require less extensive verbal interaction with English-speakers seem likely to have had little opportunity to acquire comparable English fluency.

The internal diversity amongst Portuguese-speakers in the United States is thus complex—fractured along lines of nationality, ethnicity, race, and social class. Attention to corresponding dialectical variations and differences in socio-cultural referents and historical experiences are thus at least as important as what is shared in terms of the Portuguese language in any effort to identify appropriate linguistic and cultural mechanisms that can successfully improve coverage of all members of this community-of-language.

3. Methodological Approach and Considerations

3.1. The Field Study

In preparation for fieldwork the field study director visited two Local Census Offices to obtain contacts and communicate the purpose of this research project. These meetings were crucial to explain the research project, answer questions, and identify field supervisors who could connect our team of Portuguese-speaking field researchers with enumerators.

Both local offices were helpful in providing contacts and granting the necessary seal of institutional approval so that we could observe NRFU interviews in the areas within their purview. Moreover, they invited other census workers to these meetings who were of

Portuguese and Cape Verdean descent and who had close contact with Portuguese speakers. These individuals provided us with valuable advice about local reactions to the census in Portuguese-speaking neighborhoods.

From Saturday May 8th through June 4th 2010 we conducted a first round of field work that focused on observing NRFU interviews in areas that had already been identified as having a high concentration of Portuguese-speaking residents. However, we soon discovered that only a small minority of NRFU interviews in these areas were being conducted with Portuguese speakers. In fact oftentimes our team members spent a whole day of fieldwork in order to obtain just one interview in this target language. Paradoxically we later discovered that this may have been because Portuguese speakers had been disproportionately responsive in mailing in their questionnaires, in no small part due to the effectiveness of the advocacy campaign conducted by local community organizations (see additional details below).

In an effort to meet our observation targets we eventually shifted our observations of NRFU interviews to a third area where the response rate for mailed questionnaires amongst Portuguese speaking households appeared to have been lower. Consequently we had to extend fieldwork beyond the projected two weeks in order to reach a reasonable number of monolingual Portuguese households.

In composing our Portuguese language research team, we made an effort to reflect at least the three largest and well-known variations within the speech community of Portuguese speakers in Southern New England, namely: 1) Portuguese from Portugal and the Azores islands, 2) Portuguese from the Republic of Cape Verde, 3) Portuguese from Brazil. Furthermore, all team members were fully bilingual in Portuguese and English and culturally fluent in a broad array of the many sociolinguistic signals that mark social differentiation, national boundaries, and ethnic membership amongst Portuguese-speakers from these different nationalities. Significantly, all research team members had some prior exposure both to Portuguese as spoken in their different countries of origin (Viviane Gontijo, Brazil; Carlos Almeida, Cape Verde; Isabel Rodrigues, mainland Portugal) as well as amongst heritage Portuguese language speakers in Southern New England.

3.2. Typology of Observations

Ultimately, we conducted a total of 74 ethnographic observations, 41 of them in the target language and 33 in English. We were able to do a total of 64 debriefing interviews, 33 of these in Portuguese and 31 in English. The higher number of observations in relation to debriefing interviews had to do with respondents' refusal to participate or their difficulty understanding the intent and meaning of debriefing questions (particularly in the case of questionnaire illiterate respondents). This happened several times with monolingual Portuguese respondents who were illiterate in both English and Portuguese.

Most of the cases in which debriefing interviews were refused by Portuguese speakers occurred with our team member who spoke a Brazilian dialect of Portuguese (in five out of 10 cases in one of the communities observed, the enumerator had to help "translate" questions from

Brazilian Portuguese to the regional dialect and in three cases the interview was discontinued). These problems all occurred with respondents who spoke a dialect of Heritage Portuguese from São Miguel Island (see below) that made mutual intelligibility with our Brazilian-speaking ethnographic team members an insurmountable challenge.

More generally, we found that our debriefing questions (which were crafted to be understood in standard Brazilian Portuguese and standard Portuguese from Portugal and Cape Verde) were often not intelligible in their verbatim form to respondents who spoke Miguelense Heritage Portuguese-- precisely because the questions followed a more standardized Portuguese. Consequently, our entire research team often was forced to improvise and deviate from the standard questions, because respondents did not understand the questions in standard (or in their own words "learned") Portuguese.

We also conducted a total of 12 interviews with individual enumerators, seven of whom were bilingual (Portuguese/English). These interviews allowed us to collect comparative information about enumerator experience with English speakers vis-à-vis their experience with Portuguese speakers. Altogether our team worked with 17 different enumerators in three different Southern New England areas of high concentration of Portuguese speakers: 1) six enumerators in one area (three of them were Portuguese speakers); 2) eight enumerators in another area (all spoke Portuguese); 3) and three enumerators in a third area (two Portuguese speakers and one Cape Verdean Creole speaker who understood oral Portuguese). None of the enumerators we interviewed and worked with spoke Brazilian Portuguese, and only one spoke the Cape Verdean dialect of Portuguese.

In addition to ethnographic observations of NRFU and subsequent debriefing interviews with both respondents and enumerators, we also conducted two focus groups with bilingual enumerators from Southern New England. These focus groups were composed of five Portuguese-speaking bilingual enumerators, along with respective field supervisors who chose to participate. These focus groups with bilingual enumerators provided a more informal setting in which all enumerators discussed their experiences with Portuguese monolingual households. We also invited one Spanish-speaking enumerator to participate in one of these focus groups because, during the course of our fieldwork, we observed that many historically Portuguese-speaking neighborhoods also had residents who were migrants from Central America and spoke Mayan languages and/or Spanish. We observed that Portuguese-speaking enumerators often attempted to communicate with the Spanish-speakers, despite considerable difficulty, in an effort to maximize their daily number of NRFU interviews.

Although we did not observe this, these focus group discussions indicated that Spanish-speaking enumerators who encountered monolingual Portuguese households similarly sought to use their Spanish to communicate with Portuguese-speakers. Finally in order to explore how local community organizations may have influenced the census process amongst Portuguese-speakers, we conducted two community organization interviews with local leaders who had raised funds to help illiterate community members complete their census forms. These interviews were conducted in English, Portuguese, and Cape Verdean Creole with code switching occurring in the three languages depending on the context of questions and observations. These community organizations also provided us with samples of their campaign and outreach materials used to

target the Portuguese and Cape Verdean communities. Both of the community organizations whose staff we interviewed had actively participated in outreach campaigns that sought to ensure that Portuguese speakers were counted in the 2010 Census.

3.3. Significant Challenges and Interaction Effects

At least two factors, unforeseen in our research design, affected our field study in ways that bear noting because of the potential caveats and not entirely knowable effects they had on our observations.

One somewhat unanticipated but significant challenge to our research -- in both Portuguese and English interviews -- was the ongoing economic crisis.

In this very economically depressed area of Southern New England we found that our debriefing interviews were, more often than not, transformed by respondents into an opportunity for conveying their frustrations with the government and with their economic difficulties. Perhaps not unexpectedly, because we were seen as federal employees in areas hard hit with unemployment, many respondents reacted to Census 2010 enumerators as representatives of an entity they believed bore some blame in the crisis. Hence, in our view, most experiences of hostility – from refusals to participate to evasiveness – seemed to have little to do with the census itself, and more with the fact that Census 2010 was viewed as an activity carried out on behalf of a government against which many harbored complaints.

In many monolingual Portuguese households we also found that the economic crisis affected how the debriefing questions themselves were interpreted: not as an effort to gauge their comprehension and facility with census questions and procedures, but as an effort for the government to probe the much broader problems and challenges they currently confront. In many cases responses thus tended to veer away from the original question and spiral into extended commentaries about “how things should be” rather than focusing on the more narrow issue of their experience, perception of, and comprehension of the census. Thus for example, many of those we debriefed in the older generation sought to underscore that “their social security was limited and that we should ‘report’ that to Washington,” regardless of the actual questions we sought to ask (none of which were even remotely related to this issue). In short we found that our debriefing questions themselves went unanswered and provided far less direct information than we might have desired, inasmuch as these interviews came to be appropriated by respondents as an opportunity for venting about the present crisis and their dissatisfaction with the government’s response.

A second challenge our field researchers faced had to do with the fact that the enumerators we accompanied and observed were very cognizant of our association with the headquarters of the Census Bureau. Hired out of unemployment, some enumerators apparently feared they might lose their jobs if our research (intentionally or not) happened to document poor performance on their part. While we sought to address this concern by explaining the purpose of our research and by not recording interviews with enumerators who seemed particularly wary, it seems likely that this factor had an effect on the responses that enumerators provided, and may well have also affected the way in which many of them conducted the NRFU interviews that we observed.

4. Findings

4.1. Census Awareness

4.1.1 Identity Interests in the Mobilization of Awareness by Community Organizations: “make sure you count AND Do not check Latin/Latino/or Hispanic!”

As already briefly alluded to, locating Portuguese-speaking households proved difficult in our initial field site because so many of these households had already mailed their census questionnaires after receiving assistance from local community organizations. In the course of our debriefings and our subsequent focus groups, and during our interviews with community organization staffers, we discovered how proactive many of these organizations had been in campaigning to making sure all Portuguese speakers were counted.

A number of these organizations banded together to create the “Portuguese Total Count Committee” that targeted Portuguese, Brazilians, and Cape Verdeans in order to encourage census participation. However, another agenda also motivated this campaign inasmuch as counting the Portuguese speakers was viewed as much more than merely a demographic exercise, but also a political one that was viewed as an important opportunity to assert a specific social identity that was different from the Hispanic or Latino categories into which Portuguese-speakers have often found themselves lumped. They thus viewed the Census 2010 as an opportunity to correct past census undercounts of Portuguese speakers, which in their view has historically contributed to a politically undesirable and consequential form of official invisibility for Portuguese-speakers in Southern New England.

Thus, as part of this campaign these community organizations and the local Portuguese media urged Portuguese-speakers not only to participate in the census but more specifically to “*Not* check Latin or Hispanic” when asked about their ethnicity, but to instead, “always check *some other race*— Portuguese, or Brazilian or Cape Verdean, etc.” They mounted this campaign through posters hung in local stores, churches, all organized around the motto in bold letters: “*Eu também conto* (I also count).” Aware of the differences amongst Portuguese-speakers, the organizers of this campaign were also careful to make posters in several varieties of Portuguese that included Brazilian and continental Portuguese as well as Cape Verdean Creole. These efforts were bolstered by frequent appearances on the local Portuguese radio stations and television channels. Apparently this campaign had a high degree of saturation since many of the Portuguese-speaking respondents that we observed explicitly asked (particularly the older generation) enumerators to make sure they checked “that I am Portuguese” or that “Portuguese is my race, make sure that is there.”

It seems that the one group of Portuguese speakers that was not effectively swayed by this campaign were the Brazilian Portuguese speakers. Although this is the group with which our research had the least amount of direct contact, all our indications were that Brazilians were either reluctant to participate and may have even actively often avoided being counted in the census. Many of this group are more recent arrivals to the U.S. and, in many cases, they also lack

documentation and thus legal status. The threat of deportation seems to have dissuaded many from participation. Strikingly, we actually gathered some evidence that at least some community organizations that are comprised only or primarily of Brazilians actually warned community members that the census might not be entirely confidential, since respondents had to write their names and addresses in each form. This form of disinformation is likely to have contributed to an assessment by Brazilians that participation in the census was a major risk and thus understandably to low rates of questionnaires return and/or NRFU interview participation.

With the Brazilian case as exception, our observations indicate that the participation of Portuguese-language speakers in the census was tied to a sense of identity and collective interest in combatting their invisible status in the U.S. Yet while the common Portuguese language was emphasized in these campaigns as a transnational bridge that would count (together) as many Portuguese speakers as possible, this campaign also risked glossing over national divisions and racial tensions that might undermine the notion of “a common Portuguese community of language.” Therefore, we asked community leaders how they dealt with these divisions and tensions in the campaign. For instance, if one is a person of color from Brazil, should that person check under race Black, Brazilian, or something else? They explained that they asked all participants to check under “some other race” that they were Brazilian, Portuguese, or Cape Verdean. In so doing, by using nationality, they could then infer a more accurate number of Portuguese speakers. However, that did not prevent respondents from also checking whatever race they felt they should check in addition to their country of origin (the questionnaire allowed respondents to check multiple racial/ethnic categories). It should be noted that the census did not ask for respondent’s native language(s).

It bears noting however, that despite accommodation for national differences in the community organizations’ campaign, not all groups responded to these efforts in the same way. In particular, Cape Verdean community leaders felt that their own distinct identity had been (wrongly) silenced since it was removed from the census categories (it was there a decade ago as a result of significant community mobilizing). As discussed in more detail below, Cape Verdeans, particularly the first generation, do not conceive of their identity a racial identity, but primarily as a cultural and national one. Furthermore, how that identity relates to the Portuguese language is itself somewhat problematic since despite coming from a country that has Portuguese as the official language, the primary language for most Cape Verdeans is actually not Portuguese but Cape Verdean Creole. While a certain level of ambiguity towards the campaign is something we noted, far more focused research within the Cape Verdean community would be required to establish the full extent and effects of this dynamic on participation in, and perceptions of, the 2010 census.

4.1.2 Media Effectiveness Amongst NRFU Respondents

As stated previously, many Portuguese monolingual households had already mailed their questionnaires prior to the NRFU interviews and had obtained assistance in community organizations. It therefore appears likely that the census awareness outreach efforts in the Portuguese media and through community organizations were effective in reducing the number of NRFU interviews that had to be conducted in monolingual Portuguese households.

The table below summarizes the answers provided by the respondents that we debriefed about how they had heard about the census. Among those Portuguese speakers that our field team interviewed all had in fact heard about the census.¹

Table 1. ASSESSING HOW PORTUGUESE NRFU RESPONDENTS REPORTED THEY HEARD ABOUT THE CENSUS (N =37)

Regular Mail (includes mailed community campaigns with questionnaire)	19
Portuguese Television Channels (includes RTP International and Community channels)	9
Portuguese Radio	7
Portuguese Newspaper	2
Other	0

Despite high illiteracy rates amongst our interviewees, most respondents also acknowledged receiving something from the census in the mail. Most reported they had set this mail aside with the intention of completing the form at a later time with the assistance of someone else (even though they had ultimately failed to actually do so before the NRFU interview occurred). It thus appears that they were able to associate information transmitted orally and visually about the census with the mailed questionnaire.

Significantly, in a population that includes a sizeable number of older and illiterate respondents, we found that most Portuguese households valued receiving written correspondence, even when they could not read and understand its content on their own. We also observed that these illiterate respondents resorted to visual cues such as font size, color, format, and other symbols to organize and categorize their mail. Unfortunately, in so doing envelopes and letters that “looked alike” were categorized as being the same independent of their different contents (such as municipal census, which in some instances were confused with the federal). Thus in some cases illiterate respondents had ultimately misplaced the envelope or mixed it with other “official looking” correspondence (such as social security information and municipal correspondence).

Given high illiteracy rates, newspapers seemed less important or effective amongst the NRFU respondents that we interviewed. The Portuguese radio seemed more effective, though the timing of the broadcast reportedly made a difference. Those who were unemployed or retired were thus more likely to listen to the radio during the day, and it was during the day that most of the census campaigns were broadcast. During the evening the television took precedence over the radio. The Portuguese television channels -- RTP international (broadcast from Portugal) and the local Portuguese channel (broadcast from Massachusetts) -- were commonly identified as the best sources of information about the census. Our respondents indicated that the most effective of all media campaigns was apparently the Portuguese-language television.

¹ It is however important to note that the information we gathered about how the census was perceived and learned about was primarily from debriefing interviews conducted amongst participants in NRFU interviews, and thus is probably skewed in a way that reflects less complete knowledge of the census (and, possibly, views of it characterized by greater reluctance and avoidance) than might be gathered from a study of the whole community that included those who did respond to the census. (We did attempt to mitigate this potential imbalance through our focus groups and community organization interviews.)

Despite knowing about the census, we found that some respondents still did not mail it back—for a variety of different reasons. The most common response was that they actually mailed it, but the “census people” lost it.

Table 2. JUSTIFICATIONS FOR NOT MAILING THE QUESTIONNAIRE (N = 35)

I mailed but the Census lost it	9
Never received in the mail	9
Children or spouse lost the questionnaire (common in illiterate households)	6
I did not know what to do with it	4
I waited for Portuguese enumerators/heard you would come	4
Confused the census with other documents or lost it	2
Forgot/had no time /no patience/did not care to mail	1

While in most debriefing questions English-speaking respondents had no problem saying they had forgotten or lost the questionnaire, only one Portuguese-speaking respondent actually admitted forgetting or not caring enough to mail it.

4.2. Negotiating Access

All the bilingual enumerators that our field team observed were recruited from local communities of Portuguese-speakers. Therefore most were able to compensate for their relatively poor grammar and limited Portuguese-language lexicon (see below) with cultural strategies acquired through socialization. As we observed it this community “know-how” proved helpful in negotiating access and establishing rapport with Portuguese-speaking respondents.

Thus, while these enumerators typically approached English-speaking households in a much more direct and straightforward way (by announcing who they were and what they were doing at first contact) with Portuguese-speaking households they used other communicative conventions –reflecting an awareness that they would probably be more successful if they were somewhat less direct and “business-like” and instead more personable and approachable. Attempting to strike a balance between appearing neither “too official” nor “too casual,” they sought to communicate in a convivial manner, while respecting the time limitations of respondents.

We observed that all enumerators sought to secure access by emphasizing how little time it would take to answer questions. While enumerators used this strategy with respondents of all linguistic backgrounds it tended to be given first priority with English-speaking respondents, while only emphasized with Portuguese-speakers after a personal connection of some sort had been established. Paradoxically, establishing such a connection could in fact take some time to do (a process that enumerators themselves often complained about in private).

The table below provides an illustrative comparison of first contact’s as observed by our field team between enumerator and respondent in English and Portuguese speaking households. Thus in most English-speaking households, enumerators introduced themselves by name, showing

their badge, and announcing their affiliation with the census in a very direct, straightforward manner. By way of contrast in Portuguese-speaking households enumerators sought to establish some minimal form of affinity and connection with the respondents:

Table 3. ENUMERATORS' CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGIES TO OBTAIN INTERVIEWS: ENGLISH-SPEAKING vs. PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING RESPONDENTS

ENGLISH-SPEAKING HOUSEHOLDS	PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING HOUSEHOLDS
<p>#1 GREETING & TIME:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Hi. Can I have just a few minutes of your time? It's for the Census. We will be done in a few minutes and I'll never bother you again."</i> • <i>"It takes just a few minutes."</i> • <i>"We will be done in 2 minutes."</i> • <i>"It's just a few easy questions. It takes no time."</i> • <i>"You'll see, it's nice and easy."</i> 	<p>#1 GREETINGS & TOPIC</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Good Morning. Are you Portuguese? I am with the Government working for the Census and we just need to count people.</i> • <i>Good afternoon. Do you speak Portuguese? I am so glad to find you at home. I really need to ask you just a few questions.</i> • <i>Good morning. [when sure the person is Portuguese] What a beautiful garden you have here! Do you live here? I am working for the Government to count people. I am so glad to find someone that can help me.</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>My name is _____ [badge]. It is for the US Census to count the people living in this house.</i> • <i>I am working for the government to count people. My name is _____. [badge].</i> • <i>I have just a few questions for the Census. Just to count people. My name is _____.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>So are you from S. Miguel? My grandmother is from _____. I went there last year _____. What a great time. By the way my name is _____.</i> • <i>What part of Portugal are you from? Oh I have only been in _____. Do you go there often? So I just have a few questions. My name is _____.</i> • <i>What a great smell. What are you cooking? Let me introduce myself. . .</i>

This difference should not be taken to imply that time is less valued in Portuguese-speaking communities than it is in English-speaking ones. Rather, in Portuguese – and across its dialectal varieties – conversational style is usually less direct than in English. Communicative conventions among Portuguese speakers differ from those of many English-speakers in that they harbor an expectation of some expression of interest in the interlocutor before getting to the matter at hand. Thus the same directness that many native English-speakers might view as unproblematic or even value as time-effective, would be likely to be viewed as excessively blunt and impolite by many Portuguese-speakers. Commonly, Portuguese-speaking respondents also

sought a more complete understanding of their interviewers than did English-speaking respondents. Thus rather than regarding the interviewer’s self-description of their current-role-in-the-moment (i.e. “I am working for the census...”) as sufficient, our field team observed that Portuguese respondents usually probed further, seeking to situate the interviewer in additional terms that could reassure them of answers to the questions “Why are you here and do you have good intentions?” as well as “Are you trustworthy as a person?”.

Aware of these concerns, the typical approach taken by bilingual enumerators when interviewing Portuguese-speaking households, independent of different national and ethnic differences, was to first greet the person in Portuguese and explain the topic, simplifying the explanation as much as possible. This initial query also allowed them to “tune in” to any dialectical or regional differences between the enumerator’s Portuguese and that of the respondent. Tacitly responding to communicative conventions in this community-of-language, bilingual enumerators then typically sought to establish personable connection immediately after greeting the Portuguese respondent with “Bom dia” or “Boa tarde” (good morning or good afternoon; the same words are used in Cape Verdean Creole). The table below illustrates some of the most common strategies that enumerators deployed in Portuguese-speaking households in order to establish connection, in each case adjusted to particularities of context and the receptivity of the respondent.

Table 4. SOME EXAMPLES OF COMMON STRATEGIES USED TO ESTABLISH RAPPORT WITH PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING RESPONDENTS

<p><i>Personal Connection:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Are these your kids? Great looking kids . . . Do you live here with them . . . Who cares about men, they are good for nothing.” [when enumerator and respondent are female the same age] • I noticed you fixed your house . . . • “It smells good, what are you cooking?”
<p><i>Establishing Community/identity Commonality:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Are you a member of St Anthony church? I used to go there . . . Do you know person (xxx)?” • “Have you been here long? I am from . . . I have been in the USA since . . . I used to work . . .” • “Are you from Brava [Brava, Cape Verde]? I am also from Brava.”
<p><i>Appealing to Respondents’ Kindness in a Culturally appropriate manner:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I know this is an inconvenience for you, but it is my job and if you answer I will never bother you again and you will do me a great favor.” • “If you do not mind answering, you would do me a great favor because this is my job

and I am required to interview you.”

- “Could you help me out and be a proxy for the third floor so that I’m done?”
- “Do you mind answering just a few questions for me, so that I do not have to return upstairs.”
- “Forgive me for asking, but they [the census] made the questions this way . . .”

Humor/joking:

- “I know you are really a man, but tell me are you *reaaaaaaaally* a man?”
- “Sorry to ask the obvious, but are you a woman? You know these days you never know . . .”
- “Since we are on the waterfront [while in the inner city] is this your vacation home?”
- By the way do you live here all the time—any time in jail? You know you could go there any time?
- How old is your grandmother? “She is so old that she does not remember how old she is [guessing age].”
- “Are your children biological? Yes, I know how to make babies.”

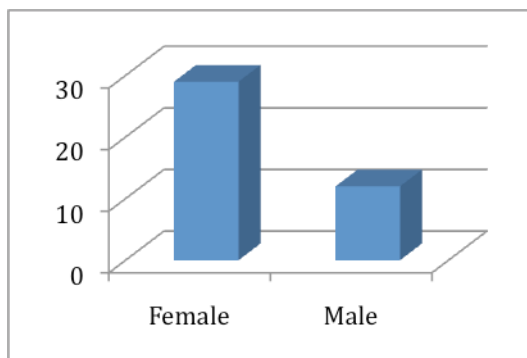
Our observations suggested that age and gender differences and/or similarities between respondents and enumerators appeared to influence the specific strategies that enumerators deployed to establish a form of personal connection with respondents that would be likely to enable access and ultimately facilitate the interview process as a whole. As explained in more detail below, the majority of respondents in Portuguese households were female, as were also the majority of enumerators. Thus a number of the strategies illustrated in the table above -- such as humor and joking -- were most commonly used by enumerators when they shared the same gender and age group with their respondents. Alternatively, other strategies such as appealing to respondents’ kindness and patience were more commonly deployed with respondents whose gender or ethnic affiliation differed from that of the enumerator. This strategy appeared to be particularly effective in appealing to respondents who were older than the enumerator.

While we had comparatively fewer interviews with Brazilian respondents than Portuguese-speaking respondents from the Azores, we also found that establishing a personable connection before the interview was important to the successful solicitation of responses. This involved displaying some knowledge about the respondent’s state of origin in Brazil, casual comparisons about the way the census is carried out in Brazil and the U.S.², and/or informal and friendly discussion about dialectical differences within the Portuguese language itself.

² Another notable difference between Brazilian respondents and Portuguese from the Azores was that Brazilians actually had exposure to a national census in their own country before coming to the U.S., so they had a basis for comparison that was easily translatable culturally and linguistically. In fact some Brazilian respondents told us that

We observed many more Portuguese-speaking women answering the census than men (see graph below) and this observation was also confirmed during focus groups. In part this reflects the fact that within this community women still hold the primary responsibility for home management and that answering the census was deemed a task that fell into that category. Accordingly many Portuguese-speaking men who initially answered the door deferred the census interview to their wives. Such behavior may also reflect the fact that most of the Portuguese-speaking enumerators were young females and thus in more traditional households it would have been viewed as inappropriate for a husband to dedicate individualized attention to a young female without his wife's presence. Hence, as we observed it, even when husbands did answer questions, his wife preferred to be present and actively participate in the interview process, particularly when the enumerator was female. Still the most common scenario we observed was for a husband to withdraw after initial contact, leaving most of the interview for the wife to finish.

Figure 1. PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING RESPONDENTS BY GENDER (N= 41)



As we observed it, gender also appeared to affect in the allocation of time and space for the interview. Thus, in monolingual English households most of the interviews took place at the door, driveway, hallway, or entrance. By way of contrast, in Portuguese-speaking households the majority of the interviews took place inside the home, namely the living room, dining room, and kitchen. Portuguese-speaking women thus commonly invited female enumerators into their domestic spaces where most of the interviews took place at times while they were cooking, cleaning, or taking care of children. We observed that the social space in which the interview was conducted seemed to directly affect the interview process, since when enumerators were invited in, they had more time to ask questions, correct mistakes, and review answers.

Ultimately the strategy selected by bilingual enumerators in any given instance for establishing a personal connection and negotiating access with monolingual Portuguese respondents depended on what sorts of social identity claims the enumerator could make vis-à-vis their respondent (common nationality, common language, etc.). It also depended on their assessments of how particular aspects of social role (age, gender differences) were likely to shape interactional and communicative expectations.

the U.S. census was extremely simple and easy when compared with the number of questions and detail required by the Brazilian federal census.

Interestingly in our focus groups all enumerators reported that the most difficult population to work with was actually English-speaking white Americans. Commonly we observed that English-speaking households use the following mechanisms to avoid the census:

- Actual refusal with hostility towards enumerator.
- “Come another time, right now I am really busy.”
- Hiding behind closed doors without answering (easier to do in apartments).
- “I am in the shower.”

Such reactions were observed (by us) and reported (by the bilingual enumerators we interviewed) as less common in Portuguese households, where we observed very few refusals. Outright refusals of bilingual enumerators typically happened only with homebound elderly who were afraid to open their doors to strangers and in all such cases that our team observed, the enumerator was asked to return again at a different time when someone else who understood what to do with the census questions (husband, wife, daughter, or son) would be around. We did however observe three cases in which monolingual English enumerators were refused access by monolingual Portuguese respondents. Yet in all these cases this happened without hostility.

Thus, monolingual Portuguese respondents often appeared to have a harder time understanding the census and its purpose at first. However, once convinced that they could trust the enumerator, they generally proved quite friendly and received many enumerators with great hospitality. In fact once they were reassured of the intentions and trustworthiness of the enumerators, many Portuguese-speaking respondents were not only willing to participate but often offered enumerators more time than they needed or frankly, even desired. Thus all of the bilingual enumerators reported that in Portuguese-speaking households interviews sometimes ended up taking so long that they had to devise and deploy strategies for “cutting the visit short” lest they be prevented from completing their target number of interviews for the day.

Largely due to cultural conceptions of hospitality it would have been “shameful” or inappropriate for Portuguese-speaking respondents to refuse an interview after an enumerator’s display of cultural and linguistic affinity. That said, we did encounter some situations where respondents did all they could to avoid or minimize the length of the interview. Thus some respondents argued that they had already mailed the questionnaire and that the Census Bureau lost it. Indeed, we later found through our interviews with community organizations that some respondents had mailed the Portuguese language guide mistakenly believing it was the questionnaire itself. Additionally, some respondents who were illiterate confused the city hall/municipal census that had been concurrently conducted with the national census. (Through focus groups with enumerators in one of our research areas we confirmed that city halls in this state were also conducting a census and that the simultaneity of questionnaires produced some confusion.)

4.3. Effects of Enumerator's Dialectical Variation on the Interview

Only four of the thirteen Portuguese-speaking NRFU enumerators that our team observed spoke a standard variety of Portuguese. All of those four had obtained some degree of formal secondary education in Portugal before migrating to the U.S. However, the majority of the bilingual enumerators were Heritage Learners of Portuguese (HLP). That is, most of them had never received any formal education in this target language, but rather had learned an oral, and to some extent highly idiosyncratic, variant of Portuguese from their parents and through interaction with other community members who themselves had very minimal or no formal education and were predominantly HLP's themselves. Consequently, these enumerators generally lacked the ability to read or write in any standard version of Portuguese. Typically, these enumerators spoke English fluently and conducted most of their daily lives in English, speaking their variant of Heritage Portuguese only informally with family members at home.

Most Heritage Portuguese speakers in the areas in which we conducted our observations learned to speak from family members who had emigrated from São Miguel Island in the Portuguese archipelago of the Azores. This Portuguese spoken on this island itself has a unique phonetic system and vowel range that not only differentiates it from other standard versions of Portuguese, but is even markedly distinct from the oral variants spoken on other islands in the Azorean archipelago. Finally the Heritage Portuguese spoken in this region is rendered even more idiosyncratic by virtue of the many borrowings and semantic adaptations from English that have been acquired over generations of interaction in a country in which English is the dominant language. If most of the enumerators we observed spoke a form of Heritage Portuguese derived from this particular idiosyncratic dialect, so did most of their respondents. To some extent this facilitated communication between enumerators and respondents.

However, communication in Portuguese became far more problematic when HLP enumerators came into contact with speakers of other Portuguese language variants. This was particularly the case when HP-speaking enumerators attempted to conduct NRFU interviews with speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, and, to a lesser extent with Cape Verdean respondents. For the most part Brazilians in New England are from the interior of the state of Minas Gerais, and are not (like most HLP speakers) fluent in English.

4.4. Translation Challenges

4.4.1. Lack of Written Materials in Portuguese and Ignorance about Language Guide

In order to maximize the number of interviews in the target language, the great majority of observed NRFU interviews were with bilingual enumerators who were able to code-switch as soon as they encountered a Portuguese speaker. It was only during the first few days of fieldwork, when we were still arranging contacts with field supervisors, that our field team observed any monolingual English enumerators interacting with monolingual Portuguese respondents. Our comments on translation are thus limited to what we could glean from this limited number of observations.

In all such cases that we did observe, the English monolingual enumerators tried to point out that the questionnaire was simple and that with just a few words respondents could complete questionnaires. In all cases their monolingual Portuguese-speaking respondents were elderly and alone in their homes and would only answer, “No speak English.”

Typically, these enumerators looked for interpreters on the street, knocked at neighbors’ doors, and/or asked for family members. In one case a mailman who spoke Portuguese and knew the neighborhood offered to help as long as it was for only a few moments. In a few other instances apparently very young children were asked to help out. Finding interpreters proved a difficult task, in all likelihood because the younger generation was away at work. Hence, typically enumerators attempted to ask the first questions very slowly and loud and would receive an answer in Portuguese. Some questions (such as “is your name . . .?) proved easy enough for respondents to answer. However, even in these cases they responded in Portuguese. Thus after a few unsuccessful attempts communication breakdown became inevitable.

In all cases of observed communication breakdown, enumerators wrote down the address and made a note that called for bilingual enumerators to return. These were provided to their field supervisor at the end of the day, who in turn reassigned those addresses to one of their bilingual enumerators.

All of the translations (or attempts thereof) from English to Portuguese that we observed were done on-the-fly. The enumerators that we observed did not carry 2010 Census materials in *any* target language, and our subsequent debriefings revealed that most were not even aware that a language guide in Portuguese was available on the internet. The Portuguese language guide was never used during our observed NRFU interviews. In fact, in both focus groups that we conducted with enumerators, they pointed out that they did not even know that such a guide existed, much less did they know how to access it online.

Furthermore, we did not observe enumerators with laptop computers (which could have been helpful to access the language guide on the internet). Rather, all of them were given printed forms to fill out in pencil. At the end of the day they met with their field supervisors to go over the forms and clean up any mistakes. All the forms that we observed were filled out in English. In a few instances we observed that enumerators had written down a few words in Portuguese to help them with translations. Hence, in practice they were actually producing their own informal and ad-hoc guides without the assistance of the language guide.

In an interview with the director of an immigrant organization in the Massachusetts area, we found that the language guide had been printed out to help monolingual respondents fill out the English questionnaires. Inadvertently, however, some respondents apparently filled out the guide and mailed it mistakenly thinking it was the actual questionnaire. This may explain why our team often observed respondents who were quite upset to find enumerators at their door because they believed they had already mailed the questionnaire. Finally, our teams did not observe any enumerator use of the “Language ID card”—in Portuguese, or in any other language for that matter. When asked why they did not use it, a common explanation that enumerators provided was that it was cumbersome and in some cases seemed silly, since an enumerator would have to show a page long of introductions in many languages in the hopes that eventually

one would fit the household. Furthermore, the “language ID” card presumed respondent literacy, which in the enumerators’ experience was certainly not always the case amongst both Portuguese-speakers as well as respondents in other languages.

4.4.2. Heritage Learners of Portuguese (HLP)

Typically, all the enumerators that we observed, but particularly HLP speakers, had a hard time translating certain terms -- particularly more technical ones -- in the NRFU interview form. We observed that particular words and/or terms including “confidentiality,” “household,” “roommate,” “biological children,” “respondent’s relationship to” were often either poorly translated, skipped by the enumerators altogether, or sometimes simply expressed in English.

Table 5. WORDS THAT COMMONLY WERE NOT TRANSLATED INTO PORTUGUESE:

NON-TRANSLATED WORDS	STANDARD
Cellar	Cave/porão
Roommate	Companheiro de quarto
Confidential	Confidencial
Nursing Home	Lar/ casa de idosos
Child custody	Custódia de filhos
Vacation home	Casa de férias
Foster Children	does not exist

Moreover as Heritage Portuguese-speakers, most bilingual enumerators tended to rely heavily on lexical borrowing that have become accepted as a standard for Heritage Portuguese-speakers in this region. While this may have facilitated the comprehension of HLP respondents, it seems to have been the source of significant confusion for speakers of other variants of Portuguese.

Table 6. COMMON HLP ENUMERATOR TRANSLATIONS

WORDS TRANSLATED	STANDARD PORTUGUESE	NON-STANDARD/HERITAGE PORTUGUESE
Masculine	masculino/ homem	Macho
Feminine	feminino/mulher	Fêmea
Building	prédio de apartamentos	bildin (used for a single apartment)
(they) live/reside	Moram	morem
Census Bureau	Censo/Serviço de Estatística	Conta Pessoas
I	Eu	Mim
to conduct the household census	conduzir entrevista para o censo/questionário	Umás perguntas
retirement / pension	aposentadoria/ reforma	Retáia
military quarters	Quartel/base militar	Militário
Mortgage	Financiamento/	mortgage

	Divida de casa	
Badge	Crachá	Baja
High School	Liceu/segundario/colégio	Escola Alta
College	Faculdade/Universidade	Colégio
Relatives (kinship)	Grau de parentesco	Relativos

Similarly, verb tenses were often poorly conjugated, and pronouns such as “I” often confused with “me.” The improper and/or idiomatic use of pronouns also created some difficulties in subtle forms of communicating social approachability as well as social distance or formality with Portuguese-speaking respondents who spoke other dialects. Thus, continental Portuguese has a formal you (*você*) and informal (*tu*). Commonly among native speakers of Portuguese, the formal *você* is used or implied in situations where a person is meeting for the first time. Particularly if communication is official or government related, the informal *tu* is not used. Oftentimes the pronoun is omitted and the verb conjugation follows the third person (this requires both cultural and linguistic know-how). However, enumerators commonly used the informal “you” (*tu*), except when dealing with the elderly respondents where Mr. (*Senhor*) or Mrs. (*Senhora*) was used.

In Portuguese, pronouns carry significant implications because they intersect with and signify social class codes, gender-specific norms, age, and social roles. These nuances are difficult to transmit, especially in a diaspora situation where language is acquired outside its original social context. Even native speakers of Portuguese struggle with when, how, and under what context a person ceases to be “*tu*” to become “*você*” or vice versa. A common strategy for native speakers hesitant about pronoun use (particularly when they just met someone) is to omit the pronoun during conversation and conjugate sentences using just the verb in the third person. In other words, there is a tacit or implied use of the pronoun, which is not voiced, thereby escaping the social responsibility of a faux pas. Nevertheless, we observed that those enumerators who had no formal education in Portuguese and who grew up in the U.S. used the “*tu*” all the time following the American cultural use of “you” regardless of speaker’s level of formality.

Generally this misuse of “*tu*” was not taken by most respondents as a personal offense, but rather viewed as merely a “less professional” form of addressing a person. However, it does bear noting that in Brazilian Portuguese the “*tu*” is generally not used (*você* is much more common). Given our low number of interviews with Brazilians, we did not gather sufficient evidence to state that this difference was the source of any communication barrier. The most difficult barrier for this group of respondents seemed instead to be pronunciation, and in some cases terminology, which led Brazilian respondents to frequently ask their Portuguese-speaking enumerators to repeat the question they had just posed.

We observed that those few enumerators who had formal education in Portuguese and could read and write, generally had a more diverse lexical pool with which to explain the purpose of the Census and the importance of respondents’ participation. This facilitated their interactions with a wider variety of Portuguese-speakers. Thus, for example, they were able to use standard Portuguese in their interactions with respondents who were not Heritage Learners (e.g. Brazilians); yet at the same time they were also usually capable of “translating” from a more standard Portuguese to local varieties (e.g. Heritage Portuguese) that could more easily be

understood by respondents who spoke in these dialectical variants and were either illiterate or relatively unfamiliar with certain standard Portuguese terms.

4.5. Omitting or Simplifying Hard-to-translate Questions

The limited fluency of many of the enumerators in standard Portuguese is a factor that seems to have contributed to the frequent simplifications and/or omissions altogether of questions or parts of questions by many of the bilingual enumerators that our field team observed. While this may have proven problematic in many respects, some of these omissions and simplifications may also be seen in another light: namely as representing effective adaptations by socially knowledgeable actors to communicative conventions and interactional expectations within this community-of-language that were deployed in order to secure access and facilitate the interview process as a whole. At the same time, and as we discuss in greater detail below, another issue that must be considered is the extent to which these adaptations did or did not have generalizable effects. In light of the heterogeneity of dialects and communicative conventions amongst sub-groups of Portuguese-speakers, our analysis also explores the extent to which these adaptations may have had inverse effects in different social contexts: thus potentially facilitating access and interaction amongst one sub-group, while complicating access and interaction with another.

As our field team observed it, the part of the scripted interview that bilingual enumerators most frequently omitted was the entire formal introduction inclusive of the statement on confidentiality as well as the explanation about the importance of the Census (based on the information sheet). Typically the bilingual enumerators simply announced they were working for the government through the census “para contar pessoas” (to count people), before proceeding to establish the forms of personal connection using the discursive strategies we have already described above. It was only in instances when enumerators faced reluctant respondents who seemed afraid, that they offered any explanation that the questions were confidential and protected by law. Generally, as we observed it, the confidentiality notice was not provided. Enumerators did however often suggest that the questions would be easy to answer and that the questionnaire took no time at all, while also sometimes stressing that it would be far better for respondents to answer now so as to avoid any future visits by yet another enumerator. In this sense they deployed an interesting and seemingly effective “carrot” and “stick” approach that coupled an offer to help complete an “easy task” with a veiled suggestion that a failure to avail themselves of this recourse would be likely to lead to future inconvenience.

While the omissions in the introduction seem likely to largely reflect the efforts by bilingual enumerators to negotiate access in culturally-appropriate ways, several other specific questions were also either frequently omitted or else significantly modified in translation for a variety of reasons:

Question #1 (Did you live here on April 1st?). The common translation for “Did you live here on April 1st” was —“O senhor/a vivia aqui a 1 de Abril.” (Did you sir/ma’am live here on April 1?). The most frequent response by participants was, “No I lived here all my life” or “I lived here for X years,” reflecting the misinterpretation of this question as one about the duration of their residence rather than about their residency status on a particular date. Enumerators thus almost

inevitably had to explain why residence on a particular date April 1st mattered for the census. Most bilingual enumerators found that in Portuguese it was more effective to add the word “already” (já) to the question in Portuguese turning it into a slightly different question, namely: “did you *already* live here on April 1st?” (Já vivia aqui a 1 de Abril?)—allowing them to infer the desired answer from the response provided.

Ironically, our field team noted in the observed NRFU interviews and from subsequent debriefings with enumerators, that the fact that April 1st is also well known to be “April fools” within Portuguese speaking communities, imbued the question itself with a certain awkwardness, even raising some doubts about its seriousness. This did not facilitate asking the question or translating it in this community-of-language.

Question #3 (What is the Person’s Sex?). This question was also considered rather odd by many respondents and raised some interactional challenges for many enumerators. They reported that to Portuguese respondents this question could prove somewhat insulting. In focus groups, enumerators reported that Portuguese men in particular saw such a question as an implicit affront to their masculinity. This could occasion rather crude forms of joking responses, whereby some would touch their genitals and say “let me check.” Rather than confront the awkwardness or hostility that asking this question provoked, many enumerators just recorded the answer based on observation alone (without posing the question). This was almost inevitably the case when respondents were elderly and it seemed culturally extremely inappropriate to pose such a question in any form. When the question was actually posed, enumerators suggested that the best way to deal with that question was by rendering it humorous (for example by ad-libbing after the question itself with phrases such as “these days you never know...”).

Question #5 (Race) and subsequent question #6 (Hispanic Origin). Amongst Portuguese-speaking respondents, the “race” and/or ethnicity questions were considered to be by far the most problematic ones in the NRFU interview, by all of the enumerators that our field team interviewed. These difficulties were readily apparent in the enumerations our field research team actually observed.

There are multiple sources for the difficulties that these two specific questions posed in the NRFU interview. Most notably these included:

- 1) differences between the cultural categories of “race” and “ethnicity” that predominate in U.S. social discourse, and the social identity classification schemes that Portuguese-speaking immigrants brought from their own countries of origin;
- 2) also differences *amongst* the social identity classification schemes operative in each of those different countries of origin (i.e. in Brazil as opposed to Cape Verde as opposed to Portugal and the Azores);
- 3) differences in group interests and concomitant political concerns with how their identity is ascribed that are rooted in histories of (sometimes antagonistic) relationships amongst Portuguese-speakers of different national origins (e.g. Cape Verdeans v Portuguese) both in the U.S. and globally; and finally

4) the different histories of interaction that particular sub-groups of Portuguese speakers have had with other non-Portuguese groups including African-Americans, “whites,” and various ascribed-as Hispanic and/or Latino communities.

Racial classification in the Lusophone world is a very complex and ideologically charged subject matter that has long invited contestation, dissonance, and political manipulation by citizens, migrants, and postcolonial states across the Portuguese-speaking world. It is therefore hard to draw many generalizations about racial and ethnic identity classifications that would apply evenly across all of the countries and societies from which Portuguese-speaking immigrants in southern New England (or the United States) hail. One of the few valid generalizations substantiated both by recent studies of race relations in both Brazil and Portugal (Lubkemann, 2003; Fikes 2009, Caldwell 2007, Twine 1998), as well as by studies in Cape Verde and its diaspora (Halter) is that that “blackness” is hegemonically associated with subordination, exclusion, and repression -- thus underscoring at least one general similarity to the United States own social economy of race.

However, beyond this important similarity, many important differences with predominant American racial categories stand out; as do significant variations in those differences within the Portuguese-speaking world itself. Although it is impossible to fully account for the full complexity of race in the Portuguese-speaking world in this short report, an understanding of how and why the “race” and “ethnicity” questions on the NRFU form are so confounding in this community-of-language requires at very least a schematic rendering of these differences

Thus, for example, racial mixtures across multiple boundaries have led to the construction of a much broader continuum of racial categories in Brazil than are found in the United States social context, for which there is no direct or easy translation into English. Moreover, in contrast to the English-speaking world where the “one drop rule” for blackness and explicit racial segregation policies have served to define “whiteness” as categorically lacking any phenotypical evidence of “black” ancestry, in Brazil one “drop” of whiteness is seen as “whitening.” This translates into a very different calculation of “whiteness” itself in Brazilian social discourse which in almost diametrical opposition to North American classifications defines “whiteness” itself as both (generally) involving racial mixing and as a continuum (see Martes 2011; Dzidzienyo and Obler 2005).

In recognizing a continuum of racial possibilities rather than organizing racial classification around a master dichotomy, Brazilian conceptions of race share some similarities with Cape Verdean notions. Yet differences in the history of these two societies also lead to rather significant differences as well. For a variety of political and administrative reasons Portuguese colonial practices set the Cape Verde Islands apart from the rest of Africa, and fostered a discourse that cast this archipelago as a racially-mixed paradise (Meintel 1984a, 1985b). This colonial legacy left its own particular mark on processes of identity construction and classification in post-colonial national Cape Verde and its diaspora. More particularly, in post-colonial Cape Verde the notion of racial difference is reinterpreted through a “Creole continuum” that denies dichotomizing color categories, and perhaps most importantly, subordinates these to a professed common national (“Creole”) identity (Rodrigues 2003, 2005).

This identity ideology is reflected in both everyday cultural practice as well as in official policy. Thus immediately after obtaining independence from Portugal in 1975, the Cape Verdean government abolished racial categorizing in its own census and in all official policies as part of an effort to explicitly do away with the colonial racial legacy. In parallel local cultural discourse about race reflects the same concern with “de-racialization” by sanctioning against the attribution or naming of racial categories in social interaction. Thus calling someone black (“preto”) is considered racist and insulting and is largely avoided. The great majority of the population instead subscribes to being “of Creole origin thus largely circumventing race through reference to a broader, presumptively shared identity defined through reference to racial mixing and defined largely in terms of cultural practice rather than phenotype per se.). In fact naming someone black is not only usually considered an insult but is generally used to refer to mainland African migrants residing in Cape Verde, and thus by definition implicitly referencing anyone so ascribed as distinctly *not* Cape Verdean.

Conversely, white or “branco” in the Cape Verdean cultural context is also not necessarily indicative of skin tone (as it is in Brazil or Portugal), but rather serves as a reference for higher socio-economic status. For example, many Cape Verdeans of dark skin tone who would be usually be considered “Black” in the United States are typically classified in Cape Verde as “gente branco” (white people) when and if they occupy a prestigious professional position, have a publicly prestigious family name, or make a reasonable income and/or are property owners. In short, the term “branco” (white) is not a category that means the same thing in Cape Verde as it does in American parlance.

“Cape Verdean” is thus primarily cast as a “national identity” whose construction is based on the rejection of racial essentialization -- and specifically in opposition to the racial dichotomies that animate American social thought. Subscription to this identity which denies the validity of a “black”-or-“white” dichotomy has been reinforced by the experience of the large Cape Verdean diaspora in the United States. Thus, for most of their long history of settlement in the United States, Cape Verdeans have until very recently resisted any and all attempts by a variety of other groups in America (including “whites,” some “Portuguese,” and even “African Americans”) to define them as “black” (Halter 1993, Sanchez 1995). The continued penchant for avoiding racial categorization in such terms was evident during one of the focus groups where a field supervisor (a Cape Verdean-American) explained that growing up in New Bedford among the Cape Verdean community he had no racial awareness of his own identity. He only “found out” he was (seen as) “black” when he entered high school and directly confronted the racial view of dominant white America.

There is some evidence that some second generation Cape Verdeans born and raised in the United States are increasingly embracing “blackness” as a primary -- or at least one possible -- identity (and that this is a point of contention among first generation and second generation Cape Verdeans). However, “Creole” identity -- with its implicitly de-racializing claims -- still arguably serves as the major point of reference that influences how Cape Verdeans think of themselves. Their identity is thus largely cast in terms of categories that challenge and subvert the predominant American racial classification scheme rather than drawing upon it (Halter 1993, Pires-Hester 1999). These particular cultural conceptions about identity play a significant part in

explaining why so many Cape Verdeans were so upset when the category *Cape Verdean* was removed from the 2010 census (another finding verified in our focus groups).

Both the portability of country-of-origin racial classificatory schemes, as well as a particular history of contention and interaction with a very different American racial ideology, and also with other minority groups, was also evident among Brazilian respondents. Thus Brazilians who saw themselves as “whites” (in a Brazilian racial spectrum) demonstrated uncertainty about whether “Brazilian whiteness” corresponded to and translated directly into “American (conceptions of) whiteness.” In attempting to answer the “race question” one of our field team researchers observed one respondent from Rio de Janeiro (a graduate student living in Massachusetts) share his genealogy up to the most remote European great-great grandparents, one side from Italy, the other from Germany in an effort to help the enumerator discern whether or not this qualified him as “white” in the U.S. As he explained to the NRFU enumerator in the course of this deliberation: “in Brazil I am white for sure, but here it’s hard to tell.”

Another issue of conceptual non-equivalency that came to light was specific to the subsequent question on Hispanic/ethnic origin. Whereas the question implies a conflation of “Latino” with “Hispanic,” for immigrants from Portugal and even moreso from Brazil these two terms do not refer to one and the same thing. Thus in the Portuguese language the term “Latino” is translated into a word that refers first and foremost to the “Latin” language (family). In the context of Portugal this is also a term that does not readily signal ethnicity per se, but -- in addition to a language -- a broader cultural and linguistic area largely defined by the remnants of the Roman Empire and its derived Latin languages (which obviously includes Portugal, but also Spain and Italy). This is obviously a very different referent from that intended by the census question. In the Brazilian case, a second meaning is implied that is somewhat different from that implied to immigrants from Portugal: namely (“Latino”) as a geographic reference to anyone from Latin America. However, in both cases while “Latino” may be seen as a possibly valid form of self-identification, it is only so inasmuch as it is taken to reference an identity that is not at all the same as “Hispanic”—which is taken by both Portuguese and Brazilians to refer to people who first and foremost are identified as sharing a language that is different altogether (Spanish). Thus, at least inasmuch as our field team observed, some questions and discussion about whether they might be “Latino” arose in a number of the NRFU interviews conducted with Portuguese and Brazilians. However, the question’s implied conflation of “Latino” with “Hispanic” ultimately led all of these respondents to reject that identity possibility in the cases in which the question was actually posed. As we will discuss further below however, the “Hispanic origin” question was usually simply skipped once enumerators concluded that respondents were from either from Portugal or Brazil.

Responses to both the race and the ethnicity (i.e. “Hispanic origin”) questions were not only confounding to NRFU respondents by virtue of their own cognitive grounding in alternative racial and ethnic classification schemes, but also by a variety of different interests and concerns emanating from processes of what might be termed “identity politics.” As we have already described in our previous discussion of the “Eu Tambem Conto” Campaign, in many areas with a high-density of Portuguese-speakers local organizations affiliated with the Portuguese-speakers had organized a campaign that encouraged all Portuguese-speakers to specifically refrain from checking “Latino/Hispanic” on the census form. Two primary points can be made about the

significance of this campaign's apparent high degree of effectiveness. The first point is that its success in mobilizing Portuguese-speakers from all backgrounds to ensure that they *not* to be counted in a particular way reflects a broad and cross-cutting concern shared by the different Portuguese-communities, namely: to not be subsumed (and thus rendered largely invisible in their own rights) under a much broader category of "Hispanic" –a designation they all take as referring to a group (or groups) with which they do not identify linguistically, culturally, ethnically, nor as having a shared historical origin.

Yet if there was broad consensus amongst Portuguese-speakers about what they did *not* want to be classified as, the same cannot be said for how Portuguese-speakers of different national origins *did* want to be classified. Thus in all households where respondents were born in Portugal (either the continent or the Azores) they reported to be "Portuguese" and enumerators checked them under "some other race" - Portuguese. In fact many respondents were explicit in seeking reassurance from their enumerators that they had been recorded first and foremost as "Portuguese" (presumably in response to the "Eu Tambem Conto Campaign"). Beyond this, we noticed some variation in respondents from Portugal (and Brazil) as to whether they also added "white" to their initial response or not.

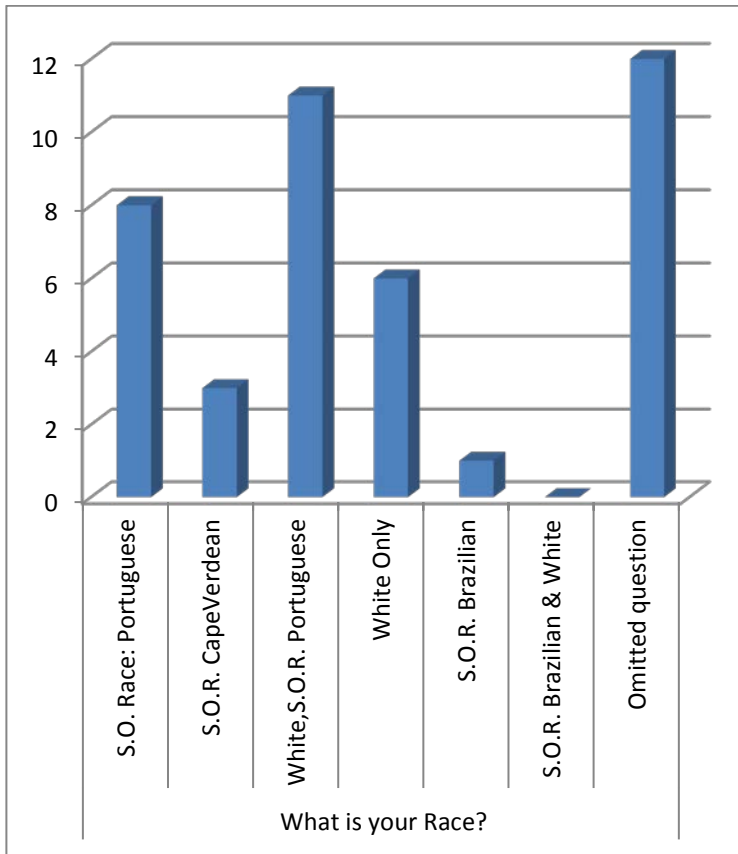
Cape Verdeans also usually answered the race question by stating that they were "some other race," though almost all insisted on adding "Cape Verdean" rather than "Portuguese." Up to the period of independence from Cape Verdean independence from Portugal, Cape Verdean efforts to deny the "Blackness" that American society sought to impose upon them usually involved self-ascription as "Portuguese" (Halter, 1993). This likely explains why we observed some members of the older Cape Verdean community still including "Portuguese" in their affirmative self-categorization (while rejecting both African-American and Hispanic alike). However, younger generations of Cape Verdeans and the children of older emigrants have, in the postcolonial era of Cape Verdean independence, increasingly contested such any conflation, seeking instead to reaffirm a distinctive identity that is not subsumed under that of the citizens of their former colonial overlord (i.e., Portugal). Thus, while they may have shared the concern of Azoreans, continental Portuguese, and Brazilians with not being categorized as "Hispanic," they were equally concerned with not being categorized as "Portuguese" or "black" either, but rather as "Cape Verdean."

Notably the few Brazilian cases we observed offered their nationality of "Brazilian" as an alternative to both the "race" and (if ultimately posed) the "Hispanic origin" question--but never "Portuguese." Although not addressed directly by this study, other long-term researchers of Brazilian immigrants in southern New England have also noted not only the reluctance of these Brazilians to be designated as Hispanic but also a resistance to be conflated with the "Portuguese from Portugal" grounded in part by perceptions by Brazilians of both significant dialectical and cultural differences with the more established Portuguese communities and of unequal treatment by them that has generated a variety of social tensions and underwritten an interest in the creation of separate community groups of various sorts (see Martes 2011, 190-197).

Enumerator Socialization Effects: The tables below illustrate how the questions were structured in a way that generated ambiguity. Five enumerators reported during debriefing interviews that this question was the most difficult because "people do not know what is meant by race or how it

is defined, particularly when they read the options given in the census categories” (see table below). Another enumerator reported that “the race question puts a bad taste in my mouth.”

Table 7. ANSWERS TO “WHAT IS YOUR RACE?” (S.O.R. in graphs stands for “Some other race”)



Both the fact that ways of classifying identity in respondents’ societies of origin differed from those that predominate in the U.S., and the different interests and concerns animating the identity politics of these specific communities as immigrants in the U.S., rendered the race and ethnicity questions as difficult for enumerators to translate and socially awkward for them to pose as well as confusing for respondents to answer. These difficulties provided a strong incentive for enumerators to either significantly modify or else simply omit these questions altogether.

In their deployment of both of these strategies (omission or modification) it is important to understand how the enumerators’ own experiences of socialization informed the process by which they solicited (or in the case of question omission, “assigned”) the answers to these questions in the context of this community-of-language.

Commonly, in order to short-circuit racial ambivalence, they would ask: “So you are Portuguese right, so you are white, right?”

By not showing all the options they had for identifying their race (as provided in the flashcard of List C). In so doing, they also avoided confronting culturally problematic racial and ethnic categories.

The majority of the bilingual enumerators as Heritage Speakers of Portuguese were actually raised with American conceptions of race primarily defined by the dualistic and mutually exclusive divide between black and white. Hence, if the person “appeared”—in accordance with these largely American conceptions of race—to be either, they either: 1) omitted the question altogether and assigned what they took to be the “correct” response; 2) modified the question in a leading manner that suggested one of these racial categories. Finally in some cases enumerators also admitted that they added one of these two categorizations to a respondent who had not verbally referenced either.

In many cases of the observations our team made, the race question was not asked, but rather was simply assigned by the enumerators outright. In particular in households where respondents from Portugal or the Azores were illiterate, enumerators usually just checked them as white and often omitted the question altogether. In some cases when the race question was asked it was drastically simplified into a question about whether the respondent was part of either one of the dualistic and mutually exclusive categories of either “black” or “white”.

During focus groups enumerators reported that the way both of these questions were structured was so problematic that when they actually did ask either of them it was easier to avoid all the listed possibilities (by not reading them) and guide the answer (by funneling possible answers). One way in which answers were funneled was by conducting the interview without showing the flashcards of List C (Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish Origin) or List D (Race, choose one or more) for the respective questions. This allowed enumerators to frame either question in far more simplified (and ultimately very leading) terms. More specifically, in many cases the bilingual enumerators that our field term observed posed these questions in a leading way that substituted “nationality” for race (or Hispanic origin).

Table 8. Examples of Enumerator modifications of question #5 and #6

Examples of Enumerator modifications of question #5(<i>Is the Person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?</i>) to imply/be a question about “nationality”
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A senhora é espanhola [implies being from Spain]? <i>Are you Spanish (from Spain)?</i>
A senhora é Portuguesa, então não é Latina ou Espanhola? <i>Are you Portuguese, therefore you are not Latina?</i>

Examples of Enumerator modifications of question #6 (about “race”) as a leading question about nationality

Quer que eu meta que é Portuguesa? <i>Do you want me to check that you are Portuguese?</i>
Geralmente diz que é Português? <i>Normally do you check that you are Portuguese?</i>

São todos Brasileiros aqui em casa? <i>Are you all Brazilian in this house?</i>
É Portuguesa? <i>Are you Portuguese?</i>

Ultimately, by re-framing the question the question as one of the following variants: “you are Portuguese, (or Brazilian), (or Cape Verdean), aren’t you?” and then assigning that nationality to the category provided in the census form for “some other race”, enumerators thus sought to sidestep both the problems of conceptual non-equivalency and translation and to engage effectively with the anticipated “identity politics” concerns of their respondents in a way that would (in their view) minimize confusion and pre-empt lengthy deliberation. This substitution of “nationality” for “race” or “ethnicity” may also reflect the bilingual enumerators’ own awareness and responsiveness to the “Eu Tambem Conto” Campaign. Regardless of which strategy (leading question or omission/enumerator assignment) was deployed by enumerators, in virtually all of the NRFU interviews with monolingual Portuguese-speaking households that our field team observed respondents were not given the full list of possible responses on the census forms for race or ethnic origin. Moreover, in most cases when a “nationality” had been provided as a response to the “race” question this led the enumerator’s to skip asking the Hispanic origin question altogether (as a redundant one) and to assign the same answer that had been given to the race question.

Finally, the fact that in some cases bilingual enumerators arbitrarily added the categorization of “white” (or in the case of some Cape Verdean in particular “black”) to the response to nationality likely reflects both their responsiveness to American racial schemes of racial classification as well as the interactional difficulties the question tended to elicit in the interview. Thus for example in at least one focus group one enumerator admitted that if he saw people who looked (to him) white he checked white, if they looked (to him) black he checked black. He justified this measure by drawing an analogy to another question that we have already noted as a source of interactional awkwardness in NRFU interviews: namely that about gender:– “if you are talking to a woman and she is in front of you -- do you think it makes sense to ask if she is a woman? The same goes for race.”

In short a combination of factors, including dissonance between enumerators’ cultural understandings about race (largely shape by their American upbringing) and respondents’ own cultural perception about race (largely shaped by both their cultures of origin and particularities of their dialectical groups’ interests and position in American identity politics), underwrote many of the difficulties that arose and informed the strategies enumerators deployed to cope with the array of complex challenges related to posing and answering these two questions answering this question.

Despite enumerator efforts to simplify these two questions, discussions about the meaning of race and ethnicity (especially of “latino”) and how these should be assigned still arose rather frequently during the course of the NRFU interviews that our field team observed. In particular children of mixed race and/or nationality and/or ethnic marriages proved particularly difficult to racially or ethnically assign for both enumerators and respondents. We noted that regardless of their phenotype or the nationality, race, or ethnicity claimed by their parents our team noted a

general tendency for respondents to assign the label “white” to any of their children who happened to have been born in the United States -- even if they (the parents) self-classified themselves differently. As a side note we noticed that this also occurred with English-speaking respondents from Latin America who listed themselves as Hispanic but their children as White American. In other words we found that being born in the U.S. was often viewed by respondents as the primary criteria for “whiteness.” We observed some particularly ironic and even humorous cases in this respect. In one instance with a Portuguese immigrant one mother commented my children are “all white, and my boy is as white as president Obama.” The enumerator (also Portuguese born) joked about it saying that Obama was a very good-looking man and so the boy should be checked as “white.” An older Portuguese lady in a Massachusetts area reported that “her legs were darker than her arms,” but most likely she was “white.” In two instances, respondents said they thought they were white but were not totally sure, and in one of these a Colombian-Portuguese finally gave up and asked the enumerator to figure out his race, because he found it was simply too difficult for him to do so.

Tenure Question: Do you own or rent? Finally a number of the enumerators we interviewed also observed that while for most Americans asking if you have a mortgage is not necessarily an insult, in Portuguese households this question sometimes could prove offensive, depending on the age of the person. The older population in particular prides themselves on having their house paid off and may become offended inasmuch as they understood the question as one that questioned what they thought should be a self-evident attribute of their social standing. Or in other words to even ask the question suggested that the interviewer was questioning a primary mark of their status and self-worth.

5. Conclusions & Recommendations

5.1. Translate the Census Questionnaire into Portuguese

Given the difficulties with translation on-the-fly, the variations within Portuguese, and the importance of language as an identity marker for Portuguese speakers, we would strongly suggest that a complete questionnaire be translated into standard Portuguese. In conjunction with this standard translation, we would recommend that where appropriate and necessary translations of the various dialectical variations of particular words and expressions also be provided in addendum to the standard Portuguese translation.

There are multiple advantages in producing such a complete translation of a census questionnaire:

First, the translation of the census into standard Portuguese will help mitigate Dialectical Differences by providing an anchor for colloquial variation. This is particularly important because dialectical differences are more pronounced at the oral/colloquial level than on the written level. It will also provide a written standard that enumerators can resort to (if needed) in order to communicate with respondents from dialectical backgrounds other than their own who may not understand their specific oral pronunciation. At the same time targeted translation of key words and terms into dialectical variations will also help bridge inter-dialectal gaps when

enumerators and respondents do not share dialects and respondents are illiterate and/or do not themselves have a strong grasp of standard Portuguese (i.e. HLP speakers).

Second, this measure will also limit the number of omissions, simplifications, and mistakes that occur when each enumerator is given the freedom to translate based on his/her knowledge/ignorance of this dialectically diverse target language.

Third, it will enhance community outreach. A complete translation would greatly assist the community organizations that are already engaged in encouraging census participation amongst Portuguese-speakers. Complete questionnaire translation will also assist literate monolingual households and household members in helping illiterate Portuguese of a variety of dialects -- including ones particular bilingual enumerators may not be fully conversant in -- fill out questionnaires.

Fourth, it will build trust and accountability amongst the highly heterogeneous group of migrants who speak variants of Portuguese. Both a written statement in standard Portuguese as well as oral recordings in the most prominent dialects that state how confidentiality is protected under Federal Law (independent of one's immigration status) could enhance the participation of undocumented migrants who were afraid of coming into contact with enumerators. This may prove to be particularly important in efforts to increase participation amongst the Brazilian-Portuguese population that has a higher reported incidence of migrants that have no legal status but who are literate. Amongst other segments that have high illiteracy rates, the written word is highly valued and respected. Hence a Portuguese questionnaire -- even when it cannot be necessarily read -- still has an important symbolic import in that it can reassure respondents' confidence that the government is indeed invested in counting everyone independent of race, ethnicity, and linguistic background.

How both the standard translation and the dialectical supplements are done matters. Based on our team's workshops and success in translating instruments in a manner that could be understood across dialectical differences (team members spoke Portuguese from Portugal, Brazil, and Cape Verde), we also recommend that a team of translators as opposed to a single individual handle all translations through several rounds of peer revision that includes speakers from the different dialects, and field testing amongst different dialect speakers. A dialectically diverse team can also identify the targeted terms and expressions that may require supplementary translations at a dialect level.

5.2. Identifying and Recruiting Bilingual Enumerators

Most of the bilingual enumerators had extremely limited ability to read and write in standard Portuguese. As explained already, most had acquired Portuguese orally and spoke what is commonly identified as Portuguese Heritage. Among illiterate Portuguese speakers who have had enough contact with HLP (usually through their grandchildren and children), communication did take place fueled by proper cultural and social know-how. However, HLP enumerators who had no formal education and limited exposure to standard forms of Portuguese had a limited linguistic ability to communicate with speakers of other Portuguese variants (Brazilian, etc.).

Hence, we recommend that enumerators continue to be recruited from the local communities -- Cape Verdean, Brazilian, and Portuguese -- but be subjected to a more rigorous demonstration of their formal language skills. We also recommend that all efforts are made to recruit people of color from the above-mentioned communities. Most of the Portuguese-speaking enumerators were white females, which is not representative of the internal diversity of the Portuguese-speaking community. Enhancing inclusiveness is also a good way to open doors for honest discussion about outreach in communities who have for long been stigmatized.

Obviously, there are plenty of individuals in the local communities who are truly bilingual and capable of writing and reading in Portuguese. The fact that there are no mechanisms in place to select and reward those bilingual enumerators, who have worked hard to learn the oral and written standard, ultimately reinforces a double standard. That is, it promotes the generalized mainstream belief that an immigrant's language is devalued and that to speak with immigrants one does not need to be learned. In focus groups, it was clear that enumerators who could barely speak and read in Portuguese were considered as bilingual as those few enumerators who were actually fully proficient.

Throughout our observations, which were confirmed during focus groups, enumerators assessed their language skills above their actual linguistic competence. Hence, many of the reported bilingual enumerators hired to conduct the Census 2010, were not actually as bilingual as they reported themselves to be. This is largely due to the fact that they have little exposure to standard Portuguese varieties and had acquired the language informally. They attempted to compensate for their lexicon limitations with English borrowing adapted to their Portuguese, which they believed to be the same as standard Portuguese. This contributed significantly to patterns of omissions, simplifications and to some outright errors. Thus, we recommend that the language proficiency of enumerators be objectively *demonstrated* rather than *presumed as a result of self-reporting*. Enumerators targeting Portuguese-speaking households should be required to demonstrate full proficiency (oral, reading, and writing) in the target language -- just as they are required to do in English. A good and efficient way to improve recruitment is to require enumerators to read and write down the answers to a translated Portuguese questionnaire.

5.3. Training Enumerators and Field Supervisors

In interviews all enumerators reported that their training was helpful, but needed it to be more hands-on. Included in the training there should be a section on guidelines and procedures to follow in monolingual households. As stated before, enumerators had no knowledge that a language guide was available on-line and they received no training on how to access and use it. Many were working part-time and did not have access to a computer at home. Hence we suggest that the training include mock interviews in the target language using a translated questionnaire. Ideally, this should be conducted with a range of speakers from different national backgrounds so that enumerators learn to recognize and respect that there is not just one Portuguese, but several dialectical varieties.

Furthermore, field supervisors should also be trained to realistically account for the difficulties enumerators face in Portuguese monolingual households. Portuguese-speaking enumerators felt they were under the pressure to complete a large number of interviews, which was too difficult to

accomplish in monolingual households, especially given some of the communicative conventions in this community of language that compelled longer visits. We observed that enumerators trying to translate on the fly in monolingual Portuguese households usually took at least twice as much time as in a monolingual English household. Yet under the current incentive structure this diligence was not rewarded.

Significantly for our study, in areas of high illiteracy rates language guides and questionnaires are useless to respondents. Hence, field supervisors and enumerators should also receive awareness training on how to approach illiterate respondents. Illiteracy is not peculiar to the Portuguese community in New England and generally, independent of language group, it is extremely hard for a respondent to reveal to a total stranger that he/she is illiterate. Hence, special care, time and effort should be granted in these situations.

5.4. Reinforce the Efforts of Community Organizations

The apparent success of the *Portuguese Total Count Committee* led by local community organizations leads us to conclude that this is a good way to maximize mailed responses and minimize the cost of conducting NRFU interviews. Working closely with community organizations and selecting in advance (based on their performance this year) those community organizations that were successful in outreach campaigns and in providing the necessary hands-on help to fill out questionnaires would likely enhance the response rate of mailed questionnaires of monolingual households.

In order to minimize the cost of questionnaire printing and staff costs for NRFU interviewing, Portuguese questionnaires could be made available in local community offices in which there is a great concentration of Portuguese speakers. They should also be accessible online to be used as a guide for translation in the event only English questionnaires becoming available. This will save the cost of producing and distributing copies nationally.

Based on our interviews with community leaders, they felt the census spent too much money producing trinkets and advertisements (mugs, t-shirts, key chains, etc.) that they frankly believed had very limited effect. That money might provide better returns by being invested in the human capital needed for outreach and in providing actual hands-on assistance in the completion of questionnaires. Some of these community organizations are close to local universities where Portuguese language departments could partner with and play a role in identifying skilled enumerators who can actually demonstrate reading and writing fluency in standard Portuguese.

5.5. Responding to Foreseeable Future Demographic Changes Among Portuguese-Speakers

5.5.1 Age and (Il)literacy Among Portuguese Speakers of Azorean Origin

The nationality and demographic composition of Portuguese-speakers in the Southern New England region (and throughout the United States) is changing in ways that are likely to matter for the 2020 census planning operation. The great majority of Portuguese-proper (i.e. from

Portugal and the Azores) respondents that we observed were above 65 years of age. This population which hails primarily from the Azores is quite well-established, has American citizenship, and their children speak English. However, this is an aging population that is not being replaced by in-migration. Typically individuals in this group worked in the local mills and developed tight neighborhood communities where daily life unfolded with limited recourse to English. Commonly, this older Portuguese population owns their own houses without mortgage and also rents out apartments they themselves have bought and restored. Despite a very poor level of formal education they have survived as workers and property owners, despite the fact that some are not even able to sign their own names.

Most of these individuals migrated to the U.S. from poor insular rural areas in the Azores where they had limited access to formal education in Portuguese. We observed several instances where respondents not only could not read nor write, they also could not read numbers. We observed several such respondents employing a variety of ingenious strategies to overcome their illiteracy and provide information to the NRFU enumerators. Thus in order to answer some questions, such as street number and address, they might provide envelopes with bills that had their names and address and ask us to copy them. Others resorted to their medication so that enumerators could copy down their names.

While the Portuguese-speaking population born in Portugal is aging, for the next census there is likely to be sizable population above 65 years old who does not speak English and some will be illiterate (in both Portuguese and English) residing in the areas where we conducted research. Therefore, it is important to continue to work with those organizations that are familiar with this aging population and that have sustained credibility as community service providers. This is a population that needs special attention, not just because they are illiterate, but also because they are elderly and often suffer from physical impairments: difficulty walking, hearing, and seeing.

Independent of language background, some practices that we observed in illiterate Portuguese households may also be useful in devising effective outreach strategies that target other illiterate communities. We observed that they kept and organized mail according to levels of importance by shape, size, color, font style and so on. Logos and colors are extremely helpful in sorting out correspondence, official letters, and government bureaucracy. Thus, as the Census Bureau already did in past censuses, time should be invested in creating a distinct symbol/logo that could be used in advertising campaigns, in all mailings, posters, and in television outreach. We noticed that the size of the census envelope and appearance is similar to other income tax documents and one illiterate respondent actually took the census questionnaire to his income tax appointment. A clear design to demarcate the census form other government correspondence (namely social security and tax documentation), will help the illiterate population identify what to do with these envelopes and who to call for help.

Television campaigns proved to be useful among the illiterate population, but they need to explain why it is important for all to fill out the census. Because they cannot read, it is important to visually and orally repeat phone numbers and place names of community organizations or other services where immigrants can go for help. The television campaign in Portuguese did a great job announcing Census 2010, so that most were prepared, but for the illiterate population television campaigns need to actually show what the questionnaire looks like, in what kind of

envelope it will be, and when should residents expect to find it in the mail. All these visual connections are essential to prevent the cost of misplaced questionnaires and discarded envelopes.

Despite the fact that so many respondents were questionnaire illiterate, they associate government and the rule of law with the written word. Hence, for the Portuguese speakers who are “questionnaire illiterate” and very suspicious of government operations, the existence of Portuguese written material that others in the community can read for them is still important because it can enhance the enumerators’ credibility and validate the political significance of their participation.

Given their age and their difficulty understanding the census and its purpose, it is also imperative that NRFU enumerators understand how to interact successfully with older and/or Portuguese-speakers, not least of all because this is one of the groups most likely to require NRFU interviews. In our observed NRFU interviews, enumerators were invited inside the older Portuguese respondent’s homes largely because they were identified as being part of the community and being able to relate to them in a non-threatening way. Thus, contact was not established based on an understanding of the census as a constitutional/legal civic requirement, but based on a personal-social connection whereby respondents answered, because he/she “liked” or “enjoyed” the social amicability of the enumerator and researcher. This was typically the case with respondents who were above seventy years old who received us like social visits and offered to show us everything they had in the house (in case we wanted to count how many rooms they had) in addition to offering us soup, coffee, cake, etc. Enumerators had to dedicate more time and care to this population and also show interest in their family pictures, gardens, and food.

5.5.2 Cultivating Trust Among More Recent (Brazilian) Cohorts

More recently arrived Portuguese-speaking migrants, whether from Portugal, Cape Verde, or Brazil are, usually by way of contrast with the older Azorean vintage, literate. Their countries of origin have all experienced tremendous shifts in literacy rates; Cape Verde for instance shifted from 9 percent literacy rates in the 1970s to 75 percent in this century. Brazil, Portugal, and Cape Verde have virtually made access to formal education, from elementary school through ninth grade, free and open to all citizens.

Amongst these three groups the number of Brazilian immigrants has experienced by far the most explosive recent growth and there are indications from other studies that while the rate of this growth may be slowing down it is still likely to remain very significant in the foreseeable future. While found in areas where other Portuguese-speaking populations live, namely New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and California, recent studies have also identified other equally significant concentrations in Miami, Florida, Atlanta Georgia, and New York City, amongst others (Martes 2011; Margolis 2009; Jouet-Pastre and Braga 2008; White 2010; Goza 2004; Capuano 2002).

All indications in these studies are that when compared with other Portuguese speakers in the region, Brazilian migrants are in general a younger population that is far more literate and has

higher education. It is also a population that has a high -- if not specifically known -- number of members who do not have legal status in the United States. Despite geographical proximity to Portuguese organizations, our research suggests that Brazilian organizations were not fully assured that the census was confidential, and conveyed as much to their compatriots. The Census Bureau needs to broaden outreach to Brazilian organizations and also explain what is indeed in place (in terms of federal law) to protect the identity of those who have been criminalized for not being documented. A written questionnaire with a statement of confidentiality in Portuguese (as is done in English interviews), would also assure that respondents understand that the government protects their information and is actively interested in their genuine participation.

If this message is not communicated explicitly and unequivocally it will be hard to convince these undocumented migrants that they run no risks filling out the census. With the economic crisis and violence on the U.S./Mexico border, undocumented migration has slowed down. However, there is an established community of Brazilians who have been in the U.S. since the 1980s and 1990s who are likely to stay and sponsor family and friends. Moreover, Brazilian small businesses are growing throughout Massachusetts (stores/restaurants/beauty and wellness/construction and other services), which also employ other Brazilians. Many do not speak English and should be reached through Brazilian community organizations. The Census Bureau would do well to draw on the findings and expertise of researchers who have conducted research in these specific communities and that have consequently gained insights into the specific forms of concerns that inform their activities and a community organization topography that has its own specificity (being organized largely around Catholic and protestant churches (see Martes 2011:153-161)) that differs in some important respects from that of other Portuguese-speaking groups in America.

We cannot presume that ten years from now, current migratory patterns will stay the same. A main pull to migrate to the U.S. has been a strong dollar relative to weaker currencies in the countries of origin. This is certainly not the case in the present. Nevertheless, past patterns of migration (particularly among Portuguese communities in the region) indicate that during economic crises there is still the pull of joining families (Williams 2007). Historically Portuguese migration to the Massachusetts area has taken place during periods of industrial decline in that region such as the decline of whaling industry at the turn of the 19th century and the decline in mills/manufacture industry in the mid 20th century (see Klimt and Holton 2009 for comparative studies on the regional differences of Portuguese migration and Williams 2007 for contrasting economic experiences among Azoreans in California).

Certainly migration from Cape Verde has continued through long-term patterns of family sponsorship and many end up staying and sponsoring other family members. Most members of this dialectical branch of the Portuguese community of language speak Cape Verdean Creole on a daily basis (Veiga 2004), but the younger generation has been exposed to Portuguese through the educational system. As explained before, Cape Verdeans in the U.S. have struggled to maintain a distinct identity including the struggle to be included in the previous census as a distinct category. The removal of this category in this year's census was seen as yet another attempt to render them invisible in the U.S. In order to recapture their responsiveness to the census, it is important to invest in community organizations that can assist speakers of Cape

Verdean Creole and/or Portuguese answering the questionnaires. A campaign focusing on the importance of answering the census (by showing where and how it is possible to check Cape Verdean) in order to be counted and federally recognized is quite likely to be fruitful among this community.

Hence, we can only recommend that a concerted effort be amplified through the collaboration of selective community organizations that serve the specific, and somewhat differentiated, needs of migrants from Portugal, Brazil, and Cape Verde. From our perspective, to simply target one these groups as if they are a single community not only runs the risk of being interpreted as privileging one over others in ways that incite divisiveness, but will also fail to adequately attend to the different dynamics and problematics that pose a challenge to maximizing participation and reliable response provision in the 2020 Census.

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