



*The Portuguese American Leadership Council
of the United States*

Should Portuguese Americans be officially classified as Hispanic/Latino?

An analysis of survey findings

September 14, 2013

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I. Acknowledgement

PALCUS gratefully acknowledges the work and expertise of Dulce Maria Scott, Ph.D., Professor, Dept. of Sociology, Social Work, Criminal Justice and Family Science, Anderson University, Indiana and PALCUS research consultant, for the design of this survey, analysis of the results, and preparation of this report.

II. Survey Questionnaire:

PALCUS Survey: Should Portuguese Americans be officially classified as Hispanic/Latino?

The 2013 Census included the following two questions on the topic of ethnic and racial identity. Please indicate below what your answers to the two Census questions were? (If someone else filled out the Census form for your household, please indicate how you would have answered if you had filled out the form yourself.)

1. *Is the person (you) of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?*

- a) No, not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin
- b) Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
- c) Yes, Puerto Rican
- d) Yes, Cuban
- e) Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin

Print origin, for example, Argentinian, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.

2. *What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes.*

- a) White
- b) Black, African American
- c) American Indian or Alaska Native
- d) Asian Indian
- e) Chinese
- f) Filipino
- g) Japanese
- h) Korean
- i) Vietnamese
- j) Other Asian

Print name of enrolled or principal tribe below

- k) Native Hawaiian
 - l) Guamanian or Chamorro
 - m) Samoan
 - n) Other Pacific Islander
 - o) Some other race
- Print race below, for example, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on.
- Print race, for example, Fijian, Tongan, and so on.

3. *Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?*

- a) Yes
- b) No (Skip to question 5 if you choose this answer.)

4. *I consider myself Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin because (check all that apply):*

- a) The origin of the word "Hispanic" is from the Latin word Hispanicus, that is, from Hispania or the Iberian Peninsula, which includes both Portugal and Spain.
- b) The term "Hispanic" is used as form of classification for the immigrants and descendants of a wide range of ethnicities, races and nationalities of Latin origins.
- c) The U.S. Department of Transportation defines "Hispanic" to include, "persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central or South American, or other Spanish or Portuguese culture or origin regardless of race."
- d) Portuguese and Spanish are both Latin-based, and thus both can be considered Latino/Hispanic languages.
- e) The social and economic interests of the Portuguese in America will be better served if they are identified as being a part of the growing Latino/Hispanic population.
- f) Other

5. I do not consider myself to be Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin because (check all that apply):

- a) The term Hispanic means “of or relating to, or being a person of Latin American descent living in the U.S.; especially one of Cuban, Mexican or Puerto Rican origin, and, therefore it does not apply to Portuguese people.
- b) Hispanic is basically an American term, used by the American government only, and not recognized anywhere else in the world.
- c) The correct term is “Lusophone” to describe people of Portuguese descent or culture,
- d) Lusitania and Portucalense are the original names of areas known as Portugal. Hispania was the name given to our neighbor, known today as Spain. Portugal was never part of Hispania and therefore Portuguese are not Hispanic.
- e) The social and economic interests of the Portuguese in America will be better served if they are identified as white, European Americans.
- f) Other

6. Do you agree that Portuguese should be added to the Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin category for Census 2020?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Undecided

7. If Portuguese is added to the Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin category for Census 2020, how will you fill out the following census question? Please check the box that you would choose when filling out the Census form. Is this person (you) of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

- a) No, not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.
- b) Yes, Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
- c) Yes, Puerto Rican
- d) Yes, Cuban
- e) Yes, another Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin
Print origin, for example, Argentinian, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on.

8. Do you think that the Portuguese community should come together to prevent the Census Bureau from including Portuguese as a Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Undecided

9. What is your age?

- a) Less than 18
- b) 18 – 24
- c) 25 – 35
- d) 36 – 45
- e) 46 – 60
- f) 61 – 70
- g) 71 – 80
- h) 81 or older

10. What generation of your family first immigrated to the United States?

- a) I immigrated at the age of (please write in below your age at the time of immigration)
- b) My parents immigrated
- c) My grandparents immigrated
- d) My great grandparents immigrated
- e) Other

11. Please provide us with any additional information that you may have.

III. Introduction

Early in 2013, the Portuguese American Leadership Council of the United States (PALCUS) received a request for information concerning the attitudes of Portuguese Americans towards the possibility that this population group might be counted in Census 2020 under the “Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” category. PALCUS was also asked about the position it would take concerning the possible adoption of this measure by the United States Census Bureau.

The Board of Directors took this issue under consideration and decided to consult the organization’s constituency so as to provide an informed answer concerning the attitudes of Portuguese Americans towards their racial and ethnic classification in the United States Census. The Board of Directors also decided that PALCUS’ official position on this matter would be determined by the wishes of the constituency it was created to serve.

Consequently, a short survey questionnaire was prepared and sent to PALCUS’s membership and to pertinent community organizations, which subsequently forwarded it to their respective memberships. The questionnaire was also published on various online sites and venues. After the elimination of incomplete answers, the survey yielded 6,051 complete cases, many of which, in addition to answers to the questionnaire, included narrative comments. While the survey was being conducted, officials at the United States Census Bureau stated that Portuguese would not be included under the “Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” Census designation in Census 2020.

Notwithstanding, the categorization of the Portuguese as Hispanic/Latino in American society has over the years invoked highly impassioned and controversial arguments, both pro and con, among Portuguese Americans. Yet, a survey, such as the present one, which attempts to measure the attitudes of Portuguese Americans concerning the official ethnic classification attributed to them by the Census Bureau, had never before been undertaken. The results of this survey shed light on the preference of Portuguese Americans concerning their racial and ethnic identification in United States official data and statistics, a classification that has the potential to affect their destiny and path of integration into American society.

PALCUS now makes public the findings yielded as a result of its efforts to engage Portuguese Americans in voicing their own preferences concerning how they are classified racially and ethnically in American society. Below is an analysis of the survey results. We first present the survey questionnaire and then proceed to an analysis of the responses. We begin by describing some demographic characteristics of the respondents—race, age, and generation in the United States. Then, we proceed to inquire about how respondents filled out the two questions on ethnicity and race included in Census 2010, moving on to the questions that measured the respondents’ attitudes towards the classification of Portuguese Americans as Hispanic/Latino/Spanish in Census 2020. This report concludes with a brief summary of the survey findings.

Before proceeding, a caveat needs to be added, that is, that the survey did not utilize probability sampling techniques. However, the high level of uniformity in the responses provided by the 6,051 survey participants makes us believe that the utilization of a sample drawn through the use of probability methods would yield similar responses to those acquired through the “convenience” sampling procedures utilized in this survey.

IV. Demographic questions: Age and Generation in the USA
 (Questions 9 and 10 of the questionnaire)

Table 1 and Chart 1 show that the survey captured a population of all adult ages, although the highest percentage (31.6 percent) was between the ages of 25 and 35 years. The data show that Portuguese Americans of all adult ages are interested and concerned about how they are classified racially and ethnically in official United States data.

Table 1
Respondents Age Distribution

Age	Number of respondents	Percent
24 or less	662	10.9
25-35	1912	31.6
36-45	1512	25.0
46-60	1293	21.4
61 or older	672	11.1
Total	6051	100.0

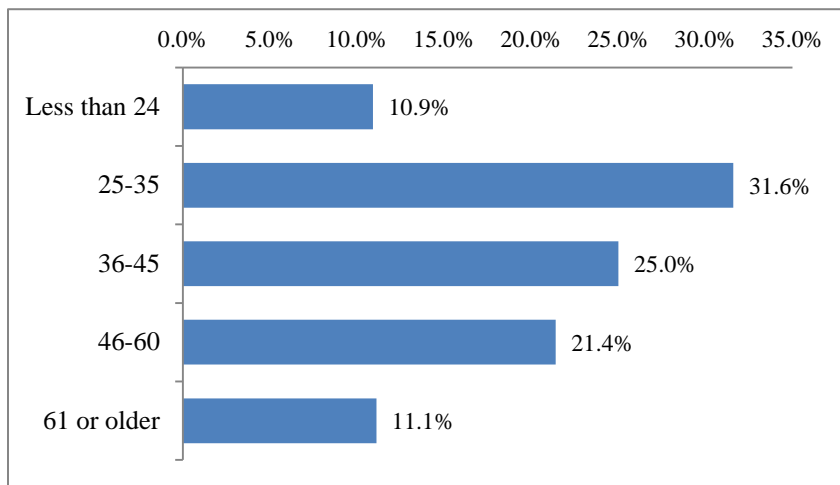


Chart 1. Respondents Age Distribution

Table 2 and Chart 2 below show the distribution of the respondents by generation in the United States. For statistical analysis purposes, we combined some of the categories included in the original survey question. Those who immigrated to the United States after the age of 14 years belong to the first generation. The one-and-a-half generation is constituted by those who arrived as children, i.e., those who were born in Portugal and came to America with their parents or guardians before they were fourteen years of age.

The second generation contains those who were born in America to immigrant parents. The latter's grandchildren are the third generation and the great grand-grandchildren are the fourth generation. Since the number of respondents who identified themselves as being fifth or more generations was too small to use in meaningful statistical analysis, we created a category of fourth and beyond to include all the generations past the great-grandchildren of Portuguese immigrants.

Although a large majority of the respondents fit into a specific generational category, several respondents could not be fit neatly into a specific generation. For example, a respondent might be fourth generation on the paternal

side of their family and second generation on the maternal side. In this type of situation, the respondent would be entered as being third generation. Comparable recoding was done for respondents who, likewise, belonged to more than one generation. Some of the respondents were not immigrants to the United States; some were in this country on a short-term basis, while others had lived in America temporarily but were now living in Portugal or in another country. These respondents were categorized as “Other” in the data presented in Table 2 and Chart 2.

Table 2. Respondents by Generation

Generation in the U.S.	Number of respondents	Percent
First	1058	17.5
One and a half	888	14.7
Second	2670	44.1
Third	855	14.1
Fourth and beyond	368	6.1
Other	212	3.5
Total	6051	100.0

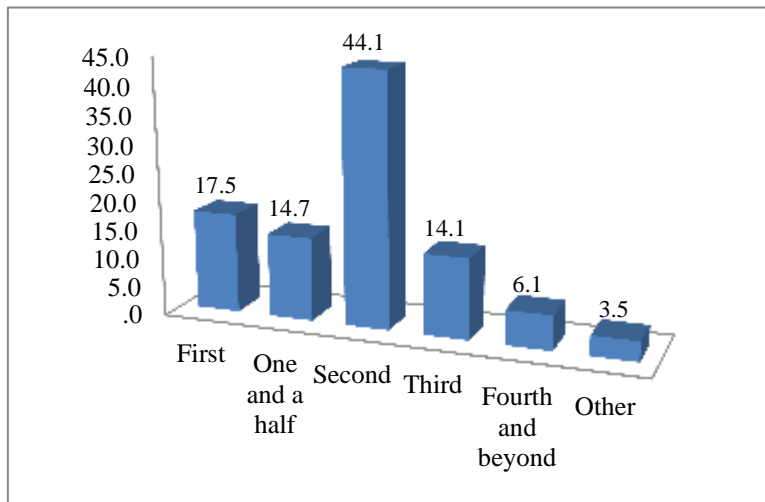


Chart 2. Respondents by Generation

As the data presented above show, 2670 respondents (44.1 percent) were American born children of the immigrant generations. Adding to this category the 14.7 percent that were classified as belonging to the “one and a half” generation, the data show that close to 59 percent of the respondents were children of immigrants.

The third- and fourth-generation respondents are predominantly descendants of late 19th and early 20th century immigrants. However, some of the third-generation respondents are younger people who are grandchildren of post-1958 immigrants.

V. Racial and Ethnic Identification of Portuguese Americans in Census 2010
 (Questions 1 and 2 of the questionnaire)

The first two questions in the survey asked how respondents filled out the ethnicity and race questions included in 2010 United States Census. These first two survey questions were, then, identical to those included in the Census form.

As shown in Table 3 and Chart 3 (presenting numbers only), the overwhelming majority, 90.2 percent identified themselves as Non-Hispanic. Among those who chose Hispanic/Latino/Spanish identifications, over 93 percent identified themselves as belonging to a Hispanic category other than Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban. It is evident from the data that Portuguese Americans generally do not think of themselves as being Hispanic, Latino or Spanish.

Table 3. Is this person [you] of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

Responses	Frequency	Percent
No, not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	5456	90.17
Yes, Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano	22	0.36
Yes, Puerto Rican	14	0.23
Yes, Cuban	4	0.07
Yes, another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	555	9.17
Total	6051	100.00

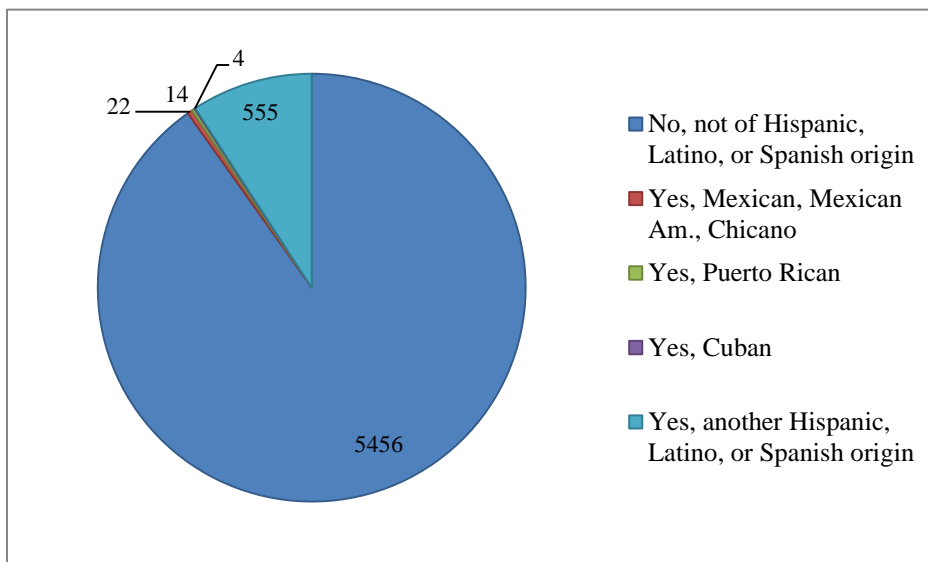


Chart 3. Number of respondents by Ethnic Label

The survey question results shown in Table 4 and Chart 4 below were recoded into four categories: “White,” “White and Portuguese,” “Portuguese only,” and “more than one race.” Recoding of this variable was necessary given that several of the racial categories listed on the Census 2010 form applied only to a small number of respondents. Close to 77 percent of all respondents indicated White as their racial category, and 4.5 percent indicated that their race was both White and Portuguese. Just over 1 percent of the respondents selected more

than one race, a category which included a variety of racial combinations, ranging from White, African, Latino/Hispanic, Native American, Asian, and Hawaiian and Pacific Islander.

Table 4. What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes

	Frequency	Percent
White	4639	76.67
White and Portuguese	272	4.50
Portuguese only	1069	17.67
More than one race	71	1.17
Total	6051	100.00

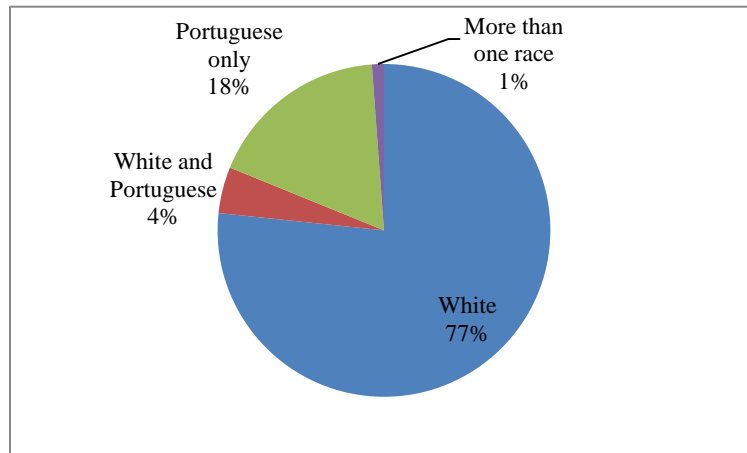


Chart 4. What is this person's race? Mark one or more boxes

The data show that the majority of Portuguese Americans consider themselves to be white. Interestingly, close to 18 percent of the respondents did not choose one of the available racial categories to indicate their race. Rather they chose the category “Other” and indicated that their race was Portuguese. Did they do so because they do not perceive the Portuguese to be white or was their answer choice a result of not understanding the difference between the concepts of race and ethnicity? Either way, the “Portuguese only” and the “White and Portuguese” categories produced slightly different results in the cross-sectional analysis presented below, which justified maintaining them as a separate data category.

VI. Self-Ethnic Identification of Portuguese Americans, their position on Portuguese being added to Census 2020 as a Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin category, and how they would indicate their ethnicity if Portuguese were included in this category.

(Questions 3, 6 and 7 of the questionnaire)

When asked, do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin, 87.2 percent of the respondents indicated that they did not consider themselves to belong to this ethnic category, while only 12.8 percent responded in the affirmative.

Table 5. Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?

	Number	Percent
No	5277	87.2
Yes	774	12.8
Total	6051	100.0

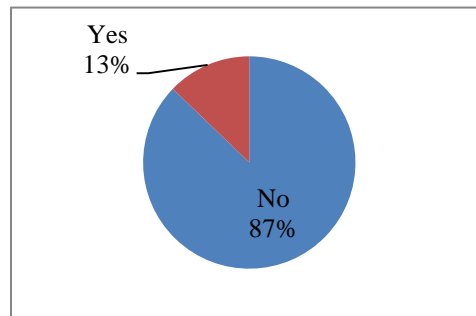


Chart 5. Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?

As Table 6 and Chart 6 show, when asked whether they agreed with Portuguese being added to Census 2020 as a Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin category, only 11.6 percent agreed.

Table 6. Should Portuguese be added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category?

	Number	Percent
Yes	707	11.6
No	5068	83.7
Undecided	276	4.5
Total	6051	100.0

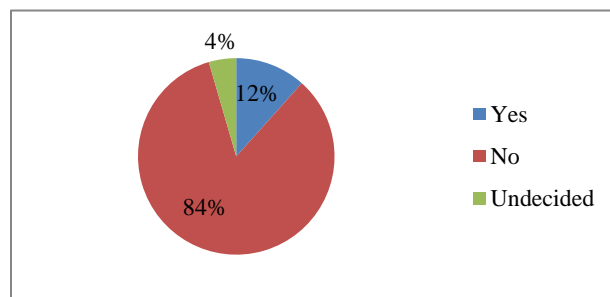


Chart 6. Should Portuguese be added as to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category?

When asked, how they would fill out the Census 2020 question on ethnicity if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish category, 74 percent indicated that they would check the “Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” category, whereas 26 percent specified that they would choose this classification. A large majority of respondents, 74 percent, would continue to check themselves as Not Latino/Hispanic if Portuguese were added to this Census as a Latino category.

A comparison of the data in Tables 5 above and 7 below shows that although only 12.8 percent of the respondents considered themselves to be Hispanic/Latino/Spanish, 26 percent of all survey participants would conform to Census classifications and indicate that they were of this ethnicity if Portuguese were added to the Census as a Hispanic/Latino category.

Table 7. If Portuguese is added as a Hispanic/Latino category in Census2020, how will you fill out the following census question: “Is this person [you] of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?”

	Number	Percent
Not Hispanic/Latino	4477	74.0
Hispanic/Latino	1574	26.0
Total	6051	100.0

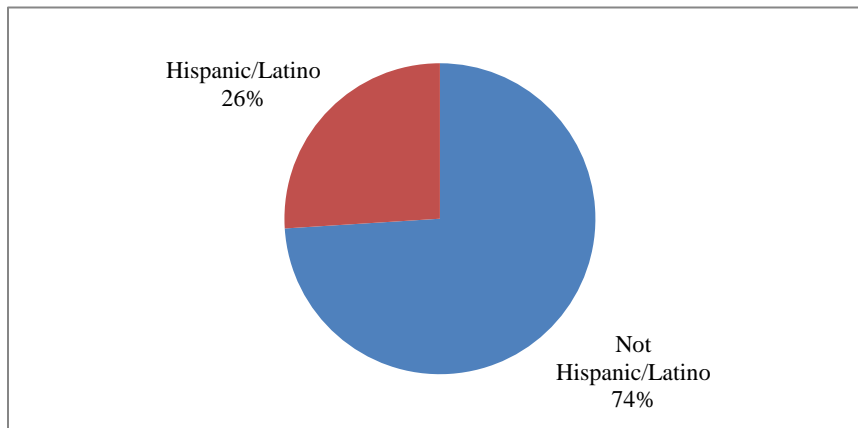


Chart 7. If Portuguese is added as a Hispanic/Latino category in Census2020, how will you fill out the following census question: “Is this person [you] of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?”

Below, we dig deeper into the answers provided by survey participants with the use of cross-tabular analysis.

VII. Cross-tabular Analysis: Race, Age, and Generation by Respondents Self-identification as Latino and by Respondents Intended Responses to Census 2020

We first provide a cross tabular analysis of the respondents’ racial identification with whether they consider themselves to be Hispanic, Latino or of Spanish origin (Table 8 and Chart 8).

Of the 12 percent of the respondents who consider themselves Hispanic, those who designated themselves as biracial and multiracial were most likely to identify as Latino (27 percent) than those who identified as “Portuguese only,” as “White and Portuguese,” and as “White.” Of the three latter categories, those who classified themselves as White were the least likely to consider themselves to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin.

We have to look at these differences with a certain degree of caution, first because the differences among the groups are slight, and, second, because the number of multiracial respondents is small compared to those of the other racial categories. Still binary logistic regression analysis presented at the end of this section shows that “Race” is the only variable with a statistically significant impact when attempting to predict how Portuguese Americans would respond to the Census 2020 question on ethnic classification.

Table 8. Race by Ethnic Identification

Race	Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?		Totals
	Yes	No	
White	546 11.8%	4093 88.2%	4639 100.0%
White and Portuguese	37 13.6%	235 86.4%	272 100.0%
Portuguese only	172 16.1%	897 83.9%	1069 100.0%
More than one race	19 26.8%	52 73.2%	71 100.0%
Total	774 12.8%	5277 87.2%	6051 100.0%

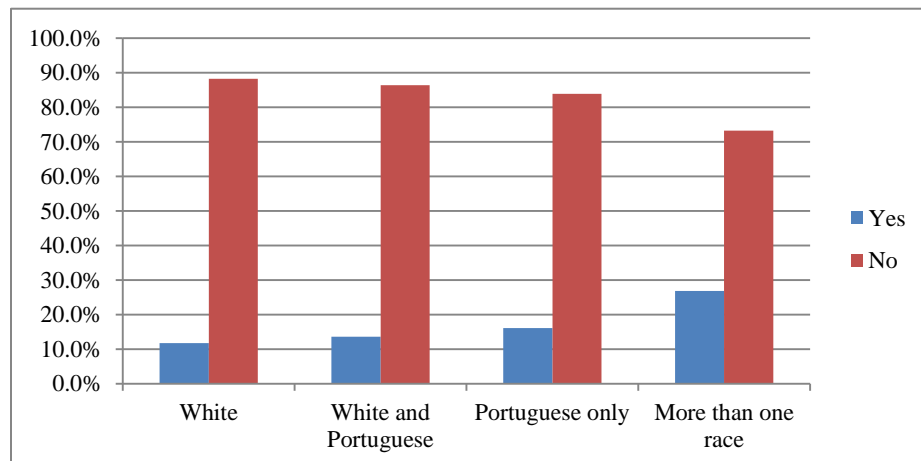


Chart 8. Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?

In Table 9 and Chart 9, we see that those who designated themselves as “Portuguese only” and as “More than one race” would be more likely than those of the other two racial categories to choose the Hispanic designation if Portuguese were added to this ethnic category in Census 2020. However, a comparison of Tables 8 and 9 shows that a significant number of people, across all racial categories, who do not identify themselves as Hispanic/Latino, would nevertheless check this category if it included Portuguese. Thus while only 11.8 percent of Whites identified themselves as Latino/Hispanic, 24.6 percent would check this ethnic category if Portuguese were added to it. For those who identified as “White and Portuguese” the percentages are 16.1 and 31.0 respectively. For those who see themselves as “Portuguese only,” 16.1 percent identified as Latino/Hispanic, but 31 percent would check this category in Census 2020. Among those who are biracial and multiracial, while only 26.8 percent identified as Latino/Hispanic, 38 percent would choose the Latino/Hispanic category if it included Portuguese in Census 2020.

Table 9. Race by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Race	If Portuguese is added, how will you fill out the following census question: “Is this person [you] of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?”		Total
	A category of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish	Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	
White	1143 24.6%	3496 75.4%	4639 100.0%
White and Portuguese	73 26.8%	199 73.2%	272 100.0%
Portuguese only	331 31.0%	738 69.0%	1069 100.0%
More than one race	27 38.0%	44 62.0%	71 100.0%
Total	1574 26.0%	4477 74.0%	6051 100.0%

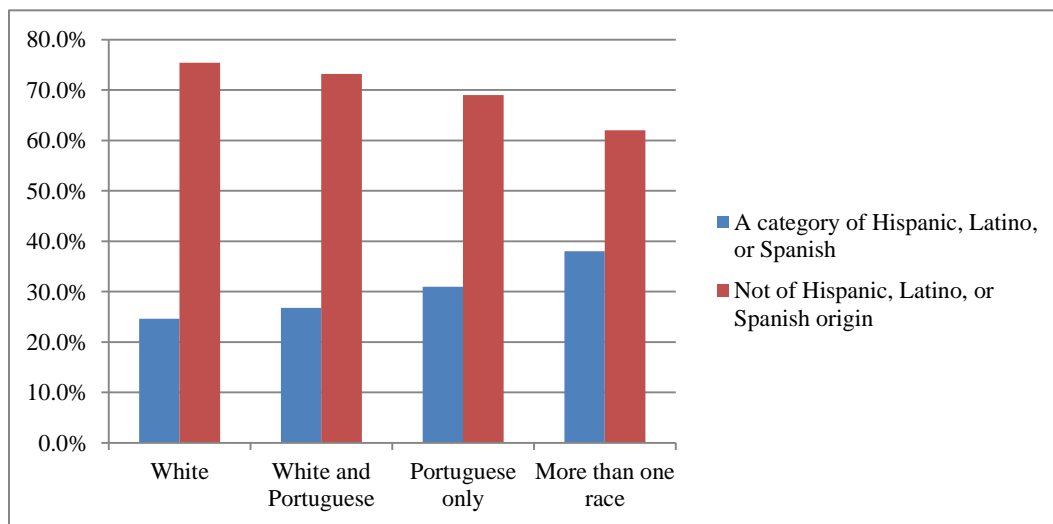


Chart 9. Race by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Table 10 and Chart 10 below show that there is very little variation by age relative to the ethnic identification of the respondents. Those in the older age categories seem to be slightly more likely to identify as Latino/Hispanic but this difference is not significant statistically.

Table 10. Age by Ethnic Identification

Age	Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?		Total
	Yes	No	
24 or less	76 11.5%	586 88.5%	662 100.0%
25-35	214 11.2%	1698 88.8%	1912 100.0%
36-45	194 12.8%	1318 87.2%	1512 100.0%
46-60	186 14.4%	1107 85.5%	1293 100.0%
61 or older	104 15.5%	568 84.5%	672 100.0%
Total	774 12.8%	5277 87.2%	6051 100.0%

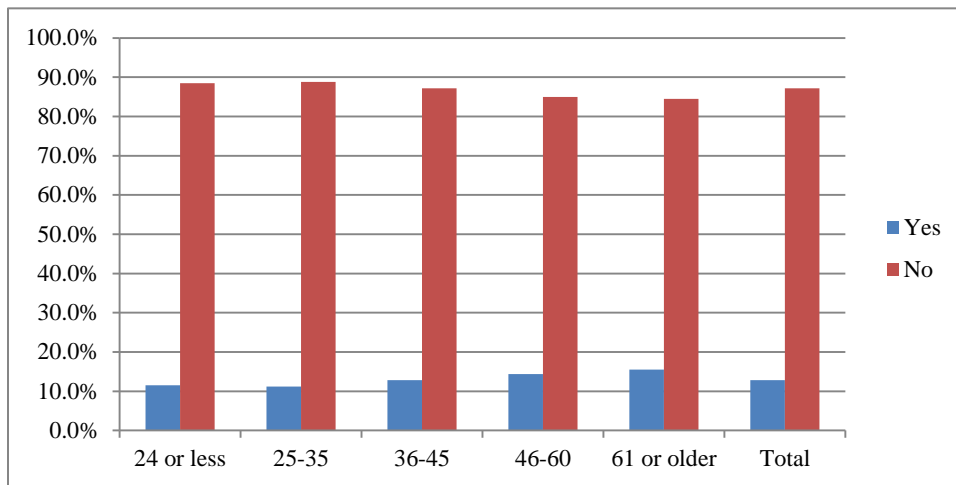


Chart 10. Age by Ethnic Identification (Yes: Latino / No: Not Latino)

A comparison between the data in Tables 10 above and 11 below shows that, across all age categories, a sizeable number of those who identify as Not Being Hispanic would nevertheless comply with the Census Bureau policy and choose Hispanic/Latino as their ethnic category. Such compliance is slightly more likely to occur among those who are of a younger age, although, as the data resulting from binary logistic regression analysis presented at the end of this session indicate, this difference is not statistically significant.

Table 11. Age by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Age	If Portuguese is added, how will you fill out the following census question: “Is this person [you] of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?”		Total
	A category of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish	Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	
24 or less	201 30.4%	461 69.6%	662 100.0%
25-35	488 25.5%	1424 74.5%	1912 100.0%
36-45	387 25.6%	1125 74.4%	1512 25.6%
46-60	331 25.6%	962 74.4%	1293 100.0%
61 or older	167 24.9%	505 75.1%	672 100.0%
Total	1574 26.0%	4477 74.0%	6051 100.0%

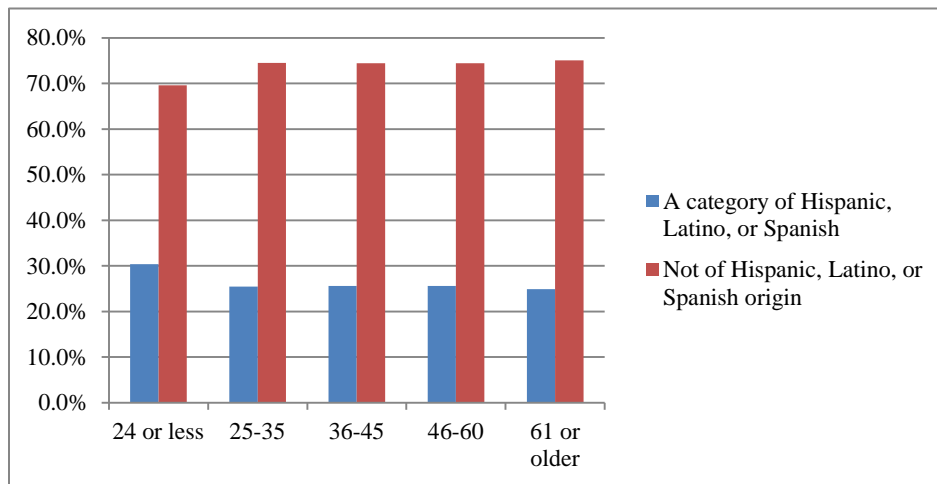


Chart 11. Age by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Table and Chart 12 below show that generation is a variable that has no impact on how the Portuguese self-identify ethnically. Whether they immigrated to the U.S., were born in this country, or had parents or grandparents who were immigrants, the overwhelming majority of Portuguese Americans who participated in the survey, do not consider themselves to be Hispanic/Latino. Members of the first generation were slightly more likely to identify as Hispanic/Latino but this difference is not statistically significant.

Table 12. Generation by Ethnic Identification

Generation in the U.S.	Do you consider yourself to be of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin?		Total
	Yes	No	
First	178 16.8%	880 83.2%	1058 100.0%
One and a half	91 10.2%	797 89.8%	888 100.0%
Second	309 11.6%	2361 88.4%	2670 100.0%
Third	112 13.1%	743 86.9%	855 100.0%
Fourth and beyond	53 14.4%	315 85.6%	368 100.0%
Other	31 14.6%	181 85.4%	212 100.0%
Total	774 12.8%	5277 87.2%	6051 100.0%

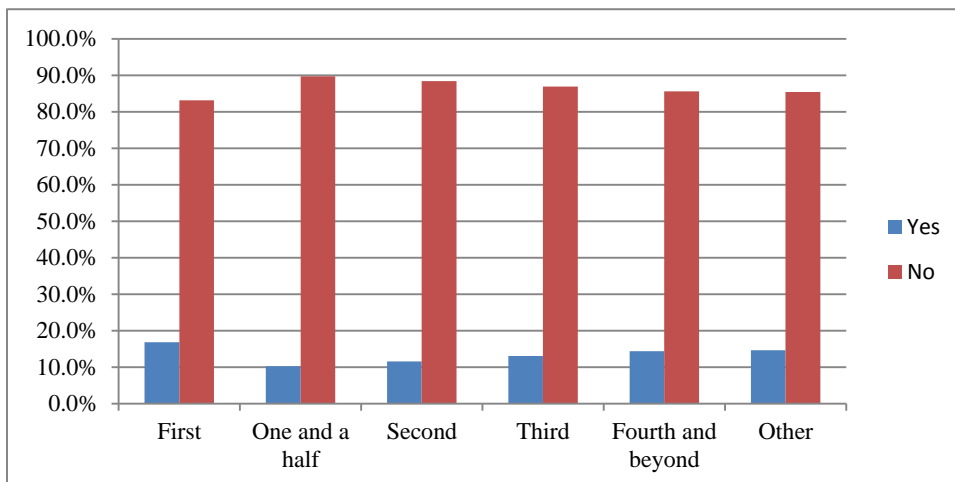


Chart 12. Generation by Ethnic Identification

Table 13 and Chart 13 below show that 68 to 77 percent of respondents of all generations would not choose to identify as Latino/Hispanic if Portuguese were to be added to this category in Census 2020. The fourth and beyond generations were somewhat more likely to indicate that they would choose Hispanic/Latino than the other generations, but again, this difference is not statistically significant. As with the previous two variables (Race and Age), a comparison between Tables 12 and 13 shows that, across all generations, an observable number of respondents would choose the label Hispanic/Latino on the 2020 Census even though they do not self-identify as such.

Table 13. Generation by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Generation in the U.S.	If Portuguese is added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020, how will you fill out the following census question?		Total
	A category of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish	Not of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin	
First	274 25.9%	784 74.1%	1058 100.0%
One and a half	201 22.6%	687 77.4%	888 1.0
Second	708 26.5%	1962 73.5%	2670 100.0%
Third	225 26.3%	630 73.7%	855 100.0%
Fourth and beyond	117 31.8%	251 68.2%	368 100.0%
Other	49 23.1%	163 76.9%	212 100.0%
	1574 26.0%	4477 74.0%	6051 100.0%

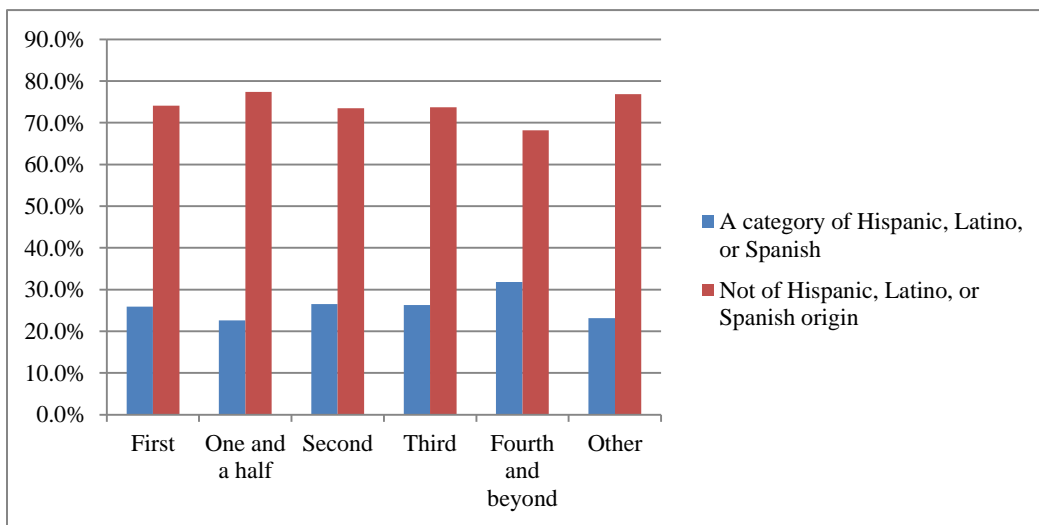


Chart 13. Generation by how the respondent would choose if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020

Table 14 below presents the results of binary logistic regression analysis using the three factors (Race, Age, and Generation) analyzed in this Table as independent variables and the likelihood that respondents would check the Hispanic/Latino/Spanish category in Census 2020 if it included Portuguese as the dependent variable. As the data show, only the variable Race has a statistically significant ($p < .01$) effect on the dependent variable, but, as shown by the odds ratio, it has low predictive power. The statistically significant effect is the result of respondents being slightly more likely, as we move from one race category to the next, to indicate that they

would check the Latino/Hispanic/Spanish racial and ethnic categories if they were included in the United States decennial Census.

Table 14. Determinants of checking the Hispanic/Latino category in Census 2020 if Portuguese is added to this category

	B	Wald χ^2	p	Odds ratio
Race	.020	19.513	.000	1.020
Age	-.032	1.625	.202	.969
Generation	.035	1.260	.262	1.035
Constant	-1.119			

In summary, the frequency, cross tabular and regression analyses show that the race of Portuguese Americans has a slight effect on their ethnic self-identification and on how they would identify in Census 2020 if Portuguese were added to the Hispanic/Latino category, but this effect is small. Although multiracial Portuguese and those who identified as “Portuguese only” were more likely to identify and classify themselves as Hispanic/Latino, the overwhelming majority of Portuguese Americans, across all racial, age, and generational groups, is opposed to being classified as belonging to the Hispanic/Latino Census category.

VIII. Reasons why respondents consider and do not consider themselves to be Latino/Hispanic
(Questions 4 & 5 of the questionnaire)

In this section, we analyze the reasons respondents chose to justify either their agreement or disagreement with Portuguese Americans being designated as Hispanic in Census 2020. Respondents were first asked about the reasons they considered themselves to be Hispanic.

The answer categories included in this question can be described as historical, geographical, cultural, linguistic, political, and economic. Portugal and Spain are both located in the Iberian Peninsula, both have a language derived from Latin, both are Latin cultures, and both are considered by the U.S. Department of Transportation as Hispanic. Thus, the respondents who agreed with this response category believe that if Spaniards, who are from Europe, are considered Hispanic so should Portuguese people be classified as such.

The economic argument is rather poignant. The Portuguese, a small group within the wider context of American society, become invisible and irrelevant as a minority at the bottom of the European racial and ethnic hierarchy pyramid in the United States. While experiencing prejudice and discrimination, without being recognized as a minority ethnic group in America, the Portuguese cannot benefit from the legal and policy measures that have been put in place in order to protect minority populations from discrimination and exclusion. Were Portuguese Americans considered to be part of the Hispanic/Latino minority group, these respondents reason, they would have the political and legal tools necessary to fight against discrimination as well as to benefit from affirmative action policies and programs.

Among the respondents who completed this answer (see Table 15), the linguistic and geographical categories, emphasizing the commonalities between Portugal and Spain, were the most chosen by respondents. The least chosen answer was the classification adopted by the Department of Transportation, which includes the

Portuguese as a Hispanic group. The economic argument was the third most chosen reason as to why respondents considered themselves to be Hispanic.

Table 15. Reasons respondents consider themselves to be Latino/Hispanic

Answer categories	Number of respondents choosing each category	Percent
The origin of the word "Hispanic" is from the Latin word <i>Hispanicus</i> , that is, from Hispania or the Iberian Peninsula, which includes both Portugal and Spain.	534	43.4
The term Hispanic is used as a form of classification for the immigrants and descendants of a wide range of ethnicities, races and nationalities of Latin origins.	281	22.8
The U.S. Department of Transportation defines Hispanic to include, "persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central or South American, or others Spanish or Portuguese culture or origin, regardless of race.	267	21.7
Portuguese and Spanish are both Latin-based, and thus both can be considered Latino/Hispanic languages.	458	37.2
The social and economic interests of the Portuguese in America will be better served if they are identified as being a part of the growing Latino/Hispanic population.	324	26.3
Other	255	20.7

Table 16 displays the data relative to the reasons why Portuguese Americans do not consider themselves Hispanic/Latino/Spanish. The categories in this Table can also be described as historical, geographical, cultural, political, and economic.

The most prevalent choice was that the terms Hispanic and Latino were created to identify people of Latin American descent and, therefore, are not applicable to people from Europe. In other words, it would not make sense for the United States government to apply a category created to designate people from Latin America, who are to a large extent racially and ethnically distinct from the dominant group in the United States, to a population which, according to extant race classifications, is mostly white and of European descent.

Historical and geographic distinctions between Spain and Portugal were the second most chosen category. While respondents who agreed that the Portuguese should be designated as Hispanic emphasized the geo-cultural similarities between the two countries, those who were against the adoption of the Latino label emphasized the geo-historical differences between the two Iberian countries.

The third largest chosen category was the economic, that is, 40.5 percent of the respondents felt that the socioeconomic interests of the Portuguese Americans would be best served if they continued to be considered European Americans.

Table 16. Reasons why Portuguese Americans do not consider themselves Hispanic

Answer categories	Number of respondents choosing each category	Percent
The term Hispanic means “of or relating to, or being a person of Latin American descent living in the U.S.; especially one of Cuban, Mexican, or Puerto Rican origin,” and, therefore it does not apply to Portuguese people	3498	61.2
Hispanic is basically an American term, used by the American government only, and not recognized anywhere else in the world.	1534	26.8
The correct term is "Lusophone" to describe people of Portuguese descent or culture.	1958	34.2
Lusitania and Portucalense are the original names of areas known today as Portugal. Hispania was the name given to our neighbor, known today as Spain. Portugal was never part of Hispania and therefore Portuguese are not Hispanic.	3091	54.1
The social and economic interests of the Portuguese in America will be better served if they are identified as white, European Americans.	2317	40.5
Other	253	4.4

Early in the history of the United States, Congress enacted the 1790 Naturalization Act, which stated that only white people could become citizens of the United States, thus granting a privilege upon this country’s white population that would bear consequences for centuries to come. Most immigrant populations arriving in the United States have sought to be designated racially as white. Some groups, such as the Japanese and Asian Indians, took their case all the way to the Supreme Court in the first quarter of the 20th century, only to be designated as non-white and, therefore, not eligible for U.S. citizenship. In California, where the Alien Land Law of 1913 disallowed non-citizens from owning land, the consequences of the Supreme Court decisions concerning racial classifications were dire for Japanese and other immigrants. Given the importance of land cultivation for the Portuguese, particularly those settling in California, their racial classification was a matter that could not be taken lightly.

The first waves of Portuguese immigrants arrived in the United States during the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century, when, according to the racial constructions of the time, southern Europeans were considered not quite white, but rather an in-between race. The avoidance of discrimination and exclusion, as well as a legal ingress into assured paths of economic integration, made it important for Portuguese immigrants to achieve acceptance as whites among the Anglo-American dominant group as well as other European American ethnic groups.

It seems that today the descendants of Portuguese immigrants, for the most part, want to continue trailing on the path of integration in which their ancestors set out as they arrived in America. They perceive themselves to be of European descent and as such to be ethnically and racially different from people who are from Latin American. Even among multiracial Portuguese-Americans, who, according to current racial constructions in the United States, cannot be defined as white, the prevailing sentiment is that the Portuguese should not be integrated into American society as Latino/Hispanic, but rather as white and European.

IX. What should the community do?

(Question 8 of the questionnaire)

The survey included one last question concerning whether the Portuguese community should come together to prevent the United States Census Bureau from classifying the Portuguese as Hispanic/Latino. The data in Table 17 show that 81 percent of the respondents believe that the community ought to do something to prevent the Census Bureau from including Portuguese in the Hispanic/Latino category. Given that this agency has indicated that it will not include Portuguese in this category in Census 2020, there is no need at this time for the Portuguese American communities to rally around this issue.

Table 17. Portuguese community should come together to prevent the Census Bureau from including Portuguese as a Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin category for Census 2020?

Answer	Number	Percent
Yes	4910	81.1
No	695	11.4
Undecided	446	7.3
Totals	6051	100

X. Conclusion

The question of whether Portuguese Americans should be considered Hispanic/Latino has long been heatedly debated among academics, social activists, and the general public. Responding to a request for information concerning the attitudes of Portuguese Americans towards the possibility that the Portuguese American population might be counted in Census 2020 under the “Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” category, PALCUS undertook a survey to gauge the sentiment of its constituents and others. The analysis of results, obtained from 6,051 complete responses to the survey, makes it possible to provide some answers.

The data collected in this survey show that Portuguese Americans who responded overwhelmingly prefer to continue to integrate into American society as a white population of European descent rather than as part of the Hispanic/Latino minority population. Of the 6,051 respondents, 87.2 percent indicated that they are Non-Hispanic. This sentiment is pervasive among Portuguese American respondents of all adult ages and generations in the United States, but it is somewhat lower among biracial and multiracial Portuguese Americans, with only 73.2 percent not identifying themselves as Latino/Hispanic.

If Portuguese were added to the Hispanic/Latino Census classification in 2020, 74 percent of all respondents specified that they would continue to indicate that they did not belong to this category. Through the use of cross tabular analysis, we observed, that across all races, generations and ages, a significant percentage of respondents who do not identify themselves as Latino/Hispanic would nevertheless comply with Census Bureau policy if it decided to include Portuguese under this ethnic classification.

Overall, only 11.6 percent of the respondents (see Table 6) were in favor of Portuguese Americans being ethnically classified as Hispanic/Latino in American society. The geographical and linguistic similarities between Portugal and Spain were the main arguments supporting their position on this topic (see Table 15).

That is, given that people from Spain can be classified as Hispanic/Latino in America, so should people from Portugal. The argument that the socioeconomic interests of the Portuguese would be better served if they were classified as a minority group in America—being thus able to avail themselves of and benefit from anti-discriminatory policies that protect minority groups—was the fourth most chosen justification among those who were in favor of adding Portuguese to the Latino/Hispanic Census classification. Among those who were against such classification, the affirmation that the socioeconomic interests of the Portuguese would be best served if they continued to be considered white in American society was the third most chosen justification for their position on this issue (see Table 16). The vast majority of Portuguese Americans identifies as white and European, and thus, according to the most chosen justification provided in Table 16, believes that the Hispanic/Latino categorization, which refers to people who have origins in Central and South America, is not applicable to persons who are from Portugal.

During the implementation of this survey, officials at the Census Bureau stated that this agency will not designate the Portuguese population as Hispanic/Latino in Census 2020. As such, there is no urgency at this time for the community to come together and take action to influence the Bureau's decision process. Nevertheless, PALCUS will make these findings known to the general public and to U.S. government officials to work toward ensuring that all concerned constituencies are aware of the preferences of Portuguese Americans relative to their official racial and ethnic classification in the United States of America.