Who Leads the Flock? Religion and

the Radical Right among Brazilian Migrants

Appendix

June 4, 2024

Contents

1 Expatriate Demographics and the Vote for Bolsonaro

In the main text, the Introduction discusses how Brazilians in Boston had the most pro-Bolsonaro voting record in 2022 of any consular district in the United States except for Miami. The demographics of the Brazilian electorate in Boston help explain why it was so unusual in 2022 (as well as 2018, when Bolsonaro was first elected). Table 1 shows descriptive statistics from Brazil's Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) on the gender, age, education, and marital status of voters registered in each consular district at the time of the 2022 election. Those in Boston stand out in several respects. They are by far the least educated of any major community of Brazilians in the United States. They also have the most equal male–female gender ratio, whereas other cities have a much larger share of women than men in the electorate. And after Miami, Boston has the smallest share of voters in the youngest age range. Each of these factors could make Boston-area Brazilians more likely to support Bolsonaro than those from other U.S. cities.

To examine to what extent demographics account for Boston's unusually pro-Bolsonaro stance, I conduct an ecological analysis of precinct-level vote share for Bolsonaro among all Brazilian voters in the U.S. I use weighted least squares regression with the number of valid votes per precinct as the weight variable. The results are presented in Table 2. Columns 1 and 3 show how each city's vote for Bolsonaro compares to Boston when we do not take demographics into account; column 3, the model for the runoff election, reproduces main text Table 1 in the form of a regression with dummy variables. Here we see that Boston's vote share for Bolsonaro in both rounds of the election was significantly higher than that of seven cities, significantly lower than that of one (Miami), and significantly indistinguishable from that of another (Atlanta). Columns 2 and 4 present the regression results when we include controls for the percentage of registered voters in each precinct who are female, single, divorced, and of different ages and education levels. After controlling for demographics, Boston-area Brazilians appear more typical of the U.S.-based electorate as a whole: their support for Bolsonaro is significantly higher than that of four cities (Chicago, New York, San Francisco, and Washington), significantly lower than that of two (Atlanta and Miami), and statis-

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Table 1: Demographics of the Brazilian Electorate in the United States

	Atlanta	Boston	Chicago	Hartford	Houston	Los Angeles	Miami	New York	San Francisco	Washington
Gender										
Female	58.0	51.8	59.7	56.3	59.5	62.1	56.5	59.8	59.7	62.7
Male	42.0	48.2	40.3	43.7	40.5	37.9	43.5	40.2	40.3	37.3
Age										
16–39	39.1	32.9	44.2	35.7	34.2	38.8	31.4	34.8	40.6	39.8
40–54	40.2	42.9	36.0	39.2	40.1	35.7	37.3	33.7	36.4	34.7
55+	20.8	24.2	19.8	25.1	25.6	25.4	31.3	31.4	23.0	25.5
Education										
Less than High School	16.6	26.0	7.1	22.3	8.9	6.1	10.8	17.8	8.8	12.4
High School	42.3	51.5	26.3	46.0	31.5	33.4	44.9	40.6	33.7	34.2
College or Higher	41.1	22.5	66.6	31.7	59.6	60.5	44.3	41.6	57.5	53.4
Marital Status										
Married/Widowed	48.5	52.1	57.3	49.3	61.5	49.3	48.7	43.2	52.6	52.9
Divorced/Separated	7.2	8.4	4.1	7.1	5.6	6.0	8.5	7.1	7.2	5.3
Single	44.3	39.5	38.7	43.7	33.0	44.7	42.7	49.7	40.1	41.8

Source: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. Figures are percentages.

tically indistinguishable from that of three (Hartford, Houston, and Los Angeles). Hence, there is nothing particularly unusual about Boston-area Brazilians that might suggest limits to the generalizability of this paper's argument, given that the survey analysis controls for the demographic variables that make them unique.

2 Exit Poll Descriptive Statistics

On metrics that allow for a comparison, the exit poll sample appears to be fairly representative of Boston-area Brazilians who voted in the 2022 election. Brazil's electoral authority, the Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE), publishes precinct-level demographic information on registered voters. All precincts are not equally likely to turn out, especially outside of Brazil, so the best comparative metric is an average of precinct-level figures, weighted by each precinct's share of votes cast. Table 3 shows that the sample was highly representative of these weighted precinct averages on gender, and quite good on age, albeit oversampling younger voters and undersampling older ones by a few percentage points. The sample appears much less representative in terms of education, but this is a lagging indicator; the TSE only records voters' education levels when they register to vote, so any additional education completed in the United States would not be reflected in these data unless they reregister, typically after moving to a new consular jurisdiction.[1] By design, the sample nearly perfectly matched the distribution of votes across the two polling places. Finally, the exit poll underestimated vote for Bolsonaro by about 6 percentage points in each round, but most surveys in Brazil did so as well, a phenomenon that is increasingly common in elections with populist or anti-establishment candidates.

Table 4 presents additional descriptive statistics on the sample, beyond those variables that can be compared to the Boston-area Brazilian electorate. Consistent with other data on Brazilians in the United States, a majority of respondents were white and originated from states in Brazil's

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[1]The Boston consulate covers Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine.

Table 2: Predictors of Precinct-Level Vote for Bolsonaro, 2022

	Dependent variable:			
	Round 1 Vote		Round 2 Vote	
Atlanta	−3.25	10.07***	−1.67	10.72***
	(1.90)	(2.82)	(1.85)	(2.80)
Chicago	−36.20***	−15.75**	−31.66***	−12.39*
	(2.25)	(4.95)	(2.23)	(4.93)
Hartford	−12.59***	−2.37	−11.76***	−2.29
	(3.02)	(3.31)	(2.99)	(3.29)
Houston	−14.60***	0.92	−10.42***	3.99
	(1.94)	(4.03)	(1.90)	(4.01)
Los Angeles	−27.46***	−4.58	−25.01***	−4.14
	(1.97)	(4.61)	(1.95)	(4.59)
Miami	4.37***	17.32***	5.42***	17.60***
	(1.29)	(3.19)	(1.24)	(3.14)
New York	−23.62***	−7.02*	−22.52***	−7.15*
	(1.41)	(2.91)	(1.36)	(2.91)
San Francisco	−36.54***	−18.88***	−36.70***	−20.28***
	(1.95)	(3.86)	(1.94)	(3.82)
Washington	−28.19***	−10.98**	−26.33***	−10.76**
	(1.80)	(3.60)	(1.78)	(3.59)
Constant	69.89***	113.35***	75.75***	121.93***
	(0.95)	(14.80)	(0.90)	(14.72)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	259	259	260	260
R^2	0.83	0.86	0.82	0.85
Adjusted R^2	0.82	0.85	0.82	0.84

Note: Entries are weighted least squares (WLS) regression coefficients, weighted by valid votes in the precinct, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Cities are indicator variables for consular district, with Boston as the reference category. Controls in selected models include the percentage of registered voters who are female, single, divorced, and of different ages and education levels. $^*p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$.

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Table 3: Exit Poll Respondents versus Registered Voters and Electoral Results

	Registered Voters	Voters who Voted	Exit Poll Respondents
Gender			
Female	51.8	52.1	52.6
Male	48.2	47.9	47.1
Other			0.3
Age			
18–39	32.8	27.6	30.9
40–54	43.0	43.1	41.6
55+	24.2	29.3	27.5
Education			
Less than High School	26.0	26.7	14.8
High School	51.5	50.9	42.6
College or Higher	22.5	22.4	42.6
Polling Place			
Malden	71.3	72.2	72.3
Framingham	28.7	27.8	27.7
Round 1 Vote			
Bolsonaro		69.9	63.4
Lula		23.0	29.0
Other		7.1	7.5
Round 2 Vote			
Bolsonaro		75.8	70.0
Lula		24.2	30.0

Source: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral and Boston Brazilians survey. Figures are percentages, excluding blank/null votes in the case of electoral results. For demographics, the 'Voters who Voted' column weights precint-level (*seção*) percentages by each precinct's share of votes cast, pooled across both rounds of the election. Demographic figures exclude 16- and 17-year-old registered voters, who were not eligible to be sampled by the survey.

South or Southeast regions. The most common cities of residence were Boston and several of its most heavily Brazilian suburbs, but respondents were generally quite spread out around the state, with a few traveling from neighboring states as well. The sample had a much smaller share of recent arrivals to the United States than in Marcelli et al.'s (2009) household survey of Boston-area Brazilians, suggesting (perhaps paradoxically) that longer-term residents of the U.S. may be more likely to register and to vote in Brazilian elections. Reported interest in both Brazilian and American politics was quite high, which almost certainly influences registration and voting. Household income, which was higher than anticipated, likely influences this decision as well, especially since most voters had to travel some distance to the polling place. The distribution of religion and church attendance in the sample are discussed in the main text.

3   Focus Group Recruitment

As discussed in the main text, focus group participants were recruited from among the exit poll respondents. Respondents had the opportunity to opt into the focus group-eligible sample by leaving their contact information on a tear-off sheet at the bottom of the self-administered paper questionnaire. After each round of the survey, including the pre-test at the September festival, we invited respondents who were 30–70 years old and were churchgoing, Bolsonaro-supporting Christians to participate in a focus group on an upcoming weekend. As is typical with focus group recruitment, those who attended were a small share of those that we invited. There are thus two stages of respondent self-selection involved in focus group recruitment: leaving one's contact information, and attending after having been invited.

Evidence suggests that self-selecting into the focus group-eligible sample and attending after having been invited do not introduce major biases. Table 5 contains descriptive statistics on the three focus groups. For two of the three survey rounds, those who left their contact information have significantly higher levels of interest in Brazilian politics than those who did not. However, the difference is substantively small, about a third of a standard deviation of the interest vari-

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Table 4: Exit Poll Respondents: Descriptive Statistics

	Percent		Percent
Country of Birth		**Religion**	
Brazil	96.5	Catholic	32.7
United States	3.2	Evangelical	44.3
Other	0.3	Other	6.4
Brazilian State		None	16.6
Minas Gerais	35.2	**Church Attendance**	
São Paulo	14.3	More than once a week	19.7
Rio de Janeiro	8.8	Once a week	28.2
Paraná	7.6	Once or twice a month	14.4
Other	34.2	Once or twice a year	12.4
Year of Arrival		Never or almost never	25.4
1992 or earlier	12.0	**Income**	
1993–2002	35.5	$0 to $16,000	8.4
2003–2012	23.7	$16,001 to $32,000	7.0
2013–2022	28.8	$32,001 to $50,000	17.9
City of Residence		$50,001 to $90,000	30.0
Boston	9.0	More than $90,000	36.8
Framingham	8.5	**Interest in BR Politics**	
Everett	4.8	A lot	68.1
Somerville	4.2	More or less	23.5
Other MA cities	69.0	A little	6.1
Other states	4.5	Not at all	2.3
Race		**Interest in US Politics**	
White	57.9	A lot	63.3
Brown	20.3	More or less	27.6
Black	4.3	A little	7.7
Other	17.5	Not at all	1.3

able in each case. Moreover, survey respondents as a whole were already highly interested in Brazilian politics—an average of 3.5 on a 1–4 scale—which is unsurprising since most were interviewed after having voted in a home-country election from the United States. Other differences—participants in the first focus group were somewhat older; those who left their contact information for the second lived somewhat closer and were more likely to be male—showed up only in one of the three groups.

Table 6 presents results from logistic regressions of the decision to leave contact information and to attend the focus group once invited, pooling data from all three rounds of the survey (with fixed effects for each round). Non-Christians (with Catholics as the baseline category), men, and those with more interest in Brazilian politics were more likely to opt into the focus group-eligible sample by leaving their contact information. Among those invited to the focus group, the only significant predictor of showing up was church attendance—a variable that correlates with Catholic versus evangelical, which may explain why it is only significant after controlling for religion. While I avoided Sunday mornings for the focus groups, some churches hold worship services at other times, and frequent churchgoers are also likely to have other church-related commitments on the weekends.

4   Focus Group Protocol

Below is the text containing the introductory comments and discussion questions posed by the focus group moderator. There were 11 questions in each focus group, with some differences across groups, as noted below.

Welcome to our discussion group and thank you being here! This discussion group is part of a research project that is seeking to understand the experiences and opinions of the Brazilian community in Boston, including your experiences and opinions about religion and politics. My name is [REDACTED], I graduated from [REDACTED] two years ago, and I wrote my honors thesis about this topic because I wanted to get to know my community in Boston better. This is

Table 5: Boston Brazilians Focus Group Selection: Descriptive Statistics

Group / Variable	Left Contact Info			Attended | Invited		
	Yes	No	P-val	Yes	No	P-val
Festival						
Arrival Year	2007.2	2006.4	0.7	2006.8	1997.5	0.0
Evangelical (%)	30.5	29.8	0.9	43.8	66.7	0.4
Catholic (%)	50.8	44.0	0.4	56.2	33.3	0.4
Non-Christian (%)	18.6	26.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	
Church Attendance (1–5)	2.9	3.1	0.5	4.6	4.3	0.4
Political Interest (1–4)	2.8	3.2	0.0	3.3	3.2	0.7
Bolsonaro Supporter (%)	30.4	37.3	0.4	100.0	100.0	
Male (%)	49.1	38.1	0.2	50.0	33.3	0.5
Age	42.2	43.3	0.6	43.4	57.2	0.0
Nonwhite (%)	41.8	46.4	0.6	43.8	16.7	0.3
Education (1–7)	5.0	4.6	0.2	4.1	3.7	0.7
Income (1–5)	3.6	3.3	0.3	3.4	3.2	0.8
Distance From Group (km)	15.9	14.0	0.5	8.7	7.4	0.7
N	59.0	84.0		16.0	6.0	
Round 1						
Arrival Year	2005.5	2005.6	0.9	1999.5	2005.0	0.4
Evangelical (%)	47.6	44.6	0.6	66.7	33.3	0.1
Catholic (%)	30.8	31.4	0.9	33.3	66.7	0.1
Non-Christian (%)	21.6	24.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	
Church Attendance (1–5)	3.1	3.1	0.8	4.1	3.8	0.5
Political Interest (1–4)	3.6	3.6	0.6	3.6	3.8	0.4
Bolsonaro Supporter (%)	61.5	57.1	0.5	100.0	100.0	
Male (%)	42.9	57.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	1.0
Age	45.7	44.8	0.6	49.6	49.5	1.0
Nonwhite (%)	32.6	41.7	0.1	29.3	50.0	0.3
Education (1–7)	4.9	4.9	1.0	4.3	5.3	0.2
Income (1–5)	3.7	3.6	0.6	3.7	3.8	1.0
Distance From Group (km)	33.2	23.5	0.0	26.3	13.8	0.2
N	189.0	121.0		42.0	6.0	
Round 2						
Arrival Year	2003.3	2004.4	0.3	2003.9	2001.0	0.4
Evangelical (%)	42.9	42.6	1.0	74.6	83.3	0.6
Catholic (%)	36.5	31.5	0.3	25.4	16.7	0.6
Non-Christian (%)	20.7	25.9	0.2	0.0	0.0	
Church Attendance (1–5)	3.0	3.0	0.6	4.0	3.7	0.2
Political Interest (1–4)	3.5	3.7	0.0	3.8	3.3	0.1
Bolsonaro Supporter (%)	62.3	65.4	0.5	100.0	100.0	
Male (%)	44.2	47.2	0.6	50.7	66.7	0.5
Age	45.6	46.7	0.4	49.0	50.8	0.7
Nonwhite (%)	41.6	36.1	0.3	35.7	16.7	0.4
Education (1–7)	4.9	5.0	0.6	4.8	5.5	0.3
Income (1–5)	3.9	3.9	0.9	3.8	4.2	0.5
Distance From Group (km)	36.1	38.6	0.5	39.0	23.6	0.2
N	207.0	198.0		71.0	6.0	

Note: P-values are from two-tailed difference in means t-tests.

Table 6: Predictors of Boston Brazilians Project Focus Group Selection

	Dependent variable:	
	Left Contact Info	Attended | Invited
Distance (Log)	−0.09	−0.16
	(0.07)	(0.27)
Arrival Year	0.01	−0.08
	(0.01)	(0.05)
Evangelical	0.14	1.72
	(0.25)	(1.02)
Non-Christian	0.67*	
	(0.31)	
Church Attendance	0.13	−1.54*
	(0.09)	(0.71)
Political Interest	0.45***	−0.45
	(0.14)	(0.46)
Bolsonaro Voter	0.33	
	(0.25)	
Male	0.48*	0.17
	(0.20)	(0.82)
Age	0.002	0.01
	(0.01)	(0.05)
Nonwhite	0.10	−0.53
	(0.21)	(0.88)
Education	0.07	0.29
	(0.07)	(0.29)
Income	−0.11	−0.25
	(0.09)	(0.36)
Observations	465	107
Log Likelihood	−299.09	−28.65
Akaike Inf. Crit.	628.18	83.31

Note: Entries are logistic regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Group fixed effects estimated but not reported. *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001.

Professor [REDACTED], who is organizing this research project and was my advisor for the thesis. *[[REDACTED] will introduce [REDACTED].]*[2]

We know that [Saturday/Sunday] is usually a day to spend with friends and family, so we are very grateful for your presence here and your decision to spend time with us. We want to have a friendly, casual conversation here, like if you were getting together with your friends, eating salgadinhos and talking about life. There are no right or wrong answers here, and all opinions are valuable. We know that sometimes people argue about religion or politics, but we also know from the questionnaires that you filled out [two weeks ago/on election day] that you have some attitudes in common. So we think it should be an easy conversation.

Before we start, I'd like to ask that everyone take a look at this consent form and let me know if you agree to have our conversation audio recorded. We will only use first names during our conversation, and we will always use pseudonyms to cite your comments outside of this group. *[Distribute consent forms and verify each person's response about recording.]*

- Let's start with introductions. Let's go around the table, and I would like each person to tell me what part of Brazil you are from, how long you have lived here in the United States, where you live now, what you do for work, and what you do for fun? I'll start with myself. . .

- How do you stay informed about what's happening in Brazil? For example, maybe you watch TV Globo, or you have a WhatsApp group with friends in Brazil, or you FaceTime with relatives who still live in Brazil.

- *[Focus groups 1–2]* As you know, Brazil [will have presidential elections next month, with the first round next Sunday/had presidential elections two weeks ago and is going to have the second round of those elections on October 30]. Imagine that you were to create a new candidate who would be the perfect candidate in those elections. What would that ideal candidate be like?

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[2]For the first focus group, another Brazilian-American member of the research team was also present as an observer.

- *[Focus group 1]* What are some things you've heard about the Brazilian election or electoral campaign, and where have you heard them from?

- *[Focus groups 2–3]* What [are you doing/did you do] to follow the electoral campaign? For example, did you watch the debaters before the first round? Or did you see the candidates' campaign advertising on TV?

- *[Focus groups 1–2]* Sometimes when our lives change, our opinions about politics change as well. Have your opinions about Brazilian politics changed over the time that you have been living in the U.S.?

- *[Focus group 3]* After the second round of the elections, there were protests of the results throughout Brazil, and also here in Boston. We are going to show a video of a protest in Harvard square on Sunday, November 6 *[show video]*.[3] Did you hear about those protests in Cambridge? Did anyone attend?

- *[Focus group 3]* Some people participating in the protests here and in Brazil are calling for military intervention to prevent Lula from taking office. What is your opinion about these calls for military intervention?

- I'd like to change topics now and learn more about your religious life. What type of church do you go to here, and how often? How did you start attending that church? Did you go to a similar type of church in Brazil?

- During mass or worship, a priest or pastor talks mostly about the Word of God. Sometimes, talking about the Word of God, social or political issues come up, including issues about the elections. Does this happen in your church? Can you give an example?

- After mass or worship, people often get together to have coffee, eat snacks, and talk. Or maybe the church organizes other social events like a barbecue. When you get together with

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[3]The original video, https://twitter.com/floresdepapel6/status/1589370638825062400, is from a Twitter account that has since been suspended. It showed pro-Bolsonaro protestors gathered in Harvard Square, with one person leading the assembled group in prayer.

other people from your church, how often do you talk about politics?

- *[Focus group 1]* We have mostly talked about Brazilian politics. But there are also going to be elections here in the United States, in November. What are some things you've heard about the American election or the electoral campaign here, and where have you heard them from?

- *[Focus group 2]* We have mostly talked about Brazilian politics. But there are also going to be elections here in the United States, in November. Which party would you want to have a majority in the U.S. Congress after those elections, and why?

- *[Focus group 3]* We have mostly talked about Brazilian politics, but there were also recent elections here in the United States. The Republican party is going to have a majority in the House of Representatives and the Democratic Party is going to maintain control of the Senate. Where you happy with that result or would you prefer that it were different?

- *[Focus group 1]* The next U.S. presidential elections will be in 2024. Imagine that you were to create a new candidate who would be the perfect candidate in those elections. What would that perfect candidate be like?

- *[Focus group 2]* There will also be elections for Governor of Massachusetts, where the contest is between Maura Healey and Geoff Diehl. Who would you like to be elected governor of Massachusetts, and why?

- *[Focus group 3]* There were also elections for Governor of Massachusetts, where the Democrat, Maura Healey, defeated the Republican, Geoff Diehl. What is your opinion about the result of that election?

- Is there anything else we haven't talked about yet that you'd like to share with us?

5 Regression Results

In the main text, I report regression results graphically. Regression coefficients and standard errors are reported in Table 7.

6 Analysis of Livestreamed Worship Services

Table 8 lists the churches whose livestreamed worship services were analyzed for this study. In selecting churches, I sought to identify the largest and most popular Brazilian churches in Boston. For evangelical churches, I did Google and Facebook searches on "igreja boston" and "igreja brasileira boston," following multiple pages of hits until I was not finding anything new. Nearly all of these churches had weekly livestreamed worship services. I then ranked them according to their number of Facebook followers, and I chose the top six for analysis. The resulting sample gives decent variation in terms of denomination and includes most of the major Brazilian churches in Boston identified by independent listings (Bostonmais.com, 2021; Cook and Ketcham, 2020). For Catholic Churches, I looked for the websites and Facebook pages of every parish listed by the Brazilian Apostolate of the Archdiocese of Boston (http://apostoladobrasileiro.com), choosing to analyze the 4 (out of 16) that offered regular livestreamed Portuguese-language services.

As discussed in the main text, I downloaded and analyzed videos of these churches' weekly worship services over a three-month period. For churches with multiple weekly worship services, I chose the first Sunday morning service each week, which was generally the service with the most Facebook or YouTube views. I used Trint's video transcription service to generate transcripts for analysis. Based on testing, Trint provided the most accurate Portuguese-language transcripts among various alternatives. The quality of the transcript varied according to the audio quality of the service itself, and it was generally higher for the evangelical churches, which place more emphasis on modern video and audio production during worship. Singing and collective speech (e.g., the congregation reciting the Lord's Prayer during a Catholic service) generally transcribed

Table 7: Predictors of Voting for Jair Bolsonaro

	Dependent variable:
	Voted Bolsonaro
Age	0.32***
	(0.08)
Male	−0.06
	(0.15)
Black	−0.79*
	(0.37)
Brown	−0.22
	(0.17)
Other Race	−0.05
	(0.25)
Education	−0.27***
	(0.08)
Income	0.10
	(0.08)
Evangelical	1.44***
	(0.27)
Church Attendance	0.27
	(0.20)
Catholic	1.12***
	(0.27)
Social Media	0.25
	(0.17)
Church Discussions	0.20
	(0.21)
Clergy Endorsements	0.07
	(0.20)
Evangelical × Church	0.20
	(0.25)
Catholic × Church	−0.25
	(0.24)
Observations	479
Log Likelihood	−202.05
Akaike Inf. Crit.	436.10

Note: Entries are probit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Age, education, income, and church attendance are standardized, so estimates represent the effect of a 1 standard deviation change, and the estimates for the evangelical and Catholic indicators represent the effect for those with average levels of church attendance. White is the reference category for race and none/other is the reference category for religion. $^*p<0.05$; $^{**}p<0.01$; $^{***}p<0.001$.

poorly, but sermons, clergy-led prayer, announcements, and other speech by the priest, pastor, or a congregation member speaking into a microphone mostly transcribed well. These are the components of the worship service where political content is most likely to appear, since they are less scripted.

Table 8: Boston-Area Brazilian Churches Analyzed

Church	Denomination	City	Followers
A Igreja que Cresce	Independent Evangelical	Everett	16,000
Revival Church for the Nations	Independent Evangelical	Everett	12,285
Templo dos Milagres	Independent Evangelical	Malden	11,564
IIGD Boston	International of the Grace of God	Somerville	9,148
Igreja Vida	Assemblies of God	Woburn	7,200
New Life Church	Presbyterian	Framingham	5,060
Sagrada Família	Catholic	Lowell	4,034
Saint Tarcisius	Catholic	Framingham	3,775
Saint Anthony	Catholic	Cambridge	2,684
Saint Charles	Catholic	Woburn	1,170

Note: Followers gives the number of followers of the church's Facebook page as of July 2022.

For the text analysis of the livestreamed worship services, I read the transcripts into R and used the `kwic` function in the `quanteda` package to do word counts on the following phrases:

- Blessing: benç*

- Hallelujah: aleluia, hallelujah

- Vote: ˆvota*

- Election: eleiç*

- Candidate: candidat*

I manually inspected all hits to verify that the search terms were not picking up false positives; if so, I modified them accordingly. For example, the search term for Vote includes "votar" (to vote) and "votação" (voting) but screens out "devotar" (to devote), as well as "voto," which is the noun form of "vote" in Portuguese but also means a religious vow and was only ever used in this

non-political sense. For the religious terms, I chose ones that commonly appear in both Catholic and evangelical worship.

7 Support for a Military Coup

The main text notes that Boston-area Brazilians in the survey were significantly more supportive of a Brazilian coup than their counterparts back home but significantly less supportive of a coup in the U.S. than the American public. The survey included questions asking whether a military coup would be justified in Brazil and in the U.S. when there is a lot of corruption. Question wording was taken from the AmericasBarometer, which asked the same question (about respondents' home country only) to nationally-representatives samples of Brazilians and Americans in 2021 and 2023. Table 9 shows the percentage of each sample saying that a coup would be justified.

Table 9: Support for a Military Coup (Percent)

	Boston Brazilians 2022	AmericasBarometer 2021	AmericasBarometer 2023
Coup in Brazil	38.26	33.19	27.94
Coup in the U.S.	21.06	35.12	35.30

NOTE: Figures give the percentage of respondents stating that a military coup in the given country would be justified "when there is a lot of corruption," with "don't know" answers and nonresponse excluded. AmericasBarometer samples are from Brazil and the U.S., each of which was asked about a coup in their own country; the Boston Brazilians sample was asked about both.

8 Support for Bolsonaro in Governador Valadares

The main text discusses how Brazilians in the city of Governador Valadares in the state of Minas Gerais, like those in Boston, voted disproportionately for Bolsonaro in 2022 and 2018 but not for the more conventional right-wing candidate in 2014. Table 10 presents these results. In both 2018 and 2022, Governador Valadares was the most pro-Bolsonaro city among the 10 largest cities in Minas Gerais. Bolsonaro's vote share in the runoff exceeded the statewide figure by 13 percentage

points in each election, and Governador Valadares was 5–7 percentage points ahead of the next city. In 2014, by contrast, right-wing vote share in Governador Valadares was much closer to the statewide figure, and several cities were more supportive of the Right.

Table 10: Minas Gerais Presidential Runoff Voting Results

	Right Vote Share		
	2022	2018	2014
Brazil			
National	49.1	55.1	48.3
Minas Gerais	49.8	58.2	47.6
Minas Gerais Cities			
Belo Horizonte	54.3	65.6	64.3
Uberlândia	53.1	63.0	43.5
Contagem	55.5	65.8	52.0
Juiz de Fora	43.9	52.4	36.7
Montes Claros	51.2	58.2	38.0
Betim	52.4	62.0	43.8
Uberaba	54.0	65.6	42.5
Ribeirão das Neves	49.4	59.6	45.0
Governador Valadares	62.8	71.1	51.3
Divinópolis	55.6	65.2	44.5

Source: Tribunal Superior Eleitoral. Figures are percentages. Cities listed are the ten largest in Minas Gerais, in decreasing order of population according to the 2022 census.

9   Survey Questionnaires

Survey questionnaires in both English and Portuguese can be found on the following pages. All questionnaires were administered in Portuguese; English versions were available in case anyone requested one, but no one did. The first set of questionnaires, asking about intended vote in the upcoming election, correspond to the pre-test at the 2022 Brazilian Independence Day Festival in Boston in September. These data are not used in the analysis reported in the main text, though I do analyze focus groups recruited via this survey. The next two sets of questionnaires correspond

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to the election day exit polls. For anonymous peer review, the consent form at the top of each questionnaire is redacted, since it identifies the author and the author's institution.

References

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Marcelli, Enrico, Louisa Holmes, David Estella, Fausto da Rocha, Philip Granberry and Orfeu Buxton. 2009. *(In)Visible (Im)Migrants: The Health and Socio-economic Integration of Brazilians in Metropolitan Boston*. San Diego, CA: Center for Behavioral and Community Health Studies, San Diego State University.

Are you Brazilian, age 18 or older, and agree to participate in this study? ☐ Yes ☐ No

---

Where were you born?
☐ Brazil   ☐ USA   ☐ Other

[If born abroad] What year did you move to the US? _____

What Brazilian state are you/ your family from? _____

Where do you live in the USA?
City: _____
State: _____

What language do you speak at home?
☐ Portuguese   ☐ English
☐ Both   ☐ Other

Most of your friends are:
☐ Brazilians   ☐ Americans
☐ Of another nationality

How often are you in contact with friends or relatives in Brazil?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often do you send money to Brazil?
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never or almost never

What is your religion, if any?
☐ Catholic
☐ Evangelical/Protestant/Non-Catholic Christian/ Pentecostal
☐ Other religion (non-Christian)
☐ No religion

[If religious] When did you adopt your current religion?
☐ I was always that religion
☐ I converted in Brazil
☐ I converted in the U.S.

How often do you go to mass or religious services?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often does your priest or pastor talk about social or political issues in church?
☐ Frequently   ☐ Sometimes
→ Which issues? _____
_____
☐ Never or almost never

Where do you usually talk with other people about what's going on in the world? Mark all that apply.
☐ Home ☐ Church   ☐ Work
☐ School ☐ Restaurants/stores
☐ Social media (e.g. WhatsApp)

How do you stay informed about what's going on in Brazil? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV   ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

How do you stay informed about what's going on in Brazil? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV   ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

In politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ On the left   ☐ On the right
☐ In the center ☐ Don't know

How interested are you in Brazilian politics?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

How much are you following the current Brazilian presidential campaign?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

Who will/would you vote for for president of Brazil?
☐ Lula   ☐ Bolsonaro
☐ Other: _____
☐ Blank/Null   ☐ Don't know

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against a candidate in those elections?
In favor of: _____
Against: _____

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in Brazil?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

What is your preferred Brazilian political party, if any?
_____

When Brazil is facing difficulties is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

Would a military coup be justified in Brazil when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

How interested are you in U.S. politics?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

How much are you following the current campaign for the November 2022 elections in the United States?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

What party would you like to have a majority in the U.S. Congress after those elections?
☐ Democratic   ☐ Republican
☐ Other   ☐ Don't Know

Who would you like elected governor of Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey   ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, who would you like to be elected president in 2024?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against an American politician/party?
In favor of: _____
Against: _____

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in the U.S.?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

Who do you think really won the 2020 presidential elections in the U.S.?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Joe Biden?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

In U.S. politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ Democrat   ☐ Republican
☐ Independent   ☐ Other
☐ Don't know

When the U.S. is facing difficulties, is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

Would a military coup be justified in the U.S. when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No

What is your gender?
☐ Male   ☐ Female
☐ Other

How old are you? _____

What is your color or race?
☐ White   ☐ Black
☐ Brown   ☐ Asian
☐ Indigenous   ☐ Other

What is the highest level of education you completed?
☐ Elementary/some middle school
☐ Completed middle school
☐ Some high school
☐ Completed high school
☐ Some college
☐ Completed college
☐ Postgraduate study

What is your principal occupation?
_____

What is your household's ANNUAL family income?
☐ $0 to $16,000
☐ $16,001 to $32,000
☐ $32,001 to $50,000
☐ $50,001 to $90,000
☐ More than $90,000
☐ Don't know

Many thanks! Would you like to participate in a discussion group in Portuguese to talk in greater depth about these issues? We are going to organize groups on the coming weekends. Your participation would last 90 minutes and you would receive a $50 gift card.

If you want to receive an invitation to a discussion group, leave your information so we may contact you. This form will be separated from your answers above to maintain anonymity.

Name: _____   Email: _____   Phone: _____

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Você é brasileiro(a), tem mais de 18 anos, e aceita participar desta pesquisa? ☐ Sim ☐ Não

Onde você nasceu?
☐ Brasil ☐ EUA ☐ Outro pais

[Se nasceu fora] Em que ano mudou para EUA? _____

Você/sua família é de qual estado do Brasil? _____

Onde você mora em EUA?
Cidade: _____
Estado: _____

Que idioma você fala em casa?
☐ Português ☐ Inglês
☐ Ambos ☐ Outro

A maioria dos seus amigos são:
☐ Brasileiros ☐ Americanos
☐ De outra nacionalidade

Com que frequência você tem contato com amigos ou parentes no Brasil?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência você envia dinheiro ao Brasil?
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Qual é a sua religião, se tiver?
☐ Católica
☐ Evangélica/protestante/cristã não católica/pentecostal
☐ Outra religião (não cristã)
☐ Nenhuma religião

[Se tem religião] Quando adotou sua religião atual?
☐ Sempre fui dessa religião
☐ Converti no Brasil
☐ Converti nos EUA

Com que frequência você vai à missa ou culto religioso?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência seu padre ou pastor fala sobre assuntos políticos ou sociais na igreja?
☐ Frequentemente ☐ Às vezes
→ Quais assuntos? _____
_____
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Onde você costuma conversar com outras pessoas sobre o que acontece no mundo? Marque todas que se apliquem
☐ Casa ☐ Igreja ☐ Trabalho
☐ Escola ☐ Restaurantes/lojas
☐ Mídias sociais (ex. WhatsApp)

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece no Brasil? Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece nos EUA? Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Na política, você se considera:
☐ De esquerda ☐ De direita
☐ De centro ☐ Não sei

O quanto você se interessa pela política brasileira?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

O quanto você está acompanhando a campanha para presidente do Brasil?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

Em quem você votará/votaria para presidente do Brasil?
☐ Lula ☐ Bolsonaro
☐ Outro: _____
☐ Branco/Nulo ☐ Não sei

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum candidato nessas eleições?
A favor de: _____
Contra: _____

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa no Brasil?
☐ Sim, sempre   ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca   ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Ótima   ☐ Boa
☐ Regular   ☐ Ruim
☐ Péssima   ☐ Não sei

Qual é o seu partido político brasileiro preferido, se tiver?
_____

Quando o Brasil está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não

Se justificaria um golpe militar no Brasil diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não

O quanto você se interessa pela política dos EUA?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

O quanto você está acompanhando a campanha para as eleições de novembro de 2022 nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

Qual partido gostaria que tivesse a maioria no congresso americano após essas eleições?
☐ Democrata   ☐ Republicano
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Quem gostaria que fosse eleito governador de Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Entre Donald Trump e Joe Biden, quem gostaria que fosse eleito presidente em 2024?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum político ou partido americano?
A favor de: _____
Contra: _____

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Sim, sempre   ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca   ☐ Não sei

Quem você acha que realmente venceu as eleições presidências de 2020 nos EUA?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Joe Biden?
☐ Ótima   ☐ Boa
☐ Regular   ☐ Ruim
☐ Péssima   ☐ Não sei

Na política americana, você se considera:
☐ Democrata   ☐ Republicano
☐ Independente ☐ Outro
☐ Não sei

Quando os EUA está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não

Se justificaria um golpe militar nos EUA diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não

Qual é o seu gênero?
☐ Masculino   ☐ Feminino
☐ Outro

Qual é a sua idade? _____

Qual é a sua cor ou raça?
☐ Branca   ☐ Preta
☐ Parda   ☐ Amarela
☐ Indígena   ☐ Outra

Qual é o mais alto nível de educação que você terminou?
☐ Fundamental incompleto
☐ Fundamental completo
☐ Médio incompleto
☐ Médio completo
☐ Superior/universitária incompleto
☐ Superior/universitária completo
☐ Estudos de pós-graduação

Qual é a sua ocupação principal? _____

Qual é a renda familiar ANUAL do seu domicilio?
☐ $0 a $16,000
☐ $16,001 a $32,000
☐ $32,001 a $50,000
☐ $50,001 a $90,000
☐ Mais de $90,000
☐ Não sei

Muito obrigado! Você gostaria de participar de um grupo de discussão em português para conversar em mais profundidade sobre estes temas? Vamos organizar grupos nos próximos fins de semana. Sua participação duraria 90 minutos e receberia um cartão presente de $50.

Se quer receber um convite a um grupo de discussão, deixe suas informações para entrarmos em contato. Este formulário será separado das suas respostas acima para manter anonimidade.

Nome: _____   Email: _____   Fone: _____

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Are you Brazilian, age 18 or older, and agree to participate in this study? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Where were you born?
☐ Brazil   ☐ USA   ☐ Other

If born outside US, what year did you move here? _____

What Brazilian state are you/ your family from? _____

Where do you live in the USA?
City: _____
State: _____

What language do you most often speak at home?
☐ Portuguese   ☐ English
☐ Other

Most of your friends are:
☐ Brazilians   ☐ Americans
☐ Of another nationality

How often are you in contact with friends or relatives in Brazil?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often do you send money to Brazil?
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never or almost never

What is your religion, if any?
☐ Catholic
☐ Evangelical/Protestant/Non-Catholic Christian/Pentecostal
☐ Other religion (e.g. Spiritist, Jewish, Buddhist, Candomblé)
☐ No religion

When did you adopt that religion?
☐ I was always that religion
☐ I converted in Brazil
☐ I converted in the U.S.
☐ N/A, I have no religion

How often do you go to mass or religious services?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often does your priest or pastor talk about social or political issues in church?
☐ Frequently   ☐ Sometimes
☐ Never or almost never
☐ N/A, I don't go to church

Where do you usually talk with other people about what's going on in the world? Mark all that apply.
☐ Home   ☐ Church   ☐ Work
☐ School   ☐ Restaurants/stores
☐ Social media (e.g. WhatsApp)

How do you stay informed about what's going on in Brazil? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV   ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper   ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

How do you stay informed about what's going on in the U.S.? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV   ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper   ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

In politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ On the left   ☐ On the right
☐ In the center   ☐ Don't know

How interested are you in Brazilian politics?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

How much have you followed the Brazilian presidential campaign?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

Who did you vote for today for president of Brazil?
☐ Lula   ☐ Bolsonaro   ☐ Ciro
☐ Tebet ☐ Other: _____
☐ Blank/Null

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against a candidate in those elections?
☐ Yes, in favor of: _____
☐ Yes, against: _____
☐ No   ☐ Not applicable

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in Brazil?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

What is your preferred Brazilian political party, if any?
_____

When Brazil is facing difficulties is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

Would a military coup be justified in Brazil when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

How interested are you in U.S. politics?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

How much are you following the current campaign for the November 2022 elections in the United States?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

What party would you like to have a majority in the U.S. Congress after those elections?
☐ Democratic   ☐ Republican
☐ Other   ☐ Don't Know

Who would you like elected governor of Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey   ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, who would you like to be elected president in 2024?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against an American politician/party?
☐ Yes, in favor of: _____
☐ Yes, against: _____
☐ No   ☐ Not applicable

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in the U.S.?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

Who do you think really won the 2020 presidential elections in the U.S.?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Joe Biden?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

In U.S. politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ Democrat   ☐ Republican
☐ Independent   ☐ Other
☐ Don't know

When the U.S. is facing difficulties, is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

Would a military coup be justified in the U.S. when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

What is your gender?
☐ Male   ☐ Female
☐ Other

How old are you? _____

What is your color or race?
☐ White   ☐ Black
☐ Brown   ☐ Asian
☐ Indigenous   ☐ Other

What is the highest level of education you completed?
☐ Elementary/some middle school
☐ Completed middle school
☐ Some high school
☐ Completed high school
☐ Some college
☐ Completed college
☐ Postgraduate study

What is your principal occupation?
_____

What is your household's ANNUAL family income?
☐ $0 to $16,000
☐ $16,001 to $32,000
☐ $32,001 to $50,000
☐ $50,001 to $90,000
☐ More than $90,000
☐ Don't know

Many thanks! Would you like to participate in a discussion group in Portuguese to talk in greater depth about these issues? We are going to organize groups on the coming weekends. Your participation would last between 1.5 and 2 hours and you would receive a $50 gift card.

If you want to receive an invitation to a discussion group, leave your information so we may contact you. This form will be separated from your answers above to maintain anonymity.

Name: _____   Email: _____   Phone: _____

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Você é brasileiro(a), tem mais de 18 anos, e aceita participar desta pesquisa? ☐ Sim ☐ Não

Onde você nasceu?
☐ Brasil ☐ EUA ☐ Outro pais

Se nasceu fora de EUA, em que ano mudou aqui? _____

Você/sua família é de qual estado do Brasil? _____

Onde você mora em EUA?
Cidade: _____
Estado: _____

Que idioma você fala mais frequentemente em casa?
☐ Português ☐ Inglês ☐ Outro

A maioria dos seus amigos são:
☐ Brasileiros ☐ Americanos
☐ De outra nacionalidade

Com que frequência você tem contato com amigos ou parentes no Brasil?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência você envia dinheiro ao Brasil?
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Qual é a sua religião, se tiver?
☐ Católica
☐ Evangélica/protestante/cristã não católica/pentecostal
☐ Outra religião (p. ex. espírita, judeu, budista, candomblé)
☐ Nenhuma religião

Quando adotou essa religião?
☐ Sempre fui dessa religião
☐ Converti no Brasil
☐ Converti nos EUA
☐ N/A, não tenho religião

Com que frequência você vai à missa ou culto religioso?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência seu padre ou pastor fala sobre assuntos políticos ou sociais na igreja?
☐ Frequentemente ☐ Às vezes
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca
☐ N/A, não frequento a igreja

Onde você costuma conversar com outras pessoas sobre o que acontece no mundo? Marque todas que se apliquem
☐ Casa ☐ Igreja ☐ Trabalho
☐ Escola ☐ Restaurantes/lojas
☐ Mídias sociais (ex. WhatsApp)

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece no Brasil? Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece nos EUA? Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Na política, você se considera:
☐ De esquerda ☐ De direita
☐ De centro ☐ Não sei

O quanto você se interessa pela política brasileira?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

O quanto você acompanhou a campanha para presidente do Brasil?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

Em quem você votou hoje para presidente do Brasil?
☐ Lula ☐ Bolsonaro ☐ Ciro
☐ Tebet ☐ Outro: _____
☐ Branco/Nulo

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum candidato nessas eleições?
☐ Sim, a favor de: _____
☐ Sim, contra: _____
☐ Não falou   ☐ Não se aplica

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa no Brasil?
☐ Sim, sempre   ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca   ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Ótima ☐ Boa   ☐ Regular
☐ Ruim   ☐ Péssima ☐ Não sei

Qual é o seu partido político brasileiro preferido, se tiver?
_____

Quando o Brasil está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não   ☐ Não sei

Se justificaria um golpe militar no Brasil diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não   ☐ Não sei

O quanto você se interessa pela política dos EUA?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

O quanto você está acompanhando a campanha para as eleições de novembro de 2022 nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

Qual partido gostaria que tivesse a maioria no congresso americano após essas eleições?
☐ Democrata   ☐ Republicano
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Quem gostaria que fosse eleito governador de Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Entre Donald Trump e Joe Biden, quem gostaria que fosse eleito presidente em 2024?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum político ou partido americano?
☐ Sim, a favor de: _____
☐ Sim, contra: _____
☐ Não falou   ☐ Não se aplica

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Sim, sempre   ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca   ☐ Não sei

Quem você acha que realmente venceu as eleições presidências de 2020 nos EUA?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro   ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Joe Biden?
☐ Ótima ☐ Boa   ☐ Regular
☐ Ruim   ☐ Péssima ☐ Não sei

Na política americana, você se considera:
☐ Democrata   ☐ Republicano
☐ Independente   ☐ Outro
☐ Não sei

Quando os EUA está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não   ☐ Não sei

Se justificaria um golpe militar nos EUA diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim   ☐ Não   ☐ Não sei

Qual é o seu gênero?
☐ Masculino   ☐ Feminino
☐ Outro

Qual é a sua idade? _____

Qual é a sua cor ou raça?
☐ Branca   ☐ Preta
☐ Parda   ☐ Amarela
☐ Indígena   ☐ Outra

Qual é o mais alto nível de educação que você terminou?
☐ Fundamental incompleto
☐ Fundamental completo
☐ Médio incompleto
☐ Médio completo
☐ Superior/universitária incompleto
☐ Superior/universitária completo
☐ Estudos de pós-graduação

Qual é a sua ocupação principal? _____

Qual é a renda familiar ANUAL do seu domicilio?
☐ $0 a $16,000
☐ $16,001 a $32,000
☐ $32,001 a $50,000
☐ $50,001 a $90,000
☐ Mais de $90,000
☐ Não sei

Muito obrigado! Você gostaria de participar de um grupo de discussão em português para conversar em mais profundidade sobre estes temas? Vamos organizar grupos nos próximos fins de semana. Sua participação duraria entre 1.5 e 2 horas e receberia um cartão presente de $50.

Se quer receber um convite a um grupo de discussão, deixe suas informações para entrarmos em contato. Este formulário será separado das suas respostas acima para manter anonimidade.

Nome: _____   Email: _____   Fone: _____

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Are you Brazilian, age 18 or older, and agree to participate in this study? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Where were you born?
☐ Brazil ☐ USA ☐ Other

If born outside US, what year did you move here? _____

What Brazilian state are you/ your family from? _____

Where do you live in the USA?
City: _____
State: _____

What language do you most often speak at home?
☐ Portuguese ☐ English
☐ Other

Most of your friends are:
☐ Brazilians ☐ Americans
☐ Of another nationality

How often are you in contact with friends or relatives in Brazil?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often do you send money to Brazil?
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never or almost never

What is your religion, if any?
☐ Catholic
☐ Evangelical/Protestant/Non-Catholic Christian/Pentecostal
☐ Other religion (e.g. Spiritist, Jewish, Buddhist, Candomblé)
☐ No religion

When did you adopt that religion?
☐ I was always that religion
☐ I converted in Brazil
☐ I converted in the U.S.
☐ N/A, I have no religion

How often do you go to mass or religious services?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ One or two times a month
☐ One or two times a year
☐ Never of almost never

How often does your priest or pastor talk about social or political issues in church?
☐ Frequently ☐ Sometimes
☐ Never or almost never
☐ N/A, I don't go to church

Where do you usually talk with other people about what's going on in the world? Mark all that apply.
☐ Home ☐ Church ☐ Work
☐ School ☐ Restaurants/stores
☐ Social media (e.g. WhatsApp)

How do you stay informed about what's going on in Brazil? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

How do you stay informed about what's going on in the U.S.? Mark all that apply.
☐ TV ☐ Radio
☐ Newspaper ☐ Social media
☐ Talking with people here
☐ Talking with people in Brazil

In politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ On the left ☐ On the right
☐ In the center ☐ Don't know

How interested are you in Brazilian politics?
☐ A lot ☐ More or less
☐ A little ☐ Not at all

How much have you followed the presidential campaign?
☐ A lot ☐ More or less
☐ A little ☐ Not at all

Who did you vote for today?
☐ Bolsonaro ☐ Lula ☐ Blank

Who did you vote for in rd. 1?
☐ Bolsonaro ☐ Lula ☐ Ciro
☐ Tebet ☐ Other ☐ Blank

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against a candidate in those elections?
☐ Yes, in favor of: _____
☐ Yes, against: _____
☐ No   ☐ Not applicable

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in Brazil?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

What is your preferred Brazilian political party, if any?
_____

When Brazil is facing difficulties is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

Would a military coup be justified in Brazil when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

How interested are you in U.S. politics?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

How much are you following the current campaign for the November 2022 elections in the United States?
☐ A lot   ☐ More or less
☐ A little   ☐ Not at all

What party would you like to have a majority in the U.S. Congress after those elections?
☐ Democratic   ☐ Republican
☐ Other   ☐ Don't Know

Who would you like elected governor of Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Between Joe Biden and Donald Trump, who would you like to be elected president in 2024?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

Has your priest or pastor spoken in favor of or against an American politician/party?
☐ Yes, in favor of: _____
☐ Yes, against: _____
☐ No   ☐ Not applicable

Do you think votes are counted correctly and fairly in the U.S.?
☐ Yes, always   ☐ Sometimes
☐ No, never   ☐ Don't know

Who do you think really won the 2020 presidential elections in the U.S.?
☐ Joe Biden   ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Other   ☐ Don't know

How do you evaluate the administration of President Joe Biden?
☐ Excellent   ☐ Good
☐ So-so   ☐ Bad
☐ Terrible   ☐ Don't know

In U.S. politics, do you consider yourself:
☐ Democrat   ☐ Republican
☐ Independent   ☐ Other
☐ Don't know

When the U.S. is facing difficulties, is it justifiable for the president to close Congress and govern without Congress?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

Would a military coup be justified in the U.S. when there is a lot of corruption?
☐ Yes   ☐ No   ☐ Don't know

What is your gender?
☐ Male   ☐ Female
☐ Other

How old are you? _____

What is your color or race?
☐ White   ☐ Black
☐ Brown   ☐ Asian
☐ Indigenous   ☐ Other

What is the highest level of education you completed?
☐ Elementary/some middle school
☐ Completed middle school
☐ Some high school
☐ Completed high school
☐ Some college
☐ Completed college
☐ Postgraduate study

What is your principal occupation?
_____

What is your household's ANNUAL family income?
☐ $0 to $16,000
☐ $16,001 to $32,000
☐ $32,001 to $50,000
☐ $50,001 to $90,000
☐ More than $90,000
☐ Don't know

Many thanks! Would you like to participate in a discussion group in Portuguese to talk in greater depth about these issues? We are going to organize groups on the coming weekends. Your participation would last between 1.5 and 2 hours and you would receive a $50 gift card.

If you want to receive an invitation to a discussion group, leave your information so we may contact you. This form will be separated from your answers above to maintain anonymity.

Name: _____   Email: _____   Phone: _____

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Você é brasileiro(a), tem mais de 18 anos, e aceita participar desta pesquisa? ☐ Sim   ☐ Não

Onde você nasceu?
☐ Brasil ☐ EUA ☐ Outro pais

Se nasceu fora de EUA, em que ano mudou aqui? _____

Você/sua família é de qual estado do Brasil? _____

Onde você mora em EUA?
Cidade: _____
Estado: _____

Que idioma você fala mais frequentemente em casa?
☐ Português ☐ Inglês ☐ Outro

A maioria dos seus amigos são:
☐ Brasileiros   ☐ Americanos
☐ De outra nacionalidade

Com que frequência você tem contato com amigos ou parentes no Brasil?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência você envia dinheiro ao Brasil?
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Qual é a sua religião, se tiver?
☐ Católica
☐ Evangélica/protestante/cristã não católica/pentecostal
☐ Outra religião (p. ex. espírita, judeu, budista, candomblé)
☐ Nenhuma religião

Quando adotou essa religião?
☐ Sempre fui dessa religião
☐ Converti no Brasil
☐ Converti nos EUA
☐ N/A, não tenho religião

Com que frequência você vai à missa ou culto religioso?
☐ Mais de uma vez por semana
☐ Uma vez por semana
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por mês
☐ Uma ou duas vezes por ano
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca

Com que frequência seu padre ou pastor fala sobre assuntos políticos ou sociais na igreja?
☐ Frequentemente ☐ Às vezes
☐ Nunca ou quase nunca
☐ N/A, não frequento a igreja

Onde você costuma conversar com outras pessoas sobre o que acontece no mundo?
Marque todas que se apliquem
☐ Casa   ☐ Igreja   ☐ Trabalho
☐ Escola ☐ Restaurantes/lojas
☐ Mídias sociais (ex. WhatsApp)

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece no Brasil?
Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV   ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais   ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Como você se informa sobre o que acontece nos EUA?
Marque todas que se apliquem.
☐ TV   ☐ Rádio
☐ Jornais   ☐ Mídias sociais
☐ Falando com gente aqui
☐ Falando com gente no Brasil

Na política, você se considera:
☐ De esquerda   ☐ De direita
☐ De centro   ☐ Não sei

O quanto você se interessa pela política brasileira?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

O quanto você acompanhou a campanha presidencial?
☐ Muito   ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco   ☐ Nada

Em quem você votou hoje?
☐ Bolsonaro ☐ Lula ☐ Branco

Em quem votou no 1º turno?
☐ Bolsonaro ☐ Lula   ☐ Ciro
☐ Tebet   ☐ Outro   ☐ Branco

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum candidato nessas eleições?
☐ Sim, a favor de: _____
☐ Sim, contra: _____
☐ Não falou ☐ Não se aplica

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa no Brasil?
☐ Sim, sempre ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Jair Bolsonaro?
☐ Ótima ☐ Boa ☐ Regular
☐ Ruim ☐ Péssima ☐ Não sei

Qual é o seu partido político brasileiro preferido, se tiver?
_____

Quando o Brasil está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim ☐ Não ☐ Não sei

Se justificaria um golpe militar no Brasil diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim ☐ Não ☐ Não sei

O quanto você se interessa pela política dos EUA?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

O quanto você está acompanhando a campanha para as eleições de novembro de 2022 nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Muito ☐ Mais ou menos
☐ Pouco ☐ Nada

Qual partido gostaria que tivesse a maioria no congresso americano após essas eleições?
☐ Democrata ☐ Republicano
☐ Outro ☐ Não sei

Quem gostaria que fosse eleito governador de Massachusetts?
☐ Maura Healey ☐ Geoff Diehl
☐ Outro ☐ Não sei

Entre Donald Trump e Joe Biden, quem gostaria que fosse eleito presidente em 2024?
☐ Joe Biden ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro ☐ Não sei

Seu padre ou pastor já falou a favor de ou contra algum político ou partido americano?
☐ Sim, a favor de: _____
☐ Sim, contra: _____
☐ Não falou ☐ Não se aplica

Você acha que os votos são contados de forma correta e justa nos Estados Unidos?
☐ Sim, sempre ☐ Às vezes
☐ Não, nunca ☐ Não sei

Quem você acha que realmente venceu as eleições presidências de 2020 nos EUA?
☐ Joe Biden ☐ Donald Trump
☐ Outro ☐ Não sei

Como você avalia a gestão do Presidente Joe Biden?
☐ Ótima ☐ Boa ☐ Regular
☐ Ruim ☐ Péssima ☐ Não sei

Na política americana, você se considera:
☐ Democrata ☐ Republicano
☐ Independente ☐ Outro
☐ Não sei

Quando os EUA está enfrentando dificuldades, é justificável que o presidente feche o Congresso e governe sem o Congresso?
☐ Sim ☐ Não ☐ Não sei

Se justificaria um golpe militar nos EUA diante de muita corrupção?
☐ Sim ☐ Não ☐ Não sei

Qual é o seu gênero?
☐ Masculino ☐ Feminino
☐ Outro

Qual é a sua idade? _____

Qual é a sua cor ou raça?
☐ Branca ☐ Preta
☐ Parda ☐ Amarela
☐ Indígena ☐ Outra

Qual é o mais alto nível de educação que você terminou?
☐ Fundamental incompleto
☐ Fundamental completo
☐ Médio incompleto
☐ Médio completo
☐ Superior/universitária incompleto
☐ Superior/universitária completo
☐ Estudos de pós-graduação

Qual é a sua ocupação principal? _____

Qual é a renda familiar ANUAL do seu domicilio?
☐ $0 a $16,000
☐ $16,001 a $32,000
☐ $32,001 a $50,000
☐ $50,001 a $90,000
☐ Mais de $90,000
☐ Não sei

Muito obrigado! Você gostaria de participar de um grupo de discussão em português para conversar em mais profundidade sobre estes temas? Vamos organizar grupos nos próximos fins de semana. Sua participação duraria entre 1.5 e 2 horas e receberia um cartão presente de $50.

Se quer receber um convite a um grupo de discussão, deixe suas informações para entrarmos em contato. Este formulário será separado das suas respostas acima para manter anonimidade.

Nome: _____ Email: _____ Fone: _____

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