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Identity and belonging formations of second generation Portuguese

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IDENTITY AND BELONGING FORMATIONS OF SECOND GENERATION PORTUGUESE

by

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ABSTRACT

My paper investigates eight second generation Portuguese from the ages of 18 to 30, across the GTA, and attempts to explore how second generation Portuguese negotiate their identity and sense of belonging in an ever-changing social environment. While there is extensive literature on the settlement experiences of the first generation Portuguese, there is minimal information on how second generation Portuguese have integrated within the Canadian mainstream. Therefore, this analysis aims to follow the contours of negotiation among the second generation Portuguese, paying particular attention to the formation of identity and constructions of belonging. In addition, this research will seek to answer on minimal level, other questions on the subject. For instance, how are Portuguese Canadians forming and reforming their ethnic identity? What cost and benefits are involved in belonging/not belonging to groups? How do people maintain individuality within groups?

Key words: Portuguese immigrant communities; second generation Portuguese; identity; belonging.

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Introduction

Following Stuart Hall's suggestion that identities are always in the making (1995, p. 48), this analysis aims to follow the contours of negotiation among the second generation Portuguese in Canada, paying particular attention to constructions of belonging, in general, and the formation of identity, in particular. The "multifaceted" nature of identity is a well-established perspective and researchers have provided insight into how different aspects of a person's experiences and allegiances are intertwined in complex and variable ways (Klimt, 2002, p. 278). The analysis of ethnic, national, and diasporic identities over the past three generations of Portuguese living in Canada supports researchers theoretical understanding of "identity as an ongoing, historically contingent, but not necessarily linear process of negotiation" (Klimt, 2002, p. 289). Identity becomes a "multi-sited" and "multilevel" negotiation, the outcome of which is not always neat and predictable (Beswick, 2005, p. 94; Klimt and Lubkemann, 2002, p. 151; Edwards, 1997, p. 16). Moreover, identity can be understood as a socially constructed, fluid concept that is an increasingly complex phenomenon for children and youth of immigrants, who are raised in the mainstream environment or Canadian milieu. And it is the subject of identity in social and cultural forms and the sense of belonging that is explored in this study in relation to second generation Portuguese individuals born and raised in Canada. A comparative outlook between first generation and second generation Portuguese is also essential to this study since it is commonly understood that the early immigrant experiences of the first generation will likely influence the ways in which second generation perceive themselves and the world around them.

To date, there has been a large focus in research on the lives of first generation Portuguese Canadians and less on the experiences of second generation Portuguese

individuals. The children of immigrants, the second generation sons and daughters of migrants or those who were brought to Canada at a very young age by their parents, have been largely ignored in the available literature on immigrant issues. This is discussed in Caroline Brettell's (2001) text, *Anthropology and migration: essays on transnationalism, ethnicity, and identity*, where she emphasizes the lack of second generation studies in migration subjects and the importance of future research on the experience of these individuals as a crucial component to the understanding of identity formation in immigrant communities (p. 140). More importantly, there needs to be developed an understanding that immigration is currently an ongoing process. And that discussions of second generation should not implicitly assume that migration flops after the first generation (Brettell, 2001, p. 140). In light of this argument, there is room for my contribution in the field in filling the gap between first and second generation experiences among members of the Portuguese community. More importantly, my goal is to carry the research to a more contemporary analysis, that is, knowing how things are now, through the voices of the individuals themselves. This research is therefore, exploring the subject of identity of second generation Portuguese and how identity and belonging is negotiated in an ever-changing social environment. In addition, this research is seeking to answer on a minimal level, other questions on the subject of identity as well. For instance, how do these identities overlap and how do people handle the possession of multiple identities? In other words, how are Portuguese Canadians forming and reforming their ethnic identity? What cost and benefits are involved in belonging/not belonging to groups? And finally, how do people maintain individuality within groups? Under what circumstances do they present themselves as individuals or as group "representatives"?

The subject of identity formations is also particularly meaningful to me, and in part related to personal experience as an immigrant who came to Canada at the age of ten years old. I am considered to be the 1.5 generation Portuguese who was old enough to learn the language and "integrate" into society but at the same time old enough to have experienced feelings of inferiority, isolation, and alienation from the "mainstream" society. This has led me to continuously question my identity and to renegotiate my place between "two cultures," one being "ethnic" and the other being "Canadian." In other words, my preoccupation with my identity has led me to explore issues of identity in my undergrad experience in the field of Anthropology and my personal experience as an immigrant has led me to continue with this line of study. In addition, this gave me the opportunity to learn more about the Portuguese community in Canada and hopefully shed some light in my own life as what it means to be Portuguese-Canadian or in Portuguese terms, 'Luso-Canadian.' The state of knowledge in the field and its outdated nature on the subject of second generation in the Portuguese community in Canada is another motivation for engaging with this topic. Moreover, there hasn't been an extensive examination in the subject in relation to immigrant settlement, so it is important to go beyond first generation studies and focus on second generation matters in order to conceptualize long-term settlement concerns, as a way to better serve the needs of immigrant communities in Canada.

In the following section, I begin with an analysis of the literature review, including an explanation on the meaning of the term "generation" and briefly how this is to be articulated and defined throughout my paper. This gives the reader a better understanding of the concept and since the aspect of "generation" is crucial to this

research, we have to account for various definitions that have been presented in other studies. I then go on to consider the literature that is available on the Portuguese community in Canada, commencing with the settlement experiences of first generation before moving on to the research on the lived experiences of second generation Portuguese individuals. In other words, we have to initially acknowledge the settlement experiences of the first generation in order to have a holistic and accurate perspective on the lives of their descendants, the second generation. In the literature review, each section focuses primarily on macro-level aspects of analysis made by other researchers in the field on the subject of settlement of first generation Portuguese and on aspects of identity formations of second generation. In the end, I take more of a micro-level approach to the research findings acquired in the interviews to describe individual responses to specific questions on identity matters. Finally, I use a combination of macro-level and micro-level results in the analysis of the findings section of the text. The combination of both approaches produces a richer and more theoretical body of knowledge on the issue of identity formation of second generation Portuguese.

Literature Review

The main bodies of literature that is explored in this review were retrieved from a variety of sources, including books, journals, and case studies related to the subject of second generation Portuguese and identity issues. This secondary analysis allowed me to reanalyze existing data gathered by others and reincorporate relevant themes, ideas, and findings to my research. It also allowed me to think about issues not thought of by other original researchers. As mentioned in the introduction, there has been an abundance of literature done on first generation Portuguese immigrants and less so on the children of immigrants, the second generation Portuguese. Therefore, I expanded my literature pool to include studies done by non-Canadian experts on the subject of second generation, for instance, I have managed to locate a variety of sources on second generation Portuguese and immigrant, ethnic community studies in the United States and Europe. The incorporation of older sources was also used to compensate for the limited amount of second generation literature as well. Some literature might seem outdated at first glance, however, most of the issues and themes presented are still quite relevant and used in my analysis to demonstrate change and continuity on the subject.

"Generation"

As a notion, generation is closely tied to the concept of age. This is commonly spoken of in terms of a "generational gap," in which value and behavioural differences between parents and children may be seen as the consequences of age differences, and are said to lead to familial tensions (Noivo, 1997, p. 24). In other words, "generation" can be looked at as one's rank in relation to other family members, not to be confused with "generations of immigrants" as cohort groups (Noivo, 1997, p. 24). In family

migration it is observed that at least two generations move together. In other cases, some family members migrate alone and, therefore, within a family the years of residence in Canada may vary from one member to another (Noivo, 1997, p. 24).

According to Noivo (1997), "generation" is central to understanding both family-related issues as well as migration and ethnic relations (p. 26). For instance, generation can be used to explain youth grievances over the lack of parental assistance with school work. It is important to stress that increasingly what parents know becomes nearly "obsolete" or at least "non-transferable" to the younger generations (Nunes, 1999, p. 43; Noivo, 1997, p. 25). This is particularly true in cases involving migration, where many of the practical skills and accumulated knowledge of one generation may be of little use to another (Noivo, 1997, p. 25). What we need to consider with respect to immigrant communities like the Portuguese in Canada, is that the major differences in linguistic skills between immigrant parents and ethnic youth, along with an ongoing "reverse socialization process" (i.e., children instructing their parents in basic matters), impact on intergenerational relations and become potential sources of familial confrontation (Noivo, 1997, p. 25). This point takes Noivo (2000) to the presumed 'cultural clashes' among the Portuguese and Canadian-born generations (p. 167). Popular depictions of ethnic youths as "torn between two cultures" have vastly misrepresented the situation (Noivo, 2000, p. 167). As shown in *Inside Ethnic Families: Three Generations of Portuguese-Canadians* (Noivo 1997), clashes between parents and youths are extensive, but usually related to age (p. 25). In fact, Noivo states that conflicts are actually based on family dynamics and power struggles, not on "ethnocultural" differences (Noivo, 2000, p. 167). Although, Noivo makes an excellent observation of generational conflict attributed to differences in

age, she ignores the possibility that "ethnocultural" differences may in some cases cause familial conflict. Children of immigrants in particular, have experienced "cultural conflict" in one form or another, especially in situations where they choose to hide their Portuguese background from others and as a result reject aspects of the "Portuguese" way of living even in the face of parental disapproval.

Noivo's perspective on "generation" and its relation to age should not be discounted as a possible reason why second generation Portuguese individuals have conflicts with their parents, however for the purposes of this research, generation will be conceived more so in terms of "generations of immigrants" rather than simply related to age. Therefore, we can conceive first generation Portuguese individuals as those who were born in Portugal (either in the mainland or the islands) and came to Canada at the age of 13 or older, and generally could not speak English fluently. Second generation individuals on the other hand are generally, born in Canada, and attended school in Canada. This latter group has not faced the same English language fluency problems as the first generation and has completed more years of education (Giles, 2002, p. 5; Nunes, 1999, p. 43; Higgs, 1982, p. 14). It is important to note that the broader 'Lusophone' communities or other Portuguese speaking communities who trace their roots to other parts of the world other than in Portugal, will not be acknowledged and distinguished in this study.

The next section of the literature review contains a detailed account of the early settlement experiences of first generation Portuguese and more specifically how their "life choices" may have shaped the lives of their children in Canada. Following this

section, I engage in an exploration of second generation issues in relation to first generation, paying close attention to identity formations and issues of belonging.

Early Immigrant Experiences of First Generation

Before engaging in a discussion on the children of immigrants, the second generation Portuguese, we need to consider the lives and experiences of settlement of their parents, the first generation Portuguese immigrants. The experiences of the first generation and their relationship to the dominant Canadian society have undoubtedly influenced the attitudes and behaviours of youth of second generation descent. Their parents' early immigrant experiences as well as their relationship to society at large is the subject of the next discussion.

In looking at the settlement patterns of the Portuguese in Toronto, many of the articles seemed to focus on how they settled (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004; Giles, 2002; Rajan, 2001; Correia, 1995). The Portuguese immigrated to Toronto in increasing numbers at the end of the Second World War and particularly during the 1960s (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 58). They are the most recent and most likely the last of Southern European origin to do so (Correia, 1995, p. 21). The vast majority arrived in Canada between 1955 and 1980 under the family reunification immigration policies (Noivo, 1997, p. 32). The Portuguese Emigration Bureau maintains that between 1950 and 1988, 1, 375, 000 emigrants departed from Portugal, and that five countries (France, Brazil, United States, Germany, and Canada, in order of importance) accepted 82 percent of this total number of emigrants (Giles, 2002, p. 5). The Bureau estimates that Canada received 138,000 Portuguese over this period of 38 years, representing 10 percent of the total amount (Giles, 2002, p. 5). In 1991 the Canadian census counted nearly as twice as many

people who defined their ethnic origin as Portuguese, at 246,890, with 176,300 in Ontario alone (based on responses by those who defined their ethnicity as solely Portuguese) (Giles, 2002, p. 5; Nunes, 1998, p. 1). The Portuguese Consulate in Toronto in 1993 estimated the numbers of Portuguese in Canada (of several generations) to be approximately 500,000, with 385,000 in Ontario (Giles, 2002, p. 8). Contributing to differences in these figures is the reluctance of many Portuguese to participate in the Canadian census because their allegiance lies elsewhere, they are illiterate, or they are non-status immigrants and fear discovery by Canadian authorities (Giles, 2002, p. 8). This can also be attributed by the growing Portuguese diaspora in Ontario that identify as Portuguese, even though they were born and raised in Canada.

The Portuguese in Canada are not a homogenous group of immigrants. There are differences of gender, class, and regional origin that have all affected the experiences of Portuguese coming into Canada (Giles, 2002, p. 23-24). Portuguese from the islands of the Azores and Madeira differ significantly from those from the mainland of Portugal in their economic, political, and cultural background (Giles, 2002, p. 24). Most Portuguese women have entered Canada under different circumstances from those of men, thus affecting gender relations both inside and outside of the family household (Giles, 2002, p. 24). Class differences, which relate to levels of education and skill, work experience, economic resources, and geographical origins, also have implications for settlement in Canada, where immigration policy has increasingly favored more highly skilled and educated immigrants (Giles, 2002, p. 24).

It is estimated that more than sixty percent of Portuguese in Canada were born in the Azores, in particular the island of Sao Miguel, or are descendants of Azorean

families, while the rest came from continental Portugal (Giles, 2002, p. 4; Teixeira & Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6; Correia, 1995, p. 2; Marques & Medeiros, 1980, p. 33). Migrations from the Portuguese mainland to Canada originated from four principal areas in the northerly regions of Portugal: Minho, Trans-Montes, Beira Alta, and Beira Baixa (Giles, 2002, p. 4). In contrast to many mainlanders, the Portuguese communities from the islands of Azores, are namely from rural backgrounds and are considered relatively unskilled (Giles, 2002, p. 4; Marques & Medeiros, 1980, p. 33). Despite their numbers, Canadians of Portuguese background have traditionally been undeserved and underrepresented in the social and political structures of our society (Nunes, 1998, p. 1). The move to Canada for this group meant a transition to an industrialized urban society (Giles, 2002, p. 4). With an average of four to five years of formal education, they remain in the lowest ranks of the employment structure (Noivo, 1997, p. 32). Generally, men are construction workers, welders, and janitors, and women are cleaners and factory workers (Noivo, 1997, p. 32). A combination of low average levels of education, a concentration in the blue-collar job sectors, and having lived years under a dictatorship have combined to limit the ability of Portuguese-Canadians to advocate for better programs and services to address important community issues (Nunes, 1998, p. 1; Arruda, 1993, p. 14).

Like many migrants, the Portuguese came to Canada to seek a better life (Giles, 2002, p. 3). The main incentive for immigrating was for economic reasons; poor economic conditions in the Azores which is predominately rural, created a large pool of unemployed men who looked abroad for employment opportunities of which Canada was seen as possessing (Rajan, 2001, p. 17; Correia, 1995, p. 21; Marques & Medeiros, 1980, p. 22). The early Portuguese settlers in Canada arrived when Canada was promoting this

immigration in order to meet its need for agricultural and railway construction workers (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 58; Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6). Sponsorship and family reunification accounted for the acceleration of the process mainly through the 1960s and 1970s (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6). From the mid-1970s on, numbers diminished notably, partly because of changes to Canadian legislation in 1973 (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6). Another factor may have been Portugal's accession to the European community (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6). This created prospects of better and more remunerative jobs and a higher standard of living for the Portuguese at home (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6). With respects to the Azores, geographical position and strong family contacts with the United States and Canada explain the attraction of Azoreans to these areas (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 6).

Almost all of the men that came to Canada in the 1950s worked as farm labourers or railway section hands (Correia, 1995, p. 23; Marques & Medeiros, 1980, p. 29). The vast majority disliked "heavy work and long hours and low pay", and over a period of time moved to the cities (Correia, 1995, p. 23). There they found jobs in construction or cleaning industry, and then they sent for their wives and children, and sometimes for their extended families as well (Correia, 1995, p. 23). The women, particularly those that immigrated in the 1950s and 1960s, are often "employed in the garment industry or in the building services trades as cleaners or they may work as domestics" (Correia, 1995, p. 28). Those women that immigrated in the 1970s attained better English speaking skills and as a result many are employed in the areas of office work, social work, teaching, variety of professional and independent business areas, such as real estates and insurance

firms, banks, travel agencies, financial firms (Correia, 1995, p. 28-29; Anderson & Davis, 1990, p. 139).

Canadians of Portuguese descent (often referred to as "Luso-Canadians") comprise one of the largest and most distinct minority populations, in this country (Nunes, 1998, p. 1). The bulk of the Luso-Canadian community is concentrated in the urban areas of Toronto and Montreal (Nunes, 1998, p. 1). However, there are significant populations of Portuguese scattered in small and rural centres throughout nearly every province of this nation (Nunes, 1998, p. 1). Portuguese communities had a high degree of 'institutional completeness' and this was demonstrated by their significant number of social, cultural, and religious institutions, as well as by their wide range of ethnic businesses (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 9). In comparison to other group settlements, the Portuguese showed distinct spatial patterns, which translated into "spatial" and "social isolation" from the host society (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 9). This segregation was a barrier to the blending of first generation immigrants into Canadian society (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 9). By 1981, Portuguese Canadians were among the most segregated groups in these cities (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 9). However, in last two decades, residential patterns have changed with fewer levels of residential segregation, and the Portuguese are spreading over a larger territory than ever before, driven by the improved economic positions of some Portuguese families and their wish to acquire the "dream house", preferably in the suburbs (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2000, p. 9; Noivo, 1997, p. 32).

The majority of non-Azorean Portuguese generally do not experience too much difficulty in adapting to life in Canada (Correia, 1995, p. 28). For the Azoreans, the

situation is very different. Employment opportunities are still restricted to those at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale (Noivo, 1997, p. 33; Correia, 1995, p. 28). Schooling for them in the Azores "was only compulsory for four years", and even that was not strictly enforced (Correia, 1995, p. 28). Although a number of Azoreans have become entrepreneurs and established businesses in a variety of fields, many Azorean men predominantly work as labourers, carpenters, foremen in the construction industry; also in various service industries, (hotels, restaurants, or bakeries) or small stores serving the Portuguese community (Correia, 1995, p. 28). The economic status of Portuguese-Canadians as a group places them in the working class category (Noivo, 1997, p. 16). Although not Canada's poorest group, most Portuguese are part of the working poor who shift from one unstable job to another without upgrading their skills or moving up the social ladder (Noivo, 1997, p. 16). Presently, the majority continues to be heavily concentrated in "dead end" jobs where they experience severe "alienation", "physical exhaustion", and "job insecurity" (Noivo, 1997, p. 16). The empirical data confirms that after twenty-five or more years in "the land of opportunity" the overall socioeconomic conditions of Portuguese immigrants remain well below the national average (Noivo, 1997, p. 33).

One factor that prevents many first generation Portuguese from attaining any social and economic mobility is that their social conditions and educational background critically restrict their opportunities for improving their English (Nunes, 1998, p. 35). Many people often find employment through other Portuguese friends and relatives, which frequently places them in a situation where only Portuguese is spoken on the job (Correia, 1995, p. 29). The lack of fluent English speaking skills not only limits many

Portuguese in terms of socioeconomic mobility, but also isolates them from the mainstream of Canadian society and leaves them unaware of many rights and services available to them (Nunes, 1998, p. 35). Moreover, this longstanding situation does not appear to be changing, as this group is not represented in Canada's political, cultural, or economic stages, and shows minimal participation in mainstream society (Noivo, 1997, p. 33). It is estimated that twenty percent of the Portuguese living in Canada cannot communicate in either English or French (Giles, 2002, p. 9). Not being able to speak English has a "spill-over" effect to the second generation Portuguese, some of whom described their hostility as young children when they were forced to become "financial and bureaucratic translators" and "advisers" to their parents, who could not speak English (Giles, 2002, p. 9).

The lack of integration of first generation Portuguese in Canadian society is described as the prime social issue of concern (Nunes, 1998, p. 35). The lack of English-language skills amongst many of this generation, along with the community's low education levels, often go hand-in-hand with a tendency amongst some immigrants towards social and economic isolation from mainstream society (Nunes, 1998, p. 35). This may be because identity of Portuguese individuals is largely influenced by the images that the dominant society has constructed of them (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 71). In general terms, though, the impression understood by the keen observer is that in Canada, the Portuguese continue, even today, to be socially and culturally misunderstood, and that their image is still associated with low class, uneducated, and little prestige (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 64). This may be one of the reasons, according to Teixeira, that first generation immigrants and subsequently, their children – even though

a lot of times, barely know their parents' country of origin, in terms of first-hand knowledge of life in Portugal – are ashamed to proclaim their Portuguese parental roots and try to hide their cultural backgrounds from the general population (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 66). We can examine this aspect more in detail in the next section of the literature analysis, the part pertaining to second generation Portuguese individuals and matters of identity and belonging. Macro-level theory is employed to discern the major issues that are affecting the lives and experiences of Portuguese individuals of second generation descent in Canada while keeping in mind the role of first generation in these matters.

The Complex Problem of Identity of Second Generation

Most of the current research examined in this literature review reveals a greater complexity with issues of identity and belonging concerning second generation Portuguese individuals. Most of the authors agree that identity of second generation, in comparison with the first generation, is highly contextual and individually negotiated, and being so, many second generation descendants are frequently feeling conflicted over separate ties and allegiances (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 83).

Individual identity can be described as a product of the social world: "the self that is defined primarily by the virtue of its membership of, or identification with a particular group or groups (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 24). It is also "highly complex and multi-facet and is something that is contextually and individually negotiated" (Edwards, 1997, p. 16). Similar to identity, the aspect of belonging is also determined in the social environment and about "how we live in the present and about how we make our presence felt in a time or moment that can never be synchronous" (Walcott, 1999, p. 4). It is also

described as "partial, fragmented, and multifaceted" (Song, 2003, p. 59). An individual can identify with particular identities, for instance, but at the same time not necessarily feel a sense of belonging to his/her social environment. Thus identity and belonging should not be conceived as one in the same but as aspects that work individually but parallel with one another. John Edwards' (1997) text, *Is Past a Prologue?: Language and Identity at Century's End*, describes Charles Taylor's treatment of identity politics as an influential source to the issue of identity and belonging as matters of "recognition" (p. 16). "Recognition" arises through participation in social life and is constituted through a kind of "politics of difference" in which the uniqueness of individual identity is in danger of being ignored or worse, assimilated to some dominant majority (Edwards, 1997, p. 17). In other words, where one individual is pressured to "assimilate" at a particular time, another individual is able to choose his or her own identity. This position can be used to explain why Portuguese individuals of second generation descent express very different identities from one another and why some individuals may feel at times more connected to the Portuguese culture while others may identify more with mainstream society.

Similarly, Miri Song's (2003) *Choosing Ethnic Identity* explores the formation of ethnic identities of individuals in the diaspora. Of particular concern is his analysis on immigrants and the second generation, where the negotiation of ethnic identity, including the meanings associated with it, is both a more prominent and contentious issue for second generation children and young people than it is for their immigrant parents (Song, 2003, p. 104). Immigrant parents have the benefit of knowing first-hand what is like to be Portuguese, as they were born and raised in Portugal. They are generally not confused

about who they are and where they fit in society. Their children on the other hand, have a much harder time negotiating who they are and where they belong in the face of their parents' Portuguese identity and "Canadian" society at large. Therefore, it is not surprising that second generation individuals are more likely to be invested in belonging in the wider society, and they are also more likely to be deeply involved in transactions across the ethnic boundary than their parents ever were (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 80; Song, 2003, p. 105; Anderson, 1974, p. 177). This is one reason why a popular way of theorizing the experiences of second generation individuals has been to describe them as being "between two cultures" and that they are likely to suffer "culture conflict" (Song, 2003, p. 106; Joy, 1989, p. 174; Fernandez, 1979, p. 16; Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 134; Hamilton, 1973, p. 80). Fernando Nunes (1986) extents this idea, stating that many second generation individuals become somewhat "bi-cultural," that is, they have the ability to choose aspects from each culture or what the person thinks is most suitable for them (p. 35-36). They are also believed to be more likely to engage in forms of "code switching" and "ethnic reinvention", and are more likely to embrace complex "diasporic identities" and "hybridized identities" (Song, 2003, p. 117-8). "Hybridized identities" can be important for many second generation individuals because hybridity is said to constitute a form of resistance to the imposition of the dominant culture on minority cultures (Song, 2003, p. 117). Therefore, second generation Portuguese will not be a generation which will gradually but inevitably become completely acculturated into the dominant Western culture (as once thought), the second generation of today possesses various advantages for retaining their ethnic heritage and cultures (Song, 2003, p. 116).

In Carlos Teixeira's text (1999), *Portuguese Em Toronto: Uma Comunidade Em Mudanca* (Portuguese in Toronto: A Community on the Move), he explores many complex and highly contentious levels of Luso-Canadian identity in Toronto, which add to the research already mentioned above. According to Teixeira, there exists four ways that Portuguese youth born in Canada may identify themselves: a) the youth never acculturated into the mainstream; b) the youth that lost the use of the Portuguese language; c) the youth who continues to live in a kind of "cultural" conflict; and, d) the youth that became bi-cultural, adopting aspects of both cultures (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 81; Teixeira, 1999, p. 67). All of these forms of identity may overlap and combine with one another and they also may be subject to change according to particular situations. From this perspective, Teixeira concludes that "luso-Canadian" continues to be an identity seeking definition and one that continues to change into far more complex and individualized ways (Teixeira, 1999, p. 67).

Family Life of Second Generation

Identity formations of second generation Portuguese individuals can also be examined in terms of family and parental influence. Undoubtedly, family life – considered to be crucial to Portuguese identity formations – has played a major role on shaping the lives of second generation Portuguese individuals. The Portuguese concept of the family, with mutual rights and obligations has been transplanted here in Canada (Correia, 1995, p. 30). Children are expected to show a great deal of respect to the heads of the family. Respect for the aged is also expected of children, particularly in families who have emigrated from the Azores (Correia, 1995, p. 30). Grandparents often played a large role in the upbringing of the second generation of Portuguese children (Correia,

1995, p. 30-31). They are supposed to receive care from their grandparents, especially their grandmother (Januario and Marujo, 2000, p. 108-109). Many children are often looked after during the day by their grandparents while their parents are working (Correia, 1995, p. 31). However, as the children become older, they are expected to provide childcare for younger siblings and perform housekeeping tasks, as well as normally spend evenings alone (Noivo, 1997, p. 56). They are also expected to interpret and translate for their parents, who have minimal English speaking skills. The idea that some parents appropriate and live through their children is a common aspect of Portuguese family life. In some cases, parents can only live and communicate with the outside world through their children (Noivo, 1997, p. 14). This has placed a lot pressure on second generation individuals, having an affect on their perceptions of the Portuguese language as a hindrance to succeeding socially and economically in Canadian society.

The Portuguese in Canada continue to experience high rates of endogamy, especially in first generation (Noivo, 1997, p. 32). While some individuals rejected endogamy, the second and third generations are the most likely within the Portuguese community to challenge established patterns and marry exogamously (Noivo, 1997, p. 64). These younger generations are also more liable to feel the marital "market squeeze," given decreased opportunities for them to meet and socialize with other Portuguese ethnics (Noivo, 1997, p. 64-65). Instead of participating in ethnic clubs, second and third generations are socializing with their school peers (Noivo, 1997, p. 65). In other words, unlike their parents, who grew up amidst larger concentrations of Portuguese families and married within the community, and also attended community festivities and interacted with others speaking their language, these generations come into contact with fewer

Portuguese-Canadians (Noivo, 1997, p. 65). This reveals a great deal about second generation identity formations that is different from first generation. Rather than shaping their identities around a 'Portuguese identity' alone, they are shaping their identities outside of the boundaries of the family and their Portuguese communities.

Language Retention of Second Generation

Another way identity is expressed by individuals is through the use of language. Language is conceived as a vital component of culture, although it is not equally so for all individuals. Variations across ethnic groups in the degree to which language shapes identity have been brought to light by many of the findings of sociological research (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 129; Ribeiro, 1990, p. 90): "Language is vital component of culture, although it is not equally so for all groups. For some, its loss seems to be close to complete acculturation; others can abandon it and yet retain other cultural elements" (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 129; Reitz & Breton, 1994, p. 55). In other words, while some groups like the Portuguese, insist that without their own language their ethnocultural identity would disappear, others feel that they do not need a special language (let us say, Gaelic or Hebrew) to maintain ethnocultural distinctiveness (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 129). Therefore, the Portuguese language is recognized as the symbol of ethnic identity and the cultural vehicle in the community (Teixeira, 1999, p. 48-9). However, Carlos Teixeira (1999) explains how Portuguese language is undergoing a period of transition; a situation whereby the luso-Canadian youths or second generation Portuguese individuals are solely using the mother ("materna") language to communicate at home with parents and grandparents, and using English and/or French to communicate in public (p. 49). In addition, research indicates that there are differences in the day-to-day use of Portuguese

between the Portuguese born outside Canada and those born here – i.e., the second and third generations (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 128). Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) have found in a recent study that almost 90 per cent of Portuguese youth and "luso-descendents" in Toronto are using the English language at home, indicating that they are linguistically being acculturated at rapid speeds (p. 87).

The loss of the Portuguese language and culture was also identified in Fernando Nunes' study (1998) as the primary cultural issue, which people of second generation descent were facing in their regions (p. 43). A few participants in this study regarded language loss as the key barrier to the effective functioning of the community, one which needed to be breached in order for the Portuguese culture to remain viable in their regions and to foster pride and self esteem on the part of Portuguese youths (Nunes, 1998, p. 43). In particular, those young people who attend schools where there are few Portuguese, or where there is little cultural diversity, are frequently under greater pressure to "assimilate". These youth often do not speak Portuguese and sometimes have trouble communicating to their parents, not only because they don't speak their language but also because they don't understand Portuguese society. Intergenerational relationships are, therefore, strained by the inability to communicate (Nunes, 1998, p. 43).

Language retention within a community is an important factor in the maintenance of ethnocultural identity (Teixeira, 1999, p. 48-9). There are many indications that the Portuguese consider language a powerful contributor to the community's sense of solidarity (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 132). For example, noting that the younger generation in Quebec was less fluent in its ancestral language than its elders, Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1980) expressed view that maintenance of ancestral language had to be given priority in

the community, even in the face of criticism that this could further marginalize the community: "The teaching of Portuguese seems to be justifiable and indispensable, not only as a vehicle of the culture it represents, but also as an essential factor in the identity and survival of this culture" (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 132).

The centrality of the Portuguese language in the lives of first generation Portuguese Canadians is frequently discussed in the literature on the Portuguese community in Canada. The need for such people to remain in Portuguese-speaking enclaves is often cited as one of the factors responsible for the high residential concentration found among the Portuguese (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 133). Likewise, they have usually expected their children to retain Portuguese as their home language, primarily to facilitate easy communication between generations (Teixeira, 1999, p. 54-5): "It is normally the parents who decide what language will be spoken within the family circle. In the case of the first generation, the choice normally falls to the Portuguese language. Generally it is taught to and imposed on children, pretending reasons of a cultural nature. But the truth is that...[parents choose Portuguese because they] feel ill at ease with the official language in which their children are most fluent" (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 133). Even today, in numerous Portuguese-background families that have been in Canada since the 1950s and 1960s, grandparents and grandchildren can only communicate in Portuguese, making the issue of language retention ever more significant in the maintenance of Portuguese identity for continuing generations (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 133).

Ironically, at the time when the majority of Portuguese in Canada were of the first generation, it was common for parents to be asked to speak the school language at home -

a measure that not only severely reduced communication between parents and children but informed children that their home language and culture were somehow less dignified than the majority language and culture (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 133). Moreover, parents frequently attain only limited command of English while their children rapidly lose facility in the home language, with the result that there is no longer a common channel of communication (Cummins, 1991, p. 85). Recent research suggests that communication in the home is more demanding pragmatically and richer linguistically than that in the classroom, irrespective of socio-economic background (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 182). Helms-Park (2000) suggests that rather than trying to accelerate the disappearance of the child's home language, educators should actively explore with parents ways in which the developmental process that underlies growth in both languages can be enhanced (p. 135). Similarly, a study conducted by Jim Cummins (1991) in *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency From Home to School: A Longitudinal Study of Portuguese-Speaking Children*, found that it is still a common practice, at the time, in many school systems to discourage parents from promoting their children's first language in the home (p. 94). Not only did this have an affect on child development and familial relations but it also emphasized power relations between English and Portuguese speakers. That is, English speakers are superior to Portuguese speakers and therefore, it became clear to young children that their parents' ethnic tongue is not something they should learn and retain or even feel good about. Cummins' study also reveals that continued use of the Portuguese language in the home is associated with enhanced academic achievement in English during elementary years (Cummins, 1991, p. 96). More importantly, that bilingual development also allows children the option of an

identity that is rooted and nourished through cultures of both the family and the school rather an identity in which the "family's inferiority is interwoven with the internalization of English" (Cummins, 1991, p. 96).

While some generational changes in a language are inevitable under any circumstances, especially when it comes into contact with another language, the complaint in Canada is that the second and third generations may end up speaking a "pidginized" version of their ancestral language, with serious repercussions in "communicative competence," often despite language classes (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 137). Studies outside a heritage language context also confirm the rapid shift from Portuguese to English among the second and third generations. For example, a survey of young Portuguese Canadians living in Metropolitan Toronto revealed that even though many speak Portuguese with the parental generation, they use English almost exclusively with siblings and peers (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 137). As a result, this clearly demonstrates that second and third generation Portuguese individuals are not concerned at all with language retention, as an important factor in the maintenance of their identities or in the maintenance of ethnocultural identity. In other words, they are not concerned with an ethnocultural identity that is rooted on language retention alone.

If we consider the interaction between the student's psychological characteristics and the socio-cultural environment, we can also attribute students' middling attainment to their lack of motivation, either because the heritage language does not seem very "useful" or because they do not identify closely with their ethnocultural community (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 138). The kind of 'pidginization' said to result from using language only for communication is reported by Alpalhao and Da Rosa (1980): "Sometimes, they [second

generation Portuguese] are conditioned to perpetuate the use of the mother tongue in order to communicate with their parents or grandparents who do not know other languages" (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 139). These factors in part explain the grammatical mistakes, as well as the tendency to avoid the use of Portuguese once they are aware of their limitations (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 139). Whatever the source of the problem, Helms-Park (2000) suggests that the only way of getting around it and ensuring that heritage language education can help preserve minority languages is by integrating these languages into the mainstream curriculum in provinces such as Ontario where their curricular status is practically non-existent to say the least (p. 139). In addition, it seems that the only way to implement this integration is by convincing the public and educators alike that "multilingualism is useful," not only for self-growth and community well-being, but also for the economic and political well-being of the country (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 139).

Academic & Professional Achievement of Second Generation

It is documented that the majority of Azorean Portuguese have only gone through four years of elementary schooling, and while they are happy that their children have the opportunity to go to school, they do not particularly value or simply understand the Canadian school system (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 98; Teixeira, 1999, p. 56; Correia, 1995, p. 31-32). Because of limited English, it is difficult for Portuguese parents to know what type of programs are being taught or to follow their child's progress (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 103; Teixeira, 1999, p. 55-6; Correia, 1995, p. 32). Therefore, children may also experience a lack of support at home for continuing their education (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 103). Many parents particularly those early Azorean immigrants, do

not place a great deal of value on education particularly post- secondary education, this limits their children future (Correia, 1995, p. 32). As could be expected, current evidence seems to suggest that this lack of success in school has affected subsequent generations as well, this being third generation (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 96; Noivo, 1997).

The children of first-generation Portuguese parents were described as the second most likely immigrant group in Toronto to drop out of high school (Giles, 2002, p. 10; Nunes, 1998, p. 25). Although, Portuguese women are believed be more successful than young men at academic achievement and completion of high school and post-secondary education (Giles, 2002, p. 10; Nunes, 1998, p. 25). One of the implications of the Toronto Board of Education study and other studies is that Portuguese parents are at least partly to blame for their children's reduction of schooling (Nunes, 1998, p. 29). However, many Portuguese parents have tried hard to keep their children in school, but that the school system often has thwarted their efforts (Helms-Park, 2000, p. 137). Nunes's (1998) study of the Portuguese in Canada points to a variety of factors relating to the education of Portuguese youth that includes pressure from some parents for their children to succeed academically, while others, for financial reasons, are discouraging (p. 29). In addition, "streaming", "racist stereotyping", and "peer pressure" are aspects, which contribute to the difficulty confronted by Portuguese in accessing education (Nunes, 1998, p. 27, 32).

Portuguese Canadian-born have been able to make the greatest gains over the period (1986-91) in attaining college or university diplomas: an increase of 23 percent in the proportion of women, and an increase of 21 percent in the proportion of men over this time (Giles, 2002, p. 98). During the same period, more Portuguese Canadian-born

women than men were able to attain college or university levels of education (Giles, 2002, p. 98; Teixeira, 1999, p. 57). Despite the difficulties posed to Portuguese by the Toronto educational system, most young Portuguese women – to a greater degree than men – seem to achieve some success, though not as high on average as the general Toronto population (Giles, 2002, p. 61). This gender gap is increasing in favour of women: by 1996 it had reached 11 percent. By comparison, at the college and university levels, the gender gap is disappearing for the general population (Giles, 2002, p. 98).

Second generation women have been more able to gain access to education and a wide range of professions than their parents (Giles, 2002, p. 101). In some cases they are unsuccessful in gaining their parents' support for their own educational aspirations (Giles, 2002, p. 101). The daughters of first generation women, in particular, are located in a broader range of wage work than their mothers (Giles, 2002, p. 37). Their fluency in English, and their high school, college, or university education have enabled many to move into white collar jobs, or in their mother's words, "clean jobs" (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 129; Giles, 2002, p. 37, 54). Currently, most second generation women work in retail, clerical, administrative, and related occupations, and most are said to be non-unionized (Giles, 2002, p. 81). Many of these women want to be recognized as different from their mothers, whom they regard as having been stereotype as "passing" and "lacking skills and creativity" (Giles, 2002, p. 37). Given an education, "Canadian experience," and fluency in English, the paid work experiences of the second generation women are different from their mothers (Giles, 2002, p. 81). They describe their jobs as different from their mothers' jobs in several ways (Giles, 2002, p. 81). One recurring theme is that the jobs of second generation women are "clean" and associated with higher

income in comparison to their mother's low-wage salaries (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 125; Giles, 2002, p. 81).

In general though, as critical as some of the second generation might be of their parents' ("self-") imposed economic lifestyles, findings suggest that this generation's lifestyles are not significantly different (Noivo, 1997, p. 57). The second generation begins by participating in the projects of their parents, and thus is likely to internalize the first generation's image of what constitutes "a better (economic) life" (Noivo, 1997, p. 57). For the most part, this is reflected in the second generation Portuguese individuals' poor aspirations in the academic and professional world and their growing concentration in manual labour and domestic sectors of society.

Ethnic Community Life and Second Generation

Studies in Canada have shown that attachments to ethnic communities are more pronounced among immigrants than they are among their descendants (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 130; Reitz & Breton, 1994, p. 7). In fact socially speaking, first generation immigrants tend to maintain a higher degree of involvement in their social networks than second or subsequent generations (Reitz & Breton, 1994, p. 7). It is generally believed that by third generation, ethnicity has become symbolic; that is to say, "people are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations – both sacred and secular – and are instead more concerned with maintaining their identity" (Reitz & Breton, 1994, p. 62). In other words, although people tend to retain their ethnic identities, these identities do not shape their behaviour or their social relationships on the whole.

Cultural maintenance or loss should manifest itself in the composition of social networks. Depending on the salience of the culture, there should be more or less overlap between one's ethnic origin and the origin of one's friends, and the participation in ethnic activities like associations and/or clubs (Reitz & Breton, 1994, p. 59). Carlos Teixeira (2004) in *Jovens Portugueses e Luso-Descendents no Canada (Portuguese Youth and Luso-Descendents in Canada)*, observed that youth (22.1%) of second generation descent in Toronto and Montreal are relatively absent and overall disinterested in Portuguese institutions such as associations and/or clubs, even though, these are considered to be important sites of language retention and culture (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 169). On the other hand, this information seemed contradictory to Teixeira when he found that second generation youth show a fairly positive connection to Portugal and things Portuguese, and possessed a great deal of pride in their ethnic background (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 208). This author also found that the majority of youths (51.1%) prefer to make friends within the "Portuguese community", at the same time one third of these declared that they feel indifferent whether their friends are Portuguese or Canadian, revealing that second generation youth are neither interested in cultural maintenance nor placing much effort in making connections with Portuguese community life (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 174). More significantly, indifference might also be equated with an interest in both cultures, revealing the importance of both cultures in shaping second generation Portuguese identities.

Integration and Acculturation of Second Generation

Undoubtedly, the second generation children brought up in Canada have acculturated (a process whereby individuals incorporate elements of the dominant group)

more quickly than first generation, for they speak English fluently and are educated in Canada (Higgs, 1982, p. 14). Moreover, greater educational opportunities are available for the young in Canada, where a far higher proportion of national revenue is spent on education than in Portugal (Higgs, 1982, p. 14). The second generation Portuguese individuals in Toronto are more adapted to Canadian life and so have "loosened the bonds", which the first generation maintained with household and community (Rajan, 2001, p. 17). There is also much diversity between first and second generation Portuguese and how they adapted to Canadian life. One major difference between them is that the second generation Portuguese individuals tend to integrate more into the Canadian milieu than their parents (Rajan, 2001, p. 17). And they have often displayed linguistic and social patterns different from their parents' generations but similar to the majority of Canadians (Rajan, 2001, p. 17). At times in the process of integration (a process whereby individuals maintain ethnic/cultural differences from the dominant society while acquiring dominant values, customs, and behaviours), youth of Portuguese second generation descent would reject some ethnic cultural traditions, causing some hostility from parents whom were passionately defending their ethnic cultures (Noivo, 1997, p. 23). In other words, parents may have perceived such actions of rejection less as part of the process of cultural departure underway and more as defiance from the family's or ethnic culture's conventional norms (Noivo, 1997, p. 23). These concerns with intergenerational ethnocultural tensions have led some to claim that ethnic youth and their immigrant parents live in "separate worlds" (Nunes, 1998; Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, Higgs, 1982). They contend that relational clashes appear from the fact that children adopt the values of the dominant group outside the boundaries of the household,

whereas their traditional parents stick to their ethnic cultures within the home (Noivo, 1997, p. 24). This idea of minority culture relegated in the home is significant particularly in light of multiculturalism, whereby cultural diversity is being promoted and encouraged in Canadian society.

The theme of 'unity in diversity' has been reinforced in the nation-building project embodied in much of the multicultural rhetoric. The Canadian Multiculturalism Act (Bill C-23, 1988) notes in its preamble "the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, 1987, p. 47). The Act makes clear the government's intention not merely to recognize the multicultural origins of Canadians, but to maintain and foster their various cultural heritages by engaging in policies that enhance the diversity of Canada's culture, such as disbursement of funds to groups promoting their ancestral languages and arts (Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism, 1987, p. 47). Although it may be important to maintain some cultural traditions, promoting respect for these traditions is linked to a state multiculturalist discourse about the importance of respecting diversity (Giles, 2002, p. 90). But the promotion of diversity does not in and of itself translate into better access to education, health, and jobs: "Although respect for cultural difference is important, the promotion of a particular ethnic identity has not and will not lead to more equitable access to basic resources such as education unless it is linked to more broadly based struggles against racism, and gender and class inequities" (Giles, 2002, p. 110). This statement speaks directly to the Portuguese community whereby empirical data confirms that even after twenty-five or more years in "the land of opportunity" the overall socioeconomic conditions of Portuguese immigrants remain well

below the national average (Noivo, 1997, p. 33). Therefore, immigrant discourses that demonstrate that over time immigrants resemble native-born Canadians in many social and economic aspects of life do not seem to correspond to the ongoing socioeconomic conditions of Portuguese immigrants in Canada. On the contrary, Portuguese immigrants and their descendents continue to experience high levels of social and spatial segregation and are over-represented in low wage jobs such as construction and housekeeping.

Multiculturalism is the name given to the ethnic and cultural diversity of our country. It implies an attitude of tolerance and acceptance, of equality among all, regardless of ethnic background. However, this idea does not stand the test of personal experience and the experience of individuals provides the real insight into what defines Canada. And although official policy would have it otherwise, it is hard to be different in this country when different means being discriminated and excluded from opportunities that society has to offer. This is the common irony that underlies the concept of "diversity" and the very idea of being Canadian (Gunew, 1997, p. 24). The mosaic ideology of Canadian Multiculturalism also serves to reaffirm we-they distinctions that have shaped Canadian immigration policy since its inception (Giles, 2002, p. 120-121). It also has clearly made the distinction between who is Canadian, "real" Canadian, member of one of the Charter groups, and who is, even though born in Canada, never visiting Portugal, or speak the Portuguese language – reminding them (in the case of second generation Portuguese individuals) that they belong to some place else, and that their "roots" are not Canadian, but that they belong to another country – a distant, and very often unknown, "country of origin" (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 215). This may be a reason why second generation Portuguese youth might choose to reject their ethnic

roots in favour of dominant values, norms, and beliefs. And they may also feel hesitant in revealing any ethnic ties and allegiances to others of non-Portuguese origin. This argument is clearly illustrated in my qualitative research study presented in the next section, where eight participants of second generation Portuguese descent shared some thoughts and experiences of this nature. But before moving on to this subject, I begin with a description of my research design and methods, specifically how I conducted my interviews as well as highlighting the main research limitations encountered in the process of creating and completing this study. Next, I present my research findings in a micro-level manner in order to describe individual experiences of second generation Portuguese.

Design and Methods

My empirical qualitative research is quite descriptive in nature since it presents a picture of the specific details of a situation or social setting. The outcome of my descriptive study is a detailed picture of the subject, in this case a detailed picture of the experiences of second generation Portuguese individuals. And describes how things are, that is how second generation Portuguese individuals describe their identities and their place in society. Like most descriptive researchers, I used interviews to build a case study about second generation Portuguese individuals of the Greater Toronto Area, as my main data-gathering technique, accompanied of course with an extensive literature analysis.

Most of my qualitative data is gathered through field research in formal interviews. Interviews are a crucial aspect in the study since they are used to complement and contrast with my literature review as well. This form of qualitative research best captures a holistic, accurate picture of the particular personal experiences of second generation Portuguese.

Throughout my project I have theorized in a more inductive direction. In other words, my interview data builds on theoretical generalizations out of the process of trying to explain, interpret, and render meaning from my interviews (Neuman, 2006, p. 60). Inductive approach suits my research needs most appropriately, therefore, I relied on my interview data to present a more accurate and contemporary picture of the lives of Portuguese individuals in Canada. Moreover, the goal of this project is to build a theory that is faithful to the evidence gathered in the interviews. Also, because my research consists of face-to-face interviews with participants over a short period of time, micro-level theory of individual experiences of second generation individuals was developed in

the analysis of the findings section of the text (Neuman, 2006, p. 61). In the attempt to present each person's subjective worldview and how it shapes his or her attitude and behaviour, I attempted to foster understanding and organization of such material, using interpretation with the help of secondary data to discern respondents' reasoning and view of things. In the end, I developed many, if not most, of my concepts during the data collection process since the subject of second generation had been largely unexplored in the past. In the end, I wanted to describe the everyday experiences of my participants in efforts to discover how they constructed their identities and their sense of belonging in Canada.

My field research data is in the form of interviews with key informants of second generation Portuguese descent to determine how they define themselves and their sense of belonging in Canada. I used primarily snowball sampling, a form of nonrandom sample that begins with one informant and then based on information about interrelationships from that case, identifies other cases, in my project (Neuman, 2006, p. 222). Since my main intention was to gather relevant knowledge on the subject rather than representativeness of individual informants, snowball sampling, best served this function. Also, snowball sampling ensured the protection of my research participants, since it is free of coercion, reflecting the goal of maintaining confidentiality (Neuman, 2006, p. 223).

I interviewed eight people of second generation Portuguese descent, children of immigrants born in Canada, who are between eighteen and thirty years of age. My interview questions, which are listed in the appendix section of the paper, ranged from being highly descriptive (for example, What is your age and occupation? and, What

region of Portugal did your parents come from?); to other more structural questions that asked informants specific questions on identity and belonging matters (these include: How do you define yourself with respect to Canadian society? Has your identity changed as you grew older? and, Did you ever experience instances in your childhood or adulthood where you felt you belonged or didn't belong in Canada?). I also asked contrast questions that illustrate differences or similarities between informants as second generation, and their parents as first generation (for instance, How do your parents' Portuguese identity affect your day-to-day living? And, Did your parents' early immigrant experiences challenge who you are and how you interact with others in Canadian society?).

Ethics review was required and necessary in order to protect the rights and freedoms of my research participants and to uphold the academic integrity of my research. I required informed consent (written and verbal consent) from all of the participants before the interviews. This explained to them what they needed to know and what they were being asked to participate in so that they can make an informed decision on whether to participate in the project. I assured them that their participation was voluntary and would be terminated at any time. And that anonymity and confidentiality would be ensured through the use of pseudonyms in the interview notes and in the final report, as a means of protecting their privacy of the participants' identity after the information has been gathered. I also offered to provide a written report of my research findings to interested participants, as they are the reason my research is made possible.

Not surprisingly, there were several limitations to my research. For one thing, time was my major constraint. Ideally, this kind of research should have a longitudinal

picture in order to better capture social processes or change overtime. However despite this impediment, I feel I made the best of my interviews and literature, managing to capture a more temporal picture of the livelihoods of second generation individuals.

Another minor limitation to my research, but equally important, is the issue of representation, that is, accurately interpreting the primary data retrieved from the interviews. I confronted this challenge by consulting my informants with follow-up interviews and I also audio recorded my interviews to make sure that my information is accurate and that the best interests of my informants come first and foremost. Although, I would never simply substituted tape recordings completely for field notes, as I am aware that audio recording may have distracted the informants and may hinder informants' willingness to share personal experiences. I left it up to the individual participant to decide whether or not they felt comfortable with audio recording. In addition to this, I made sure that in the process of transcribing the audio recordings, informants' identity was not revealed in any way possible. Destroying the audio recordings after transcription was a way to maintain this promise.

My authoritative position as a researcher was also a minor limitation. At times informant's felt inclined to give information that they believed I needed and not how they themselves saw the world and what it meant to them. For instance, most participants felt at times unsure of their responses and would say things like, "Is this what you want?" or "Did I answer it right?" as a way to try to please me. Immediately I assured them that my interest alone was their thoughts and beliefs on the subject and not my own. I also encouraged them to undergo what is called a "first-order interpretation," whereby participants were asked to define concepts like identity and belonging according to their

particular pool of knowledge, personal thoughts and experiences at the beginning of the interview, to allow them to define concepts in their own terms (Neuman, 2006, p. 160).

Research Findings

Participants and their characteristics

Through qualitative interviews with second generation Portuguese men and women living in and around Portuguese communities in the Greater Toronto Area including Toronto, Mississauga, and Etobicoke, I investigated how second generation Portuguese negotiate and renegotiate their sense of identity and belonging in Canada. I interviewed eight second generation individuals, who are between eighteen and thirty years of age. Six of the participants are female (Paula, Ricarda, Ana, Claudia, Alexandra, and Stephanie) and two are male (Luis and Frank). All but one female participant work in the service sectors of society including, ethical wall coordinator at a law office (Paula), three early childhood educators (Stephanie, Claudia, and Alexandra), and counselor in a community centre (Ana). The final female participant works in the business sector, as a customer service representative for a Bank (Ricarda). The male participants in this study work in physical and manual labour professions in landscaping (Luis) and construction (Frank).

Residence

Most of the respondents claim to have lived at some point in a Portuguese neighbourhood, whether be in Toronto or Mississauga. Paula, who has lived all of her life in the same home in Etobicoke admits to never living in a Portuguese neighbourhood, characterizing her neighbourhood as "very mixed". Alexandra, on the other hand, has always lived in and around the Portuguese community in downtown Toronto and says that now she lives in Kensington Market, which she describes as being "a mix of Oriental, Portuguese, and Spanish". Claudia and Ana have always lived in heart of Little

Portugal in downtown Toronto; Claudia describes it as having "Portuguese bakeries, Portuguese businesses, Portuguese everything". Similarly, Luis, Stephanie, and Frank have lived in various residents in the city of Toronto and admit that most of the people living in their residential areas are of Portuguese origin. Ricarda grew up in Mississauga and describes it as being "not very Portuguese" as a child but says now that, "it is very Portuguese, a good majority of people in my neighbourhood are Portuguese".

Language of Choice

Having been born in Canada, the majority of participants are bilingual; although all spoke some Portuguese, only Alexandra had mastered it and only a few could read or write it. Seven out of the eight respondents admitted to "code- switching," whereby they frequently used English words when talking in Portuguese. Most respondents reported that their parents speak Portuguese with them at home, but they choose to respond to them in English most of the time. More than half of them also admitted that their parents are able to speak English, although not fluently. Interestingly, all of the participants' mothers spoke English better than their fathers, and most attribute this to their employment opportunities outside of the Portuguese communities, while their fathers have always worked in Portuguese businesses or with other Portuguese people. Most of the respondents claimed to have learned Portuguese language before they learned English, and more than half of them learned Portuguese from their grandmothers who lived with them as young children. They also choose to communicate with their siblings in English, except Alexandra who speaks Portuguese with her family and Portuguese friends most of the time. Alexandra admits this is due to her "Portuguese accent" when she speaks English, and so she feels more "comfortable" to converse with people who

speak Portuguese. Similarly, most of them acknowledge feeling self-conscious about their Portuguese skills, so they speak Portuguese only at family gatherings and/or occasions and with their relatives who only communicate in Portuguese. All of them have Portuguese friends, although Paula and Ana claim that they are not very close with them, Ana in particular, claims to have just "three Portuguese friends" her "entire life," even though, she has lived in Little Portugal in Toronto most of her life. They all claim to have Portuguese friends. This is not because they necessarily looked for friends that were strictly Portuguese but because they lived in predominantly Portuguese neighbourhoods or attended schools with other Portuguese students or even worked in establishments with Portuguese people. One participant, Frank, comments on this fact, saying, "I met my Portuguese friends at work", and "actually most of the people that I work with, in construction, are Portuguese". Finally, most of the respondents admit that they speak with their friends in English, but they may on occasion switch to Portuguese for "fun" or to share "secrets".

Parents and their Early Immigrant Experiences

Six of their parents lived in the rural islands of the Azores while the others lived in continental Portugal in various regions. Most parents arrived to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, while two of the participants, Luis and Alexandra, stated, that their parents came quite recently in the 1980s. Parents also varied in age of arriving to Canada, most came in their twenties while Ana's and Ricarda's parents came in their early teens. Most of the respondents declared that their parents came to Canada because they either wanted to reunite with their families already here and/or to seek a better economic life for themselves and their children. When their parents arrived in Canada, they worked as

construction workers, office cleaners, housekeepers, factory workers, courier, railway worker, and baker in a Portuguese bakery. And all of them have remained in the same kind of professions throughout the years and all of the respondents attribute this to their parents' inability to speak English and their lack of education and "Canadian experience". They describe their parents' language difficulties quite explicitly:

> When my mom first came, she had a really hard time finding work and the only reason she did get work was because a friend of the family I believe, and it was because of the language barrier and they didn't want to hire her because she couldn't speak English (Paula).

> English for them was a barrier, they were still learning so they spoke Portuguese all the time. They would associate themselves with Portuguese only. I remember my mom would try to speak English and we [Alexandra and sisters] would laugh at her, but she managed over time (Alexandra).

> The language was always a big problem, because right now for instance, my dad could be a manager at his job but he doesn't want the job because he doesn't feel comfortable, because he doesn't speak English (Claudia).

> I think they felt most comfortable in the Portuguese community because of the Portuguese language. I think it wasn't about exclusion, it was more they felt comfortable with the Portuguese community in Toronto before moving to Mississauga before they had my brother and I, about 24 years ago (Ricarda).

> I think because they came at such a young age, they immediately felt excluded [1967], Portuguese immigration was still trickling so I think because of the language barrier. As children [referring to her parents], they thought that there was a lack of education, of understanding who these people are, who are these foreigners, and why they not speak English. So I think it was difficult for them to assimilate more so for my mother than my father. My father being male was allowed to have more opportunities for work and so he was involved in Canadian culture quite quickly (Ana).

Most in my small sample had no direct experience with any type of prejudice or discrimination because of their ethnicity. Many of them were aware of a history of discrimination or prejudice against Portuguese Canadians, but for the most part it was either something they had learned in school or something they "supposed their parents felt" in their early immigrant experiences.

> No, I never felt discrimination or excluded because of my Portuguese roots. I guess in school I learned the Portuguese and other groups were discriminated against when they first came many years ago but now things are a little different. I think we were so lucky to have the opportunities to go to school, find employment with so many different kinks of jobs. My parents never had those opportunities, so they felt excluded from Canadian society (Claudia).

I always felt like I belonged in Canadian society but I think my parents never really felt they fit in here because they don't speak English well, they speak with an accent, and they also don't have a lot of education so I think that they felt discriminated, especially in the workforce (Luis).

I never really felt excluded, I suppose my parents experienced exclusion when they came to Canada but I also wasn't there for the early struggles, all the cultural struggles (Paula).

Performing Portuguese Identity

Being Portuguese is described as very important to their parents. Respondents declare that their parents have often talked about their childhood experiences of living in Portugal and that they have put considerable effort in socializing them in a "Portuguese" environment, including encouraging and sometimes forcing them as children to get involved in the Portuguese culture, for instance, joining associations and/or clubs. The following statements illustrate this point:

It was something you were supposed to do, you were supposed to go to the *Festas* [annual religious festivals], go to Portuguese school, you were supposed to go visit your grandmother's on Saturdays and Sundays, you were supposed to dress modestly, they were a lot things you were supposed to do and there were times where you struggled with it but you had to do it, everyone else was doing it (Paula).

My mom and dad always wanted to keep the Portuguese heritage because that is part of who we are. They would tell me stories about how they grew up in Portugal. I would also listen to Portuguese radio, music, always ate Portuguese foods not Canadian foods (Alexandra).

We have conversations, we always hear stories about the past and how it was back home. My parents also watch the RTP on television, the Portuguese channel, to know how things are going back home now, so they are very interested. I used to attend *Amore da Patria* [Portuguese club], I did folklore dance for 10 to 12 years and my mom encouraged me to go and be a part of the Portuguese community and the Portuguese culture. I stopped when I was 19 years old. My mom asked me to quit because it was very involved and time consuming. But I really liked it, I like dancing to Portuguese music. I did it for about 10 years. But now, we don't do anything anymore we just don't have the time (Claudia).

My parents are members of the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Centre. They are also part of the *Graciosa* Club [Religious Portuguese club] in downtown Toronto. I used to be part of the Youth Group for the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Centre but I stopped going because of work and because of my lack of free time (Ricarda).

Identity of Participants

The participants in this study defined their identity in a variety of ways. While identity is fluid and dependent on various individually negotiated factors, it is of particular interest to note that none of the eight participants identify themselves as solely Canadian or even Portuguese, they may say that they are Canadian or Portuguese but these identities become intertwined and highly negotiable in the minds of the respondents. In many cases, they seemed unsure or even confused about who they are, and some even admitted that they had never really thought about the question (How do you define yourself with respect to Canadian society?). At first, I was surprised to hear many respondents defining themselves as simply Portuguese, but as they continued to explain this label, they became very confused and often giving contradictory statements.

> It has to do with how much are you removed from your original culture, I don't think of myself as Canadian at all. I think of myself as Portuguese and I live in Canada, even though I never grew up in there [Portugal]. In general, if you're Portuguese, you're Portuguese and I don't think you can, unless you really segregate yourself, I don't think these's a way of separating your Portuguese identity from who you are, it's just there. I think most people have the same belief as I have, they may never lived in the same Island [Azores or Madeira] but the parents have that innate idea of the way things should be and people have the same influence as me and you can avoid it all you want but it's there. I guess you can feel Portuguese-Canadian but really can practice one or the other but you are really one. For instance, you can dress non-Portuguese but innately you're Portuguese. As much as you say you aren't, you are (Paula).

> I'm Portuguese-Canadian but more Portuguese I guess. Hmm, No, I'm Portuguese. Hmm, I guess as an adult I chose to keep my Portuguese heritage, more so than Canadian. I feel more comfortable speaking Portuguese and being in a Portuguese environment, this is also because of my accent and my difficulty growing up with the English language (Alexandra).

> I would say I'm Portuguese, I always say I'm Portuguese but obviously I was born in Canada so I am in a way Canadian, hmm, I never really thought about this, but really I would say I'm Portuguese. I guess living in a Portuguese neighbourhood all my life and having Portuguese friends made me feel like I am Portuguese. This helped me growing up, to feel like I belong somewhere. I feel like if other people like Canadian people were living in my neighbourhood, I think growing up would be different (Claudia).

Those respondents that defined themselves as Canadian, or more Canadian than Portuguese, gave clearer answers to the question at hand. They also admitted to feeling

more affiliated with the Portuguese identity as they became adults but that their identity hadn't changed all that much growing up, this also applies to those respondents who identified themselves above, as Portuguese.

> I think I have a little bit of both identities (Portuguese and Canadian), like I'm open-minded, I have different perspectives and I can see other people's perspectives and where they are coming from but I feel that if I have my mind on something, other perspectives might not change what I already see – but I think I'd be in the middle. I'm Canadian with Portuguese background so usually I say I'm Canadian-Portuguese. Usually when people ask me, I say I'm Canadian, and if they ask me my background I say, Portuguese. So I was born here, that makes me Canadian with Portuguese background (Ricarda).

> I consider myself to be Canadian, with Portuguese background. I think there was a time in my childhood where I tried to distance myself from the Portuguese community and I fought really hard to do this. But now as an adult and working in a Portuguese community centre I feel much better about being affiliated with my Portuguese roots (Ana).

Analysis of Findings

Assuming "Canadian" and "Portuguese" identities

The constituted, contested, and re-created signifiers of Portuguese identity are, like others, based on processes of differentiation and commonality (Noivo, 2000, p. 163). The "freedom" with which the participants in this study describe, have chosen the community with which they associate, (including those that isolate or shy away from the Portuguese community) is not unrelated to the possibilities that their education and fluency with English have opened to them. These opportunities have provided them with "latitude of alternatives", unavailable to their parents of first generation descent (Giles, 1997, p. 395). Two participants offer comments of this nature below:

> It was mainly the language, not necessarily the culture, they never really ate very exotic food, or do very different things than Canadian culture, it was the language barrier that affected their early years here and even their lack of education (Paula).
>
> A lack of knowledge of the English language that excluded them [his parents] from a lot of opportunities (Frank).

The "freedom" that participants speak of, is related to their definition of Canadian identity. When they were asked the question, "what does Canadian identity mean to you?" – participants answered with aspects which they thought are "Canadian" like, "freedom of choice" (Ana), " being open- minded" (Ricarda), "having different perspectives" (Frank) "someone who is educated and speaks English" (Paula, Claudia, Ana), "someone who is not very family-oriented"(Paula), someone who may be lacking "culture" or "tradition" (Luis and Paula). Clearly they defined "Canadianness" and what it means to them in reference to what is not Canadian, that is, being Portuguese. Giles' (2002) following statement highlights Portuguese identity as being celebrated through multicultural ideology while at the same time creates the image of people with one, static

identity, and that it is separate, and will always be separate from the "true" Canadian one. "Chinese, Italians, Portuguese, and other immigrant groups have been affected by the pluralist politics of multiculturalism that maintain popular beliefs about differences between group, while simultaneously strengthening exclusionary concepts of a mainstream Anglo-European society to which others can contribute" (Giles, 2002, p. 121).

In addition, I found that participants seemed to define Portuguese identity in contrast with the Canadian one, suggesting that they are not only opposite to one another but also at times, two conflicting identities. Paula, for instances, describes Portuguese identity as being "very family-oriented", "family is number one", she says, "you live and breathe family". But then she quickly switches to describe the Canadian identity as opposite to the Portuguese one, which reflects the difficulty and the distinction between one identity and another.

> In Canadian culture, you have a separate identity from your family whereas in my family it kind of blends together, you're a piece of that picture. In Canada, everyone's different and they kind of fit together but they're not necessarily a unit. I think priorities are different in Canadian culture, parents have a different role in kids lives whereas the Portuguese parents are more involved in the lives of other family members. They have a lot more say and influence (Paula).

Similarly, Giles (2002) makes the same observation in her study of Portuguese women youth, whereby they asserted differences between Canadian and Portuguese families. They expressed that traditional family ties are not always as important to Anglo-Canadians as friendship or community relationships, and more that, there is less emphasis on their economic and social contribution to the "family" unit than there is in the lives of Portuguese members (Giles, 2002, p. 109). Like Paula, Ricarda expressed the difficult task of defining Portuguese identity without describing the Canadian identity, saying:

> I don't know why but culture comes to mind, family and celebrating life, any reason to celebrate, they [the Portuguese] are genuine people with kindness. Hmm, I think Portuguese are the complete opposite to Canadian in terms of not being open-minded. The Portuguese are, not so much the younger generation but the older generations, set in their ways, that if something has been done a specific way, that is how it should be done forever (Ricarda).

To further complicate matters of identity, I had other respondents speak of the complex and conflicting nature of acquiring both identities:

> There is that conflict of culture and attitude. Even as second generation some of us don't know Portuguese as much as others depending on how you are raised at home, how some take the country [Portugal] into themselves, but there is that conflict where it is a good thing to be proud of your roots but it's also a bad thing because sometimes you're excluded from everyone else (Stephanie).

> I have a problem with the idea that you can actually have characteristics of both identities but you are either one or the other. You can take particular characteristics saying that these are Canadian, for example, but you can't ever be real Canadian, you're still Portuguese (Paula).

> I guess that they would conflict when for instance, I would talk to other people about my Portuguese folklore dancing or that I eat Portuguese food, you get the sense that people [who are not Portuguese] don't care or understand. I've always had to leave these things or this part of my identity at home. And this has to do with people, I guess, stereotyping the Portuguese (Claudia).

Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) agree that luso-descendents may live in a kind of "cultural" conflict and that the youth may even become bi-cultural, the state in which he or she adopts aspects of both cultures, as a way of acculturating into the dominant culture (p. 81). While other respondents in my study acknowledge that people who have aspects of both identities, Portuguese and Canadian identities, may become "stronger" people as a result.

> If you're comfortable with who you are I don't think one identity can conflict with the other. It might make you a stronger person to have influences from both cultures and makes your knowledge even stronger; you have a stronger character (Alexandra).

Portuguese Language

Language is one of the first elements of the immigrant culture to disappear over the generations. It is also one of the cultural attributes that has the strongest effect in maintaining solidarity and integration in the ethnic group (Beswick, 2005, p. 99; Waters,

1990, p. 116). For all respondents, the language that shaped their early home life is Portuguese. Three respondents in my study emphasized that language is an important aspect of culture and the retention of that culture to continuing generations. Claudia and Luis make clearer declarations regarding the way they perceive their own identity when discussing the usage of language as a potential reinforcer of ethnicity. Claudia in particular feels extremely vociferous on this point, appraising the language behaviour of, and in particular, the use of English by Portuguese-speaking relatives as a betrayal or rejection of their ethnicity and quite clearly displaying strong ties with her Portuguese identity.

> In my eyes I think you do need to speak Portuguese to be Portuguese. For instance, my cousins are third generation and they don't speak Portuguese, I get frustrated that their parents didn't teach them Portuguese. It is a really big part of our culture. If I don't teach my kids Portuguese, the culture is going to stop so I think Portuguese is very important in being Portuguese (Claudia).

> Speaking Portuguese is very important to Portuguese identity. Portuguese people have more respect for Portuguese who can speak the Portuguese language. More than this, Portuguese language also represents our culture (Luis).

This last comment relates to themes raised in Fernandez's (1979) study where he found, that while outside of the community being Portuguese may carry a stigma of inferiority, inside it is esteemed, and one is encouraged to be and to speak Portuguese (p. 8).

All of the respondents are bilingual and some have one time or another acted as interpreters for their parents when contacting schools and/or government offices. Claudia, in particular explained this process as being very difficult and exhausting:

> When I was younger, I would go with my mom and dad to certain places and I remember they had difficulty in understanding what people were saying. I felt bad that they didn't know how to speak English; I wish they knew the language like they do now. So I had to be a big part of it, in the sense that, if there was ever any phone calls I had to be called and interpret for them. It was difficult at times for me. Especially when you get out into the real world with phone calls or going to places not Portuguese, or finding a job and they don't understand the language, or when they get out of the Portuguese community and they don't understand. I have to be there to rescue them and be involved in their life. That is difficult (Claudia).

As demonstrated above, not being able to speak English has a "spill-over" effect to the second generation Portuguese, some of whom, like Claudia, have described their hostility as young children when they were forced to become "financial and bureaucratic translators" and advisers to their parents, who could not speak English (Giles, 2002, p. 9).

In sum, respondents generally claim that from a very early age, they already spoke English outside the home better than they spoke Portuguese, except Alexandra who admitted to speaking more Portuguese than English both inside and outside the household. Such assertions may be viewed as an attempt to disassociate oneself from the Portuguese collective. Of all the respondents, Ana particularly appears to be the most uncomfortable with the notion of Portuguese ethnicity. Even though she claims to now feeling passionate about being both Canadian and Portuguese and realizing that her multifaceted ethnic background is not a source of shame. The discourse of the other respondents is indicative of their perceptions regarding attitudes to, and uses of, Portuguese within the confines of their families and indeed, within the wider Portuguese community, as a clear reinforcer of identity. In the end, all the respondents state that their parents at the very least use Portuguese with them, even if one of them inadvertently says something in English.

Portuguese Stereotypes

Many of the ideas people have about other ethnic groups come from the stereotypes that exist in popular thought. And in fact people also derive some ideas about their own ethnic groups from stereotypes. Sometimes, people measure their own experiences and beliefs against prevailing stereotypes – accepting or rejecting the images they are presented based on their own knowledge.

Ethnicities, like identities, are two-way processes that occur in the course of social transactions (Noivo, 2000, p. 159). "Whether identity emerges via ethnic ascription or subscription, by outsiders or by self-identification, is a purely analytical distinction" (Noivo, 2000, p. 159). In reality, all individual and collective identifications are the outcome of largely consensual definitions and categorizations by in- and out-group members (Noivo, 2000, p. 159). They construct or refashion their identities in relation to real or imagined differences with surrounding dominant and/or other minority cultures, and also according to their similarities with the ancestral group(s) with which they identify. This explains why Noivo (2000) elucidates the idea that ethnic identities are always defined "situationally – and thus liable to shift – connects personal experiences to external events" (p. 159). People will also derive descriptions even of their own ethnic group from a combination of popular images and personal experiences. Paula, for example, continues to negotiate her identity in the face of gender inequalities in her family, and what others of non-Portuguese background believe, according to Paula, those inequalities to be:

> Oh, yes there are definite stereotypes...Portuguese have big families, eat a lot of fish, they're very strict with their kids, there are huge gender differences too...boys have certain responsibilities which are very few, and the girls are supposed to cook, clean, be good wives, and be home right after work. This is something that I struggle with in my house, it's funny that with my brother, his actions are never questioned, when he is doing it, how and what decisions he has made is something that's never questioned. It's funny because I would sometimes tell my girlfriends that I need to wake up early the next morning, instead of saying that my mother wants me to be home. It's easier that way, so I'm not stereotyped that, that's a typical Portuguese home that girls need to be home. I'm not hesitant in saying who I am, I'm more hesitant on acting according to the stereotypes (Paula).

As discussed in the section entitled, *early immigrant experiences of first generation Portuguese*, the majority of first generation Portuguese in Canada are heavily concentrated in low-income jobs such as maintenance, construction, housekeeping, and

factory work (Noivo, 1997, p.16). According to Januario and Marujo (2000), to be a "cleaning lady", for instance, is for many women, one choice among a number of low-paying jobs (p. 108). And even though, a second generation of female professionals is slowly starting to develop, the Portuguese cleaning woman stereotype continues to affect the livelihoods of proceeding generations (Januario and Marujo, 2000, p. 108). Not surprisingly, respondents had similar reflections on the kinds of stereotypes that are associated with their parents' low paying jobs. Most of the respondents expressed concern of being associated with blue-collar jobs and as result they would often feel shame in relaying that information with others of non-Portuguese backgrounds.

> I felt ashamed in a way, you have people asking you what your parents do for a living and where does your father work, and I often had to be careful about what I said... oh, you know, he just works in a bakery. And end the conversation (Luis).

> I was always afraid to perpetuate the stereotypes that were made about the Portuguese community and this in a way caused me to have a negative view of what it was like to be Portuguese and for a long-time I identified myself as a Canadian and then Portuguese. But if someone said to me that I was Portuguese my instinct would be to say, no, I'm Canadian but my parents were born in Portugal so that makes me Canadian. I become sort of defensive to say I'm Canadian because of the way Canadian society views Portuguese people as having these negative stereotypes (Ana).

In general terms, though, the impression understood by the keen observer is that in Canada, the Portuguese image is still associated with low class, poor educated, and little prestige (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 64). This may be one of the reasons why first generation immigrants and subsequently, their children are ashamed to proclaim their Portuguese parental roots and as a result, try to hide their cultural backgrounds from others in the mainstream society (Oliveira & Teixeira, 2004, p. 66). Some other stereotypes mentioned in the interviews are outlined below:

> Men work in factories or construction...Women as housekeepers, childcare or homecare workers, all kinds of domestic jobs (Paula).

> Construction workers and cleaners...Women end up in domestic jobs (Alexandra).

> All Portuguese people clean, they clean houses, and men are also construction workers (Stephanie).
>
> I think Canadians have a stereotype of what it is to be Portuguese, and of many cultures not just Portuguese culture. They see Portuguese as being construction workers, not having education, and associated with blue-collar jobs (Ana).
>
> They are cleaners, labourers, in all kinds of low-paying jobs. The general population believes that's their purpose in life (Luis).

According to Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) most of the stereotypes subscribed to Portuguese individuals, including those related to first generation livelihoods, are in reality exact reflections of various studies that been made of the Portuguese community in Canada (p. 73-75). And although most of the participants confessed that these stereotypes continue to affect the way in which they interact with others in society, Luis and Claudia on the other hand, use them as motivation to strive for something better, and something that is different from their parents.

> I feel more inclined to reach a point in my life where I'm not doing those jobs, so that's motivation to strive for something better. *We have to work to apply those values and work them to our advantage or else we'll end up like our parents* (Luis).
>
> I think we are so lucky to have the opportunities to go to school, find employment, to be able to find different kinds of jobs. I felt that people, including my school friends, looked down at the Portuguese, I don't know if stupid is the right word but they thought that the Portuguese are less smart, not as smart as people who are not Portuguese. So sometimes I think growing up I felt that way like, oh, so you're Portuguese, so your parents didn't speak English, so you're dumb. I think that going on to post-secondary school, because a lot of Portuguese people wouldn't go to College or University, I proved people wrong and did something for myself (Claudia).

On the other hand, we can interpret participants' reluctance to proclaim their ethnic identity under these circumstances as internalized discrimination and fear of exclusion from the mainstream society. And even though, they expressed never feeling particularly excluded from Canadian society, their comments in this section however, give a clear indication that they in fact, do feel excluded and stigmatized when they demonstrated ethnic ties and allegiances in public. In reality, if they can truly call Canada their home

and the place where they belong, than there shouldn't be any feelings of stigma and/or fear of exclusion.

Identities of Second Generation

In this study, we can assume that those of second generation that did not assume solely a Portuguese identity are not strongly associated with the Portuguese community. In other words, they may have decided that access to employment and education and other resources would not be facilitated by promoting their ethnic identity (Giles, 2002, p. 95). Luis, for instance, expresses this concern in relation to how being Portuguese hinders their (second generation Portuguese) ability to achieve success in the labour market and therefore, chooses not to publicly promote his Portuguese identity:

> Being Portuguese in a way is a hindrance. We don't have the same opportunities that other groups have in Canada, like the English and the French, they own the labour force, we [the Portuguese] don't have the opportunity to get to the top. Growing up, I used to be more discreet about what my parents did for a living [cleaner and baker], I also think that as children of immigrants, we learned to be crafty with people that are not Portuguese because we didn't want to be looked at differently. *Looking back, there was some of that shame, that something is wrong here. So back than, I was more conservative in pronouncing my identity to people* (Luis).

Similarly, second generation Portuguese do not express the same ties to the land of Portugal, as do first generation immigrants (Giles, 1997, p. 388). However, although the allegiances of second generation Portuguese are directed outward, in many cases away from the Portuguese community and household in Toronto, they still identify themselves as "Portuguese" (Giles, 2002, p. 114). In other words, their experiences involve a degree of rejection of some aspects of the culture and politics of the older generation and are interwoven with struggles to overcome the stereotyping they encounter in Canada as second generation Portuguese (Giles, 2002, p. 114; Giles, 1997, p. 388). One participant confesses that certain aspects of "Portugueseness" (such as

hardworking and diligence) are important to his identity, but unlike his parents, who are "hardworking and diligent", and "won't go out of their way to learn the language or find employment outside of the Portuguese community", he chooses to use them in a way that takes advantage of other opportunities outside the Portuguese community.

> I believe I could do better, by applying the same hardworking, diligent ethics into my life, but I will do this through different processes, by learning other things, by meeting other people and taking advantage of other opportunities that my parents never had (Frank).

In addition, most of the participants in this study have also shown that they neither accept wholly the "culture" of their parents nor a "Canadian" cultural identity. They also show that rather than being a generation which will gradually but inevitably become completely acculturated into the dominant Western culture, the second generation of today possesses various advantages for retaining their ethnic heritage and cultures in complex and variable ways (Song, 2003, p. 116).

Second generation women are also challenging the politics of education and training for both themselves and their children, seeking broader choices of employment than those experienced by first generation women, and arguing for the acceptance of diversity inside and outside the Portuguese community on issues of sexuality, including choice of sexual partners and lifestyles (Giles, 1997, p. 395). Struggles by second generation women to redefine the boundaries of "Portuguese" identity and "home," seek to change their lives beyond the "home" and beyond the "Portuguese" community (Giles, 1997, p. 395). Paula outlines this kind of struggle in relation to gender inequality and her refusal to lead her life according to this, stating:

> I hope I don't raise my children according to the traditional Portuguese gender inequalities...I hope I'm not that way (Paula).

Place of residence also appears to reinforce the idea of group identity (Beswick, 2005, p. 99). As a consequence, participants maintain that in one time or another they've been surrounded with members of the Portuguese community, including having Portuguese neighbours and Portuguese friends. Over the years, this helped them feel acceptance and a sense of belonging to something larger than themselves. Claudia and Luis express this idea below:

> I guess living in a Portuguese neighbourhood all my life and having Portuguese friends, made me feel like I am Portuguese. This helped me growing up to feel like I belong somewhere. I feel like if other people, like Canadian people, were living in my neighbourhood, I think growing up would be different (Claudia).

> It affected me a little growing up, not that it impacted me in a big way because I grew up in Portuguese neighbourhoods, where everyone dressed the same and acted the same, so it helped. But you still couldn't help notice that your clothes for example, and the foods that you ate were different from your other classmates, and so the message was that you're different and you had less than them (Luis).

As far as integration into and acculturation with the host society are concerned, all the respondents feel extremely comfortable in the presence of English speakers irrespective of their place of birth and attitudes towards their own notion of belonging. Moreover, there was a certain amount of awkwardness displayed regarding the mother tongue employed by and with their friends. The fact that some of their friends are of other ethnic backgrounds, naturally implies that they speak with them in English. Yet, the situation is more complicated with their Portuguese-speaking friends. Most of the respondents would tend to use English anyway. Similarly, Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) found similar observations in the study on Portuguese youths in Toronto, where most participants stated that their use of the Portuguese language is "very rare" and prefer to speak English, even in the presence of their Portuguese friends and family (p. 173-74). In my study, they all speak English with their siblings and cousins and thus, English tends to predominate

when they are not amongst other family members. However, even though they refrain from speaking Portuguese on a regular basis, most agree that Portuguese language is an important aspect of the Portuguese cultural identity.

Finally, most admit to a degree of code-mixing when talking Portuguese, viewing it with negative connotations as signs of laziness or as a mistake when they cannot immediately think of the appropriate Portuguese word. As far as this study is concerned, the fact is, that English has played such a dominant role as the language of instruction has had a clear impact on the respondents' overall linguistic competence. All the respondents but one (Alexandra) admit to feeling, to varying degrees, more comfortable and find it easier to express their viewpoints, in English. Ana adds that she only prefers English as she thinks that her Portuguese is "not very good", and the other respondents voiced similar notions of insecurity regarding their competence in Portuguese, especially when visiting Portugal.

Past literature has observed that children of immigrant parents frequently reject the ethnic cultural heritage of their parents in favour of attempting to identify with the native-born Canadian community (Nunes, 1986, p. 30; Fernandez, 1979, p. 13; Anderson and Higgs; 1976, p. 134; Anderson, 1974, p. 169). Such observations in relation to my findings are quite misleading and highly outdated. Although, my respondents admit to taking certain "Canadian" aspects into their own lives, they have for the most part expanded their notion of identity beyond the boundaries of their Portuguese homes and communities. Even though many of the subjects have limited dealings with the Portuguese "community" (in joining associations or clubs or lacking the effort to speak Portuguese to their family and friends) some of their narratives reveal that personal

affinity for Portuguese culture has continued, even been rekindled, as they have aged. Claudia remembers that it had been "so important" for other Portuguese adolescents to be "Canadian" that "they didn't want anybody to know they were Portuguese" and so "they refused to speak Portuguese". Now as an adult, she admits feeling "proud to be Portuguese" and she can "talk about it" with others that are not Portuguese. Other participants in the study had similar responses of feeling on occasion, "proud" to be Portuguese as they became adults. Ana, for instance, claims to recently experiencing "a warm fuzzy feeling" around Portuguese celebrations like "world cup times" and says she "enjoys watching and cheering for Portugal" and "when Portugal wins a game", "it brings tears to" her "eyes".

Matters of Identity and Belonging

In Toronto, the density (in terms of high proportion) of the Portuguese immigrant population may play a role in the persistence of a Portuguese ethnic identity (Giles, 2002, p. 119). Even when the Portuguese language has been lost, there still remains a tendency to seek the company of other people of the same origin, in associative groups that take different forms, in each place and in each period, and have varied purposes and types of activities (Rocha-Trindade, 2000, p. 29). It is through such associations that groups of people of Portuguese origin have sought to identify interests that lead them back to their common reference points and that enable them to construct symbols capable of lending form and expression to such references (Rocha-Trindade, 2000, p. 29). "Intertwining the flags of the distant country with that of the present one is possibly the most frequent symbol and no doubt the one that best represents these 'hyphenated Portuguese' shared feeling of belonging" (Rocha-Trindade, 2000, p. 29).

At the moment, of the nearly quarter-million Portuguese Canadians, 160,000 were born in Portugal (Noivo, 2000, p. 162). While most share both the journey and the struggles to forge a 'new home' in Canada, 90,000 were born in diasporic spaces (Noivo, 2000, p. 162). For both groups, however, 'home' seems to be where they live and where they cannot live – a sort of "multiplaced" locality that some people recall as pre-migratory experiences and where others forge meanings and a sense of belonging built on "storytelling" and "transmitted affections" (Noivo, 2000, p. 162). Edite Noivo's (2000) *Diasporic Identities at Century's End in "The Portuguese in Canada"*, explains that some Portuguese report "feeling at home" only during their "periodic sojourns" in their native land (p. 163). Others refer to 'home' as their membership and social networks in their new communities (Noivo, 2000, p. 163). For both groups, the first- and second-generations, "home" seems to be where people recall as pre-migratory experiences and where others like second generation individuals forge meanings and a sense of belonging built on oral transmissions, not on particular localities (Noivo, 2000, p. 162). In real life, individuals construct and refashion their identities in relation to real or imagined differences with surrounding dominant and/or other minority cultures, and also according to their similarities with the ancestral group(s) with which they identify.

In sum, identity and belonging depends largely on the individual person and how he or she decides to express that identity is individually and contextually negotiated. To put it simply, people may retain some sense of their ethnic identity, but may be less interested in the cultural and organizational expressions of this identity (Isajiw, 1990, p. 6). Moreover, one may identify with being Portuguese by feeling an obligation to attend as many functions sponsored by Portuguese organizations as possible, or one may feel no

such obligation at all, yet identify with the Portuguese community in terms of obligations or some other basis. One may simply choose to live in Little Portugal as an expression of his or her Portuguese identity and belonging.

On another note, encounters between migrants returning or visiting Portugal and those who have remained "at home" reveal very different definitions of membership and affinity (Klimt and Lubkemann, 2002, p. 156). In reference to second generation, respondents were very adamant in saying that upon visiting Portugal, they experienced some form of exclusion by the Portuguese communities residing in Portugal. Here are a few examples of the forms of exclusion that were expressed in the interviews:

> I felt excluded in the way I speak Portuguese, the way I dress because we have a different style of clothing here. Sometimes, people thought I was American because of the way I dress and spoke English, so I couldn't possibly be Portuguese. I also felt really bad talking to them because I would have five year olds speaking the most perfect Portuguese, words that I wouldn't understand. I think they see me as an American, not Portuguese (Claudia).

> People always associate me with being the Canadian kid back in Portugal. There are occasions where I was ridiculed for that because of my inability to speak like they do, and their perception that for some reason I have more than they do (Luis).

As a result, those who went to connect with family and friends in communities in Portugal, expecting signs of inclusion and acceptance, were instead met with othering discourses, which discounted and often ridiculed their claims of Portuguese identity.

Noivo's extensive, ongoing observations of Canadian-born 'Portuguese' tell her that most are strongly socialized into a diasporic consciousness (Noivo, 2000, p. 163). In other words, the vast majority develop affective, 'symbolic ethnic identities,' which means that their 'Portugueseness' is anchored not by their linguistic practices but rather in their sense of belonging to that diaspora (Noivo, 2000, p. 163). In other words, regardless of their birthplace, the diasporic identities of grandparents, parents, and children seem constituted by both positive and negative sentiments towards their original

or even "imaginary homeland," in addition to both positive and negative experiences of exclusion and minoritization within Canadian society (Noivo, 2000, p. 163).

In general, we can also say that migrant identity in Canada is centered around being Portuguese, not around being from a particular locality. According to Klimt and Lubkemann (2002), the growing attention to the narrative construction of "home" and "place" within contexts of increased mobility has also led to a more complicated understanding of the relationship between notions of geographic location and notions of belonging (p. 148, 150). Thus, rather than assuming a common sense of attachment to a place of origin among dispersed Portuguese communities, we need to understand attachment as variously felt and construed within differently constituted spaces, institutional arrangements, and material conditions.

Final Thoughts

It must be emphasized that this project is in its exploratory infancy, therefore I make no far-reaching claims for the results I have indicated above. However, there are some valuable comments to be made based upon certain tendencies which have arisen and which will be explored further once the project is expanded.

The careful attention to changes, as well as continuities, over the generations helps render a complex and dynamic portrait of lives and identities in the making. According to this study, it would appear that participants of second generation descent illustrate complexity and diversity, and sometimes even conflicting notions in the ways in which they define themselves in and around the Portuguese communities in Canada and Portugal. Unlike their parents, the first generation Portuguese who have retained the Portuguese language, as well as close ties with their homeland, second generation individuals have not for the most part retained the Portuguese language, nor have they made any efforts to participate in cultural associations and/or clubs in the Portuguese communities, and certainly they have never lived in Portuguese soil. However, they strongly believe that the Portuguese language is a crucial aspect of the Portuguese identity and some participants have even emphasized their importance of retaining language for future generations. All of the respondents feel a close affinity to Portugal and things Portuguese and most of all an affinity and belonging to the Portuguese ethnic background now than ever before. It became clear in this study that ethnic identity within a community such as this one can be considered motivated by self in a given situation; you can feel a group member in certain situations but not others. Finally, it would appear that language preference and mother tongue are not necessarily contiguous, that the respondents' perception of their group membership is not totally reliant on them

employing Portuguese in every situation. Rather, at times the relationship between the two does indeed appear to be more for symbolic reasons and once again, the link with a Portuguese ethnic background would appear to be the strong reinforcer of identity. Unlike their parents, second generation individuals are more likely to be invested in belonging in the wider society, and they are also more likely to be deeply involved in transactions across the ethnic boundary than their parents ever were.

In sum, despite the constraints operating in relation to second generation individuals' ethnic options, there is substantial evidence that they possess a wider array of ethnic options than do their immigrant parents. In comparison with their parents, second generation individuals are more likely to engage in forms of "code-switching" and "ethnic reinvention", and are more likely to embrace "complex diasporic identities" (Song, 2003). Yet as creative as they may be in re-creating their ethnic identity, their ethnicity is also shaped by external forces beyond their control. They will undoubtedly be carrying their minority status for generations to come. Meanwhile, many of those born into these communities will have to rely on the recollections of their ancestors.

On the whole, I have accomplished my main purpose in this study and that is, to discover new knowledge and to gain a richer understanding of a particular social environment. For interpretative social scientists, a theory is true if it makes sense to those being studied and if it allows others to enter the reality of those being studied (Neuman, 2006, p. 87). Therefore, my interest relied on the validity and accuracy of my research findings rather than in the idea of a single version of truth. From the beginning of this project, my concern was to give a candid portrayal of social life that is true to the experiences of my respondents as second generation Portuguese. I hope my findings

contribute in some way to other future research studies and more importantly give light to possible policy consequences that need further addressing. Even if it means simply giving other Immigration and Settlement Studies students a different way of knowing and conceptualizing second generation identity, perhaps even, serving as a model for future Major Research Projects (MRP) on second generation and immigrant settlement. I hope it encourages other researchers to engage in second generation studies and use my analysis on the subject as a point of reference for a deeper elaboration of thought. My study also has possible policy consequences that need close attention. For one, social services should be extended to people of second and third generation descent, not just first generation immigrants. Being that immigration is an ongoing process, we need to go beyond first generation to better serve the needs of immigrant communities in Canada. As a result, my research has revealed the difficulties and reservations expressed by second generation Portuguese individuals and their relationship with members of the Portuguese communities and society at large. Therefore, with the creation of social services that address generational and ethnocultural conflicts for example, might help ease conflicting notions of identity experienced by people of second generation Portuguese descent. This research may also reveal that the school system is failing to serve the needs of second generation Portuguese individuals, specifically Portuguese males. And although, we can admit that they have a higher education than their parents, the argument is that they are not doing as well as other students their age. In addition, it seems local schools have failed to communicate with Portuguese parents, and failed to relate to Portuguese students and the Portuguese culture. Teaching children about the role which the Portuguese have played in the development of this country, for instance, is

a first step to replacing feelings of isolation and shame with feelings of belonging and pride in students of Portuguese background.

The question, however, as to what "being Portuguese" and performing "Portuguese culture" have come to mean to immigrants and their descendents merits further exploration. Given the exclusive focus of this volume on the Portuguese, one of the understandable characteristics of the collection as a whole is a lack of attention to aspects of people's experiences that are not defined in ethnic terms. There is, for example, no theoretical investigation of how people of Portuguese descent may also conceive of themselves in terms of their workplace, class affiliation, lines of political ideology, or gender. Given that identity is a complex interplay of multiple ways of engaging the world, it would be useful for future work to consider how versions of "being Portuguese" articulate in complex ways with other conceptions of self.

Other future elaborations on Portuguese identities may want to focus on gender differences within Portuguese communities, as a subject that needs exclusive attention. One respondent, in particular, expressed a major concern on how "traditional" gender roles in her family have impacted her life and how even as an adult, it continues to do so. It would be fascinating to tap into this theme, perhaps maybe looking at male and female perceptions of Portugueseness and their "divided" worldviews.

Along a different line of thought, I would also recommend comparative reflections of minority and immigrant communities to help us gain critical insight into the particularities of Portugueseness in Canada, as well as better theoretical understanding of how identity is shaped. Investigations on the broader 'Lusophone' or Portuguese speaking communities around the world who have been transplanted in Canada may be

considered as an area for future study. Also future investigations, for example, of whether Portugueseness is construed differently in Canada than, say, Cambodianness, or Italianness, or whether it follows a different course in the United States or any of the other numerous sites of the Portuguese dispersal will, I imagine, build a solid analysis on the subject and a different way of conceptualizing Portuguese settlement on a more global perspective.

Appendix 'A'
Interview Protocol

These are open-ended questions and the interviewer will probe and follow up on any themes or idea that emerge from each question.

Background Information

1) What is your age and occupation?
2) What region of Portugal did your parents come from (rural or urban)?
3) When did your parents come to Canada?
4) How old were they when they immigrated?
5) Do you know why they left?
6) Why did they choose Canada?
7) Did their whole family just come over or just them?
8) What did your parents do when they came to Canada and what are they doing now?

Questions Pertaining to First Generation and Portuguese Identity

9) Can you describe using examples of any incidents where your parents felt excluded in Canadian society?
10) Do you think Canadians have a stereotype of what being Portuguese is? Describe what it is?
11) Does this affect the way you see and/or define who you are? If so, how?
12) Would you say that being Portuguese is important to your parents?
13) Do they talk about it often with you?
14) Do they belong to any Portuguese organizations or clubs? Do you belong to any Portuguese organizations or clubs?
15) Do you have Portuguese friends?
16) Did your parents speak Portuguese to you growing up? How much was spoken, where and with whom?
17) Do your parents speak English?
18) Do you speak Portuguese? How often? On what occasions?
19) Did you grow up in a Portuguese neighbourhood? Do you live in a Portuguese neighbourhood now?

Questions Pertaining to Second Generation Identity

20) What does Canadian identity mean to you?
21) What does Portuguese identity mean to you?
22) Do you think a person can have characteristics of both identities without one conflicting with the other?
23) How do you define yourself with respect to Canadian society?
24) Has your identity changed over time as you grew older?
25) Did your parents early immigrant experiences challenge who you are and how you interact with others in Canadian society?
26) Has your Portuguese identity hindered or continues to hinder your personal and professional opportunities? If so, how?

Questions Pertaining to Belonging

27) Have you ever felt excluded by the Portuguese community in Canada?
28) Have you been to Portugal? If so, have you ever felt excluded by the Portuguese community in Portugal? (Give examples)
29) Can you describe any instances in your childhood or adulthood where you felt you belonged in Canada?
30) Can you describe any instances in your childhood or adulthood where you felt you didn't belong in Canada?

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