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# Selective Expressions of Portugueseness: Notions of Portugueseness among Second Generation Portuguese-Canadian Youth in Toronto

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SELECTIVE EXPRESSIONS OF PORTUGUESENESS:  
NOTIONS OF PORTUGUESENESS AMONG SECOND GENERATION PORTUGUESE-  
CANADIAN YOUTH IN TORONTO

by

Frederica Gomes, BA Honours, York University, 2006

A Major Research Paper  
presented to Ryerson University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in the Program of  
Immigration and Settlement Studies

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2008

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**SELECTIVE EXPRESSIONS OF PORTUGUESENESS:  
NOTIONS OF PORTUGUESENESS AMONG SECOND GENERATION  
PORTUGUESE-CANADIAN YOUTH IN TORONTO**

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Master of Arts  
Immigration and Settlement Studies  
Ryerson University

**ABSTRACT**

It has been noted that very little literature on second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth exists (Nunes 1986, Noivo 1997, Oliveira and Teixeira 2004, Trindade 2007). This study aims to build upon this by focusing on the social construction of what it means to be Portuguese in Toronto for second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. This is an exploratory, qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with 8 Portuguese-Canadian (Torontonians) youth. This study found, among other things that these Portuguese-Canadians, while very aware of the stereotypes often associated with Portuguese youth in Toronto, distanced themselves from them and selectively constructed Portugueseness based on a medley of positive and symbolic elements. I attribute this ability to actively select positive images and distance themselves from negative ones to this (small and non-representative) sample's above-average levels of education. This finding and hypothesis suggest the need for future research to further explore the role of changing/increasing levels of education among Portuguese-Canadian youth.

Key words: Portuguese-Canadians, Immigrant Youth, Cultural Identity, Portuguese Community

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## Table of Contents

Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Introduction:	
The Portuguese in Canada: A Historical Overview	3
Portuguese Communities in Canada: Toronto	5
Literature Review:	
Integration of the Portuguese Migrant into the Mainstream	8
Immigrant Youth and Assimilation	9
Patterns of Adaptation by Immigrant Youth: What Adaptation Could Look Like	10
Straight Line or Segmented Assimilation: How Adaptation Can Happen	12
Dealing with the Identity Issue – The Portuguese Case	14
Portuguese Immigrant Youth and the Educational Deficit	15
Resistance to Marginality by Portuguese Immigrants	16
Applying Notions of Portugueseness in Context	18
Methodology	20
Findings:	
Growing up Portuguese	23
Portuguese Parents	26
Portugueseness – How Portuguese Am I?	32
Thinking of Ourselves	40
Cultural Retention	44
Discussion / Conclusion	48
Appendix 1:	
Participant Biographies	55
Appendix 2:	
Participant Interview Questions	62
References	65

“Portuguese-ness’ seems to be a sort of internal space to which they regress in their fantasies, vivid memories, or wishful dreams.” – Edite Noivo (2000, 163)

The Portuguese have been migrating to Canada in large numbers since the 1950’s. In 1971, as many as 79,700 Portuguese immigrants lived in Ontario and Québec (Higgs 1982). Large Portuguese communities can be found in Canadian cities from coast to coast. This major research paper will look at the Portuguese-Canadian community in Toronto. Specifically, I will explore how second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth have created a social meaning of ‘Portugueseness’ in the construction of their public communities, private family lives and personal identities.

Having gone through the Portuguese-Canadian immigration experience myself, my interest in this topic derives from a need to learn more about the dynamics of my own people’s construction of ethnic identity in a third space where they are neither Portuguese nor Canadian, but a combination of both. The Portuguese community has always been very close to me and a part of my self definition. Since I migrated to Canada early in my life, the notion of ‘Portugueseness’ has been a social construction instilled in me through my family and community. I wondered out loud if this was true for other Portuguese youth in Toronto.

This study seeks to answer the main research question of ‘what does it mean to be Portuguese to second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth?’. Deriving from this question are subsequent questions such as ‘where have these notions been acquired?’, ‘how do these notions play out?’ and ‘how will these notions be passed on to subsequent generations of Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto?’. This study looks to analyze all of these questions.

This topic of study is relevant to the Canadian immigration and settlement experience because it has been said that one’s position in Canada requires comprehension in social, political and cultural terms, and not only geographical shifts. This implies that particular locations and

their intersections present different social, political and cultural issues. In the case of the Portuguese in Canada, their migration presents them with identity issues that they otherwise would not have dealt with if they had remained in Portugal. For them, what it means to be Portuguese was very likely irrelevant prior to their migration to Canada. Questions around identity are generally only posed in instances where the notion of belonging has become unclear (Klimt 2000).

For most immigrants, the query of belonging to the host nation becomes an everyday struggle. Dealing with this constant dilemma, immigrants preserve their previous national identity (frequently in the form of citizenship) while entertaining the option of returning. By doing this, immigrants are attempting to make the marginality that they face within the host nation, irrelevant (Klimt 2000). Thus, we can assume that in the Canadian context, immigrants have been retaining their Portuguese identity in order to deem less significant the lack of belonging that they may sense in Canada. Furthermore, in engaging with the possibility of returning to Portugal, they are reinforcing that they will one day return to *their* nation, as Canada is minimally a momentary place to reside, that is not their own. But is this truly the case for second generation Toronto-based Portuguese-Canadian youth? What does their Portuguese identity look like and mean to them? How might it differ from their parents?

This research paper begins with a literature review that covers a wide array of topics such as the integration of Portuguese-Canadians into the Canadian mainstream, patterns of adaptation among immigrant youth, theories of assimilation, issues of identity, the educational deficit of Portuguese-Canadian youth, resistance to marginality by Portuguese-Canadians, and contextual considerations to be taken into account when discussing notions of 'Portugueseness'. This literature review is followed by this study's methodological approach and findings from

qualitative interviews conducted with eight second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth residing in Toronto. The study's findings have been themed into the following sections: growing up Portuguese, Portuguese parents, Portuguese – How Portuguese Am I, thinking of ourselves (a discussion of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth in general) and cultural retention. Following the findings of this study, a brief discussion will be presented where the participants' integrative styles are compared to and contrasted with existing integrative styles discussed in theories found in the literature review. Further, I will discuss determinants of Portugueseness among the eight second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth interviewed such as geographical location and educational attainment.

In order to contextualize their experiences, below is an introduction to Portuguese-Canadians' history, and background on the community they have built in Toronto.

### *The Portuguese in Canada: A Historical Overview*

According to historical texts, the Portuguese arrived in Canada in the 1530's (Higgs 1982). Throughout this period, only a small number of men settled across Canada – resulting in bachelor communities. Due to the low Portuguese population in Canada during this time, Portuguese settlers often found themselves isolated from other Portuguese people. This was true for a number of centuries, until the 1950s when looking for agricultural and manual labourers to help build the nation, Canada looked to Portugal for its labour needs. An agreement between both countries resulted in the recruitment of men from all over Portugal in 1953. Originally, these men intended to come to Canada to earn enough money to offer them security upon their return to Portugal. Although many men planned a return, others opted to settle permanently in Canada. It was not until 1955 that the first Portuguese wife arrived. A wife's arrival was a significant factor in a man's decision to permanently settle into this new nation. Various

Portuguese men prolonged their stay in Canada and only later decided to “call for” or sponsor their wives. It is important to note that some Portuguese women were only called/sponsored some ten or so years *after* their husband’s or fiancée’s initial migration to Canada (Higgs 1982), resulting in very long family separations.

Portuguese migration to Canada was often the result of economic hardship in Portugal. During the era of great migration to Canada, Portugal was mainly an agricultural nation with a lower living standard than most European countries. Portugal’s economic status was largely a result of their lack of fiscal modernisation and urbanisation. Limited amounts of money were spent on the advancement of Portuguese companies, generally averaging at 50 workers. With foreign investment, Portugal’s economic situation improved. But the country’s economic surplus was being invested in costly African wars to stop independence movements in Portuguese colonies (Higgs 1982). The economic condition of Portugal and the forced conscription into military and naval services, often resulting in combat in Africa, led many to seek family, friends and acquaintances that could sponsor their migration to Canada. It has been documented that one Portuguese man in Canada sponsored as many as 200 people from the Portuguese island of Madeira within a 25-year span (Higgs 1982). Those who did not have potential sponsors frequently applied on their own. Independent applicants were normally unsuccessful, as it has been reported that only 5 per cent of new arrivals in the 1960’s were “individual applicants” (Higgs 1982). Because Portuguese migrants were by and large weak in their English and French proficiency, they usually failed in attempts to match their previous work experience with occupational availability in Canada. As a consequence, most Portuguese men took jobs in the janitorial sector or construction sites. Although many Portuguese people found employment in the Canadian workforce, most were stuck in menial occupations that did not offer room for

development. Thus, the Portuguese were scarcely interested in opening their own businesses and were far more likely to work for others. The Portuguese proved to be an invisible minority within Canada. It was only through a language barrier and large concentrations of Portuguese people in designated districts that Portuguese were made noticeable (Higgs 1982).

### *Portuguese Communities in Canada: Toronto*

Although the Portuguese have developed three large communities in different urban regions of Canada (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver), Toronto is by far the largest. As early as 1991, the Census indicated that 176,300 Portuguese people resided in Toronto. Furthermore, Portuguese was one of the highest reported non-official languages spoken in Canada, with only Italian and Chinese ahead of it. The community's initial settlement took place in areas now known as Kensington Market and Alexandra Park. Many Portuguese people settled in these areas as they presented affordable housing opportunities and access to nearby public transportation, for easy access to work (Teixeira 2000).

The neighbourhood north of Dundas Street, south of College Street, west of Spadina Avenue and east of Bathurst Street, commonly known as Kensington Market, was widely recognized as "home" for thousands of Portuguese immigrants from the 1950's onward. In fact, this reception area was the location for the first Portuguese-owned business in Canada during the 1950's. On Nassau Street, the first Portuguese Canadian Club was built. What was once known as the 'Jewish Market' became the 'Portuguese Market' or '*A Rua dos Portugueses*' (Portuguese for 'The Portuguese's Street'). As businesses and clubs were established within Kensington Market, home ownership began to increase as well (Teixeira 2000).

The Portuguese community in Kensington Market tried its best to make the neighbourhood resemble Portuguese architecture and decor with colourfully painted houses

(scarlet being the most liked) and front yards arranged with flowers, grape vines, vegetables and fruits. Sometimes front yards were dedicated to '*A Nossa Senhora de Fátima*' (Portuguese for 'Our Lady of Fátima'), with elaborate shrines constructed with flowers encircling the religious statue. Also, many displayed religious figures through *azulejo* (Portuguese imported glazed tiles) (Teixeira 2000).

In the mid 1960's and early 70's, the desire to purchase a home in a better part of the city led the Portuguese to disperse west of Bathurst Street. Eventually, the scattering led to the expansion of the Portuguese community. New boundaries were made between King and College Streets from south to north, and Bathurst and Ossington Streets from east to west. The 1991 Census informs us that the number of Portuguese living in 'Little Portugal' steadily decreased although the principal concentration of Portuguese people in Toronto remained within the confinements of the village (which was extended from Spadina to Lansdowne Streets and St. Clair West to King Street West) (Teixeira 2000).

Geographically the Portuguese have moved northwest within Toronto, to parts of the city formerly occupied by Italians. In addition to this movement, there has been a slow but stable distribution of the Portuguese to the suburbs and parts of Mississauga. For the Portuguese, Mississauga has become the prime destination outside of Toronto. According to a study conducted by José Carlos Teixeira (2002), the move is commonly made because Portuguese families are on a quest for the more modern 'dream' home (with a basement, backyard, front yard, garage, new kitchen and likeable environment amid superior schools that the children could attend) (Teixeira 2000).

The Portuguese community in Toronto remains, for the most part, both self-sufficient and self-contained. Throughout the years, the community has built organizations, businesses and

information centres functioning in Portuguese. They have become more institutionally complete, to include a wide range of services like grocery stores, bakeries, travel agencies, real estate agencies, furniture stores and of course, restaurants (Teixeira 2000). The role of the Catholic Church cannot go unmentioned, as it is commonly noted that this institution has played a significant role in the maintenance and advancement of the Portuguese community in Toronto, and in Canada on the whole. As Teixeira (2000) notes, the Church had a large impact on the way Portuguese settlement occurred within the city. What remains to be seen is the role it, and all other characteristically Portuguese-Canadian institutions, play in the present and future lives of Portuguese Canadian youth.

## Literature Review

### *Integration of the Portuguese Migrant into the Mainstream*

Numerous authors have looked into factors contributing to successful or failed integration of immigrants into a host society by comparing communities believed to have successfully integrated with those that have not. A recurrent comparison is that of the Portuguese-Canadian community in Toronto, seen as an example of a community struggling to integrate, and the Portuguese-French community in Paris, an example of successful integration (Almeida, 2000; Brettell, 1981). Brettell (1981) supposed the divergence between the two communities lies in the nature and structure of the Portuguese immigrant communities. Unlike Portuguese-French migrants<sup>1</sup>, Portuguese-Canadians have constructed institutionally complete communities<sup>2</sup>. Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) argue that the capability to function in Portuguese has stalled Portuguese-Canadian integration. Brettell (1981) argues that because the French state made it difficult for Portuguese immigrants to establish alliances in France, a community never formed which led to a sense of temporariness and forced integration (Brettell, 1981).

Authors like Nunes (1986) and Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) examine the extent to which the second generation of Portuguese-Canadians have integrated. Nunes (1986) developed models of integration into the mainstream ranging from inclusive integration to an absolute denial of one's ethnic identity, while Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) explain that second generation Portuguese-Canadians have not achieved the most significant components of successful settlement and integration: high educational and occupational statuses (Oliveira and Teixeira

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<sup>1</sup> The French-Portuguese have not built institutionally complete communities due to governmental restrictions. French state laws were strict and made it difficult for immigrants to acquire citizenship and own property (Brettell, 1981).

<sup>2</sup> Raymond Breton (1964) developed the notion of "institutional completeness" to explain the functioning of ethnic organizational structures. He argued that the presence of formal organizations within an ethnic community sets out forces that result in maintaining social relations of immigrant but also minimized out-group contacts.

2004). Similarly, Noivo (1997) explains that despite achieving an improved standard of living compared to the first generation, second generation Portuguese-Canadians have not successfully integrated.

### *Immigrant Youth and Assimilation*

There is a growing body of literature on immigrant youth. For example, Anisef and Kilbride (2000, 2001) conducted a literature review of immigrant youth, and concluded that immigrant youth in Canada face difficulties adapting because of identity development, language issues, clashes in values, and gender differences. Authors such as Steinhauer (1998) have pointed to the difficulty in maintaining the ability to adapt in stressful situations. Beiser et al. (1999) suggest that a positive connection to the youth's ethnic background is associated with healthy development and integration; while unhealthy adaptation is typically associated with socioeconomic disparities (also see Bertrand 1998, Fralick and Hyndman 1998, James 1997, Steinhauer 1998). In severe cases, the failure to adapt can lead to difficulties in the school system, depression, delinquency and a higher risk of substance abuse (Anisef and Kilbride 2000). Many believe that the only way to eradicate such problems lies in early detection and intervention (Anisef and Kilbride 2000).

The educational attainment of immigrant youth is believed to be a determining factor in successful integration (Oliveira and Teixeira 2004). Many believe that the school system can act as an agent in facilitating the integration but many authors such as Anisef and Bunch (1994) do not believe that this is possible given the current rigid instruction methods. Some scholars have suggested that in order for the school system to accommodate the distinctive needs of immigrant youth, they must be flexible and adaptable (Johnson and Peters, 2003). Stemming from unsuccessful educational attainment is the issue of access to employment and economic mobility.

Some scholars suggest that the first generation is too worried with their own integration to help (Peera 2003).

*Patterns of Adaptation by Immigrant Youth: What Adaptation Could Look Like*

Child (1970) describes second generation youth on a continuum, with three possible outcomes regarding ethnic identification: “the rebels” who completely abandon their own ethnic origins, youth who isolate themselves from the mainstream, and those who remain “neutral”. Berry has developed a similar scheme of acculturative attitude styles with four possible styles. First, there is the *integrative approach* which stipulates that the individual has adopted identification with two or more cultures simultaneously (Berry 1984, 1997). Berry (1984, 1997) reveals that this acculturative style is the best received in multicultural societies because it maintains positive identity and an acceptance of the other. Second, there is the *separation* pattern which occurs among immigrant individuals from racialized groups, and involves the complete self-separation and rejection of other ethnic groups (Berry 1984, 1997). Third, there is the *marginalization acculturative attitude*, which is difficult to define and is generally accompanied by puzzlement, unease, estrangement and feelings of loss of one’s ethnic identity. The fourth acculturative attitude is the *assimilation model*, classically referred to as the “melting-pot” because there is a loss of interest in maintaining cultural customs while cultural customs of the host society are adopted (Berry 1984, 1997). Berry (1997) believes that the *integrative style* is the least stressful and most desirable; while the most disturbing and harmful assimilative style is that of *assimilation* because it causes severe self-esteem consequences (also see Phinney, Chavira, and Williamson cited in Tonks and Paranjee 1999). In contrast, Tonks and Paranjee (1999) believe that the most stressful and damaging style is *marginalization* because the immigrant youth is shut out of both cultures.

Alternatively, Waters (1996) identified three patterns of ethnic identification specific to Black immigrant youth in New York City. Immigrant youth will either racialize (identify with other black Americans and become part of the underclass), obtain a hyphenated identity (distancing themselves from other black Americans while acknowledging their own ethnic background), or develop an immigrant identity (identify with their immigrant status solely) (Waters 1996). According to Portes and Rumbaunt (2001), immigrant youth would likely adapt by retaining their ethnic identity, adapt a hyphenated identity, identify completely with the host country or alternatively identify with a larger pan-ethnic background. The majority identify with hyphenated identities such as Portuguese-Canadian (Portes and Rumbaunt 2001). Ideally, the hyphenation of ethnic identities is supposed to symbolize the co-existence of two or more ethnic identities, but Mahtani (2002) argues that the acknowledgement of these identities are separate and distinct which continuously defines Canadian identity as superior while ethnic roots are placed outside the definition of 'Canadianness'.

Dyck and McLaren (2002) conclude that existing adaptation patterns are lacking because they do not accurately cover the meaning of adapting in Canada as they assume acculturation to be one directional. Dyck and McLaren (2002) call for an adaptation model that includes flexibility, nuances, and the influences of local, material, and social relations. By speaking to Portuguese-origin youth living in Toronto, I hope to uncover some of these nuances. My research also seeks to understand which category and model identified above, if any, most accurately reflects the experiences of Portuguese youth in Toronto. Like Dyck and McLaren (2002) I anticipate finding complexities and a diversity of experiences nuanced by gender and their current geographical location in Toronto (and proximity to the Portuguese community), which will be discussed and contextualized below, in more detail.

### *Straight Line or Segmented Assimilation: How Adaptation Can Happen*

Social scientists acknowledge that assimilation is not a popular term, so many scholars have tried to redefine it to make it more applicable to immigration studies (Alba and Nee 1997). Early on, assimilation meant political loyalty. It eventually transformed to refer to social integration, and later became understood as cultural integration (Karakayali 2005). Throughout the history of immigration studies, theorists have developed theories to explain processes of assimilation. One of the earliest assimilationist theories was developed by Lieberman (1973) and named *straight line assimilation theory*. Straight line assimilation theory can be described as the process by which each subsequent generation of immigrants are closer to total assimilation (Lieberman 1973).

Scholars like Zhou (1997) argue that not all immigrants adapt through a straight line assimilation model because there are various factors contributing to one's assimilation or lack thereof. For instance, class, race and social networking abilities are believed to influence the way in which an immigrant is able to assimilate within mainstream society (Zhou 1997). Authors specializing in classical assimilation theory similarly believe that culture, language and ethnic enclaves are disadvantages to assimilation (Child 1943, Warner and Srole 1945, Wirth 1925 cited in Zhou 1997). Factors that are said to negatively impact assimilation will become less important as these generations adapt to the host society's language and lifestyle (Zhou 1997).

According to Gans (1992), the second generation develops its own adaptation style in response to environmental pressures resulting in unfulfillable expectations. Advocates of multiculturalism such as Cozen (1991) do not believe that inevitable assimilation occurs but that immigrants are in control of shaping their lives and are not passive bystanders in processes of assimilation. Other scholars believe that today's immigrants follow the same path paved by

European immigrants before them (Waldinger and Perlmann 1998). Boyd and Grieco (1998) maintain that statistical data demonstrates that second generation immigrants either achieve equal or superior mobility compared to the first generation. This study is interested in which path second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth take.

Alternatively, researchers have turned to theories like *segmented assimilation* which takes four factors into account: the experience of the first generation, the speed of acculturation by the first generation, the roadblocks encountered by the second generation, and the available resources provided by the community (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). Proponents of segmented assimilation theory do not deny that immigrants will eventually integrate into the larger host society but their concern is *how* immigrants integrate (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). For instance, are immigrants joining the higher classes of society or are they integrating into lower classes, permanently at the bottom of society's ranks (Portes and Rumbaut 2005)?

Portes and Rumbaut (2005) point to classical issues confronting the second generation such as parental expectations to achieve a white upper-middle-class lifestyle, which are not possible for all second generations as race and bifurcated labour markets stand in the way (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). Attempts at realizing these dreams become a problem in itself (Karakayali 2005). Portes and Rumbaut (2005) acknowledge that immigrants of colour cannot easily escape their immigrant background like white immigrants. Jobs that immigrants filled during the 1960's are no longer available which means that in order to financially succeed one must cross the line from hard/manual labour jobs to jobs that require advanced training and education (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). Often, when the second generation is unable to achieve educational and employment success, downward assimilation occurs (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). I aim to see what paths Portuguese youth in Toronto follow and how they understand and experience them,

particularly because of the educational deficits so often attributed to Portuguese youth (more on this below).

*Dealing with the Identity Issue – The Portuguese Case*

According to authors such as Trindade (2007), Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) and Nunes (1986), the identity of second generation Portuguese youth is multifaceted and complex. Nunes (1986) argues that few sources have been published with reference to Portuguese-Canadian identity issues, noting that the identity of second generation Portuguese-Canadians is one of the largest voids in this literature. In fact, only four scholarly pieces specifically address identity issues within the Portuguese-Canadian community: Trindade (2007), Oliveira and Teixeira (2004), Noivo (1997) and Nunes (1986).

Nunes (1986) showed that this group faces a major struggle when it comes to identity and belonging within a third space - that is, neither Canada nor Portugal. Such struggles result in one of four patterns of identification; resistance, complete assimilation, indecision or “bi-culturalism”. Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) moved beyond Nunes’ work by accounting for numerous aspects of identity, including the home, education, occupation, the Portuguese community, language and culture. They found that eventually Portuguese-Canadian youth will assimilate into the Canadian mainstream, and the only question that remains is how they will do so. Trindade (2007) found that identity formations and constructions of belonging are dependent on the costs and benefits of belonging to the group. Filling the gap between Nunes’ literature and tangible qualitative studies administered on the subject of second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth is Noivo (1997), who not only demonstrates how identities are dual and complex but also suggests a continuum with the third generation. As we have and will see in the context of this literature review, the identity of second generation youth is extremely problematized and

much of the literature clearly suggests that these individuals are stuck within a limbo while juggling two or more ethnic identities (Trindade, 2007; Oliveira and Teixeira, 2004; Noivo, 1997; and Nunes, 1986). What is likely contributing to this is Portuguese youth's educational deficit.

### *Portuguese Immigrant Youth and the Educational Deficit*

A recent report on the educational standing of students by ethnicity conducted by Ornstein (2000) concluded that Portuguese students were considered at risk of educational underachievement. The study illustrated that Portuguese-Canadians had the largest number of individuals with elementary schooling as the highest level of academic completion and the lowest level of those who were university educated (Ornstein 2000). Approximately 6 per cent of the Portuguese population in Canada have obtained a university degree, a statistic only comparable to that of Aboriginal groups (Nunes 2003). In Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia, where 92 per cent of the Portuguese-Canadian population resides, individuals demonstrate very low educational attainment, twice as high as the general population (Nunes 2003).

This problem is reconfirmed in statistical data including the 1991 Canadian Census and the 1997 *Every Secondary Student Survey*. The academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian students in Toronto shows signs of persistence over the last four decades (Nunes 2003). Due to a high dropout rate in secondary schools, Portuguese Canadian students are highly underrepresented in post-secondary institutions. This problem seems to follow from experiences in elementary school, as many studies have shown that nearly 50 per cent of Portuguese Canadian students struggled with reading skills early on (Nunes 2003). Furthermore, schools with a high population of Portuguese-Canadian students achieved grades that were well below the average for schools that had comparable age and grade groups (Nunes and Januario 1996).

Literature surrounding the Portuguese educational deficit has tried to identify reasons for academic failure. Coelho (1977), Ferguson (1964) and Noivo (1997) highlight young people's contributions to the familial economy. Many studies have emphasized that Portuguese-Canadian children are more likely to spend less hours on homework (Nunes 2003). Coelho also highlights that the Portuguese Canadian familial system is very specific in its loyalty relations: a child's first loyalty is to the home, then to education, and lastly to paid work and the community (Coelho 1977). Arruda (1993) suggests that because parents are not educated, they are less likely to be involved in their children's academic career and hence not openly promoting it. Furthermore, their understanding of the educational system is poor, and therefore their involvement in the child's academic career becomes more difficult (Arruda 1993). Januario (2003) acknowledges that parents want their children to find better employment opportunities than theirs, but white collar jobs are generally a step up from the jobs that the previous generation was able to obtain, and without higher education, these jobs would be difficult to obtain.

Authors such as Boyd (2002) have concluded that for the most part, the second generation does not achieve less education than the first generation, especially in Canada. And while it is true that second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth do achieve relatively low levels of education, and there is an obvious educational deficit, the statistics remain clear – they still outperform the previous generation.

#### *Resistance to Marginality by Portuguese Immigrants*

Throughout the literature, the theme of temporariness has arisen repeatedly. Brettell (1981), for example, examines the temporariness that Portuguese-French experience due to their

marginalization in France. Similarly, Giles (1992) explores the temporariness of Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto when experiencing stages of aversion or when subjected to exclusion<sup>3</sup>. According to Klimt (2002), the condition of temporariness is occasionally provisional and used as a defence mechanism to overcome the marginalization felt in the host country. For instance, Portuguese immigrants in Germany have resorted to identifying themselves as European subjects to resolve the marginality they face in Germany (Klimt 2002). Certainly, the second generation is profoundly influenced by this condition and will regulate their identity accordingly. Nunes (1986) identifies a fear of return among second generation Portuguese-Canadians due to their parents' continuous yearning for the homeland. The notion of temporariness makes second generation Portuguese-Canadians doubtful of the future (Nunes 1986).

Noivo (2002) directs her attention to the Portuguese nation and observes how Portuguese immigrants feel misplaced outside and inside the homeland since the definition of Portugueseness classified by Portuguese inhabitants necessitates residence in Portugal. Portuguese immigrants in diverse nations have countered this form of marginalization by developing imagined ties with other Portuguese immigrants around the world (Noivo 2002). The ongoing exclusion that Portuguese immigrants experience has been the glue maintaining an imagined community (Noivo 2002). Feelings of non-belonging to the Portuguese state will

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<sup>3</sup> Giles describes Portuguese immigrant women going through various stages or feelings of non-belonging and wanting to return to Portugal as a result.

unquestionably influence the second generation of Portuguese immigrants worldwide, who by now already have an incredibly nebulous definition of what it means to be Portuguese.

### *Applying Notions of Portugueseness in Context*

Academics concur that notions of Portugueseness require analysis in their precise context which is especially noteworthy for my own study. I expect that second generation Portuguese-Canadian definitions of Portugueseness will certainly be different from the first generation, and even more distinctive, when looking at it from other stand points and their intersections, such as gender, age, educational attainment and class. Klimt (2002) stresses that indicators of Portugueseness need to be applied to their individual context and cannot serve universal purposes. Fernandez (1979) similarly argues that Portuguese-Canadians residing in Montreal regularly configure their Portuguese ethnic identity according to particular spaces; the homeland, the Portuguese community in Montreal and the household. Likewise, Noivo (1997) discusses meanings of Portugueseness in relations to generational differences, and Giles (1997) includes a critical gender analysis. Researchers such as Sarkissian (2002) and Klimt (2002) argue that meanings of Portugueseness have nothing to do with the physical or contemporary Portugal. Reinvention of a Portuguese identity entails stereotypical concepts. Folklore and food were also found to be essentialized and used as a basis for establishing Portugueseness. Giles (1997) examines how unequal gender roles have been essentialized as a notion of Portugueseness. Noivo (1997) argues that exposure to unequal gender relations at young ages permits males to associate patriarchal relations with notions of Portugueseness and not part of a larger patriarchal system.

Gender was additionally discussed in Reich and colleagues (2000) study on interethnic dating where research established that women are most concerned with endogamous dating

(Reich et al. 2000). Though both genders reacted positively to their Portuguese background and large social networks of Portuguese friends, it was the women who were most preoccupied with their parents' judgment regarding future dating partners' ethnicity (Reich et al. 2000). Noivo (1997) found that regionalism was an important consideration in mate selection as the first generation maintains strict guidelines about endogamous relationships. Oliveira and Teixeira's (2004) study analyzes the controversy existing between Portuguese immigrants from continental Portugal and Portuguese immigrants from the Azores. The differences were so stark that parents fancied and occasionally only accepted dating from within their own region of Portugal (Noivo 1997).

This study will look at a selection of Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto and their ethnic identity formation. I will specifically talk to a group of second generation youth between the ages of 20 and 30 to see the role their parents' Portugueseness, their gender, level of education and other factors and experiences have played in their notions of Portugueseness and identity formation. My main research questions are: how do second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth define Portugueseness?; how closely do they adhere to these notions?; and to what degree and how do they expect to retain their identity in the future? This query is a broader question that will allow me to pursue discussions regarding Portuguese-Canadian culture and assimilation among second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. Some of the chief discussion I anticipate to draw together from this study are issues regarding how social meanings of Portugueseness have affected Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto; what the influences are behind the second generation's meaning of Portugueseness; and how definitions differ within the group in question.

## Methodology

This is a qualitative study involving in-depth interviews with Portuguese-Canadian (Torontonians) youth. This study describes notions of Portugueseness<sup>4</sup> as depicted by eight Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto.

Two of the study's participants are considered "1.5 generation"<sup>5</sup> while the remaining six are second generation (see Appendix 1 for details). The participants are between the ages of 20 and 30, with an average age of 25. This age group was chosen as participants would have been old enough to have completed (some) school and young enough to either reside with their parents or alternatively have a very clear memory of their childhood. All were single (or in dating relationships, but unmarried) and all lived with their parents, except one female participant, who lived alone. There are equal numbers of men and women in the sample. Three participants (or their parents) are originally from the Açores, while five participants are from mainland Portugal. Participants were purposely selected on the basis of gender, age, and place of origin in order to better capture some of the diversity among Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto, while the sample itself was not scientific (a non-representative/non-probability sample).

This study is exploratory in nature, as no other studies have focused specifically on notions of Portugueseness among second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto. An exploratory study examines an issue that has not been previously studied (in depth) thus the researcher aims to develop more precise questions so future research can have a more focused discussion (Neuman 2006). That said, the purpose of this research is to begin a discussion around notions of Portugueseness for second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto.

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<sup>4</sup> By "Portugueseness" I mean the construction, meaning and performance of Portuguese identity by Portuguese immigrants and second generation youth.

<sup>5</sup> Born in Portugal but immigrated as children.

Recruitment of the participants began through personal networks and proceeded by using snowball sampling (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004). Being Portuguese-Canadian, I expected to easily find participants using the recruitment guidelines created but I had difficulty in recruiting male Portuguese-Canadian youth of Açorian background and consequently, all the males in this sample (or their parents) are originally from mainland Portugal while three of the female participants are of Açorian background. Noivo's (1997) has noted that being of Portuguese-Canadian background was beneficial when researching persons of the same background as it grants access and trust when engaging in field work but I found that such advantages came with some disadvantages. I found it uncomfortable to report certain findings due to feelings of betrayal of the participants in the study and of the Portuguese-Torontonian community in general<sup>6</sup>.

The findings of this study were collected through a one hour interview with each participant. Qualitative interviews are used extensively in this type of research to allow participants to reflect upon their personal experiences and answer in their own words (Neuman 2006). Interviews were held at a location of the participant's choice to ensure that participants were in a comfortable space, therefore some took place in participants' homes and others in quiet public spaces. Interviews were semi-structured, and so guided with a list of questions regarding notions of Portugueseness (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2004). Some of the topics discussed were parents, speaking Portuguese, growing up as a Portuguese-Canadian child, visiting Portugal, ideas of Portugueseness, Portuguese values, Portuguese-Canadian youth and the third generation of Portuguese-Canadians. Interviews were in English, and were digitally recorded for accuracy and data analysis. Digital records were then transcribed. Analysis involved looking for patterns:

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<sup>6</sup> In instances where participants shared negatives aspects of Portuguese culture or negative experiences within Portuguese culture, I found it difficult to report.

similarities and differences across responses, with attention to educational, gender and regional differences in their discussion of Portugueseness.

## Findings

### *Growing up Portuguese*

All of the participants have memories of attending Portuguese cultural events as children although some participants were more involved in the Portuguese community than others. Five recalled frequent attendance while three recalled occasional participation. João (24)<sup>7</sup> was the only one to recall negative feelings; “my parents went to *bailes* so we had dinner/dancing. It’s like a community dinner slash dancing thing that I remember being dragged to. I never enjoyed them. I was not social, very shy so that was sort of torturous.” Four participants said they attended mainly due to social reasons. For Afonso (23), it was a chance to socialize with friends. Manuela (23) also credits social reasons but states that they were the only chance she had to socialize with friends outside of school. “They wouldn’t let me do stuff on my own. They would have to come with me to feel safe so that’s what I did, they would come along with me.” According to Manuela, it was a great occasion to meet boys. “You get to meet new people, you get to meet boys and you get to dance with them!”

Two participants mentioned the importance of having Portuguese friends in relation to attending Portuguese cultural events. For instance, Afonso said: “I think when you have Portuguese friends and most of your friends are of the same background, you can attend these events. If I didn’t have Portuguese friends and I was the lone Portuguese teenager attending these events I probably wouldn’t wanna go so much but because I did have that, it was a little bit more comforting and a little easier to go.” On the other hand, Fátima (23) expresses how not having Portuguese friends became an obstacle to attending: “I don’t have a lot of friends I can connect with on that basis [Portuguese cultural events].” Afonso also mentioned that his attendance had to do with location, as when his parents moved out of a Portuguese area, his attendance declined.

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<sup>7</sup> Note that all names have been changed to help protect the identify and confidentiality of participants.

“We attended a lot less. I think it was because we moved away from the Portuguese community so we weren’t so in tune with these cultural events and the preparation for them.” Manuel touched on financial constraints: “My parents at the time were obviously a little tight on money and stuff like that so I didn’t really do anything with Portuguese organizations other than attend Portuguese school while I was young.”

Two participants belonged to Portuguese-based groups such as dance groups or musical bands. Manuel (28) is a member of a Portuguese philharmonic band and has also been connected to other Portuguese associations. Portuguese folk dance groups, generally called *ranchos*, are one of the many ways to become affiliated with Portuguese-based groups. One participant belonged to a *rancho* while growing up and two participants expressed their parents’ desire for them to join. Manuela recalls “My mom always wanted me to [join a *rancho*] but I never did.” Maria describes the way she felt when attending *rancho* performances: “I was kind of always there as a viewer and not so much a participant.”

Having Portuguese friends outside of Portuguese cultural events is another topic of discussion that many participants raised. For instance, five participants said that their group of friends was not limited to other Portuguese-Canadians while three participants said that the majority of their friends were Portuguese-Canadian. All three participants with predominantly Portuguese-Canadian friends credited the makeup of their friends to the community in which they lived. Manuela recalls: “I was living around Ossington and Dundas and I went to a Portuguese school where there were a lot of Portuguese.” Manuel adds: “Where I lived, it was predominantly Portuguese so they were all Portuguese - except for one.”

Rosário (30) explained that she did not have many Portuguese friends because her family moved to North York when she was in grade six. On the other hand, João states that although his

group of friends was varied in terms of ethnic backgrounds, he describes that all his friends are of immigrant backgrounds because he feels that he can connect with other immigrant youth:

It's funny because I noticed that among all of us we have a common thread of some sort of old understanding, because our parents come from another country, of rules of respect and how you do things of which is kind of lost among third and fourth generation Canadians – Canadians don't get that understanding.

Of the five participants who said that the bulk of their friends were not Portuguese, three stated that their best friends were of Portuguese background. Rosário said that although she left the heart of the Portuguese community in grade six, the Portuguese friends that she made remain her closest. Similarly, Maria states “My best friend for my whole life has been Portuguese but I only have a few Portuguese friends.”

Another aspect of growing up Portuguese in Toronto was attending Portuguese school. Four participants attended Portuguese classes outside of regular school hours and all went from attending after school to attending on Saturdays so that they had more time to manage homework or part-time jobs. Joaquim (26) discussed how inconvenient Portuguese school became: “You're a kid so you don't really wanna go to school after school. It's a little bit of a hassle because you have to go to school and do this on the weekend and spend like an hour or two.” Joaquim also spoke about his parents' desire for him to complete Portuguese school: “My parents were always on me to go so I guess I wouldn't forget the language.” João, discusses how beneficial and more advanced Portuguese school was, compared to “English school”; “While kids were learning about provinces, I was learning about Portuguese provinces. While I was learning addition in English school, I was learning long division in Portuguese school!” Afonso, describes Portuguese school as a great place to socialize with other Portuguese-Canadian children; “You got to interact with other young Portuguese students. Mostly you'd go there and end up speaking English, but you'd still interact with a larger amount of Portuguese students than you would in

high school.” Afonso also recalls that Portuguese school was the place where he met his current girlfriend.

In sum, it seems that that having and attending child- and youth-oriented (and appealing) social events early on in life are important in maintaining a high level of ethnic identification for these Portuguese youth. It appeared that it was not so much the events or institutions (schools) themselves that maintained the cultural appeal, but rather the social relations (friendships and possible courtship) that acted as the main “draw.” It is also interesting to note that the patriarchal control of daughters, as was the case for Manuela, and parents’ ability to supervise them, made these events appealing to both Manuela and her parents. Like Beiser et al. (1999), I found that the ability to positively identify with cultural events and institutions such as Portuguese school has much to do with the way that one associates with their ethnic background. The participants who positively identified with their Portuguese background also attended and had positive memories of Portuguese events and institutions in their childhood. The events also served to create and maintain cultural cohesiveness and homogenous/endogamous social relations.

### *Parents’ Portugueseness*

I asked participants to discuss how Portuguese they believed their parents to be: “not very Portuguese”, “moderately Portuguese”, “considerably Portuguese” or “very Portuguese.” I asked about parents speaking Portuguese, attending Portuguese cultural events, going to church, eating Portuguese food, visiting Portugal, having Portuguese friends, and watching Portuguese television.

Three participants rated their parents as “very Portuguese.” Manuela concluded that her parents are very Portuguese because “They are old fashioned - my mom says that the women should clean and cook, and the husbands should just come home and bring the money. They

[men] don't really need to do much." Manuel said "They [his parents] still follow a lot of the news in Portugal through satellite television, they follow the culture and they listen mostly to Portuguese music." Similarly, João said: "my mother still wants to go back [to Portugal] and we have to have live Portuguese news." João jokingly commented that if there was a level above "very Portuguese," his parents would fit the bill.

Three participants rated their parents as "considerably Portuguese." Maria and Fátima rated their parents as considerably Portuguese and said that their parents fit in this category because they closely identified with a Portuguese identity while Afonso had a similar answer to Manuel and João, who stated that their parents are Portuguese because they follow Portuguese current affairs closely through Portuguese satellite television. Interestingly, Maria notes that her parents' level of Portugueseness changes depending on the circumstances surrounding them;

I think it changes depending on when you would ask me because there are times when my father gets really connected to his culture depending on when soccer is on or he picks up a CD he hasn't heard in a while and then it's playing for the next six months.

Unlike Maria, Fátima believes that her parents can't be rated as "very Portuguese" because "Both my parents have integrated very well into the Canadian society but they both have a very strong Portuguese background and speak the language, are very familiar with our culture." Afonso also reflects on his parents' integration into Canadian society. Afonso states:

They [his parents] are basically assimilated into Canadian culture. They have more of a Canadian mentality now where they think more about their attire and they think more about their cars and houses. Back home in Portugal it was more about day to day living, a little bit more carefree.

Two participants rated their parents as "moderately Portuguese." Rosário feels torn by the response because she thinks that her parents were "not very Portuguese" but were also "very Portuguese" at the same time;

They were very Portuguese in the sense that they spoke Portuguese in the home all the time, they cooked Portuguese food all the time but they didn't really associate with the [Portuguese-Canadian] community a lot. They really kept to themselves so I didn't really know what was going on in the community, growing up. My parents didn't really belong to any kind of cultural association or really attend any of the *festas* [Portuguese cultural festivals]. We went to church a lot.

Similarly, Joaquim rated his parents as moderately Portuguese and offers a reason why: "I don't think they are really as Portuguese as they were or compared to other Portuguese families that I know. They lost a lot of their traditional stuff that they do back home."

Joaquim and Afonso identify Portuguese characteristics that their parents have lost over the years. Although Joaquim does not elaborate on the "traditional stuff" that his parents no longer perform, he believes them to have lost this because they did not surround themselves with Portuguese families. On the other hand, Joaquim discusses the "day to day living" mentality that his parents once held. Now with more materialistic values, Afonso believes that his parents have more of a "Canadian mentality".

Six participants rated their mothers and fathers separately and differently. The participants mostly spoke about reasons why their mothers were Portuguese. For instance, João discussed his mom's decision to return to Portugal and her insistence on watching live Portuguese television. Manuela mentioned her mother's views on traditional Portuguese gender roles and chore divisions in the household. Some participants also discussed their father's reasons for being Portuguese; Maria spoke about how her father's level of Portugueseness was dependent upon the music and the sports he hears and sees. It appeared that more mothers were considered to be more Portuguese because of the traditional family roles they embraced and reinforced, while more fathers were considered Portuguese because of their connection to Portuguese media and popular culture.

Five participants said that their parents spoke Portuguese in the home at all times. Two participants stated that their parents spoke Portuguese in the home to one another but not to them and their siblings, and one participant said that although his parents spoke Portuguese to each other, the language his mother used to communicate with him and his siblings was a mixture of English and Portuguese. Though this was the case with his mother, the participant only spoke Portuguese to his father, who could not have a full conversation in English. When asked why his mother learned to speak English and his father had not, Joaquim replied: “Being multicultural with other groups she [his mother] learned a lot quicker than say my dad because he was always stuck with Portuguese and working with Portuguese or always talking Portuguese so he never learned the language.”

All of the participants said that their parents attended Portuguese cultural events. Two participants described these events as religious festivities organized by local Portuguese churches. Three participants described them as social dinners and dances organized by Portuguese-based associations. And three participants described them as park festivals such as the traditional Portugal Day festivities held at Bellwoods Park and the more recent CIRV radio’s Summerfest held at Earlscourt Park.

Five reported a decline in their parents’ attendance, while three did not report a difference. Six participants said that their parents regularly attend church, Afonso stated that his parents only attend church during major Catholic holy days while João stated the following: “Although it is a big thing in Portuguese culture, my parents are not so much for it. We do have a lot of religious symbols in our house but we don’t attend church because for my parents, it wasn’t really a big thing.”

Four stated that their parents cook Portuguese food all the time while four stated that there is also a variety of other foods made. Joaquim said that although his parents mainly eat traditional Portuguese food, the children were always served other food; “They [his parents] always have their own type of food that they eat [Portuguese food], and we’ll [Joaquim and his siblings] have like pasta, fries or something like that. I don’t eat seafood, I don’t like seafood.” Afonso described that because he lived in an Italian community his parents learned how to make traditional Italian dishes, therefore, Portuguese and Italian foods are most common at his house.

All participants said that their parents have returned to Portugal since their arrival in Canada. Four described their parents’ trips to Portugal as very frequent and three stated that the trips only happen once in a couple of years. Rosário said that her parents only visited Portugal once since settling in Canada. When the participants were asked why their parents visit Portugal, all of the participants described visiting family and sightseeing. None of the parents, except the mother of two participants, expressed a desire to return permanently.

Half the participants stated that their parents watched Portuguese satellite television while the other four said that while their parents did not have Portuguese satellite television, they did watch Portuguese soap operas, cultural talk shows and news on cable television. Maria spoke about her parents occasionally watching Portuguese television; “On Saturday morning when they are getting ready for their day, they’ll watch something on T.V.” while João described the constant watching of Portuguese satellite television in his house; “We have the Portuguese channels available to us that are transmitted so there’s RTP, SIC, TVI, and even some Brazilian ones. My mother can’t even not have the station on. RTP [Portuguese news] has to be on because she wants to know what’s going on.”

As discussed by the second generation, the first generation remained very active in retaining Portugueseness through involvement in the Portuguese community, but most participants reported a decline, particularly as their parents aged or moved out of Portuguese neighbourhoods. It seems that while participation in local Portuguese cultural events is on the decline, indirect and symbolic ties to Portugal [which seemed to require little effort and commitment on the part of parents] are on the rise with a high number of participants reporting that their parents retain Portugueseness by remaining abreast of Portuguese current affairs through satellite and cable television. Visits to Portugal were also frequent. Though this fact could have potentially sparked a fear of return in the second generation, as documented by Brettell (1981) and Nunes (1986), the feeling of temporariness was not present in any of the participants interviewed.

Peera (2003) found that the first generation neglected the second generation's integration because they were too preoccupied with their own. I could not find evidence of this from what participants reported as their parents' experience. Like Nunes (1986), I found that some participants such as Afonso and Joaquim were concerned with their parents' growing integration into the Canadian mainstream. On the other hand, like Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) and Brettell (1981), I found that issues of isolation within the Portuguese community due to the ability to function only in Portuguese continued to stall some first generation parents from integration, such as Joaquim's father. That said, inconsistent with Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) and Brettell's (1981) work, I found that most participants reported that their parents had somewhat integrated into the Canadian mainstream. This gradual integration process of the first generation is consistent with Lieberman's (1973) view that eventually each generation integrates enough so that the next gets closer to full assimilation.

### *Portugueseness – How Portuguese Am I?*

Participants were asked to answer a series of questions regarding their Portuguese identity. Just as the participants rated their parents on an imaginary scale of Portugueseness, they also rated themselves on the same scale. Participants were also asked what makes them Portuguese by discussing what Portuguese values are, what makes them most proud of being Portuguese and what makes them least proud.

Only one participant rated himself as “very Portuguese.” According to João, he is very Portuguese because he maintains Portuguese customs, beliefs and practices. As an example, João discusses how Portuguese people believe in fighting for who will pay a bill (say, at a restaurant). Each person will *insist* on paying and “treating people” as a sign of respect or friendship;

Portuguese families always like to fight over who pays the bills. I’ve seen people throw money and each other, I’ve seen people hit each other’s hands, I’ve seen people fight over the bill, I’ve seen people sneak off and catch the bill before it hits the table and come back and be like... “It’s already paid for” and then there’s a small yelling match of “I’ll get you next time.

Two participants said that they were “considerably Portuguese.” Afonso explains “I consider myself quite Portuguese but I’m now half Canadian. I’ve lived in this country my whole life, I was born in Portugal but I’ve lived here my whole life. I consider myself Portuguese-Canadian.” While he did not see himself as “very Portuguese,” Afonso nonetheless saw himself as knowledgeable and proud of Portuguese history and language. Manuela on the other hand, who also rated herself as considerably Portuguese believes that she falls under this category because she enjoys travelling to Portugal and attending Portuguese cultural events.

Four participants considered themselves to be “moderately Portuguese.” Manuel succinctly describes his feelings of dividedness;

It's important for me to practice my background culture. I know it's important for my parents. However, being born here in Canada, I have to respect the Canadian culture also. I have pride in it too but you know, being of a Portuguese background and being Canadian is very important. Being Canadian is being a group of cultures together so it's very difficult for me to be very Portuguese like my parents. I'm Canadian.

All four participants who identified themselves as moderately Portuguese also identified themselves as Portuguese-Canadian. Fátima believes that although she identifies with both national identities, she does not consider herself Portuguese-Canadian. Instead, she chooses to identify herself as Canadian-Portuguese because she feels more Canadian than Portuguese.

Two who rated themselves as “moderately Portuguese” touched on the emotional side of their Portuguese identity. Rosário explains: “For me it's more of a feeling. I can talk to a total stranger and somehow feel connected.” In addition, both Rosário and Maria noted a difference between self-categorization of Portugueseness (how they would rate themselves) and how other people would perceive them. Rosário said that although she believes herself to be moderately Portuguese, others might not agree with her rating because; “I'm not married, I don't ever want to get married, I don't think I want kids, I don't really care about owning a house” -Things that others may perceive as very Portuguese. Maria believes that her lifestyle would not be considered very Portuguese by some, and explains that her idea of what it means to be Portuguese may be offensive to others because she believes her views are based on stereotypes - though she knows that Portugueseness is much more than stereotypes.

Joaquim rated himself as “not very Portuguese at all” because “people don't even think I'm Portuguese half of the time - I'm not running around with a flag or wearing a Portuguese jersey saying ‘yeah Portugal!’ To me it's like... whatever.” This also came through in Joaquim's responses to questions about Portuguese cultural events. He says: “I drive by and think that's too Portuguese for me to go.” Similarly Rosário discusses not feeling a part of the Portuguese

community; “When I was growing up I thought I was different from what Portuguese is. Like your stereotypes of what a Portuguese girl is, which I was nothing like.” This is a reoccurring theme throughout Rosário’s interview as she touches upon being perceived as ethnically non-Portuguese by other Portuguese-Canadians; “I always, without fail, get Portuguese-Canadians tell me that I don’t look Portuguese.” This feeling is not solely expressed by Joaquim and Rosário, Maria also stated: “I was kinda always there [at Portuguese cultural events] as a viewer and not so much a participant.”

The different levels of Portugueseness, and the level at which one stands compared to others of Portuguese descent is an important issue for some of the participants. At the end of each interview participants were asked if they had anything else to add. Following this probe, Fátima said

I would like to say that my parents are more Portuguese to me and probably less Portuguese to others and it’s really hard to define what Portuguese is because everyone is different based on their own lived experience. It’s [Portugueseness] changing and it doesn’t mean that you are less Portuguese of a person, it just means that Portugueseness is changing.

The notion of a changing perception of Portugueseness is a very important point, and one that will be further discussed below.

When asked to identify Portuguese values, four participants (three women and one male) said that family was at the core of Portuguese values. Five participants mentioned that hard work was definitely a Portuguese value. Two participants mentioned money and one mentioned purchasing property. Manuela also discussed the prevalence of traditional gender roles in the Portuguese value system, while Joaquim discussed cultural retention through endogamy as a Portuguese value.

Joaquim's discussion of cultural retention through endogamous dating and parental reactions to exogamous dating was also discussed by other participants. Manuel and Afonso stated that it was very important to their parents that they marry someone of the same background. For Manuel's parents, it is an issue of a language barrier, while Afonso's parents are concerned with cultural retention; "I don't think they want me to have a family, a house, and forget about where I came from and the things that we've done throughout the time that I lived with them." Currently Manuel is looking to date within the Portuguese community while Afonso is in a long-term relationship with someone of the same background.

Manuela and Joaquim stated that although their parents used to want them to marry within the Portuguese community in the past, they no longer expect this. Manuela explains "In the beginning, when I was younger, I remember them saying it [Manuela's partner] should be Portuguese but now I think they've learned that there are different nationalities, people get attracted to different people." Interestingly, Manuela is currently in a long-term relationship with someone of the same cultural background and even from the same small town in Portugal and has never seriously pursued dating outside of the Portuguese community. Similarly, Joaquim describes his parents' eventual approval of non-Portuguese partners: "they accepted the fact that 'if he doesn't wanna date a Portuguese, he doesn't have to... he's gonna marry what he wants, what makes him happy'. So to them, I sort of think they grew out of that [desiring a Portuguese partner for Joaquim]."

Fátima and Maria - interestingly, both women - stated that although it is not important that they marry within the Portuguese community, it is important that they marry someone who is of European background. Fátima explains "I think marrying into someone who is European is

[important] just because of that whole European values and identity being important to them [Fátima's parents]". Similarly Maria discusses the different levels of acceptance for her parents:

I think there is different levels of shock for them. I think if I were to marry somebody who is European that would be fine with them. I think if I were to marry somebody who is from a different continent, I think they would like and accept that person but I think it would take a little bit of warming up to the idea. It would be very different for our family and for our extended family but I don't think there would be a problem eventually.

João said that it was not important to his parents that he find someone of the same background. In fact, he mentions that all of the partners he's had of the same background have not spoken the language, therefore there is not much of a difference in being with someone who is Portuguese. João said that the only requirement that his parents have of his partner is that "she is respectable". Rosário, on the other hand, claimed that her mother actually discouraged her from finding a Portuguese partner. "My mother would tell me not to [date Portuguese men]. My mom, she came from a family where the men were very controlling and I think that's what she thinks Portuguese men are like which isn't necessarily true because you can find controlling men in any community. I never dated a Portuguese guy."

When asked what makes you most proud of being Portuguese, two participants answered that it's the Portuguese language. Manuela stated that "I like being Portuguese because if someone comes up to me and asks for the time, or whatever, in Portuguese... I'm proud to answer back in the same language." Joaquim in contrast, answered: "I would say nothing. Really, it's just another language for me. It's not like I celebrate anything Portuguese." Manuela genuinely expresses feelings of contentment and pride when discussing speaking Portuguese, while Joaquim discusses the functionality of speaking Portuguese: "it [fluency in Portuguese] just looks good on a resume."

Two participants stated that the pride and spirit that Portuguese-Canadians possess is what makes them most proud of being Portuguese. Fátima said:

I'm honoured to be Portuguese because people are very passionate. Everybody's really proud of being Portuguese and it's something you really like to identify with because you feel like you belong no matter how Portuguese you are... you feel like there's some serious connection or you can relate to those people.

Similarly, João stated that “the core factor is having this large sense of pride and togetherness.”

Afonso answered:

The history of Portugal really does make me proud. There's a lot to be proud of. A lot of things were accomplished and it was all done prior to recent technology and the new empires of the world. Basically, I can say that we were the trendsetters in that time.

Similarly, Rosário mentioned history in the context of being ethnically well informed of one's history: “I think it's important to know your history and your background” while Manuel said: “I'm gonna teach them [his children] the history, the rich history of Portugal.”

Two participants answered that they are most proud of being Portuguese because of positive characteristics that are generally attached to Portuguese-Canadians people. For instance, Manuel said he is proud to be Portuguese because

We are very hard working people. Our parents came here with mere change in their pockets not knowing the language. Canada has benefited a lot from Portuguese people thanks to their work in construction: we have hospitals for doctors because Portuguese people have built them. We have roads because once again, Portuguese people have built them. Canada has what it has today because we are builders.

Similarly, Rosário is proud of being Portuguese because “The community is very humble and I don't know if that comes from my particular context because my parents' roots were very humble. There is no arrogance involved. We're down to earth people.” Maria was divided between two reasons; she was most proud of being Portuguese because “It sets you apart from somebody else and I'm proud of the struggle that my grandparents and my parents have faced

and how far they've come." Manuel also talks about the struggle that his parents faced when immigrating to Canada in his answer.

When identifying what the participants liked least about being Portuguese one participant stated that he did not dislike anything about being Portuguese, the other seven participants were enthusiastic in their responses. Three participants discussed that they least liked the negative stereotypes that are attached to Portuguese-Canadians. Fátima said: "those same bad attitudes towards Portuguese like... aggressiveness, their laziness, their manual labour, their categorization, their perception to be uneducated." Maria stated: "I think there is a lot of stigma. People don't always expect the highest. I'm disappointed with the stigma that maybe I'm not as educated as other cultures or not as professional as other people." And Afonso said: "I would change the way people view Portuguese people as just being non-educated, the way they see them as being construction workers and plumbers and trades workers... discarding it as if it were a bad thing." Joaquim, could not think of a particular reason why he disliked being Portuguese but after the interview he telephoned me to say that he disliked Portuguese-Canadians who freely criticize Canada, as Joaquim believes that Canada has been a land of opportunity for his parents and many other Portuguese-Canadians.

Not unlike Joaquim, Manuel said: "I'm not very impressed with the fact that the Portuguese think themselves as being the centre of the universe. We tend to not have respect for other cultures, people of colour and stuff like that." Rosário described what she least liked about being Portuguese as being "humbled by authority". Rosário explains:

That's such a challenge in the community and that's something that I see; how parents really defer to teachers. It's probably cause a lot of them don't have a lot of education and the teacher in their community was someone to be respected and somebody more educated than themselves. I've seen that with my parents and not just with teachers but with occupations that have some sort of authority, upper

class occupations like a lawyer or a doctor. They'll defer their power to that person. In a sense you lessen your own value and your own knowledge.

Manuela discussed that she least enjoyed the strict and traditional gender roles. Manuela states: "Parents think that the women have to come home and clean, do the housework and everything and the husband just has to come home and eat. I hate that!" Manuela provides many examples of unfair gender roles in her house where her younger brother and father are clearly treated differently (and better) in terms of cooking and housework. "They [Manuela's parents] were more lenient with my brother because he's a male."

Overall I found that many of the participants felt divided between their Portuguese and Canadian identity. This finding is consistent with Nunes (1986), Oliveira and Teixeira (2004), Noivo (1997) and Trindade (2007) who have all expressed identity issues related to national identities in their works. But I would add that while "divided" these participants did not feel in limbo or disadvantaged by their divided identity. Like Mahtani (2002), and Portes and Rumbaunt (2001), many of the participants have resorted to hyphenated identities to preserve both ethnic identities. Fátima was even particular about the importance of the sequence of the hyphenated ethnicities. Interestingly, some of these participants also identified with other Europeans such as the Italians (including for mate selection). This finding is consistent with Portes and Rumbaunt (2005) who found that immigrant youth identify with pan-identities.

Association to Portuguese history was discussed by many of the participants, which ties closely with Klimt's (2001) work on representations of Portugueseness. In this case, most of the participants did not identify with the folklore image of the peasant or migrant; instead they represented Portugueseness through the image of the navigator.

*Thinking of ourselves...*

To discover more about what it means to be Portuguese and the ideas participants have about other Portuguese people, they were asked to discuss and describe *other* second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. The purpose of this exercise was to draw on stereotypical images of second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth and whether or not the participants included themselves in the descriptions offered.

Six participants were comfortable answering this question while two participants were not because they did not want to perpetuate stereotypical images of Portuguese-Canadian youth. Maria said “I don’t know if I could label a typical Portuguese young woman because (a) I’m not comfortable with that, and (b) because I don’t know enough typical Portuguese young women. I’m uncomfortable with ‘typical’.” Rosário said: “These are stereotypes and I actually don’t believe in them.”

The six participants who did answer the question provided mostly negative descriptions of typical Portuguese-Canadian youth. In contrast, Manuel stated that a young woman is “educated”, “smart” and “has good values” while a young man is “loyal”, “dependable” and “smart”. When asked whether he could use the appropriate gender-specific description to describe himself, he said that he could. Afonso, had a positive description of young women but a negative one of young men. Afonso said that young women are “bright”, “well-rounded” and “family oriented” while young men are “strong-willed”, “hard-headed” and “tempered”. He stated that he could not use the description for himself. Interestingly, Manuel and Afonso, who gave positive descriptions of second generation Portuguese-Canadian young women, both said that marrying Portuguese was very important. The only two participants who had positive descriptions were also the only ones that placed a high value to marrying within the Portuguese

community, while the remaining four participants did not think it was important to marry within the Portuguese community.

Joaquim and João had similar descriptions of both sexes. Joaquim said that young women like to “bicker”, “are always right” and enjoy “cleaning on Saturday”. Similarly, João said that they are “bitchy”, “commanding”, and “outgoing”. When describing young men, Joaquim said they are “loud”, “annoying” and “macho” while João said that they are “cocky”, “self-centred” and “macho”. Both participants said that they could not use the description they provided to describe themselves. Rosário and Fátima shared very similar descriptions of young women. Rosário said young women “marry young”, are “subservient” and “bossy” while Fátima said that they are “shy”, “not confident”, “introverted”, and “submissive”. Neither could apply the descriptions to themselves. In terms of describing young men, all three female participants gave very similar answers. Manuela said that they are “non-obedient” and “what they say goes”. Fátima said that they are “trouble”, “extroverted” and “dominant”. Similarly, Rosário said young men “wear baggy jeans”, are “into hip-hop”, “drive the low cars”, “pump gino beats” and “think they are bad asses.” Manuela had a very different description from other participants when it came to young Portuguese-Canadian women. Manuela described them as “less obedient”, “no values” and “outgoing”. She could not apply the description to herself because she “was brought up old fashioned.” What was most interesting in all this was that while they could easily identify negative stereotypes, none of the participants saw themselves as (negatively) stereotypical.

As a follow up, the participants were asked what they believed to be the biggest struggle for second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. Maria believes that there were no struggles:

I don't think they have any struggles. I think that second generation being born in Canada, the only struggle would be maybe identifying with their culture. That would be *maybe* a challenge in life but other than that there is no real struggle that is because they are Portuguese, in my opinion.

Five participants believed the biggest struggle is educational attainment. João believes that this is an issue because

What's most prevalent is so long as you're working you don't need to worry about school even though Portuguese parents push and push education, if their kids give up, they don't push them back in and they're like 'fine, you work'. They think it's some sort of punishment. He's getting into a job where he's going to make more money than a college or university graduate who will be \$30,000 and in debt while these kids by that time have banked \$120,000 or more.

Manuela agrees that the problem stems from a lack of parental strictness when it comes to education: "Maybe parents aren't as strict. With me, I did Portuguese school and I wanted to get out but my parents didn't let me. Now it's just 'you don't finish school, you are going to work'. There's always that other option. With me, there was no alternative." Afonso believes that the reason for the struggle with educational attainment lies with part-time jobs: "I notice more and more students going to part-time jobs that they later on keep as full-time jobs and tend not to fully commit themselves to their school. Education is the struggle."

Manuel and Rosário agree with João and Manuela but offer different reasons why parents are the problem with the second generation's educational deficit. Rosário states: "I think it goes back to that factor of your parents wanting you to be educated but not necessarily having the resources to help." Manuel believes that

Back then our parents had minimal education and now the Portuguese tend to follow that path. Just minimal [education] instead of maximizing their abilities to educate themselves; that's the biggest hurdle, to have them educated, to go college and university and get them good well paying jobs.

Fátima and Joaquim believe that the largest struggle is breaking out of the Portuguese community. Fátima said: "they probably struggle to feel they belong. If Portuguese-Canadian second generation youth live in the Portuguese community, it's probably an issue to break of that community." Joaquim answered: "Being Portuguese and staying with the Portuguese culture. I

guess I can see with some families it could be a big issue with relationships and staying with a Portuguese girlfriend or boyfriend or hanging around with other cultures like maybe African people. I've noticed a lot of Portuguese or even Europeans in general staying with white people. They are more racist to other races - I've noticed that a lot." Rosário touches on issues of identity and belonging: "...around identity I would say trying to find a space where you belong and incorporating both the traditional definitions of Portuguese and the way you have grown and changed in Canada with more modern definitions of what being Portuguese-Canadian means to you."

Overall, I found that many of the participants voiced a clear dislike of negative stereotypes associated with second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, which was not identified in any of the literature reviewed for this study. I also found that the participants were able to describe stereotypes of second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth although most of the participants were unable to apply their descriptions to themselves. In addition, most participants acknowledged that there was a struggle with educational attainment and identity construction among Portuguese youth, but again, they did not and could not apply this to themselves.

Consistent with Arruda (1993), some participants believed that the reason for the education deficit was due to the first generation's own lack of educational attainment. Further, as mentioned by Arruda (1993), although parents want their children to succeed in the educational sphere, it was acknowledged that they do not have the resources to aid their children to do this. In addition to this, like Nunes and Januario (2003), I found that, although the second generation of Portuguese-Canadian youth generally has low levels of educational attainment, it is also

worthwhile to mention that in most cases in this study, they have exceeded the previous generation's educational qualifications.

### *Cultural Retention*

Although the main research question focused on the participants' current notions of Portugueseness I also wanted them to reflect on the Portuguese community's future, into the third generation.

Participants were asked how much of their parents' Portugueseness they expect to retain. João said that he would retain all aspects of his parents' Portugueseness while six participants stated that they would retain some Portugueseness but not to the full extent their parents have. Joaquim said that he would not retain any of his parents' Portugueseness. When I asked them *what* they would retain, two of the remaining seven (Joaquim said he would not retain anything) said that they will try to retain the Portuguese language although they were doubtful of its feasibility. For instance, Maria said: "I would like to keep the language up but I don't know one hundred percent that I could say with confidence that I would because there's not a lot of people around me with the same language." Three participants stated that they would retain Portuguese culture by subscribing to Portuguese channels and occasionally attending Portuguese cultural events although it would be scaled down in comparison to their parents.

Rosário, whose parents did not have much involvement in the Portuguese-Canadian community, said: "I think I make an effort to appreciate things in the community more. I think I've started seeking out more things that are Portuguese now than when I was younger. I think I just see the importance of having a background and I don't want to necessarily lose that." Interestingly, Rosário looks back to her childhood and expresses disappointment that her parents did not push Portugueseness more. She says:

I never did [go to Portuguese school] and my parents never made me or asked me to. I didn't really have a desire to go until I was older and realized how important it is and how important language is to me. When I was younger my parents never forced us [her and her sister] or even requested that we go and join a *rancho* or take Portuguese language classes which I hear horror stories about people being forced to do that, but I also wish sometimes that my parents actually did initiate it.

Language became a theme of cultural retention for many of the participants. Those who are fluent Portuguese speakers (six of the eight) maintained that it is very important that they retain the Portuguese language. Most participants discussed issues of communication within the Portuguese-Canadian community and within their own family. For instance, Manuel said: "It's very important [to retain the Portuguese language]. It's very important that I have that communication with my parents and also it allows me to do things in the Portuguese community such as extracurricular activities." Manuela gave a similar reason to retaining the Portuguese language: "It's important because of my parents."

Other reasons mentioned for language retention included career qualifications. Manuela said "I have a job that deals with a lot of multicultural people and where I used to work before I was a translator for Portuguese people so it really helps out to know the language." Joaquim stated "I guess it makes you stand out more [to potential employers] than a person who can only speak the one language." When asked if he feels comfortable speaking in Portuguese at work, Joaquim said

It's not a hassle, it's just sometimes uncomfortable too because sometimes I don't know, like I'm an intermediate [speaker] but there are sometimes some things that I can't explain or I don't know how to explain and it's sort of nerve wrecking sometimes when you're trying to talk to these people in Portuguese and they're looking at you all confused and don't know what you're talking about.

Both participants who identified themselves as less than fluent in Portuguese expressed a desire to become fluent although neither was certain that they could make this happen. Fátima

said “I would love to learn the language fluently but there’s too much going on in my life and I don’t have a lot of time to connect with it.”

Participants were also asked whether they frequently visited Portugal and seven participants revealed that they regularly visit Portugal while one participant stated that although he had visited Portugal in his childhood, he has not been back. All of the participants said that they would never move back to Portugal and one participant said that although she would never move to Portugal, she would like to live in Portugal for an extended period of time. When asked why they would not consider moving to Portugal permanently, most participants discussed reasons around living in Toronto for their entire lives. Others discussed qualifications and difficulties in setting up a life in Portugal. João said “I’m used to hustle and bustle and as much as I can go there and relax, it’s different. Plus, I only have seven years of Portuguese school. I’d have to spend years catching up on my Portuguese.” Fátima said “I like being a Canadian and I’m not very familiar with what it means to be Portuguese and to give up my own personal identity to live in another space would be difficult for me to do.” Similarly, Maria said “I was born in Toronto so although I think it’s a beautiful place... it’s just not my home so I don’t see myself going there.”

When asked whether they wanted their children to grow up Portuguese, all eight said that they would like their children to retain Portugueseness. Five said that they will ensure this by teaching their children about their ethnic background. Rosário said “I think it’s important to know your history and your background but I don’t want it to be something that is forced upon them.” Other participants were keen to raising their children Portuguese but could already foresee potential difficulties in the process. Maria said

I would love to raise my kids and teach them about that culture and I hope to but I know that’s going to be a very big challenge because in life there are so many

other things that end up taking so much time. To say that I'm going to be this parent that teaches their kids everything, I don't know if that's going to happen. They'll understand what it means to be Portuguese and have a little bit of that pride in them.

Fátima describes the process that she believes will take shape with Portuguese culture in generations to come: "I want them to be aware and have Portuguese knowledge, be aware of the history and the language and some particular things but I also know that in reality that perception is not always gonna happen. It would probably get lesser and lesser Portuguese through the generations."

The six participants who said that it was not important that they marry within the Portuguese community realistically expected additional challenges in child rearing and cultural retention. Two participants raised issues of language. Joaquim said:

It would be hard on the kids trying to learn English, Portuguese and whatever [the partner's second language] but it would be good for them just to have some heritage at least [to] know where they came from - I guess I can take that into consideration too.

Similarly, João said: "If I marry someone who isn't Portuguese it would be more difficult and we would have to come to an understanding that 'they're both my culture and yours and they need to be able to integrate into both'." Despite this optimism, all participants expected that by the third generation, Portugueness would dissipate and the third generation's ties to the Portuguese community would weaken – consistent with the findings of a number of authors in the literature review (Karakayali 2005, Waldinger and Perlmann 1998, Lieberman 1973).

## Discussion/Conclusions

Although the purpose of this study was to discover notions of Portugueseness among second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto, I found that there is no one account that summed up the diversity of participants' experiences with Portugueseness. In addition, the participants' notion of Portugueseness becomes even more difficult to define when mixed with a Canadian identity. I found that notions of Portugueseness are clearly influenced by levels of adaptation into the Canadian mainstream. This finding is consistent with Beiser et al.'s (1999) conclusion that an immigrant child's ability to positively identify with their ethnic background is dependent on their successful integration. Like Dyck and McLaren (2002), I have found that there is no one adaptation theory that could universally apply to these Portuguese-Canadian youth. Dyck and McLaren (2002) have noted that acculturation is not a unidirectional process and most theories have not accounted for this. Similarly, Cozen (1991) writes that newcomers are not bystanders in the integrative process, instead they are active participants.

My own findings were best explained through segmented assimilation theory, as explored by Portes and Rumbaunt (2001). Segmented assimilation theory considers aspects that influence integration such as the first generation's level of integration, the speed of integration, roadblocks to successful integration and the resources available to combat roadblocks. The first generation's level of integration is significant because as Bretell (1981) has noted, the Portuguese-Canadian community in Toronto has had difficulty integrating due to the development of an elaborate and functional community that does not require those within it to reach past it. My own research shows that youth whose parents were "very Portuguese" and/or lived in Portuguese neighbourhoods, were also likely to have strong associations with the Portuguese community, Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) noted the same. In these cases, because the first generation has not

successfully integrated, the pace of integration is slow, directly affecting the assimilation process of the second generation. Interestingly in my research, youth whose parents moved out of Portuguese neighbourhoods were less involved in the Portuguese community.

The adaptive patterns developed by Portes and Rumbaut (2001) prove to be the most applicable to the participants interviewed here. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that immigrant children fully retain their original ethnic identity, take on a dual national identity through a hyphenization process, adopt the host country's national identity while rejecting their own ethnic identity or they adopt a pan-ethnic identity. Most participants of this study identified as Portuguese-Canadian or Canadian-Portuguese. Only Joaquim demonstrated aspects attached to the third pattern – rejecting his own ethnic identity. The majority of participants also voiced pan-ethnic (European immigrant) identities either while describing commonalities or in terms of acceptable marriage partners (also found in Waters 1996). None of the participants in this study demonstrated signs of resisting the host society's culture although some clearly differentiated themselves from it.

Other integrative theories including Child (1970), Berry (1984, 1997), Waters (1996) and Nunes (1986), identify very similar patterns of adaptation with at least one category dedicated to complete resistance to the host society's culture. Participants in my study do not seem to struggle with their identity the way these groups of authors suggest. Most of my study's participants tended to instead “pick and choose;” blend, embrace and reject elements of both Canadian and Portuguese culture. This is similar to Klimt's (2002) point about the second generation's retention of symbolic elements of their culture. I attribute this in part to my study participants' above average levels of education and the relatively low levels of stigma and negative

connotations stereotypically identified with Portuguese-Canadian youth that they personally felt applied to them (more on this below).

Second generation Portuguese-Canadians have faced a large roadblock, as identified by Ornstein (2000), linked to their severe educational deficit, which in turn has acted to stall their successful integration (Oliveira and Teixeira, 2004). Resources available to them to combat these roadblocks are equally important in their successful integration (Oliveira and Teixeira, 2004). Typically and historically, their main resource has been access to (decent-paying) manual labour, as Portuguese Canadians did not excel in education (Portes and Rumbaut (2005). But recently, with Canada's changing economy, undereducated segments of the second generation will increasingly find themselves squeezed out of manual labour to jobs requiring advanced training and education (as is the case for a large segment of the Canadian population). This in turn may and very likely has contributed to struggles with identity construction and a stalled or less successful integration into the Canadian mainstream. Participants in my research did not seem to face this struggle. Again, they were, for the most part, highly educated and therefore not typical by Ornstein's (2000) and Oliveira and Teixeira's (2004) account. This anomaly provides some interesting insight. That is, it is very likely that higher levels of education (replacing manual work in Portuguese-speaking economic enclaves) became their main resource in combating roadblocks, aiding in their successful integration into Canadian society.

Having said this, there was still considerable variation in identity construction and notions of Portugueseness within this group of participants. And this is consistent with Klimt's (2002) conclusion that each notion of Portugueseness needs to be explained through the context in which it was created. Let us consider how this unfolds among the eight participants studied here.

To begin with and to recap, the participants of this study were disproportionately well educated and therefore not the best representation of Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto (different from Ornstein, 2000; Oliveira and Teixeira, 2004). All participants of this study acquired post-secondary schooling and some have even attained Master's degrees. I found that the level of education was a determinant of how one comes to define Portugueseness and in this case, participants approached their Portugueseness very selectively. When describing stereotypical second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, most participants easily identified negative stereotypes, yet quickly differentiated themselves from these images by claiming that they could not use them to describe themselves. The participants' ability to selectively choose what they like and dislike from Portuguese culture, I believe, comes from their "non-stereotypicalness" as Portuguese-Canadian youth, which allows them to freely navigate between the cultures without having stereotypical labels attached to them. Selective choosing has resulted in superficial or symbolic representations of Portugueseness where only positive aspects of the culture seem to have been chosen, while the less liked aspects (macho, traditional, patriarchal, uneducated, etc.) are left behind. Thus, the diverse notions of Portugueseness among these participants is a reconstructed one that is seemingly more positive and symbolic than among the first generation. Interestingly, and in support of my hypothesis, this study's "least Portuguese" youth was Joaquim, who also happened to be the least educated in comparison to other participants. He seemed least comfortable with his Portugueseness, perhaps due to his proximity to stereotypes of Portuguese-Canadian youth. Future research could and should explore this further.

Another distinction or difference coming out of the participants' notions of Portugueseness is their current geographical location. Participants who remained within the

Portuguese-Canadian community seem more involved in Portuguese cultural events and other expressions of Portugueseness carried out by local Portuguese associations and clubs. Participants who moved away from the Portuguese centre voiced disassociation with other Portuguese people and therefore did not have Portuguese friends, which according to some participants, was key in becoming socialized in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

Originally, like Reich et al. (2000), I anticipated gender to be a determining factor in how Portugueseness is constructed and experienced but because of their education, I believe, and this group's way of selectively expressing Portugueseness through non-negative, non-stereotypical aspects of Portugueseness (rejecting machismo and patriarchal stereotypes and roles), gender did not seem to be a major become a differentiator. Some gender differences were apparent in their attitudes towards mate selection but only one participant, Manuela, voiced significant opposition to traditional Portuguese gender roles, which continue to affect her experiences and identity. The same participant stated that traditional gender roles would be one of the aspects of Portugueseness that she would not retain. All the others, male and female, seemed less affected and less committed to gender roles and distinctions. At the very least, their education may have resulted in them curbing (not admitting to or not voicing) their more traditional attitudes. As it stands, gender differences were not as apparent as I expected or as consistent as the literature showed. Future research should investigate participants with different educational levels to discover whether educational attainment is a determinant of gender differences.

When I set out to do the study, like Oliveira and Teixeira (2004), I was interested to see if there were differences in responses depending upon where the youth's parents were born (Mainland Portugal or the Açores). I noticed that notions of Portugueseness did vary in terms of these regional differences. Participants from the Açores did not seem as heavily involved in

Portuguese cultural events as the mainland Portuguese participants were. Those of Açorian background seemed to express more of an integrative/integrated (Canadian-Portuguese) identity than mainland Portuguese participants who, for the most part, still remain heavily invested in a Portuguese identity. Further, none of the participants of Açorian background attended Portuguese school, which resulted in lower language retention, while all the mainland Portuguese participants attended Portuguese school. That said, the sample size was quite small. Future researcher could and should investigate this further, and perhaps also investigate why this may be so.

In sum, while seemingly not very typical of the Portuguese-Canadian youth population, I believe that this particular group of participants is likely providing us with a unique insight into what Portugueseness might look like as Portuguese-Canadian youth seek higher education. Atypically highly educated, this group was able to articulately express a diverse yet positive set of notions of Portugueseness. I found that in contrast to Noivo's (2000:163) quote, which I placed at the opening of this piece, where she suggests that for youth, Portugueseness allows them to "regress into their fantasies...or wishful dreams," youth in my study were able to select and live with the desirable elements of their culture (their history, language, family values, work ethic, respectfulness and generosity) and actually discard their least desirable (machismo, undereducated, traditional, etc.) to construct notions of Portugueseness that were far from the stereotypes often attributed to Portuguese-Canadian youth. As a result, they had little difficulty in successfully integrating into the Canadian mainstream and in developing a positive Portuguese-Canadian youth identity. This is consistent with the work of Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001). While this has been a key finding of this research, it nonetheless points to the need for future research. I would recommend that more work should be

done on studying the impact of educational attainment, region of origin (in Portugal), social class background and gender. And this should be done using a larger, more diverse and more representative sample.

## Appendix 1

### Participant Biographies

#### *Manuela Silva*

Manuela Silva is a 1.5 generation Portuguese-Canadian, 23 year old female, whose parents are originally from central mainland Portugal (Estremadura). Manuela was born in Portugal and immigrated to Canada with her mother at a very young age. Manuela is currently unmarried and works full-time as a legal assistant while living with her parents. Manuela is looking forward to purchasing her first home.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“Being Portuguese to me means that I get to know a different language, experience a different culture and I get to socialize with people from the same culture as me in a multicultural city like Toronto.”

What I want you to know about us...

“We [second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth] are the same as them [Canadians], just we have different values. We’re all pretty much the same. I’m sure the Canadians love their families. We have pretty much the same values, the same upbringing just Portuguese have more values and stuff like that than Canadians. Understand other people’s nationality and be open.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Portugal day festivities at Trinity Bellwoods Park

#### *Fátima Alves*

Fátima Alves is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 23 year old female, whose parents are originally from São Miguel, Açores. Fátima was born in Toronto and lived in the city her entire life. Fátima is currently unmarried and works as a junior policy analyst for the government of Ontario while completing her graduate studies at Ryerson University. Fátima lives with her parents and is anticipating her admission into law school.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“To me the definition of being Portuguese is a variety of things; it’s a combination of family values and having a close connected family, having a large family, being able to provide for your family, to make a difference, to see your children grow to be successful. I think that’s one thing that I admire the most about Portuguese-Canadians; that they have tried so hard to make their children’s lives successful. That’s one of the things that I define as Portuguese... is eagerness to provide a better life for your family. I also think that another definition of Portuguese is your love of life and you’re very passionate, you’re very emotional, you’re very emotional about life all together. You’re sensitized by your society. You wanna know what’s going on. You love entertainment. I think that’s part of being Portuguese. I also think part of being Portuguese is based on religion. Those kinds of easy factors, those things that just fit properly. Hard working, I see as Portuguese. I see another definition as; you’re always reaching for the top, like nothing is ever good enough, you always have this momentum inside of you to do better, make more, to feel better and that kind of thing.”

What I want you to know about us...

“They [second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth] have this void ingrained in them where they are pressured to be a certain type of person, to achieve a certain type of status that could be a lot more. I wish there was more confidence in the Portuguese community.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Amália Rodrigues (fado singer)

*Rosário Cordeiro*

Rosário Cordeiro is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 30 year old female, whose parents are originally from São Miguel, Açores. Rosário was born in Toronto and lived in the greater Toronto area her entire life. Rosário is currently working full-time in a Toronto based non-profit organization. Rosário is unmarried and no longer lives with her parents. Rosário is excited about going back to school.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“I don’t know if I can define it [what it means to be Portuguese]. For me it’s more of a feeling like; I can talk to a total stranger and somehow feel connected even though in another context I would probably have nothing in common with them, or want to talk to them or even like them. So for me, maybe it’s more about belonging in the community than an actual thing that is Portuguese.”

What I want you to know about us...

“We [second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth] are like any other communities’ youth with our own specific challenges that deserve to be respected. We are not stupid, we are all thinking individuals whether we went to university or not. I’m trying to think of stereotypes that exist and how I would want to address them. So maybe also going to construction is not the only thing that people can do and for women it’s not only the service related jobs. I don’t even think that my message would be about Portuguese-Canadian youth, it would be about second generation immigrant youth in general because there are similar challenges across ethnicities. I don’t think mainstream media really acknowledges Portuguese-Canadians. There aren’t any Portuguese-Canadians in the media aside from Nelly Furtado. Even acknowledging that group [second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth] in mainstream media and that there are other groups that are invisible too.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Portuguese cock from the legend of the rooster of Barcelos

### *Maria Fernandes*

Maria Fernandes is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 27 year old female, whose parents are originally from São Miguel, Açores. Maria was born in Toronto and has remained in the city her entire life. Maria is currently engaged to be married and lives with her parents. Maria is finishing off her studies in teacher’s college and hopes to find a full-time teaching occupation. Maria is looking forward to her wedding next year.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“For me it has a lot to do with how I’ve been raised and the family values that I have and the traditions that I have in my life. Say... around holiday times I think we are different from other people here [in Toronto] and are more connected to being Portuguese. I don’t know, hard thing to articulate. I know in my heart and in my head what it is but it’s a hard thing to say.”

What I want you to know about us...

“Portuguese youth are the same as every other youth in Canada. Everybody brings in their own uniqueness and I think that’s what makes Canada, Canada. We’re intelligent, respectful and I think that there is something unique about every culture so I know that we bring something different.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Little Portugal

*Manuel Rego*

Manuel Rego is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 28 year old male, whose parents are originally from mainland Portugal (Estremadura and Minho). Manuel was born in Toronto and has lived in the greater Toronto area for his entire life. Manuel is unmarried and works as a construction project manager while living with his parents. Manuel is excited about his first property purchase in the upcoming future.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“It means that I’m a hard working person and that I have pride in what we do and what we have built.”

What I want you to know about us...

“We [second generation Portuguese-Canadians] are very underrated people. We are very hard working people. Our parents came here with mere change in their pockets, not knowing the language. You cannot compare us to others in Canada who are more integrated into Canada and

more successful in terms of the kind of careers they have and the real estate they own. Like I said, we came here not knowing a word in English and Canada has benefited a lot from Portuguese people thanks to their work in construction. We have hospitals for doctors because Portuguese people have built them. We have roads because once again, Portuguese people have built them. Canada has what it has today because we were builders.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Fishermen from St. John’s, Newfoundland

### *Joaquim Santos*

Joaquim Santos is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 26 year old male, whose parents are originally from northern mainland Portugal (Trás-os-Montes). Joaquim was born in Toronto and has remained in the city his entire life. Joaquim lives with his parents and works as a full-time automotive mechanic apprentice while completing his schooling in automotive mechanics. Joaquim hopes to open his own automotive shop.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“To me, it’s just mostly the language. To me, just knowing the language is being Portuguese and other than that; I’m more ‘Canadianized’ than I am Portuguese. I don’t visit Portugal a lot so to me it’s something I don’t know especially because I haven’t visited, I haven’t explored it, I haven’t appreciated it as much as I should, since I’ve always lived here in Canada. I’ve never left Canada or Toronto. I guess that’s the thing I’m missing that doesn’t make me feel so Portuguese.”

What I want you to know about us...

“It’s tough because I’m not really involved in the Portuguese community so to me I guess it’s not really a big deal. I can’t really say something because I don’t really go to those things [Portuguese cultural events].”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Portuguese cultural park festivals

*João Pereira*

João Pereira is a second generation Portuguese-Canadian, 24 year old male, whose parents are originally from central mainland Portugal (Estremadura). João was born in Toronto and has lived in the city his whole life. João is unmarried and lives with his parents. Currently, João is working part-time as a writer. João anticipates the unfolding of his career as a free lance journalist.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“To be Portuguese is having this large sense of pride and togetherness. Even though we are introverted and to ourselves, when the time comes we band together very well. So for me to be Portuguese is to have that pride and togetherness. So you’ll see... I joke all the time with my friends like ‘the European Cup isn’t just soccer, it’s the way that Europe decides wars because there is no more wars fought so the only way to defend your pride is to win the European Cup’. I have to admit that I was pretty nerdy and very much the social outcast so I don’t really get along with the Portuguese kids I met in elementary school but the Euro comes along and I will see them on the street cheering like you’re old friends even though I haven’t seen them in years and some of them I may even despise and we’ll be cheering like it’s nobody’s business. I see people from other cultures who can’t participate and they come in and they’re like... they feel like they’ll get into it and they get drawn in by that sense of pride and togetherness of when that happens. For us it’s like coming together and that’s what it means to be Portuguese to me, having that pride. If you don’t have that pride you’re not Portuguese because you don’t understand the culture, you don’t understand it or where we come from. We come from a long line of explorers, we have fought a lot as small as Portugal is, there has been a lot of fight for it and to understand that is to have pride for it.”

What I want you to know about us...

“We’re [second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth] a good bunch, we work hard, we do what needs to be done. A lot of kids working construction will do jobs that no parent want to see you do but work is work, pays the bills, feed the family. I do want people to know this because there is actually a stereotype that people within the culture don’t hear but if you talk to people outside the culture you’ll be like ‘you’re just cleaning women and construction workers, you’re drug dealers, you’re trouble makers who go around with loud noisy cars’ and there is this bad

stereotype of Portuguese youth and I would love to spread the word that they're lost. A lot of the youth is lost so don't take that stereotype and reinforce it. It happens in a lot of communities and the problem is that they have no choice but to fall into that stereotype because nobody will give them a chance otherwise. I think that Canadians need to see Portuguese people or anybody with these stereotypes and see that we are not all that way and there are people trying to change it. These youth are lost and they need help, they need to be pushed, be encouraged.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Portuguese bakeries

*Afonso Barbosa*

Afonso Barbosa is a 1.5 generation Portuguese-Canadian, 23 year old male, whose parents are originally from northern mainland Portugal (Minho). Afonso was born in Portugal and immigrated to Canada with his mother at a very young age. Afonso is unmarried and lives with his parents. Afonso works as a full-time sales manager in the automotive industry. Afonso looks forward to renovating his newly purchased home.

What does it mean to be Portuguese to me?

“I believe that being Portuguese means wanting to be Portuguese. I believe being Portuguese is speaking the language, understanding the history, knowing the country's origins. If you don't know where you come from then I don't think you can consider yourself from there... wherever that may be.”

What I want you to know about us...

“I would like Canadians to not focus on the non stereotypical Portuguese image and focus more on what the reality is. Praise the fact that there is some success in this community and that the success involves higher education and hard work from young students.”

The ultimate symbol of Portugueseness is...

Augusta Road (Kensington Market)

## Appendix 2

### Questions for Interviewees:

#### Opening

I just want to remind you that all the information you give will be kept confidential and you can skip any questions you feel uncomfortable answering. To help protect your identity, let's start by you selecting a pseudonym (a name other than your own that I can use to refer to you/some of your responses when I'm writing up my findings).

#### Parental Information Background

1. Tell me a bit about your background? When did your parents come to Canada? Where did they settle? Are they still there?
2. What would you say was the hardest thing for them to deal with/get used to once they came to Canada?
3. How "Portuguese" would you say they are? What makes you say that?
  - a. How often do your parents cook Portuguese food?
  - b. Do your parents subscribe to Portuguese channels?
  - c. Do your parents read Portuguese newspapers?
  - d. Would you cook Portuguese food, watch Portuguese channels or read Portuguese newspapers if you did not live at home?
4. Did your parents ever talk about moving back? Why? What changed their minds?

#### Language

1. Do you speak Portuguese and how important is this to you?
2. If so, how would you describe your fluency and use of the Portuguese language?
3. What language do you speak with your parents?
4. What language do you speak with your friends?
5. What about at work?

#### Growing Up

1. Growing up, did you attend events organized by Portuguese clubs or associations? Which ones? Can you tell me about your experiences with them?

2. Growing up, did you belong to Portuguese-based groups?
3. Growing up, did you have many Portuguese friends? Why?
4. Growing up, did you attend Portuguese school?

#### Visiting Portugal

1. Have you been to Portugal?
2. If so, when? Why? If not, why not?
3. Do you ever see yourself moving to Portugal to live permanently?
4. Do you think that Portuguese people from Portugal are similar or different from Portuguese people in Toronto? In what ways?

#### Portugueseness

1. So we talked about how Portuguese your parents are – but what about you? How Portuguese are you? (On the scale of 1 [not at all] – 10 [very Portuguese]).
2. What would you say makes you Portuguese?
3. What makes you most proud of being Portuguese?
4. If you could change one thing about the Portuguese in Canada, what would it be?
5. If you could pick one person, place or thing that could symbolize Portugueseness in Canada, what would it be?

#### Portuguese Values

1. What would you say are typical Portuguese values? Are these important to you? Why? How? Explain.
2. What would you say your parents would say are the most important things they want you to be/do?
3. How important is it for your parents that you marry a Portuguese person? Is this important to you? How important?

4. What would your ideal mate/spouse be like? What characteristics would you like them to have?
5. How important is it to your parents that you have Portuguese friends? Is this important to you? How important? Why?

#### Portuguese Youth

1. If you could use 3 to 5 words to describe the typical Portuguese-Canadian young woman what would they be?
2. If you could use 3 to 5 words to describe a typical Portuguese-Canadian young woman what would they be?
3. Could any of these words be used to describe you?
4. What do you think is the main thing that second generation Portuguese-Canadian youth struggle with today?
5. What would you say are your most significant goals for the next 5-10 years? Where do you see yourself in five or ten years' time? What do you hope you've accomplished?
6. Do you think your parents would be content with these decision? Why? Why Not?
7. Is your parents' approval important to you?

#### Third / Next Generation

1. If you have children, do you want them to grow up Portuguese?
2. How would you make sure this happens?

#### Closing

In closing, if there is one thing you would want Canadians to know about Portuguese-Canadian youth, what would that be?

Is there anything else you think is important to add that we did not touch upon in this interview?

Thank you very much for your time.

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