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PORTUGUESE-CANADIANS  
AND  
ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVEMENT  
  
A COMMUNITY-BASED  
PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH PROJECT

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
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Community Development and Counselling Psychology  
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### **Abstract**

For decades, Portuguese-Canadian children in Toronto have been underachieving in disproportionate numbers. Yet, little scholarly attention has been focussed on this group. Existing educational studies have been limited to school practices. They have not examined the larger-world social, cultural, political and economic context in which Portuguese-Canadians, live, nor its influence on their education. These have also failed to seek out the opinions of Luso-Canadians or ground their findings on existing research on minority underachievement.

The present study utilized a participatory-research, community-development approach to describe the important issues which are affecting Luso-Canadians. Comprising a first-ever, nation-wide needs assessment of Luso-Canadians, this 3-year project was entirely developed, realized and disseminated by community members. Data was collected from the 1991 census, 18 focus groups were conducted across Canada by local volunteers and a 14-page survey was distributed to community associations, churches and media.

The results showed that Luso-Canadians have substantially lower education and average income levels than other immigrants. Participants identified education issues as having greatest importance for their community, particularly the lack of English or French, the academic underachievement of youth and a lack of participation in job retraining. They also described the ways in which the Portuguese in Canada are educationally, economically, socially, culturally and politically marginalized and detailed how these limitations contribute to the underachievement problem. Finally, they discussed the roles of community, parental and mainstream attitudes in perpetuating these issues. Ultimately, a picture has emerged of a community which is facing the twin prospects of *social reproduction* - where disproportionate numbers of young people are entering the marginalized socioeconomic roles of their parents - and *cultural annihilation*, in the smaller and more remote communities, due to language loss.

This study also illustrated how the prevailing theory of minority underachievement John Ogbu's "Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance," (Caste Theory) fails to account for the academic difficulties of Portuguese-Canadians. These are best explained by the ideas of Paulo Freire, which describe the dynamics between dominant and subordinate societal groups. The pedagogical implications of adopting a "Freireian" approach to underachievement might shift the focus of educational strategies from simply decrying educational barriers to developing the capacity of Luso-Canadians to recognize and overcome their "limit-situations."

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

For most students, the deciding factor in the successful completion of a post-secondary education is often the presence of individuals who encourage and support them. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of minority students who originate from predominantly working-class communities. Having lived for most of their lives in a blue-collar and often traditional milieu, these young people must now negotiate their way through an environment that is marked by unfamiliar codes and expectations that are both cultural, as well as class-based. At the same time, the new patterns of work, role definitions and communication which are demanded of them within university often alienates these individuals from their families, friends and ethnic community. For these reasons, the importance of supportive and mentoring relationships is often crucial to the success of these students.

In my case, I was blessed to have encountered a number of people, who not only helped me to realize this study, but who also guided me throughout my years at OISE.

Firstly, I would like to send a heartfelt thank you to my Supervisor, Prof. Jim Cummins, who showed me his enduring friendship, patience and faith throughout the development of my thesis. A great deal of thanks also go out to Prof. Budd Hall, whose support allowed me to complete my dissertation, during the difficult years leading up to my mother's untimely death and my father's accident. My thanks also go out to Prof. Peter Gamlin for his advice and guidance and to Prof. Aaron Wolfgang, of OISE's former Department of Applied Psychology, who was my first mentor at this school. I would like to send a further special thank you to Ms. Ilda Januario, who not only coded the open questions in this study, but whose friendship and constant encouragement maintained my spirits throughout my years at OISE. Finally, I would like to remember the late Prof. Robert F. Harney, a warm and generous man, whose encouragement and confidence in my abilities gave me the self-assurance to attempt graduate school, at a time when I did not know where to direct my life.

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## THE CHILDREN OF THE IMMIGRANTS

We have no sad stories to tell.  
When we rub our hands  
together  
we do not squeeze blisters  
against our own skin.

But we have heard  
our parents lament-  
a moaning that began  
in the early morning  
did not cease  
till well after midnight.

They rocked us  
pretended love  
had existed all day,  
looked deep into our eyes  
sleeping,  
called us children.

They did the right thing,  
we'd tell them later,  
leaving  
families, friends  
to clean  
cigarette butts off  
office furniture,  
saddle cement slabs across their backs.  
We'd tell them  
look straight into their eyes  
wipe away the blood  
as if martyrdom was inevitable.

They believed us  
took our smooth hands  
kissed the palms.

They left the taste of pain  
upon our skin.

*Annabelle Gonçalves*

in loving memory of my mother

Martinha Dos Anjos Rosa Nunes

a woman of great intelligence and heart  
who is no longer here to see her son  
“begin his life.”

in honour of my father

Carlos D’Ascensão Nunes

without whose encouragement and support  
I would not have the privilege to be writing these words

# CHAPTER 1

## PROLOGUE

"...begin with yourself..." (Hunt, 1987. p. 2)<sup>1</sup>

### Beginning With Myself

One day, in the not-too-recent past, when I was still only a shy, serious, Luso-Canadian<sup>2</sup> youth in my late-teens, my friend "Mario,"<sup>3</sup> who had quit school a few years earlier to enter the work force as an unskilled labourer, turned to me suddenly with a pose of mock reprehension and asked, *"So, when are you going to quit school and go to work?"* I matter-of-factly replied to him *"I'm not going to work. I'm going to University."* He answered back - the beginnings of a wry, mischievous smile slowly spreading across his face - *"University? You can't go to University! You're Portuguese! Don't you know that Portuguese are not supposed to go to University?!"*

When this incident occurred, I had just recently begun to contemplate my future with a mix of ecstatic wonderment and gnawing anxiety. "Mario," who was one of my best friends at the time, had joined together with some of my other close friends who lived on the street (all of whom had also dropped out) and unexpectedly seized upon this opportunity to start "ribbing" me about my seemingly "outlandish" career decision. As self-conscious as I was about suddenly being made their focus of attention, I could not bring myself to defend myself against their friendly prodding. As "Mario's" comments washed away amidst the warm waves of youthful laughter, which had been born of our sudden shared sense of the absurd, they nevertheless left within me an indelible imprint; one which, years later, would often cause me to reflect upon that day, and upon the kinds of realities which had led "Mario" to voice this belief and which had accompanied us throughout our working-class, immigrant childhood.

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<sup>1</sup> David Hunt in his book Beginning With Ourselves, (Hunt, 1987) exhorts teachers, administrators and researchers to begin their work from the basis of their experiential knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> "Luso" is a term designating Portuguese and/or Portuguese descendants. Lusitania was an ancient Roman province, encompassing Portugal and parts of western Spain; territories which were originally inhabited by a people called the Lusitanians, who fiercely resisted the Roman occupation. This historical connection gave rise to the term "Luso" being applied to the Portuguese.

<sup>3</sup> Not his real name.

Part of the reason why I never forgot these comments was that this kind of teasing, about our futures, was *not* very common amongst my group of friends. Despite the fact that large numbers of Portuguese youth in our neighbourhoods dropped-out before graduating and despite our active participation in the ritualized labelling of those who had better marks or were academically overeager - whom we normally called “brownners” or “brainers” - nonetheless there remained an unspoken respect for those young people who had academic or professional ambitions. This respect was also granted for the simple fact that these kids were succeeding in a school system which, at its best, was proving to be a difficult ordeal for many Luso-Canadian children from working-class, rural backgrounds. At its worst, our schools delivered to a select unlucky few an overwhelmingly negative school experience (especially those who were biding out their time in the “purgatory” of Basic- and General-levels of study). These schools not only ignored most of what we had grown up with in the rural-based, traditional Portuguese culture which we lived at home, but often did little or nothing to help us to see that we could ever be other than what we were.<sup>4</sup> Thus, I remember “Mario’s” words because I sensed unspoken feelings of pride behind the friendly put-downs, on that warm, summer afternoon.

I also did not forget “Mario’s” comments not because of their inherent absurdity but, rather, because at that point in time, within the Toronto Portuguese community, “Mario’s” words were essentially correct. When he voiced these declarations, I *instinctively* understood - and agreed with - what he was talking about. Since the overwhelming mass of Portuguese immigrants to Canada in the 50’s, 60’s and 70’s, had been comprised of that segment of the Portuguese population that was of rural, working-class origins (most of which possessed four or fewer years of primary education) consequently, most Luso-Canadian children in our neighbourhoods grew up virtually without ever meeting (or even knowing about) any Portuguese who were university educated, middle-class or professionals. Thus, in the highly distilled and distorted social and economic context in which we had been raised, our notion of “*being Portuguese*” had been predetermined by a set of historical circumstances which most of us did not fully appreciate. Meanwhile the definitions of “Portuguese” which had subsequently

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<sup>4</sup> Ironically enough, this was the result of our schools not having exposed us to many mainstream, middle-class environments, (ex. work-places). One measure of this was that, up until the beginning of my university years, I was under the impression that my family was “middle-class.”

been constructed for us alluded exclusively to individuals who were ghettoized from the mainstream of Canadian society by virtue of their low education levels and who were restricted to occupations of relatively unrewarding, and sometimes unpleasant, manual labour. Consequently, our visions for our future extended mainly as far as to imagine ourselves as plumbers, cleaners or carpenters, (or for a few, more ambitious, individuals: Hairdressers, real estate, travel or insurance agents). Thus, for most of us, our notions of “*being Portuguese*” did not embrace going to university or entering into a middle-class lifestyle. Meanwhile, for those few who did contemplate this path, the future offered only a vast, empty chasm, with few beacons ahead to light a path, or point out the dangers.<sup>5</sup> In essence, the truth of the matter was, that part of me very much felt the same way that “Mario” did and was very much frightened by the personal implications of what lay ahead.

As I looked back on it years later, I also remembered Mario’s comments because this had also been the first time in my life that I had truly questioned why I had never before found such comments, or ideas, absurd. Upon contemplating entering university, I was now suddenly having to come face-to-face with my own definition of myself, as a Portuguese-Canadian, and having to contemplate exactly what it was that I might become. In essence, this conversation with “Mario” graphically highlighted the fact that I had never before questioned the extent of my conformity to the assumptions that were part-and-parcel of my social context.

There is little doubt in my mind that this reductionist definition of being “Portuguese” arose, in large part, as a consequence of mainstream Canadian society’s long-standing tendency to appropriate from its minority groups their right to create and disseminate their own public self-definitions, from the unique perspective of their own particular frame of reference. In essence, the mainstream of Canadian (and North American) society has a tradition of disseminating explanations of the cultural differences of its minority groups that regard these as expressions of inherent differences, or “deficiencies,” in *values* and *morals*, (rather than as expressions of similar values, which have arisen as an adaptation to different sets of social and economic conditions). In this fashion, the mainstream has denied its minority groups the right to create definitions which are based upon each group’s intimate knowledge of why they

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<sup>5</sup> No better proof of this can be found than by observing the fact that, many of those of us who have long finished university continue to struggle even today with trying to define ourselves and where we fit, within a community that still remains predominantly lower-working-class.

choose to act in the way they do, and not upon some mainstream interpretation of that group's cultural difference.<sup>6</sup> This tendency is one of the practices which has denied groups such as the Portuguese the freedom to create, define and express public identities from the unique perspective of their own particular cultural frames of reference. In consequence, what has traditionally been passed on to us immigrant children are the mainstream's reductionist, stereotypic and ultimately depreciative explanations for the practices and attitudes of our ethnic groups and of ourselves; a notion where words like "illiterate", "uneducated" and "simple" have been legitimized in our minds as being the only acceptable synonyms for "Portuguese," and where notions like "slow-witted", "unambitious" and "abusive" have been conjured up to explain why those from our culture appear to act in different ways.

Yet, it also did not help much that our parents' manner of dealing with the ideas which we inevitably brought home from school, and with which they often did not agree, was frequently to label these under the general rubric of a bad "English" or "Canadian" influence. This was the way which many mothers and fathers had of striking back at the daily dismissal – and occasional racism – shown towards them and to their culture, by the Canadian mainstream society of the 60's and 70's. Home is where they drew a cultural line of "no trespass"; the one place where they had a degree of control over their lives and their environments, and it was the one place where they most refused to be culturally alienated. Home is also where many fought

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<sup>6</sup> The tendency in societies which have deeply-ingrained historical notions of racial hierarchies, differentiation, segregation and stratification (such as amongst those of Anglo-Saxon and Germanic origins) has traditionally been to interpret different *observed customs and habits* as arising from differences in *values or moral integrity* in other cultures; in other words, in order to explain the lack of assimilation of the minorities in their midst to mainstream habits, they have assumed that these could only have arisen from "distorted" values and/or moral failings. Rarely have they been seen as adaptations to different environments. This tendency has normally been followed by a public pillorying of these cultures through the widespread creation and dissemination of assumptions and *images* which target the *postulated* underlying *values* behind those habits (and, ultimately, the "*moral worth*" of those cultures) rather than the adaptive usefulness of those practices. So, for example, in this environment, the cultural segregation of Jews and their struggles to achieve economic (and thus personal) security in the midst of centuries of persecution is regarded as an inborn tendency towards *deviance and avarice*; the habits and customs of African-Americans which have developed as a response to centuries of discrimination, and to the lack of employment and educational opportunities are attributed to *laziness, a tendency towards violence, and lowered levels of intelligence or "civilization"*; thus, in a similar fashion, the tendency amongst the first generation of Portuguese to maintain traditional rural habits and customs, to embrace manual labour, closely-knit family ties and networks of friendships (as a way which they developed to survive in a land of rural poverty and a feudal social order) is regarded by those in the mainstream as arising from *mental turpitude, inflexibility and lack of ambition*.

the most tenaciously against the increasing distance between themselves and their children.

More than anything else, this manner of protecting themselves from the alienation forged for them in society-at-large was, for many Portuguese immigrant children, the most destructive practice in which our parents could have engaged. Their defensive reaction to the cultural and economic hegemony of urban, North American society greatly exacerbated for us the notion of a cultural duality; one in which the arguments of conservative versus progressive thought, rural versus urban lifestyles, social and technological change versus the maintenance of traditional practices, and the conflict between the generations were continually being confused with, and explained in terms of, notions of ethnic allegiances.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in this climate, the simple act of wearing blue-jeans was often regarded by some Portuguese-Canadians in the 1970's as a sign of acquiescence to "Canadian" habits, rather than as a world-wide fashion trend amongst all youth. Similarly, the desire to further one's education in order to become "somebody" was, in the highly monochromatic social environment of the Luso-Canadian community of the 60's and 70's, sometimes assumed by some individuals in both the Portuguese as well as in the mainstream communities as being part-and-parcel of a desire to leave behind one's ethnic roots.

Although we did not perceive it at the time, these notions of "being Portuguese", which my friends and I held, were also invariably bound up with, and inseparable from the particular attitudes regarding social class and status, which our parents had brought with them from Portugal. My parents, (along with the vast majority of those Portuguese over fifty years of age who immigrated to this country), were raised in the class-based, rigidly-segmented, quasi-feudalistic society of the Portugal of the 1940's and 1950's. Under the Salazar dictatorship, this was a society where the rich, powerful and educated, at best, ignored the plight of the rural peasant and, at worst, often exploited or abused rural and working-class people. My parents, like their contemporaries, were brought up distrusting and denigrating many of the elites of that society. Thus, for them, the act of casually casting disparaging remarks amongst themselves at those people whose higher education afforded them some position of leadership in their village or region often became a cultural demarcant: A bonding

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<sup>7</sup> Years later, upon returning to Portugal, many of the immigrant Portuguese of my parents' generation and rural origins were surprised and disenchanted to find that both young and old alike had – in their absence – taken to wearing blue-jeans.

ritual of the culture of poor, rural Portuguese. Thus, the deprecation behind the expression "senhores Doutores"<sup>8</sup> – a term that is often used to sarcastically demean one or another professional who has somehow interfered in our lives – was as instantly familiar to us as to those Portuguese of my parent's generation, with whom we were raised, and such attitudes were a common fixture of our working-class, Portuguese-Canadian home-lives.

Unbeknownst to my parents, this was one of the realities of traditional, rural Portuguese culture which for me, held major implications for my considerations regarding my future:<sup>9</sup> While my mother and father saw little or no contradiction in denigrating the educational or political elites of our community while simultaneously encouraging me to become one of these myself, I – nonetheless – was left inevitably disquieted by the prospect of becoming the very person that I had always been brought up to distrust.<sup>10</sup>

Because of these deeply held assumptions, there was also emerging within me a growing sense of guilt; a nagging ache on my conscience, which had slowly begun to well-up inside; a sense of shame for wanting to enter into an experience which – in my mind – would drive me ever further from my Portuguese roots. The fact was that, despite my parents' continuing approval and their support of my decision to go to university, I harboured a deep anxiety that, by so doing, I would somehow be "betraying" my Portuguese heritage.

Thus, not only did I feel shame for wanting to embrace an institution which embodied many of the mainstream norms and ideas which my parents frequently rejected in our home, but I also felt culpable for feeling the desire to follow a path that had been atypical for my rural grandparents and great-grandparents, my urban working-class parents, and for the great majority of the Portuguese immigrant youth coming out of Toronto's high schools, during

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<sup>8</sup> In English, this would be analogous to calling educated individuals by the sarcastic term "their lordships."

<sup>9</sup> Although to be truthful, at the time, I still had not understood this too well.

<sup>10</sup> I would hazard to guess that this may also be a partial explanation for the great hesitancy displayed by many of the children of the Portuguese immigrants in Toronto, to assume positions of leadership in our community. As one Portuguese succinctly described the apathy of the Luso-Canadian generation of two decades ago "They are not doing anything wrong, but they are not doing anything right, either" (Slinger, 1971). Although today the situation has become somewhat improved, there still exists a great deal of reluctance amongst many young people in this community to become involved in positions of political and cultural leadership, since many of them know the depth of distrust and hostility that they will have to suffer people in the community.

those years.

Richard Rodriguez, an American writer of Mexican descent, has written in his autobiography, Hunger for Memory, about these same feelings of psychological departure from his community and of the sensations of guilt and shame which this occasioned,

What I am about to say to you has taken me more than twenty years to admit: A *primary reason for my success in the classroom was that I couldn't forget that schooling was changing me and separating me from the life I enjoyed before becoming a student*, [italics in original]. That simple realization! For years I never spoke to anyone about it. Never mentioned a thing to my family or my teachers or classmates. From a very early age, I understood enough, just enough about my classroom experiences to keep what I knew repressed, hidden beneath layers of embarrassment. Not until my last months as a graduate student, nearly thirty years old, was it possible for me to think much about the reasons for my academic success. Only then. At the end of my schooling, I needed to determine how far I had moved from my past. (Rodriguez, 1982, p. 45)

I intended to hurt my mother and father. I was still angry at them for having encouraged me toward classroom English. But gradually this anger was exhausted, replaced by guilt as school grew more and more attractive to me. (Rodriguez, 1982, p. 50)

The uneasiness which I felt was also accompanied throughout the years by the inclination to interpret my decision to continue studying as a sign of vanity, laziness and as a general lack of industriousness. In fact, this impression has continually been reinforced throughout my university education and the subsequent “white-collar” employment opportunities which these have afforded me through the ever-present, nagging feeling that I am not really “working” and by a constant questioning of myself as to why I am supposedly seeking to be “better” than my family, my friends or my acquaintances (who, often in my mind, are still the only ones who truly “work” for a living). This question has been especially poignant for me at those times when friends or family inevitably ask me what, and why, I am still doing in school and these types of conversations have seldom failed to send me into pangs of self-doubt.

Yet, this is not a feeling which was exclusive to me. Da Cunha (1977) has described a much similar way of regarding higher education amongst certain rural Portuguese families.

For these rural families, to study longer is also a sign of hubris (i.e. an attempt to escape the social conditions of the family) and, therefore, an insult to those

who accept those conditions. (Da Cunha, 1977, p.7).<sup>11</sup>

The intensity of this view amongst at least *some* people in my community (i.e. that students are not contributing to the advancement of the family or the community) was graphically demonstrated at a national conference of Luso-Canadians in Ottawa, which was held to form the first Luso-Canadian National Congress (Aguiar, 1993; Costa, 1995; da Silva, 1993; "Já temos," 1993). During debate on a motion involving university students, one prominent member of the Toronto Portuguese establishment, (ironically enough, himself, a university graduate and lawyer), publicly described continuing students as "social parasites". Although his words were not specifically directed at me, I was nevertheless deeply hurt, exactly because his comment touched upon this long-standing doubt engendered by this deep-seated axiom of rural Portuguese culture, equating studying with idleness.

There is little doubt in my mind that my choice to attend university created some measure of personal apprehension, (as indeed, it often does amongst many other prospective post-secondary students). However, in actuality, this option represented a compromise in the

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<sup>11</sup> This question becomes particularly relevant to me during those occasions when I am forced to rely on my parents for temporary financial assistance. While most of my friends who long ago left school for apprenticeships, manual labour or professional jobs have by now acquired a home, a car, and a well-defined, respected place in society, I continue to find myself in a kind of social "limbo", good at many things, but expert at nothing, living from hand-to-mouth, from assistantship to contract to assistantship and perpetually trying to convince my parents that, indeed, my life has already "started".

Persuading one's parents in this matter, is one of the most difficult tasks that young Portuguese-Canadians who choose to study must face. This is because, it is a widespread belief amongst traditional Portuguese society that a young person's "life" has not begun, in any important sense, until he or she is married and financially independent. "Quando comesças a tua vida..." (When you begin your life) is a common expression of many Portuguese parents, which is used to refer to that time when their children will run their own household and be self-supporting in a secure, long-term job.

The prevalence of this notion arose partly from their upbringing in a cultural environment which relied very much on a system of markers, symbols and rituals to rigidly delineate the various and distinct life stages which characterized village life. However, it also resulted from the particular economic system which characterized Portugal in the 1940's and 50's.

Under the dictatorship of Antonio Salazar, strict rules of employment governing hirings and firings virtually guaranteed lifetime employment, for those who held state-recognized, full-time, permanent, salaried positions with private or public companies. As a result, many Portuguese fully expected their children, upon entering the job market, to seek out and hold lifetime employment in one company or institution.

Upon immigrating to Canada, many had difficulty accepting the fact that their offspring, which shuttle from one job to another in the unstable, uncertain North American marketplace, or who labour part-time to support studies, had truly "begun their life". Many, today, are still waiting perpetually for their children to finally one day "establish" themselves permanently in one company, one profession, and one role in the community.

face of another, potentially more radical, decision: As a result of the exhortations of my high-school art teacher and my grades in Fine Arts, in the final years of my secondary education I applied for entrance into the Ontario College of Art. I was short listed for an interview then, at that occasion, promptly proceeded to sabotage any chances of admission that I may have had. This I accomplished by deliberately admitting to the interviewing committee that, in the case that I were not accepted by the Art College, I would simply enrol in a university general arts & science programme.

I sabotaged the interview since, I had little, or no, clue about how I was ever going to explain, or justify, to my father the fact of my wanting to become an “artist.” In the impoverished, rural Portuguese village of the 1930’s and 40’s, a life devoted to art would not put food on your table, clothe your children, or help you fix the roof on your tiny, stone-walled, peasant home. Moreover, in the tightly-knit and interdependent social matrix which comprised the rural Portuguese family, choosing to live a life devoted to art could often be regarded as the height of foolishness, frivolity and selfishness towards the other members of the family.

In fairness, it should also be said that, having been socialized for most of my life in the attitudes of traditional, rural Portuguese society, I also have adopted at least some of my parent’s beliefs regarding the meaning of life, family obligations and career choices. For this reason, a part of me also shared my father’s apprehensions considering a life devoted to art. This made me feel highly irresponsible to even consider entering into this type of career.

However, I also sabotaged the interview because I instinctively understood that the personal and social realities to which I would have had to adapt at O.C.A. would have made it extremely difficult for me to hold on to my Portuguese home life, my relationship with my parents and to a large part of my ethnic identity, (as I conceptualized these at the time). Although still young and relatively sheltered, I nevertheless already possessed a sense for the *process* of creating art. I realized that, such a process often demands the forging of an intimate synergy between an artist’s life and his or her work. Thus, I sensed instinctively that the institutional and social culture which I would be entering in O.C.A. would have forced upon me a process of experiential personal self-development which would have been totally incompatible with the intimate realities of the traditional Portuguese family in which I had been

raised. In essence, since I guessed that my traditional Luso-Canadian identity and lifestyle, as I knew them at the time, would have become incongruous with the demands placed upon me by my teachers and peers, I felt that in order to succeed at O.C.A., I would have had to change on a deeply personal level. If my parents had believed before that high school was changing me for the worst, by transforming me ever more gradually into a "Canadian," I could only wonder with gnawing apprehension what would likely have been their degree of horror at the changes which they would have seen in me, had I entered O.C.A..

Well before the interview, I had thus developed a sense that I could not risk entering into this process and still hope to emerge as the same person, or with a semblance of the same peace which I enjoyed in my home-life. Nonetheless, I was still curious to see how a panel of artist would evaluate my work. I was also fearful of losing out on an unknown opportunity in life. Thus, I went to the interview with the ideas of satisfying my teachers' wishes, appeasing my curiosity and chasing away any spectre of regret, which could have come over me in the future. Because of this, I did not really enter into this process with the necessary drive or dedication which would allow me to succeed and, in the end, I was, in fact, deeply relieved when I received my rejection letter.

Unfortunately, my attempts at taking the path of least contrition were not altogether successful. There are still many times today when I stop and wonder with some measure of regret what my life would have been like, had I gone to that interview with a more positive attitude, without so much apprehension or so many preconceived ideas. Although I do not harbour remorse over having entered a university programme (which I have found deeply rewarding) I nonetheless regret having had my options limited by fears and social constraints, especially those of a kind which, in a prosperous and more progressive society - such was the Canada of the 1970's - should have little influence over one's choice of life and career interest. I also regret having abandoned what would have certainly been a genuinely different and potentially rewarding life opportunity.

Throughout this discussion, I have spoken of some of the conflicts and considerations which were an inherent part of the personal and social contexts in which I and my Luso-Canadian friends had been raised. I have also tried to describe how these often turned my life as a student and my decision to enter university into a bittersweet affair; one which was

inevitably fraught with compromises.

Yet, in the end, I do not feel that my personal story is somehow unique in this regard. I must recognize that I am not the only one who has had to structure their life in this fashion and that the decisions of all students – and indeed of most people in general – are inevitably full of compromises; ones which oftentimes have less to do with talent or interest than with considerations of pragmatism, necessity or expediency.

Nonetheless, I continue to feel that the choices which Luso-Canadian students, such as myself, are invariably led to make are shaped, to a greater extent, by the particular social and family contexts in which we are raised, than is the case for a typical, middle-class, mainstream Canadian student. There are many cases, amongst Luso-Canadians, where family and social factors weigh more heavily in life decisions than any particular, personal considerations of talent, interest or professional ambition.<sup>12</sup> I know for a fact that many of my Luso-Canadian friends lived their lives, until they were old enough to marry and consequently to leave home, in similar juggling acts; and, in truth, there were quite a number of them who were not as lucky I have been. There were even some for whom the inability to negotiate these compromises eventually turned tragic.

In my particular case, these compromises have quite frequently left within me feelings of having limited myself and my options, of having settled for somewhat less than the ideal. A few times, they have even left me with the bitter taste of disappointment. Yet, in fairness, they have also allowed me to live my life in relative peace and security, within an all-embracing family support system, where my rights and obligations were, most of the times, clearly delineated and where I could count on a type of emotional and material support that many mainstream youth could only admire and envy. In that sense, I am like most other Luso-Canadian young people and, like the vast majority of those who have had the opportunities to go to school and to raise a family in the closeness and warmth of the traditional Portuguese-Canadian family, I feel that I have been extremely lucky.

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<sup>12</sup> It is important to note that, I am in no way suggesting that personal and social considerations don't enter into the decision-making processes of mainstream youth. I am only making the point that, the incongruencies present in the situation of most minority children render the various options available to them, throughout their lives, much more difficult to reconcile.

## **Why My Own Experiences?**

I have begun my thesis journey with my own experiences for a number of reasons: Firstly, my desire to answer essential and overriding personal questions has been the primary catalyst which has accompanied me throughout my school years and my experiences in working with the Portuguese community.<sup>13</sup> Questions such as, "Why did I feel that it was perfectly normal that Portuguese should not go to university?", "What factors in our upbringing led many of my friends to dismiss university as an unrealistic option?", "What aspects of our social environment led us to gauge ethnic identity in terms of education level, occupation, or status in society?", "What factors allowed me, and others, to continue our education despite the difficulties?", "Why has my academic progress been accompanied by feelings of guilt and uneasiness?". These are, in part, the questions which have spurred me to enter graduate school and to engage in this particular thesis exercise. Ultimately, on a deeply personal level they are, for me, what this research project is all about.

However, although they are inexorably important to the exploration of my own personal development, my intimate memories of the road to university also represent – in the context of this study – a great deal more than a mere narcissistic exercise.

More than anything else, my experiences provide a glimpse of the complexity and the all-pervasive nature of the factors involved in the issue of the underachievement of Luso-Canadian children in Toronto. They hint at the interrelationships which exist between minority students' choices of career goals, directions and self-concepts and their notions of roles, personal and ethnic identities and "cultural allegiances". A complexity in which a minority child's subjective "naming" of the world (Freire, 1970, p. 76) can never easily be disentangled from, or explained away in terms of simple, so-called "objective", social or structural factors and one which has never really been done justice in past quantitative and qualitative work on minority underachievement, (see section on minority underachievement).<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> This is also a common driving force for many other researchers, although the need to maintain a "professional" demeanour of "objectivity" often prevents many researchers from admitting it.

<sup>14</sup> Cummins (1984, chapter 5) recognized this complexity by reviewing the information on academic underachievement and postulating that no one variable or set of variables are the sole explanation for minority academic failure.

## **The Role of Personal/Subjective Evaluations**

A second, and most obvious point - in light of what I have said above - is that my personal experiences also provide evidence of the importance within the study of minority underachievement, of minority group members' personal/subjective evaluations of their own existential situation. The one obvious, yet often disregarded, point within educational research is that, while educators and researchers often regard the educational problems of minorities as issues of a purely practical or "technical" character (for example, involving questions of access to E.S.L., streaming, the cultural inclusiveness of curriculum, the availability of role models, etc.), and while they often overlook, dismiss, or relegate the experiences of students and parents to a "passive", secondary or "reactive" role, the minority students and communities which are engaged in these issues often see them as primary, deeply personal, social and philosophical problems of a complex existential and subjective nature.

Although appearing – on the surface – disarmingly simple-minded and trivial, this difference in viewing the problem is extremely important: As my personal story has indicated, Luso-Canadian youth often make practical decisions in their lives on the basis of personal, social and existential considerations, involving subjective conceptions of roles, identities, group membership, family and community expectations. Thus, understanding how Portuguese children and the Portuguese community view themselves and their education in relation to mainstream society is as important - and perhaps even more so - than examining and deconstructing the school practices and policies which serve to limit their academic success.

Paulo Freire recognized the importance of this subjective element in the study of the human situation, when he discussed the indivisibility of men and the world, and when he described the complex interrelationship between men and their social environment. Freire (1970, pp. 75–118) wrote of the "praxis" between men and the world, reflection and action:

To exist humanly is to name the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new naming. Men are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action–reflection. (Freire, 1970, p. 76)

In Freire's view, it is not possible to separate people from the world: "World and men do not exist apart from each other, they exist in constant interaction", (p. 36). To deny either the importance of people's environment, (objective reality), or their subjective perception of

that environment, would be tantamount to denying the existence of human action and the human condition:

There would be no human action if there were no objective reality, no world to be the 'not I' of man and to challenge him; just as there would be no human action if man were not a 'project,' if he were not able to transcend himself, to perceive his reality and understand it in order to transform it. (Freire, 1970, p. 38)

The Anthropologist John Ogbu, whose Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance attempts to explain the basis for the underachievement of a number of minority groups, has also made subjectivity an essential element within his theory on minority underachievement. As Ogbu and Simons (1998) stated:

Structural barriers and school factors affect minority school performance; however, minorities are also autonomous human beings who actively interpret and respond to their situation. Minorities are not helpless victims. (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 158)

In summary, my personal account serves to highlight the overriding importance within underachievement research of the interpretation of minority group members regarding their social and personal realities.

### **The Demands and Expectations of Society, Home and Community**

Thirdly, my personal story also illustrates how many Portuguese-Canadian children invariably find themselves trapped within a social system that is characterized by strong contradictory and opposing demands and expectations, which originate from the many societal groups who have a stake in their education. This is a state of affairs which often gives rise to a profound sense of cultural duality within Luso-Canadian children.

This idea of cultural duality and its supposed negative effects on the personal development and psychological well-being of minority children is not a new concept in the study of Portuguese immigrant children (ex. Bulger, 1987; Gameiro, 1984; Nunes, 1986, pp. 29–36). In fact, the issue of the cultural duality within minority children, in general, has largely been regarded as a “given,” as the inevitable byproduct which results from the innate search of all young people for an identity, and as a disadvantaging state of affairs that is particularly

intrinsic to the situation of all bicultural children.<sup>15</sup>

Yet, this conceptualization and study of the phenomenon of the cultural duality of minority children have almost always served to centre the issue of academic underachievement on the problems and “cultural deficiencies” of the minority child (see chapters 4 and 5). In fact, as I illustrate in chapter 4, a number of authors have directly attributed the problem of the academic underachievement of Portuguese children to its effects.

In this fashion, the focus of thought around underachievement in the Portuguese-Canadian community has often tended to centre upon the duality itself, rather than upon the situation of contradicting social and cultural choices which these children confront on a daily basis, or upon the political, social and cultural expectations and conflicts which occurs between the different groups who have a stake in their development.<sup>16</sup>

The natural consequence of regarding the problem of cultural duality from this perspective is then that, the study of the phenomenon of academic underachievement has similarly been approached from this child-centred viewpoint. Quite often in research conducted on Portuguese children, (and in much of the underachievement research, in general (see

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<sup>15</sup> This approach to this issue starts from the assumption that even if a contradiction between Portuguese and Anglo cultural norms did not exist and did not lead to a duality, differences in other factors, (such as economic status, physical appearance, etc.), would cause conflict and division within these children anyway.

<sup>16</sup> This manner of viewing the problem has invariably placed the child within a role that is, ironically, simultaneously both active and passive: A child's role is active in the sense that he/she is always regarded as the central element in the existence of the duality, by virtue of his/her innate need to create an identity. Put simply, the problem is seen to exist, to a large extent, because the child exists and his/her struggle to find an identity exists. Yet, simultaneously, the child's role is also seen as passive, in the sense that Portuguese and other minority children are mostly seen as victims, as having little or no control over the forces that assail them. Yet, from both viewpoints, the essence has remained that the child is the focus of attention and, thus, the implied heart of the problem.

To use a simplistic analogy, a dart-board in a bar, can be conceptualized simultaneously as both a passive and active object. It can at once be seen as an object that waits passively to receive the action of dart-throwing, and – at the same time – as an active lure of patrons and of their dart-throwing inclinations. Yet, inherent in both of these ways of looking at this issue is the fact that it is the board – and not the darts or the patrons – which remains the focus of attention. When problems occur, such as damage to the wall or frequent arguments between drunken patrons over use of the board, it is always this object and the fact of its existence which are seen as the main focus of attention and the cause of the problem. This happens irregardless of the board's lack of active solicitation to patrons' attentions. From this perspective, one can also recognize the train of thought behind the unspoken, subtle assumption that, to solve the problem of cultural duality in bicultural children, one should either remove the child or the child's maternal culture and language from the situation (rather than confronting the conflicting social stressors which are engendering the duality).

Chapter 5), the child and his/her "cultural baggage" has implicitly been regarded as the catalyst for, (and hence the tacit origin of), the cultural conflicts that are often regarded as being at the root of academic failure. By relegating the conflict between social forces to a secondary role – by making the child's cultural duality, rather than the conflict, assumptions and expectations of the different groups, into the object of research – these studies have often reflected the subtle assumption that, without the cultural duality, (or, in essence, without the children and the influence of their maternal culture), the cultural conflict would not present a problem. In this fashion, these studies have – to a large extent – avoided directly confronting and analyzing the differences in expectations, demands, influences, role definitions, social positioning and power of the social groups whose actions have a direct influence over Portuguese children.

Yet, as my personal experiences illustrate clearly, the personal/subjective evaluations of Luso-Canadian students arise not from their seemingly "innate" cultural duality but, rather, from the pressures, expectations, assumptions and limitations imposed upon them by their family, their community and the Canadian mainstream. All of these groups have an important stake in the outcome of their cultural allegiance and the pressures brought to bear by all of these are ultimately what have a hand in creating this sense of duality. Furthermore, my story serves to clearly emphasize the fact that some Luso-Canadian children do not normally see their difficulties in negotiating educational and life choices as necessarily *arising* from their feelings of duality, or personal identity conflicts, (even when these result in identity conflict) but rather, they regard both these difficulties and the ensuing duality as a consequence of the demands and conflicts imposed upon them by their social environment. They are usually able to identify these personal and existential consequences (the duality) as being outside of themselves; as resulting from the conflicts, assumptions and constraints in their social environment. Thus, they also choose to dwell instead on these immediate demands imposed upon them, characterized by the push and pull of the clashing cultural pressures that invariably assail them.

Thus, the main elements in the consciousness of Portuguese youth – and most probably other minority children – in understanding themselves and their actions are not necessarily personal considerations of an innate struggle for identity, but are most often reflections on how they are going to negotiate the demands of the conflicting social and cultural forces, that are incessantly vying for their allegiance. In other words, what is foremost in the minds of

Portuguese young people are not the existential questions regarding their identity ("Am I Portuguese? Am I Canadian?"), but rather practical questions about how they are going to meet the demands of their community, home and school and how their success or failure in this endeavour will ultimately impact upon their sense of self.

My personal story further illustrates the fact that Portuguese youth are not simply the mere passive recipients of dominating social influences, (as the references to their cultural duality would sometimes have us believe). My story shows that, not only are many Portuguese children acutely aware of the important stake placed on their identity development by the different groups in their society, but that some of them are also able to carefully manage their cultural persona, as a way of navigating through the inherent contradictions and conflicting demands placed upon them.<sup>17</sup> This fact also serves as a further illustration of the importance of the subjective element in issues of underachievement.

### **The Importance of Power and Status Differences**

Fourthly, my experiences hint at how the demands that are placed upon Luso-Canadian children are mediated by complex assumptions influenced by political, social, economic and historical realities which, themselves, are often based on the differing power relationships between societal groups. My personal story hints at how there exists an ongoing struggle, that is being waged between the Luso-Canadian minority and the dominant Canadian mainstream society for the cultural hearts and minds of the newer generations. More importantly however, it also illustrates how this struggle ultimately impacts upon the academic choices of Luso-Canadian youth. This struggle has affinities with the many other struggles which occur throughout the world, where dominant and subordinate social and economic groups are in conflict, over such things as land, resources or political control.

Paulo Freire describes how politically, culturally and economically dominated groups come to regard dominant groups, (the "oppressor") as their model of manhood, (Freire, 1970, pp. 29–30). As Freire stated, "Their ideal is to be men; but for them, to be men is to be

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<sup>17</sup> Once again, I am not suggesting that this process does not occur with mainstream children. I am merely making the points that the demands placed on minority youth, such as the Portuguese, are much more severe and thus, that Portuguese children are often painted in the literature on cultural duality as being powerless against these forces.

oppressors" (p. 30) and "They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressors whose consciousness they have internalized."

Thus, Freire's descriptions of the process of domination and subjugation has implications for the cultural domination and the existential duality which many bi-cultural children endure in North America. Freire could very well have been describing the cultural duality of most Portuguese-Canadian children, (or aspects of my own experiences), when he stated,

The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not ejecting him; between human solidarity or alienation; between following prescriptions or having choices; between being spectators or actors; between acting or having the illusion of acting through the action of the oppressors; between speaking out or being silent, castrated in their power to create and re-create, in their power to transform the world. (Freire, 1970, pp.32-33)

Yet, for Freire, this duality is not the important element, in perpetuating the disadvantage of the oppressed. The duality is rather a byproduct of the unequal exercise of power between societal groups, the dehumanizing tendencies of the "oppressor" and of the lack of critical consciousness of their situation, on the part of the "oppressed."

In summary, my personal story provides clues to indicate that, Portuguese children often begin viewing the phenomenon of their biculturalism, their duality, their place in society and their roles within the social conflicts from a different vantage point than that of many researchers. My story suggests that, Portuguese children do not often reflect over their cultural duality as much as they ponder the forces vying for their cultural allegiance and how those forces will affect them; in essence, they quite often do not assume the problem of cultural duality within themselves, but rather focus this problem within the push and pull of the conflicting demands which their societies place upon them. By concentrating upon the significant effect which different societal forces appeared to have had upon the course of my life, my friends' lives, upon our notions of ourselves, our belief in our future and our perceptions of our place in society, my story illustrates how I understood the essence of my cultural duality and my academic future to be firmly linked to those societal forces and community expectations.

In this regard, my experiences also serve to provide a glimpse of what happens to some

minority children when their ethnic allegiances are fought over, manipulated, negotiated, surrendered, bartered or appropriated by different groups involved in a struggle to dominate and resist domination. It was clear to many of us at that time, (as it is certain to me now), that our ethnic allegiances, cultural identities, roles, values, beliefs and cultural skills were regarded and treated as commodities; assets which granted both power and legitimacy to those groups in the adult world who were able to own and direct their development.

When regarded in this fashion, we can see that, the Portuguese in Canada share certain commonalities with other groups throughout our world, who are in positions of being socially, economically, or culturally dominated by another, more powerful segment of their communities. In many examples throughout the world, it is often the ownership of land, money, arms or resources that is frequently contested between rival nations or between different segments of their societies. However, for the Portuguese in Canada, quite often it is the language, cultural identity and ethnic allegiance of their children which are the resources that are most frequently disputed and utilized as a means to grant the control and legitimacy of the mainstream or minority group over the other.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **Framing the Problem**

In reading my personal story, it is important to note that my experiences were not atypical of the situation of many Portuguese–Canadian youth, growing up in Toronto, in the early 1970's. The problems and issues which I have highlighted were shared by most of my friends and colleagues and, although I was fortunate that the anxieties and uncertainties which I faced did not prevent me from continuing towards a post–secondary education, the reality for the majority of the Portuguese children in this city was that these factors were often translated into formidable barriers to academic success.

In fact, as I will argue in Chapter 3, there is now a growing body of evidence which illustrates that Portuguese–Canadian children and youth have been failing massively in the Public and Separate School systems of the City of Toronto, where the bulk of the Portuguese–Canadian community resides. While Luso–Canadians make up one of the largest ethnic minorities in this city and Portuguese children constitute almost 10% of the total number of students in Toronto Public Secondary Schools, (Cheng, Yau & Ziegler, 1993), they have consistently displayed some of the most severely disproportionate rates of underachievement of any ethnic group in achieving adequate educational goals. In past years, Portuguese children have left school earlier, studied at significantly lower levels, and been disproportionately represented in Special Education and Remedial Reading programmes, than is the case with the majority of children from other ethnic groups. They have also been reported as the least likely to feel that they have the ability to succeed in university, (Larter, Cheng, Capps & Lee, 1982). More alarmingly, however, recent evidence also suggests that this trend has not diminished with the entrance into the school system of the “second-generation” (the popular term for those young people of Portuguese descent who were born in this country, or who came to these shores before their early adulthood) (Cheng, Yau & Ziegler, 1993).

#### **The Available Literature**

Yet, despite this troubling state of affairs, most researchers, as well as many educators,

have all but ignored this problem. As I will describe in Chapter 4, (where I review the relevant literature on education in the Luso-Canadian community), very little research been conducted on the topic of Portuguese immigrants, in general, and almost no serious work has been undertaken on the situation of Portuguese children in Canada, or on the reasons for their educational difficulties. Furthermore, virtually no study has yet consulted directly and on a large-scale with the wider Portuguese-Canadian community, in order to examine how Luso-Canadians perceive their situation in relation to the mainstream and other immigrant groups, particularly with regards to their children's education.

The bulk of the information on Luso-Canadian youth and on such issues as their education is still scattered throughout a host of newspaper articles, brief, superficial ethnic profiles and anecdotal accounts, (ex. Brazao, 1978; Bulger, 1987; Coelho, 1973; Hartwig, 1979; Leishman, 1978; Matas, 1984; Neves, 1977; Nunes, 1986a, 1986b; Ward, 1985) (See also Teixeira & Lavigne's [1992, in press] bibliographies). Some information is also available within a limited number of more scholarly historical and sociological references (ex. Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1979, 1980, 1983; Anderson, 1974; Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Noivo, 1993, 1997). Only a small number of primary research reports have been conducted specifically on the issue of the education of Luso-Canadian youth (Cummins, 1991; Cummins, Lopes & King, 1987; Cummins, Lopes & Ramos, 1987; Feuerverger, 1991; Januario, 1992; McLaren, 1986; Peppler & Lessa, no date).<sup>1</sup>

Most of the newspaper and ethnic profile references are sparse, non-academic, anecdotal, and child-centred in nature. Quite often, they are rife with culturally-biased and unsubstantiated assumptions and generalizations, while also neglecting to describe the part which school practices and the school environment play in structuring underachievement.

The historical and sociological works, while more thorough and academically rigorous, are nonetheless very few in number and limited by the fact that they tend to touch upon the issue of the younger generations and their education, in only an indirect and haphazard fashion. Furthermore, much of the information which is contained in these sources was derived from the latter anecdotal accounts and, with the exception of Noivo's (1997) sociological examination of three generations of Luso-Canadians, virtually none of the material which is

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<sup>1</sup> In addition, one other valuable study has been conducted in the United States, (Becker, 1990).

found in these references was acquired through primary, community-based research.

The limited number of primary research studies which have been conducted on the topic of the education of Luso-Canadian youth tend to contradict or disprove many of the observations and conclusions within the general sources, and generally focus upon the harmful role of certain classroom practices on the academic achievement of these students.

Yet, these are also few in number, fragmented, and tend to concentrate upon describing disadvantaging classroom policies, practices, attitudes and rituals, which have been regarded as contributing to underachievement. Ultimately, while these descriptions have been valuable in understanding the effects which the school environment can have upon the academic success of Luso-Canadian students, nonetheless, they have provided few answers into the process of how/why, these disadvantaging educational factors have come to predominate and how/why they have been allowed to continue, in the light of evidence linking them to underachievement (ex. “streaming”) and in the face of a rising community outcry.

### **The Lack of a Community Focus**

One important reason for these omissions is that previous studies have generally tended to focus on the schools and on Portuguese-Canadian children, in isolation from their community. Past works have failed to explore the social, cultural and economic context in which Luso-Canadian children and their families exist, or how these may affect educational decisions. For example, while researchers have given broad acknowledgement to the working-class status of the children who participated in their projects, nonetheless, they have not entered into an analysis of how the social and economic realities of this existence may affect the degree to which Luso-Canadian families are able, or unable, to overcome the educational barriers which these studies have identified.

Similarly, most of these studies have also cited the relationship of unequal power and status between Portuguese- and mainstream-Canadian societies as one of the major reasons for the perpetuation of the observed practices. Yet, no study has yet attempted to understand, or even describe, this relationship. Moreover, while a few of these works have made some efforts to ascertain how teachers and educators view their Portuguese students, no study has, as yet, sought to understand the opinions of Luso-Canadians on this issue. No research project has

ever been conducted which examines the unequal situation of Luso-Canadians *from the point of view of community members*, or investigated the ways in which this inequality may affect community attitudes regarding work and education.

Thus, by focussing on the schools and on children, researchers have also avoided investigating the role which community attitudes and practices may play in influencing the educational decisions of its members. For example, researchers have still not adequately described what factors lead many Luso-Canadian youth who are experiencing educational barriers to drop out, rather than seek out other options.

In summary, most studies have failed to address the ways in which Luso-Canadians regard themselves, their problems, strengths, self-definitions and perceptions of roles, in relation to mainstream Canadian society and to other minority groups. More importantly, they have neglected to form an understanding of these issues from the specific point of view of the members of the Portuguese community. None of these studies has approached the community-at-large in order to attempt to comprehend the manner in which Luso-Canadians regard themselves, their families, their community and their present situation, relative to other minorities and to the mainstream. Consequently, they have done little to seek out the reasons why Luso-Canadian parents and the wider Portuguese community have so-far failed to develop effective personal or collective strategies, to overcome these disadvantaging educational practices.

Ironically enough, by disregarding the role of the community in underachievement, these studies have also forwarded the conclusion that Luso-Canadians are relatively unimportant in this equation and powerless in the face of the educational difficulties of their children. By not exploring the influence of the interpretations, practices and attitudes of community members on academic failure, researchers have inadvertently promoted the assumption that these are far less important than school practices in affecting role and identity definitions, career choices or educational decisions.

Yet, as my personal story has suggested, the personal, subjective evaluations of Portuguese-Canadian students are often of primal importance in their decision to terminate, or continue, their education. Similarly, the work of underachievement scholars such as John Ogbu (1974, 1978, 1982, 1983, 1987, 1991) has shown that a minority community's attitudes

towards their place in society and in the education system are crucial in determining how their children will respond to the barriers which they face in school. Such underachievement variables as early-school-leaving are almost always intermeshed with strong social, psychological and personal considerations on the part of students, regarding intimate concepts of self, identity, roles, group membership and society. These, in turn, are heavily influenced by prevailing community attitudes and opinions concerning a group's historical, economic and political situation, status and role definitions (particularly in relation to mainstream society); concepts which, as scholars such as Ogbu (1974, 1978) and Cummins (1989, 1994, 1996) have argued, are themselves determined by the interplay of strong conflicting social forces, mediated and interpreted within a setting of political, economic and cultural dominance.

As such, the issue of underachievement cannot be successfully studied without understanding the perception of those individuals who are most affected by the problem, regarding the ontological and existential situation of domination in which they and their communities exist.

### **The Lack of a Participatory Framework**

One of the reasons why researchers have not focussed upon the problem of Portuguese underachievement from a community perspective may rest with the fact that previous studies have not reflected any real involvement and control in the research process on the part of the people who are directly suffering the problem at hand. Previous researchers have mostly utilized ethnographic interviews and participant observation to structure the focus of their projects. In all cases, the authors of these studies have been the ones who selectively chose the research questions and methods, interpreted and contextualized the results and then divulged, in their own words and through their own choice of vehicles, the information which was provided by their participants. None of the available works provides any indication that Portuguese participants and contributors were allowed to formulate initial questions regarding their situation, determine the research process, identify the major issues, interpret observations or formulate conclusions. Community members were not granted the opportunity to question researchers' assumptions, nor were any other allowances made for the former to determine the means by which they were going to explore their own existential situation as a minority living

within a structure of mainstream domination. In essence, by relegating Luso-Canadians to the status of passive participants previous empirical studies have reproduced, in the relationship of researcher to researched, the same structure of domination which many researchers on minority schooling have linked to underachievement.<sup>2</sup>

For all of these reasons, it becomes imperative that an inquiry into the community's educational "problem" be initiated, developed and evaluated from the personal and existential perspective of individuals from the Portuguese community, rather than from the point-of-view of seemingly "unbiased" researchers.

### **The Lack of a Connection to Theory**

This tendency to focus on school practices and policies, in disparagement of the role of the community, has developed concomitantly with another failing of the limited empirical work on the schooling of Portuguese-Canadian children: This is that, these have generally *not* been grounded in the growing literature on minority underachievement. Few of these studies have made reference either to the ways in which existing theories might explain the underachievement of Luso-Canadian children, or elaborated on how the case of the Portuguese in Canada could, itself, contribute to current theoretical postulates for minority academic underachievement. In consequence, almost none of the studies on Luso-Canadian students has taken a broad, community-focussed approach.

Yet, as I discuss in Chapter 4, the body of research on this topic has moved away from analyses of "cultural differences" between teachers and pupils and become increasingly concerned with the influence upon educational achievement of unequal relations of power between majority and minority groups and on the way in which subordinate communities perceive their roles within a system of cultural and economic domination (Apple, 1979; Cummins, 1989, chap. 5, 1989; Foley, 1991; Jacob & Jordan, 1987; Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987; Trueba, Spindler & Spindler, 1989).

In particular, John Ogbu's "Cultural Ecological Theory of School Performance" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) (also referred to as "Caste Theory") (Foley, 1991) and Paulo Freire's (1970)

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<sup>2</sup> This also may be the reason why much of the information that is available in both the general and empirical literature appears very much to have developed from, and to uncritically support, the particular train of political thought of each, individual, author.

work on critical pedagogy, both present models which may at least partly explain why an economically and culturally subordinate community, such as that of Luso-Canadians, might be experiencing educational problems. Ogbu (1974, 1978, 1983, 1987) has argued convincingly over the last few decades that the way in which a minority community views itself and its roles in relation to the mainstream - and particularly the function which its members attribute to the majority society's education system within this relationship - are crucial elements in influencing the academic decisions of its children in mainstream schools. For his part, Freire (1970) has also argued that the tendency in a society will often be for a dominant group to "dehumanize" those who are less powerful, by using the education system to invalidate the latter's knowledge and their view of the world; thus leading those who are dominated (or "oppressed," as Freire termed it) to struggle unsuccessfully to continually attempt to remake themselves in the image of their "oppressors."

As I will discuss in Chapter 11, Ogbu's theory falls short of explaining the situation of Luso-Canadians, in that this community often does not appear to fit neatly into the typology which his theory has postulated for a "successful" (or "voluntary") minority group. Ogbu's model also places an undue emphasis upon the mechanisms by which a minority group has come to be marginalized within a dominant society (i.e., the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy) and on the issue of race-based discrimination, as a marginalizing factor. In this fashion, it fails to more deeply investigate the profound effects of the state of marginalization itself, upon the educational achievement of minorities such as the Portuguese, which are marginalized by virtue of a wide number of factors, (ex. low education and income, low-status culture, rural origins, disproportionate migration from only one segment of society, lack of tradition of political involvement, etc.).

In this respect, the ideas of Paulo Freire (1970, 1994) provide a better framework with which to explore the educational effects of the linguistic and cultural domination of a low-status, little-schooled, working-class minority, such as the Portuguese in Canada. This is because, Freire's main concern is in charting the process of domination and detailing how it may be overcome. However, the works of both authors have pointed to the need to explore and validate the opinions, viewpoints and knowledge of the Luso-Canadian community.

## **Statement of The Problem**

In summary, while Luso-Canadian children continue to underachieve in disproportionate numbers, little scholarly attention has been focussed on the Portuguese community and on the issue of the underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth. Most of the available general literature on the Luso-Canadian ethnic group touches only superficially on the topic of the younger generations and their education, while the small number of scholarly studies which have been conducted on the schooling issues of children and youth in this community have looked mainly at the role of school practices in structuring academic failure.

Consequently, no study, as yet, has examined the complex, larger-world dynamic of the social, cultural and economic situation of the Portuguese in Canada. More importantly, no study has yet sought out the opinions of Luso-Canadians themselves, in order to discover - in their own words - how they view their community and their roles within the context of the social, cultural and linguistic domination of their group, as well as how this may ultimately impact upon their children's schooling. Previous studies have also not allowed community members any input into researchers' assumptions and the research process.

Finally, few of the studies conducted on the Portuguese-Canadians have been grounded on - and contributed to - established theoretical work on minority underachievement. In this fashion, the importance of community attitudes, opinions and world-views has been largely minimized, while the structure linking academic underachievement - and, in particular, early-school-leaving - amongst Portuguese-Canadians to a particular set of social, cultural, political and economic realities and power constructs has so-far escaped analysis from a social and critical pedagogy perspective.

## **Research Questions**

Thus, previous research has left a number of important questions which still remain unanswered:

1. What is the overall educational, economic, political, social and cultural context of the Portuguese-Canadian community? What relationships, if any, do community members feel exist between this context and the academic underachievement of their children?

2. What do Luso-Canadians perceive to be their situation, and their roles, in relation to mainstream Canadian society and other minority groups? What do Luso-Canadians perceive to be the role of the attitudes and practices of community members in the problem of academic underachievement?
3. What kinds of priorities and actions do community members see for a grass-roots, community organization such as the Congress in bringing about the resolution of these problems?
4. How does the case of the Portuguese in Canada serve to clarify prevailing theories on minority academic underachievement, or, how do these theories help to explain the educational problems of the Portuguese?

The study outlined in the following pages proposed to examine these very questions, from a participatory, community-development framework, and from the perspective of critical pedagogy.

### **The Study**

The present study was designed to address at least some of these questions. This project comprised part of a national Needs Assessment commissioned in 1994 by the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress, a non-profit, grass-roots organization, with a membership in every region of this country.<sup>3</sup> As such, it represented the first time that a study of its kind had been focussed on the Canada-wide Luso-Canadian population. As Chapter 7 describes, it also represented the first time that a study of this nature had been conceived, developed, undertaken and disseminated in its entirety by members of the Portuguese-Canadian community. The project provided an opportunity for Luso-Canadians across this nation to define, in their own words, what they saw to be the educational, economic, political, social and cultural situation of their communities, in relation to mainstream Canadian society and other minority groups.

The Needs Assessment was originally commissioned by the Congress to serve as an organizational tool, one which would help to set direction for the group in the coming years. However, as the meetings with the Steering Committee, Research Coordinator and Congress Directors progressed, the groups soon recognized a valuable opportunity to undertake a project with much more scope and breadth and to address a number of specific themes, which had previously not been explored by researchers and community workers.

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<sup>3</sup> For more information on the Congress and its beginnings in March of 1993, please see (Costa, 1995).

Firstly, through the gathering of broad indicators on demographics, income and education, the study attempted to provide a “snapshot” of the current state of the national Luso-Canadian community, in relation to the rest of Canadian society (see Chapter 8). Secondly, it surveyed Portuguese-Canadians across Canada for their opinions regarding what they felt were the major issues affecting their communities. It also gathered opinions from Luso-Canadians on priorities and how they felt that a grass-roots, community organization such as the Congress could bring about the resolution of these problems. Finally, it attempted to highlight the patterns of integration, and access to social services of those people who are most involved in community organizations.<sup>4</sup>

As Chapter 7 will indicate, data for this project was collected through the compilation of available indicators from the 1991 census, the distribution of a detailed 14-page questionnaire and the realization of 18 focus groups, conducted nationally in regions of significant Portuguese-Canadian populations. The project also included the publication of a nationally-distributed newsletter and a media campaign, which served to maintain the wider community informed of its developments (see Appendices).

One important aspect of this study was the emphasis which was placed on full community control and participation of the study at all stages of its development and realization. A community Steering Committee planned and developed every aspect of this study, from the formulation of the goals and research design, the development of the questionnaire and focus group questions, to the selection of the method of distribution of the research results. Furthermore, volunteers from the various local Luso-Canadian communities comprising this study were sought out to organize, moderate and record the focus groups. Finally, numerous other Portuguese-Canadian individuals and organizations scattered throughout this country also made significant in-kind and volunteer contributions to the study (ex. use of meeting facilities).

As Chapter 10 illustrates, the study provided a vehicle through which Luso-Canadians across this country painted a picture in their own words of the social, economic, political and educational marginalization of their community and of the negative effects which this has had over the quality of life for many in this group. A picture has also emerged of a community with

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<sup>4</sup> This part of the study was not included in this dissertation.

an enormous educational deficit, one which puts it in a great deal of disadvantage in comparison to the mainstream and to other minority groups. Participants throughout this study described in great detail, the importance which educational issues occupied in their communities and elaborated on the interrelationships which they felt existed between the low educational levels of Luso-Canadians and their lack of unity, political participation, social integration, economic difficulties and low social standing in Canadian society.

Ultimately, what has emerged from this study is a picture of a community in crisis: One which is experiencing widespread marginalization, cultural annihilation (due to the rapid loss of the Portuguese language and culture amongst Luso-Canadian youth) and social reproduction (where disproportionate numbers of its young people are heading en-masse into the same marginalized socioeconomic role as that of their parents).

This educational deficit has left the community disunited and ill-prepared for the economic challenges of the future. More importantly however, it has also forestalled the development of a critical mass of well-educated middle-class, professional individuals, who would have the necessary knowledge, economic and political clout to advocate with governments, on behalf of the community.

### **Contribution to Theory**

The case of the Portuguese in Canada also serves to highlight the limitations of one of the leading theories on minority academic underachievement, the “Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance” (or “Caste Theory”) (Ogbu, 1974, 1978; 1982; 1983; 1987; 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). The case of Portuguese-Canadians represent an example where a group which, under Ogbu’s typologies, he would classify as a “voluntary” minority displays many of the same attributes and educational difficulties which he attributes to “involuntary” minorities. Ultimately, Ogbu’s theory does not seem to be able to account for the academic difficulties of this substantial immigrant minority.

In this respect, the Luso-Canadian example would appear to best be explained through the prism of the work of Paulo Freire, whose ideas explain the dynamics between dominant and subordinate societal groups, and whose perspective of a critical pedagogy may best address the educational and political needs of the Portuguese community (Freire, 1970, 1994).

## **Implications**

The pedagogical implications of adopting a “Freirian” approach to the issue of education in the Luso-Canadian community, may lead to important strategies which focus upon combating the social, cultural and political marginalization of the community, that is perpetuating the underachievement problem. It may also result in mobilizing action on the part of the community to develop educational strategies, particularly in light of the increasing centralization of education in Ontario and the recent creation of local “School Councils.” A “Freirian” approach, if effectively implemented, could potentially provide this community with a greater grass-roots community input into the manner in which education is administered by providing them with the necessary critical tools to collectively mobilize and influence the functioning of their local school, to a much greater extent than what has currently been the case.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

#### **Introduction**

The educational issues which I have described in the Prologue to this study were not a new occurrence, at the time when I experienced them, nor have they yet become irrelevant to the many of the minority children who are presently in Canadian schools. In fact, recent years have seen the widespread publication of evidence to indicate that, for more than two decades, students from a number of racial and ethnic groups in the Ontario Public education system have consistently been having a shorter and less than adequate education, (Advisor on Race Relations, 1983; Brown, Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1992; Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993; Cheng, Tsuji, Yau, & Ziegler, 1989; Contenta, 1987; Larter & Eason, 1978; Lind, 1974; Matas, 1980; Ramcharan, 1975; Royal Commission on Learning, 1994; Senyk, 1983; Toronto Board of Education, 1988; Wright, & Tsuji, 1981, 1983; Wright, Tsuji, & Dahota, 1981). Yet, even amongst these young people, Portuguese-Canadians comprise one of the groups which have been the most severely disadvantaged. Over the past 20 years, Portuguese-Canadian children have left school earlier, studied at significantly lower levels, and been disproportionately represented in Special Education and Remedial Reading programmes, even in comparison with children from other ethnic groups. They have also been reported as the least likely to feel that they have the ability to succeed in university,

In the following section, I will illustrate the precarious educational situation of Luso-Canadian young people in the City of Toronto, (where nearly 50% of the Portuguese-Canadian community resides), by citing some of the available evidence which has been compiled on the academic achievement of these children, within that city's school system.

#### **Academic Problems of Luso-Canadian Children in the Toronto Public School System**

In 1991-92, Luso-Canadian young people constituted almost 10% of the total number of students in Toronto Public Secondary Schools, forming the third-largest group after the English and Chinese (Cheng, et al, 1993, p. iii). They also made up the largest group, after

English-speakers, within the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board (the Catholic system), (Januario, 1993, October). Yet, these youth have consistently displayed some of the most severely disproportionate rates of failure in achieving adequate educational goals.

Historically, Portuguese students have been observed to drop out of school earlier, and in greater proportionate numbers, than most other pupils (Cheng, et. al., 1989; Cheng, et. al., 1993; Ferguson, 1964; Larter, & Eason, 1978; "Royal Commission," 1994, pp. 95-96; "The Portuguese," 1984).<sup>1</sup> Ferguson (1964, p. 86) described how, as early as the first half of the 1960's, school officials were already concerned about the drop-out problem amongst children of immigrant parents (especially the Portuguese). These concerns were substantiated by a study issued by the Toronto Board of Education examining the Early School Leaving programme, (which allowed students under the age of 16 to leave school and seek employment), Portuguese-born students were deemed to be substantially over-represented, in comparison to their Canadian-born peers, (Larter & Eason, 1978, p. 21).

Luso-Canadian students have also studied at significantly lower levels. While early Toronto Board of Education reports either did not provide direct achievement variables or did not cross-tabulate these with ethnicity, (only with race, or broad geographic origin), indirect evidence was nonetheless provided by listings which showed the distribution of different language groups across Board schools. These illustrated that Portuguese-speaking students in grade 9 were disproportionately attending vocational, technical or commercial schools, where the level of study was normally at the non-university streams of Basic- or General-level (Wright, & Tsuji, 1981, 1983; Wright, Tsuji, & Dahota, 1981).

The reports that were produced in later years, contained more precise information, which reinforced the suspicions of many people in the community concerning the low achievement amongst Luso-Canadian students. In the 1987 Every Secondary Student Survey, Portuguese students were shown to comprise the second highest proportional representation of any ethnic group in the city in Basic-level programs and the highest in the General stream, (Cheng, et al., 1989) (See Table 1.).

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<sup>1</sup> This was also cited as a problem in the Galt, Ontario community by Coelho (1973).

TABLE 1. STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS BY SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, 1987

STUDENT CHARACTERISTICS	OVERALL		Asian					White					Black
	Chinese <sup>1</sup>	Indo-Thai <sup>2</sup>	Indian <sup>3</sup>	Korean	English Only	Portuguese	Greek	Italian	Jewish	Spanish	Poleish	English Only	
GENDER	Male	53	54	59	52	51	58	49	58	50	58	55	50
	Female	47	46	41	48	49	42	51	42	50	43	45	50
PLACE OF BIRTH	Canadian-born	56	25	0	12	92	47	89	92	86	6	44	35
	Foreign-born	42	75	100	87	8	53	11	8	14	94	56	65
PARENTAL PRESENCE AT HOME	Both Parents	66	75	64	75	61	89	91	90	72	63	67	44
	Mother Only	20	7	10	3	28	7	6	7	6	6	4	39
	Father Only	5	1	4	10	6	1	2	2	20	18	18	6
	Other	9	17	22	12	5	3	1	1	2	13	11	11
SES <sup>4</sup>	Professional	22	6	3	11	38	1	3	3	63	13	14	12
	Semi-Professional	22	19	10	25	27	10	22	12	22	14	20	25
	Skilled/Semi-Skilled	31	47	33	32	23	42	45	48	11	36	35	37
	Unskilled	15	18	27	19	6	38	22	27	1	23	20	17
PROGRAM LEVEL	Non-remedial	9	9	27	13	6	9	8	10	3	14	11	9
	Advanced	72	89	73	79	77	51	78	62	92	62	77	53
	General	21	10	24	15	17	37	18	32	7	29	18	34
	Basic	7	1	3	6	6	12	4	6	1	9	5	13
CREDIT ACCUMULATIONS <sup>5</sup>	0-7 Credits	34	22	46	19	29	56	30	31	16	51	52	53
	8-15 Credits	64	75	51	77	69	44	69	68	80	47	48	45
	16+ Credits	2	3	3	4	2	-	1	1	4	2	0	2
SCHOOL YEARS <sup>6</sup>	Advanced - high	33	44	34	39	34	26	30	31	50	19	30	15
	- average	39	23	29	33	39	45	41	44	23	52	45	57
	General - high	11	13	12	17	12	10	13	11	-	6	10	7
	- average	62	39	50	54	60	68	64	68	-	68	68	69
	Basic - high	18	-	-	-	17	19	-	-	-	16	-	17
	- average	51	-	-	-	56	46	-	-	-	50	-	50

NOTE: The ethnic groups are identified by race, place of birth and the first language(s). If a student indicates "Spanish" or "English" as first language, he/she is classified as someone of Spanish heritage. Although students have been asked specifically to describe their ethnic and cultural background, the mother tongue instruction was preferred as a measure of ethnicity because the ethnic data have higher non-response rate and more ambiguous responses (e.g. "Canadian"). The student is the only group that is identified directly by the ethnicity information provided by the student.

1 The majority of these students are from Vietnam, and some are from Cambodia, Laos and other parts of Indochina. It should, however, be noted that nearly half of these students are of Chinese descent.

2 This group includes languages spoken in India and Pakistan: Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Sinhalese and Urdu languages.

3 Missing information for the SES of the Vietnamese is too high (70%) to be included.

Over the years, a disproportionate number of Portuguese children have also been placed in Special Education (ex. remedial help for learning disabilities, physical handicaps, emotional or behavioural problems and special programmes for Gifted children). In a research report conducted by the Toronto Board of Education focussing on parents with youngsters in Special Education, Portuguese parents constituted the second-largest proportion of parents interviewed, (9%), after the sample identified by the authors as "Canadian", (Larter, Draffin, Power, & Cheng, 1986).<sup>2</sup> A full 33% of the children of those Portuguese parents had been placed in elementary Learning Disability and Reading Clinic programs, while another 33% had been placed in secondary programs, (not Gifted). Portuguese parents had the highest percentages of children in secondary (not Gifted) programs, and the second-lowest percentage of children in elementary Gifted programs, (Table 2).

**TABLE 2.**

**SPECIAL EDUCATION PROGRAM BY CULTURAL GROUP**

(N = 208)

Programs	Canadian (N=88)	Portuguese (N=18)	English (N=16)	West Indian / African (N=13)	Chinese (N=12)	Other Cultural Groups (N=61)
Elementary Learning Disability/ Reading Clinic	45%	33%	25%	39%	25%	30%
Elementary Gifted	27%	11%	25%	15%	8%	36%
Secondary (Not Gifted)	9%	33%	19%	-	25%	18%
Other	13%	17%	13%	31%	17%	11%
Deferred	6%	6%	12%	15%	17%	5%
Not Exceptional/ Not placed	-	-	6%	-	8%	-

Source: Larter, S., Draffin, S., Power, M., & Cheng, M. (1986). Identification, placement and review process: Parent's/Guardian's opinions. (Report #179). Toronto: The Board of Education for the City of Toronto, Information Services Division, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> It dealt with Special Education's Identification, Placement and Review Process, or, I.P.R.C.

Indirect information from independent studies also illustrates that Portuguese children have been found disproportionately in Special Education. For example, in a study conducted by Cummins, Lopes and King (1987) which explored the language use patterns and proficiency of Portuguese children in grade 7 who were taking heritage language classes, the researchers discovered that a disproportionate amount, (13%), of the total sample of 191 students were receiving special education. Furthermore, although already proportionately high, this figure had nonetheless still been rendered artificially low, since the principals of two of the schools studied had not allowed any students in special education to be tested. A third school also offered no special education in grade seven. When only the sample from the remaining four schools were considered, the proportion of Portuguese children in this study who were enrolled in special education climbed to 26%.<sup>3</sup>

In another two-year research project conducted on 22 Portuguese- and English-Canadian elementary school children, in two Toronto schools, Januario (1992) found that there were more Portuguese-Canadian children in her study group, whose families pervened from families of low socioeconomic status, who had been ranked as "below average", than there were in the remainder of the sample, even when socioeconomic status was taken into consideration.

Portuguese youth have also been observed to possess an insufficient mastery of the English language (Coelho, 1973; Board of Education, 1962). As early as 1962, a Toronto Board of Education report described how a staggering 48.4% of the total number of Portuguese immigrant children in the Toronto school system were reading below their grade level; the third-highest proportional group with this problem (Board of Education, 1962). Furthermore, in the early 1980's it was mentioned that, one out of every three high school students in Toronto with Portuguese as their first language was in a vocational program, where most students are at a grade 5 level in reading and mathematical skills, (Matas, 1984).

These language difficulties have often become associated and confused with a lack of intelligence (Leishman, 1978). Laura Araujo, a counsellor and interpreter stated in 1978 that

Children of Portuguese immigrants get short-changed in Ontario's school system because their weakness in the English language is confused with slowness. (Brazao, 1978).

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<sup>3</sup> Considering the record of Portuguese children in Special Education, we can safely assume that the majority of these children were in Remedial, as opposed to Gifted, programmes.

It is clear, therefore, that Portuguese children have traditionally lagged behind other children of their age or grade level. Moreover, there is both direct and indirect evidence that, in more recent years, these trends have not been reversed.

The latest Toronto Board of Education, Every Secondary Student Survey illustrated that, in 1991, Luso-Canadian students were the second-highest represented group in Basic- and General-level studies (9% and 39%) (after the Black-Caribbean group) and the second-lowest represented in Advanced-level studies (See Table 3, next page) (Cheng, et. al., 1993). In all, over one-third of the Portuguese-Canadian student population was enrolled in General-level courses. Furthermore, 33% of all Luso-Canadian students had been designated as “at-risk” (of dropping-out), compared with 25% of the overall population (Yau, Cheng, & Ziegler, 1993, p. 26).

A simultaneously-released, five-year follow-up study of the Grade 9 students who had participated in the 1987 Every Student Survey also showed that Luso-Canadian youth had highest drop-out rate of any of the groups sampled in the cohort (Brown, 1993, pp. 4-5). Forty-one percent (41%) of the Luso-Canadian young people who had attended this grade, in Toronto Board of Education schools in 1987, had dropped-out by the 1991-92 school year, (in comparison to 33%, in the general population, 19% of the Chinese, 32% of Italians). Similarly, only 48% of the Portuguese students in the cohort had graduated (the lowest rate), (in comparison to 56% in the general population). Furthermore, at the end of this time period, 72% of Portuguese students failed to accumulate any OAC credits (once again, the highest rate) in comparison to 47% of the overall student population (Brown, 1993, p. 11).

In the 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey, Portuguese-Canadian students also reported some of the lowest levels of parental schooling and occupation of any minority group (Cheng, et. al., 1993). Over one-third of Portuguese students reported that their parents had elementary school as their highest education (61%); this was the highest percentage reported by any group, and double the number mentioned by Greek (34%) and Italian students (34%). Adversely, Portuguese students also had the lowest percentage of university educated parents (5%). This lack of education amongst Luso-Canadian parents was also reflected in the fact that Portuguese-Canadian students reported the highest percentage of parents who worked in skilled/semi-skilled jobs (61%).

TABLE 3.

## SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF STUDENTS BY CULTURAL GROUPS, 1991

		OVERALL % (27000)±	White					
			English only % (5800)	Portuguese % (2500)	Jewish % (1300)	Greek % (1200)	Italian % (800)	Polish % (400)
Place of Birth	Canada	57	95	62	86	94	95	35
	Outside Canada	43	5	38	14	6	5	65
Year of Arrival (foreign-born only)	Before 1980	18	53	25	41	47	32	4
	1980-1982	14	19	6	17	9	16	13
	1983-1986	13	10	13	13	13	10	14
	1987-1989	31	8	34	16	26	29	37
	1990-1991	26	11	22	13	6	13	31
Parental Presence at Home	Both Parents	63	61	85	73	86	79	57
	Mother only	18	24	8	16	7	11	25
	Father only	3	5	1	4	3	4	4
	Not with parents	16	10	6	7	4	6	15
Parents' Education	University	44	62	5	89	12	16	42
	Community college	16	14	6	5	15	13	26
	Secondary school	27	23	29	6	39	38	25
	Elementary school	13	2	61	<1	34	34	7
Parents' Occupation	Professional	24	44	3	65	7	10	28
	Semi-Professional/Technical	25	26	12	23	34	21	19
	Skilled/Semi-skilled	32	20	61	9	43	50	31
	Unskilled	6	3	12	1	9	7	6
	Non-remunerative (incl. unemployed)	13	6	12	3	7	12	16
Level of Study	Basic	5	4	9	1	3	5	2
	General	21	15	39	4	18	27	17
	Advanced	74	80	53	95	78	67	81
School Climate (% who agree or strongly agree)	Extra help is available at school when I need it.	81	82	83	79	80	81	80
	This school treats students of all races and ethnic backgrounds fairly and equally.	73	77	78	74	73	74	76
	I feel I "belong" to this school.	73	76	77	77	71	79	73
	My school gives students the help they need for planning their future education and careers.	70	64	76	68	70	74	68
	Most teachers at this school make an effort to know their students.	66	64	69	59	64	70	60
	This school has an atmosphere that encourages students to learn.	65	64	67	63	61	60	57
	Students at this school have enough say over the things that are important to them.	50	50	48	53	46	50	49
Extra-Curricular Activities	Often	21	29	18	32	23	20	20
	Sometimes	34	33	31	37	32	33	30
	Rarely	23	23	26	21	25	25	23
	Never	21	15	25	10	20	22	27
Homework (hours/week)	No homework	4	5	7	2	3	6	3
	Basic	5 hrs	3 hrs	3 hrs	4 hrs	4 hrs	4 hrs	5 hrs
	General	7 hrs	5 hrs	6 hrs	7 hrs	6 hrs	5 hrs	6 hrs
	Advanced	11 hrs	9 hrs	9 hrs	9 hrs	10 hrs	9 hrs	11 hrs
	Average hours (not incl. 0 hrs)	10 hrs	8 hrs	7 hrs	9 hrs	9 hrs	8 hrs	10 hrs
Work (hours/week)	Do not work	60	57	52	57	47	48	51
	Average hours (not incl. 0 hrs)	14 hrs	13 hrs	18 hrs	10 hrs	15 hrs	16 hrs	15 hrs
Students' Post-Secondary School Plans	University	58	61	29	84	55	44	49
	Community College	17	12	26	2	22	22	21
	Work full-time	5	4	10	1	4	7	4
	Not sure	19	18	31	8	16	24	21
	Other	3	3	4	3	3	3	4
Parents' Expectations of Student	University	67	70	40	87	68	57	60
	Community College	15	10	27	2	18	21	21
	Work full-time	4	3	11	2	3	6	1
	Not sure	10	11	17	5	8	11	14
	Other	4	6	4	4	3	5	4
Students' Career Plans	I have one specific occupation in mind.	26	22	32	17	26	28	25
	I have narrowed my plans to several possibilities.	39	43	34	48	45	44	39
	I am undecided and need help.	15	9	16	10	10	11	18
	I am undecided but don't need help at this time.	20	26	18	26	19	17	18

\* All cultural subgroups, except for the Canadian-Aboriginals, constitute at least 1% of the secondary school population. The ethnic groups are identified through information provided by students on the survey forms about their race, ethnicity, birthplace and first languages.

\*\* The population estimates are based on 26,872 on-line student registration records as of November 1991, and rounded to the nearest hundredth. The figures do not include students from the four adult schools in the Toronto Board.



Asian					Black			Aboriginal	Other	
Chinese %	from Indochina %	Tamil %	Indian %	Korean %	from Canada %	from the Caribbean %	from Africa %	from Canada %	Hispanic %	Iranian %
(3100)	(2800)	(500)	(500)	(400)	(900)	(800)	(600)	(200)	(400)	(300)
29	-	1	42	42	100	-	-	100	23	4
71	100	99	58	58	-	100	100	-	77	96
12	16	<1	18	21	-	14	4	-	15	2
19	24	<1	8	9	-	9	2	-	5	4
8	21	5	7	8	-	19	5	-	10	7
28	23	44	40	35	-	42	39	-	43	52
34	16	50	27	27	-	16	50	-	27	35
68	60	29	77	81	44	33	18	40	51	51
8	12	10	11	7	40	41	8	34	25	14
2	2	3	1	3	4	6	2	5	6	4
22	26	58	11	10	12	20	72	20	19	31
31	27	26	42	74	37	22	38	38	36	48
17	19	27	25	11	32	36	24	18	19	17
40	41	42	27	13	25	33	22	36	32	28
12	13	4	7	2	6	9	15	8	13	6
12	6	20	15	13	18	8	19	17	16	22
32	16	20	29	66	30	28	32	31	18	23
37	38	27	37	12	36	39	22	24	36	18
7	6	7	9	3	8	10	5	7	7	3
11	34	26	11	6	9	15	22	20	22	35
3	4	4	6	2	7	14	5	9	5	4
13	22	22	14	4	27	42	36	38	33	19
84	73	73	79	94	65	43	58	53	61	76
77	82	89	81	77	80	83	78	88	85	74
70	72	85	74	60	55	65	73	80	76	72
65	69	87	74	65	70	72	82	65	69	77
69	73	90	78	61	70	73	75	68	76	76
65	70	87	73	55	59	70	80	70	69	64
62	66	89	77	60	59	76	82	60	71	68
50	50	71	56	48	48	50	61	46	55	52
15	10	10	17	20	33	31	13	16	15	21
36	37	53	39	39	33	30	35	39	39	34
27	24	12	22	30	19	18	14	19	20	20
22	30	24	21	11	16	21	39	26	26	26
3	3	3	3	1	7	7	3	8	5	5
10 hrs	10 hrs	10 hrs	4 hrs	8 hrs	3 hrs	4 hrs	11 hrs	3 hrs	4 hrs	8 hrs
11 hrs	10 hrs	11 hrs	8 hrs	5 hrs	4 hrs	7 hrs	12 hrs	5 hrs	7 hrs	9 hrs
13 hrs	13 hrs	15 hrs	12 hrs	12 hrs	10 hrs	10 hrs	14 hrs	9 hrs	10 hrs	13 hrs
13 hrs	12 hrs	14 hrs	11 hrs	12 hrs	8 hrs	8 hrs	13 hrs	7 hrs	9 hrs	12 hrs
65	68	75	62	57	62	63	67	67	66	67
14 hrs	14 hrs	17 hrs	14 hrs	13 hrs	13 hrs	16 hrs	17 hrs	14 hrs	16 hrs	14 hrs
75	51	56	60	86	50	29	41	41	45	70
8	21	21	12	5	27	38	37	26	23	14
2	3	7	7	<1	4	10	3	8	5	3
14	24	15	19	7	17	19	17	20	22	12
1	1	1	3	2	2	4	1	5	3	2
85	66	65	70	93	61	41	51	53	61	78
6	19	15	9	3	22	37	25	20	22	9
2	3	4	6	<1	3	5	5	3	2	3
7	11	15	12	2	10	14	15	19	10	7
1	1	1	3	2	4	2	5	6	4	3
22	28	46	27	26	31	40	33	29	28	38
40	29	19	39	43	41	34	21	38	35	34
17	27	23	16	21	11	15	37	14	20	17
20	16	12	17	9	17	11	8	19	17	11



Other statistics, for more recent years, are also available, from both the Toronto Public Board as well as from the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board, which illustrate that the problem of Luso-Canadian underachievement in local schools has not diminished. This evidence is in the form of the results of the Grade 9 Reading and Writing Tests (by school), the scores from the Canadian Achievement Test (CAT/2), non-public documents showing calculated drop-out rates for the Metropolitan Separate School Board, as well as other internal information from both Boards pertaining to the proportions of students in Special Education who are of Portuguese origin.

These statistics clearly illustrate how Luso-Canadian students - as a group - have continued to function well below the average for children in their ages and grade levels and how they continue to be the most numerous group in Special Education programmes. They also illustrate how similar patterns of underachievement are occurring within the Metropolitan Separate School Board, (which conducts only statistics for internal purposes only and does not make these public). Unfortunately, I was specifically asked on more than one occasion by officers of both Boards to keep this information confidential and to not reproduce these statistics in my dissertation.<sup>4</sup>

One of the worst consequences of the underachievement of Portuguese youth has been the negative manner in which this problem has impacted on their perceptions of their ability to seek a higher education. A Toronto Board of Education report conducted in 1982, which measured the post secondary plans of grade 8 pupils found that, Luso-Canadian children were one of the two groups that were the least likely to feel that they had the ability to succeed in university and who did not have plans to attend, (Larter, Cheng, Capps & Lee, 1982).<sup>5</sup> Over 20% of the Portuguese students surveyed felt this way.

Almost ten years later, the 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey illustrated that these

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<sup>4</sup> I acquired these statistics as part of the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education and not in my capacity as a graduate student. Although I neither agree with, nor consent to, the wisdom, logic or the ultimate benefit of keeping such information from the wider community, I nonetheless reluctantly agreed to respect the wishes of Board officials.

<sup>5</sup> This was the report which became the catalyst for a strong outcry to the media and government, by Portuguese community groups such as the Portuguese Parents Association; an outcry which was instrumental in pressuring the Ontario government of the mid-90's to take action on destreaming grade 9.

attitudes had not changed, to any great degree, amongst Luso-Canadian students (Cheng, et. al., 1993). As Table 3 illustrates, the Portuguese constituted one of the two groups with the lowest percentage of students who planned to attend university (29%), the highest who were unsure about their post-secondary plans (31%) and the highest who planned to work full-time after their secondary education (10%). In fact, there is evidence that many Luso-Canadian students are already heavily involved with employment well before they leave school, since these also reported the longest average hours of part-time work (18), and one of the least numbers of hours spent on homework (7 per week) of any group.

The participants in the present study also raised grave concerns in many of the focus groups across this country about what they perceived to be the serious lack of Luso-Canadian students in post-secondary education (see Chapter 9 "Educational Marginalization"). Their impressions are confirmed by figures gathered from the 1991 Census which indicated that Portuguese-Canadians in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia displayed proportions of post-secondary frequency which were at the levels of the Aboriginal communities in those provinces (See Chapter 8, "Statistical Profile"). Their fears are further corroborated by a report conducted by the University of Toronto on the racial and ethnic origin of its students which showed that, in 1991-92, Portuguese students on the campus of this university (which is situated in the midst of Canada's largest Luso-Canadian community) were disproportionately less numerous than those from comparable major Toronto ethnic groups (Tables 4 and 5, next page), (University of Toronto, 1992, pp. 35, 38).

### **The Call for Answers and Action**

The existence of the problem of academic underachievement amongst Portuguese-Canadian children has been widely recognized in the larger community, by journalists, Portuguese parents and educators, (Duffy, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995e; Ferreira, 1998; "Insucesso escolar entre os," 1994; Levy 1995; Matas, 1982, 1984; McLaren 1988; Nunes, 1995; Philp, 1995; Ponte, 1994; "'Portuguese' students," 1995; "Será," 1994; Vieira, 1995). Luso-Canadian parents, in particular, have demanded answers:

Portuguese parents do not understand what is happening to their children... We're not any dumber than anyone else," Mr. Dos Santos said. "The only question is why is this happening." (Matas, 1984)

**TABLE 4.**

**Race and Ethnicity Survey  
Distribution of Canadian Citizens and  
Permanent Residents by Ethnic Origin**  
% Distribution of Ethnic Origins – Ages 18 and Up

Ethnic Origin	University of Toronto * <—Census 1986 —>		
	Toronto *	Toronto	Ontario
British	19.51	40.59	46.02
Dutch	0.94	1.06	2.03
French	1.34	2.22	6.41
German	1.74	2.58	3.72
Greek	2.60	1.75	0.87
Italian	6.89	8.93	5.47
Polish	1.59	1.74	1.51
Portuguese	1.70	2.69	1.50
Ukrainian	1.39	1.65	1.50
Other European	5.32	5.44	4.33
Jewish	2.27	3.28	1.49
Aboriginal	0.24	0.16	0.50
Chinese	11.76	3.70	1.74
Filipino	0.90	1.01	0.45
South Asian	3.78	2.83	1.38
East/South East Asian	2.65	1.21	0.66
West Asian & Arab	0.66	0.83	0.53
Black, African	1.59	3.06	1.43
Other Single Responses	2.54	0.55	0.38
British/French	2.50	3.19	4.99
British/Other	13.11	6.97	8.17
French/Other	1.18	0.71	1.04
British/French/Other	2.65	1.26	1.74
Other Multiple Responses	8.69	2.59	2.16
Unspecified	2.45	0.00	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

\* University of Toronto Race & Ethnicity Survey Summer and Fall

Source: University of Toronto. (1992). University of Toronto: 1991-92 facts and figures. Toronto: Office of the Assistant Vice President (Planning) and University Registrar, p. 35.

**TABLE 5.**

**Race and Ethnicity Survey  
Graduate / Undergraduate Status**  
(includes Summer and Fall 1991 Survey)

Ethnic Origins	Graduate	Undergraduate	Total
	%	%	%
North American Indian	0.9	0.9	0.9
Inuit/Eskimo	0.1	0.0	0.0
Metis	0.3	0.2	0.2
Other Aboriginal	0.1	0.1	0.1
Chinese	9.3	11.1	10.8
Filipino	0.2	1.1	1.0
Indian	2.2	3.3	3.2
Japanese	0.9	0.8	0.8
Korean	0.3	1.2	1.1
Pakistani	0.4	0.7	0.7
Vietnamese	0.3	0.5	0.5
Other Asian	1.3	1.7	1.6
Black African	0.9	0.5	0.6
Black Caribbean	0.7	1.6	1.5
Other Black	0.1	0.2	0.2
Central American	0.0	0.1	0.1
South American	1.1	0.9	1.0
Other Latin American	0.3	0.2	0.2
British Isles	28.2	25.5	25.9
Dutch	2.7	2.5	2.5
French	6.1	5.1	5.2
German	6.2	6.1	6.4
Greek	0.9	2.4	2.1
Italian	3.6	7.1	6.6
Polish	3.2	3.2	3.2
Portuguese	0.7	1.8	1.6
Spanish	0.8	0.9	0.9
Ukrainian	2.5	2.7	2.7
Other European	9.3	8.1	8.2
American	3.6	2.0	2.2
Arab	1.0	0.5	0.5
Jewish	4.4	3.3	3.5
Middle Eastern	1.0	0.8	0.8
Other	2.1	1.4	1.5
Not Specified	2.4	1.6	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: University of Toronto. (1992). University of Toronto: 1991-92 facts and figures. Toronto: Office of the Assistant Vice President (Planning) and University Registrar, p. 38.

In response, teachers and other observers have often laid the blame for the underachievement back on parental attitudes and practices (Anderson, 1974, p. 164; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Hartwig, 1979; Matas, 1984; Neves, 1977).

Teachers say it is not their fault students cannot read or write. Parents are blamed for not expecting enough of their children and for not emphasizing literacy at home. But if that is so, teachers have a responsibility to educate the parents and tell them how to help, Mr. Marcese [Sic] said (Matas, 1984).

For their part, some officials have also blamed the confused provision of government educational services for preventing educators from teaching all immigrant children in a more effective manner. Toronto school trustee Irene Atkinson spoke of the disarray which characterizes most school programmes for immigrant children in Canada:

In Toronto and Vancouver, a quarter of the student population does not speak English. Yet Ottawa offers no policy – and no money – for their education... "The federal government says: 'Come ye, come ye,' then dumps these kids on the local school boards with no assistance whatsoever," Toronto school trustee Irene Atkinson says. 'It really is absolutely appalling.' The result is a hodgepodge of programs across the country, provided by school boards that say they are understaffed, underfinanced and generally ill-equipped to meet the unique academic and emotional needs of immigrants and refugee children. (McLaren, 1988)

Other officials have attributed this disarray in government services to a lack of clear, research-generated knowledge of the factors surrounding the issue of the education of immigrant youth. In commenting in one Toronto newspaper on the state of the education of immigrant students in Canada, Ms. Lorraine Flaherty, executive director of the Canadian School Trustees Association, lamented that: "The true extent of the education problem is not known" (McLaren, 1988). Ms. Flaherty also decried the lack of research studies into programmes for immigrant children.

The shortage of information on the effectiveness of existing practices, combined with a chronic situation of underfunding, has resulted in all services for immigrant or refugee children being either non-existent or haphazardly organized. In its report on key issues facing young people in Toronto, the Metro Youth Task Force concluded in 1991 that "services for immigrants and refugee youth are notably absent" in this city (Ashton, 1991, p. 25).

Educators have warned that this lack of creation and rationalization of services is directly setting-up the underachievement of a generation of immigrant children, (McLaren,

1988; Senyk, 1983):

In recent interviews, educators in English Canada warned that the shortage of services may be failing immigrant children academically. (McLaren, 1988)

Some trustees are convinced that, without more support, immigrant students will miss the opportunity to become the next generation of productive citizens...Some educators say bright minds are already going to waste. (McLaren, 1988)

Faced with this obvious crisis in our schools, and the acknowledgement of the problem by educators, the question most often raised by Portuguese, and other minority parents, has been the apparent inability, or unwillingness, of the schools to effectively adapt to meet the needs of their children (Contenta, 1987; Levy, 1995; Matas, 1982, 1984; McLaren 1988; Senyk, 1983; Serge, 1985). In a study on parent activism amongst various ethnic community groups in Toronto, Dehli and Januario (1994, pp. 63-74) remarked how many parents had felt frustrated at not having achieved much change in school practices and policies. These parents have particularly questioned why school boards have reacted slowly, or not at all, to parental concerns, (such as enacting destreaming), and to their suggestions for improvement, (such as the provision of heritage languages), (Dehli & Januario, 1994, pp. 63-74; Matas, 1982, 1984; Portuguese parents, 1985). One individual who contributed to the Royal Commission on Learning asked:

...we must ask serious questions about a system that puts students into narrow streams from which they have little chance of escaping.(Royal Commission on Learning, 1994, p. 95)

This question became especially relevant to Portuguese parents in light of the widespread publication of evidence which illustrated that Toronto educators had known, for many years, that certain schools located in areas of high immigrant concentrations afforded their students a less-than-equal opportunity. This evidence took the form of a leaked, secret Board of Education document, which graded elementary schools for the use of high school admissions officers, and by another document, commissioned by the Ontario Economic Council and the Ministry of Education, which ranked high schools according to a secret Ministry code, (Personal interview, Valter Lopes, Jan. 5, 1990; Schachter, 1978, February 27; Schachter, 1978, February 28).

Many Portuguese parents saw the Board's attempt at secrecy, along with the apparent

inability of the school system to change in the face of its own overwhelming evidence, as signs that the system's priorities mitigated directly against the interests of Portuguese students and towards the interests of the middle-class mainstream in reproducing a Portuguese-Canadian underclass. Burnet and Palmer (1988) described the reaction of Portuguese parents in Toronto, in the early 80's, to what they regarded as discriminatory policies and practices within their schools:

An issue that emerged in the Toronto area was the streaming of immigrant children of working-class backgrounds into technical or vocational programs or schools rather than academic programs or academic secondary schools. The parents, many of whom had high ambitions for their children, considered this to be a result of discrimination. Italian, Portuguese and West Indian parents were prominent among those who complained. (Burnet & Palmer, 1988, p. 118)

In the 1994 report of Ontario's Royal Commission on Learning, Portuguese-Canadian community representatives and organizations expressed their frustrations at Ontario's system of streaming, which they felt was directly responsible for steering a large percentage of the community's children to non-university schools and courses (Royal Commission on Learning, 1994, pp. 95-96). They also decried what they felt to be teacher's low expectations of Luso-Canadian students and called for a greater number of Portuguese-speaking teachers, a curriculum which better recognizes the presence of the Portuguese in the world and in the classroom, more support for students at-risk and more outreach to Luso-Canadian parents. Finally, they also asked for more research into the educational difficulties of Portuguese-Canadian students.

The Portuguese Parents' Association of Toronto (TPPA), a group which arose to promote the integration of the heritage languages in the curriculum, directly confronted the Toronto Public School Board over the results of their 1982 report (Larter, et. al., 1982) on student's expectations (Januario, 1995b, 1997). They also laid much of the blame for the wholesale failure of Portuguese-Canadian students on the policies and practices of the schools and on the attitudes of educators concerning Portuguese students. The TPPA attacked the Board for devaluing Luso-Canadian students and their culture. They fought actively against such practices as ability grouping, streaming, culturally-biased assessment procedures, cultural irrelevancy in the curriculum and criticized the Public School Board for providing inferior programmes in working-class areas, (Dos Santos, Perestrelo & Coelho, 1985; "Portuguese

parents," 1985; Toronto Portuguese Parents Association, n.d.; Ward, 1985) They further warned parents that change could only be effected through their active militancy.<sup>6</sup>

Our children are being victimized by a system developed for and supported by the well-to-do sector...It is time for us to wake up and together plan a course of action to correct this injustice!!! (Dos Santos, Perestrelo & Coelho, 1985, p. 153)

Although some educators casually dismissed the position of the Portuguese Parents Association, calling it "left-wing" and "socialist" and blamed this group for politicizing what they felt was essentially a problem of parental and cultural origin, (Matas, 1984), others more readily admitted the culpability of the schools:

'We were overwhelmed,' admits a school board official. 'From being among the least vocal parents, the Portuguese were suddenly in the front lines. The atmosphere was confrontational, and at times, very rough. But they won, and in most cases they were right. (Ward, 1985)

Many educators also came to an acknowledgement that the brunt of the problem lays in the manner in which the school system relates to minority students and their cultures. They described how the issue of minority underachievement can only begin to be addressed through an alteration of the manner in which schools receive minority students, (Contenta, 1987; Ashton, 1991, p. 10).

Ontario's school drop-out rate can be reduced by making immigrant children feel at home in classrooms, educators say. (Contenta, 1987)

### **The Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education**

The most recent efforts to improve the situation of Luso-Canadian students in Toronto schools have attempted to marry the early militancy of the Toronto Portuguese Parents Association with concerted efforts to work closely with the School Boards, local politicians and the Ministry of Education. In February of 1995, the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education - a group comprised of over 40 representative organizations and individuals in the Toronto Luso-Canadian community - was created, as a response to the release of the 1991

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<sup>6</sup> At least one Board employee, in comments made to me, has credited the Toronto Portuguese Parents Association with having been the deciding political force which pressured the Provincial government to enact a policy on destreaming. This same opinion was offered by Dehli & Januario (1994).

Every Secondary Student Survey (Brown, et. al., 1992; Cheng, et. al., 1993; Yau, et. al., 1993), as well as the ensuing negative media coverage which this report focussed upon the Luso-Canadian community (Januario, 1995b, 1997).

Since 1995, the Coalition has been working collaboratively with the Toronto Public and Separate School Boards on recommending ways to improve assessment practices, school accountability, equity in hiring, and in implementing “best practices” (i.e. those practices which have been found beneficial in certain schools) across all schools (Januario, 1997). The Coalition and the Boards have also been working on mentoring and tutoring programmes for underachieving students, utilizing bilingual beginning reader books, developing the “First Steps” and “Steps to University” programmes for kindergarten and Grade 11 students, as well as working collaboratively on a Board-Coalition committee, that was attempting to isolate the situation of Luso-Canadian students through available Board statistical records (Januario, 1997).

The Coalition has also met with different Ministers of Education, in 1995 and 1998, in order to relay the community’s concerns surrounding the educational of its youth, ask for action on the recommendations of the report of the Royal Commission on Learning (1994), solicit for more research to be conducted on the reasons behind the underachievement of Luso-Canadian students and gather political leverage for their work with the Boards (Ferreira, 1998; Januario, 1998; Levy, 1995; Ponte, 1995).

Many of the individuals who have worked closely with both the Toronto Portuguese Parents Association (TPPA) as well as with the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education have felt that the issue of underachievement needs to be approached from two fronts: With the Luso-Canadian community-at-large, as well as with the School Boards and government. As Ilda Januario, a former spokesperson for the Coalition and President of the TPPA stated:

As a community, what can we do? Are we doing the best we can? [...] We have to work continually at two levels at the local school and at the more global level, on problems that affect our community as well as other ethnocultural communities in order to avoid leaving behind the parents of the disadvantaged students. (Januario, 1994b, p. 6)

The Toronto experience has taught the community, namely the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education, that it is necessary to work on various fronts and at various levels [...] Whatever work that is done at the level of the

school system has to be complemented with an effort at information and action within the community.(Januario, 1995b)

There is as yet no reliable information which can indicate whether the efforts of the Coalition have borne an improvement in the academic performance of the community's children. Furthermore, the years have taken their toll on this volunteer collective, as many of the Coalition's members have ceased taking an active part in the long, drawn-out and highly bureaucratized meetings with Board officials. Like the individuals in Dehli and Januario's (1994) study, some Coalition members have become disillusioned at the slow - or hard to measure - change which they have seen in local schools. Others have been driven away by the often politicized and sometimes highly confrontational nature of some meetings. Others have become pessimistic as to the true intentions of Board officials, in effecting any real change within their schools.

More significantly, however, as the topics of joint Coalition-Board meetings have become narrower and more complex (ex. looking into Special Education and assessment issues), the remaining members of the organization have been co-opted to devoting more of their time and energy at the level of the classroom and the Boards. Consequently, they have become less visible in the community media and in the wider community, in general. They have also not been able to devote much time or effort to developing the kinds of community-based approaches to this issue, which would be needed to truly work "on two fronts."

As Dehli and Januario (1994, p. 83) indicated, few studies on education in Canada have examined how families and schools interact in this country. They described how interventions and research conducted in previous studies have not automatically applied to the situations of the parents which they interviewed in their project. They recommended that their study be followed-up by a participatory-action research initiative in Toronto, on issues of parental activism and involvement; a project which could also attempt to introduce good models of school-family-community interactions, along with efforts to restructure schools and classrooms.

From what I have here presented, it is clear that the work of the Coalition would benefit greatly from a parallel community-focussed initiative (in the form of a Participatory-Research project); one which can look at the role of the community in the education issue and particularly

in influencing the educational policies and decisions of local schools.

### **Summary**

As I have attempted to illustrate, Luso-Canadian children and youth in the Toronto school system have been experiencing disproportional rates of academic underachievement. Over the past twenty years, they have dropped out of school earlier, studied at significantly lower levels and been disproportionately represented in Special Education programmes. They have also been found to be lagging behind in reading and language skills. Consequently, a disproportionate number of Portuguese-Canadian children either do not plan to acquire a post-secondary education, or they are not confident about their ability to do so. In fact, there are indications that relatively very few Portuguese-Canadians have acquired a post-secondary education and that the numbers of Luso-Canadian students who are attending these institutions is well below those of other groups.

Luso-Canadian community members have recognized and responded to this issue, most particularly after the publication of the Toronto Public School Board's reports in 1982 and 1991 (Brown, et. al., 1992; Cheng, et. al., 1993; Larter, et. al., 1982; Yau, et. al., 1993). In particular, the Toronto Portuguese Parents Association and the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education have worked in collaboration - and occasionally in confrontation - over recent years with the Toronto School Boards and the Ministry of Education, in order to search for solutions to this problem. Yet, of their work has focussed on school practices, or on the parents belonging to these organizations. Very few of their initiatives have targetted the community-at-large, with a view to developing the capacity of Luso-Canadians to understand education issues and to better advocate for changes within their local schools.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **THE LITERATURE ON THE ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVEMENT OF PORTUGUESE-CANADIAN YOUTH**

#### **The Lack of Available Material**

Despite the alarming statistics surrounding the academic achievement of Portuguese children in Toronto schools, as well as the growing calls of parents for action on this matter, the question of why Portuguese children have been failing in such proportions has generally been ignored by educators, researchers and interested observers of the Portuguese community. As I will illustrate in this review and critique of the literature on Portuguese-Canadian youth, very little scholarly research has been conducted both on the broad topic of the Portuguese in Canada, as well as on the specific topic of Luso-Canadian youth, or matters related to their schooling. As I will further show, this information is generally fragmented, mostly unsubstantiated by empirical research, often child-centred, or - in the case of formal studies - focussed mainly on the practices and policies of the school system. At times it is also culturally biased and contradictory. Most importantly, the existing empirical studies have generally failed to seek out the point-of-view of community members, in order to investigate how they perceive their situation and roles within this country, as well as the way in which they see these issues as contributing to the underachievement of their children.<sup>1</sup> In this fashion, the existing body of literature on Portuguese-Canadians has failed to provide an adequate understanding of the complex nature and causes of the educational underachievement of Luso-Canadian youth.

#### **The Three Types of References**

In a bibliography compiled by Teixeira & Lavigne (1992), one can observe that there are relatively few comprehensive and scholarly references which deal with aspects of the general history and social conditions of the Portuguese in Canada, (ex. Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1979, 1980, 1983a; Anderson, 1974; Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Ferguson, 1964; Hamilton,

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<sup>1</sup> This has occurred largely because the existing literature has also not been grounded in the prevailing theories on minority underachievement, which have pointed to the importance of understanding the attitudes of minority community members regarding their roles and how they view the education system (see following chapter).

1970; Higgs, 1982, 1990; Lavigne, 1987; Marques & Medeiros, 1978, 1980; Noivo, 1997).<sup>2</sup> Much of the remaining available information on this group is still comprised of newspaper and magazine articles, non-scholarly research papers and reports, theses, student essays, and other, non-scholarly books. Even less work has been focussed specifically on the situation of young Portuguese-Canadians, or on the issues affecting their education, (ex. Bulger, 1987; Aguiar, 1994; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Cummins, 1991; Cummins, Lopes & King, 1987; Cummins, Lopes & Ramos, 1987; Dehli & Januario, 1994; Dodick, 1998; Feuerverger, 1991; Gerlai, 1987; Januario, 1992, 1994a, 1995; McLaren, 1986). Thus, the information on the education of Luso-Canadian children continues to be scattered throughout the general historical, sociological and anecdotal references on the Portuguese community, or in a limited number of narrowly-focussed, empirical research studies.

In general terms, the available literature where the issues of Portuguese-Canadian youth and their education are discussed can be divided into three groups:

A first group of references is comprised of various reports, essays, newspaper and magazine articles which have been written by teachers, students, journalists and social service workers, either on the specific topics of Portuguese youth or on aspects related to their education, (ex. Bulger, 1987; "Carl," 1998; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Duffy, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995f; Ferreira, 1998; Matas, 1984; Nunes, 1989; Philp, 1995; "'Portuguese' students," 1995). Within this group, there are also numerous reports and newspaper articles on the general topic of the Portuguese in Canada, where youth and their education is discussed (ex. Costa, 1995; Ferreira, 1977; Grosner, 1995; Hamilton, 1970; Nunes, 1986a, 1986b; Portuguese Interagency Network, 1984). With a few exceptions, (ex. Costa, 1995), the information contained in many of these sources is mostly anecdotal, based on personal conjecture, or compiled through limited interviews and/or by citing only a small number of references.

A second category are the cursory references to Luso-Canadian youth and their education which are scattered throughout the scholarly historical or sociological works on the

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<sup>2</sup> An updated bibliography by Teixeira & Lavigne (in press) will soon be available. A number of other bibliographies also contain works which describe the realities of Portuguese immigrants in North America, (Cashman & Klein, 1976, pp. 267-268; Cordasco & Alloway, 1981, pp. 25-40; Cross-Cultural, 1977; Gregorovich, 1972, pp. 159-160; Miller, 1986 pp. 184-185; Momeni, 1984 pp. 133, 264; Rocha-Trindade & Arroiteia, 1984)

Portuguese in Canada, (ex. Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1979, 1980, 1983a; Anderson, 1974; Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Ferguson, 1964; Higgs, 1982; Noivo, 1997). While these works are generally more scholarly and methodologically rigorous than those in the first group, most of these sources are now badly dated. Furthermore, their examinations of the state of Portuguese-Canadian youth were limited by the lack of available formal research on this group. With the exception of Noivo's (1997) book, many of the discussions on the education of Luso-Canadian youth which are contained within these works relied a great deal on material such as newspaper articles, on scholarly bibliographic searches, and/or on limited numbers of interviews with students, social service professionals and community members.

A third group of references on the underachievement issue are the formal research studies which have been conducted specifically on Luso-Canadian youth, or on aspects related to their education, (Aguiar, 1994; Arruda, 1993; Cummins, 1991; Cummins, Lopes & King, 1987; Cummins, Lopes & Ramos, 1987; Dehli & Januario, 1994; Dodick, 1998; Feuerverger, 1991; Gerlai, 1987; Januario, 1992, 1994a, 1995a; Kady, 1978; McLaren, 1986; Pepler & Lessa, N.d., 1993).<sup>3</sup> Within this group may also be counted a number of unpublished presentations or proceedings, some of which include good discussions of the state of the knowledge of formal research on these topics (ex. Januario 1993, September, 1994b, 1995b, 1997; Nunes, 1983, 1991a, 1991b, 1993)<sup>4</sup>

The information provided in these sources tends to be more focussed and empirically validated than that which is presented in the first groups. However, only a few of these works have dealt directly and exclusively with aspects of academic underachievement (Gerlai, 1987; Januario, 1992, 1993, September, 1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b, 1997; McLaren, 1986). In addition, the scope of these reports was also much more limited. Finally, few of these sources examined, in any great detail, the social and economic context in which Portuguese students exist and generally did not delve into the ways in which this context might have contributed to the variables that were under study. I will now describe how the sources which comprise these first two groups of references characterize the issue of academic underachievement,

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<sup>3</sup> Not included here are the various Board of Education Reports, which have been described in the previous chapter, (ex. Brown et al. 1992; Larter & Eason, 1978; Larter et al. 1982, etc.)

<sup>4</sup> Other unpublished papers may also be found in Teixeira & Lavigne (1992, in press).

followed by a summary of the most important works within these groups.

### **The Scholarly General References and the Non-Scholarly Literature**

Much of the attention on the education of Luso-Canadian children has only been focussed since the release, in the mid-80's and early 90's, of the Toronto Board of Education Reports, which provided statistical validation of the community's underachievement problem (ex. Board of Education, 1962; Brown et al. 1992; Cheng, et al, 1989; Larter & Eason, 1978; Larter, et al., 1986; Royal Commission on Learning, 1994, pp. 95-96). Consequently, the scholarly sociological or historical general references on the Portuguese - most of which were published prior to this period - generally do not address the issue of underachievement, in either a direct, or thorough fashion. In fact, many of the earlier (pre-1992) scholarly and non-scholarly references generally concentrated on describing aspects of the negotiation of the cultural duality, which Luso-Canadian children experience while navigating the conflicting norms and expectations of their traditional families and mainstream Canadian society (ex. Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 175-183; Bulger, 1987; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Nunes, 1986b, pp. 29-38). Consequently, in those infrequent instances where academic underachievement was discussed, this was examined mainly in the light of these cultural conflicts, (ex. Bulger, 1987; Coelho, 1973, 1977), or as the result of parental practices, rather than as a problem linked to school policies and decisions. Thus, one element common to all of these references was their relative lack of critical evaluation of the role of the educational system, in producing educational failure and in intensifying – or even giving rise to – acculturation difficulties. Furthermore, in placing a focus on the children, on their families and on their adaptation problems, these sources have also made a number of assumptions regarding Luso-Canadian youth which, because they do not relate directly to education, fall outside the scope of this paper. These are discussed in Appendix 1.

### **Common Explanations for Academic Underachievement in the Scholarly General Literature and in the Non-Scholarly References**

In general, the sources in the scholarly general literature on the Portuguese and in the non-scholarly references attribute the underachievement problem to four main causes:

## **1. Disadvantaging family attitudes, practices and economic realities**

A number of authors have written that Portuguese families express a series of attitudes, practices and economic realities which disadvantage their children, with regards to education. These are:

- Luso-Canadian parents remove their children from school in order to have them contribute to paying off a home mortgage, or for other reasons, such as to marry them off, to keep them from acquiring what are seen to be bad “Canadian” habits from their peers, etc. (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 134).
- Luso-Canadians parents have little knowledge of the school system and consequently do not become involved in their children’s education, (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980; Grosner, 1995, p. 33)
- Luso-Canadian parents are not able to communicate with their children’s educators (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 140)

The scholarly & historical sources generally described a trend in the community towards favouring work and the vocational trades over schooling and academically-oriented careers. One of the most frequent and popular explanation for this trend is that Portuguese parents put their own children at a disadvantage by “mortgaging” the future of these young people for their own immediate economic gain, especially to pay off the family home. This observation is often used to make a more generalized value judgment, that Portuguese parents, in general, do not value education (Anderson, 1974; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Hartwig, 1979; Neves, 1977).

## **2. Educational problems caused by cultural differences in values and the ensuing cultural duality amongst Luso-Canadian youth.**

Some of the pre-1990 references also promoted the idea that the Portuguese cultural practices and norms which marked the Luso-Canadian family and which the child brought to school - the so-called “cultural baggage” - were also at fault in causing the academic underachievement of Portuguese children. Some references berate Portuguese-Canadian parents for not valuing education, in general, and for not encouraging their children to higher schooling. Other authors focussed on the ensuing “cultural duality” which these differences created amongst young Luso-Canadians and which affected their academic decisions. Burnet and Palmer (1988) summarize this tendency, during the early 70’s, when describing the

educational problems of Luso-Canadian children:

For the most part the children from recently arrived non-English-speaking families performed well in the schools [....] Children of immigrants whose level of education was low did pose some problems, however [...] the Portuguese, whose formal education in the 1960's averaged 3.7 years for men and 2.8 years for women, drew special attention. Hence, concern about linguistic skills quickly became concern about "cultural deprivation," a lack in the home of attitudes and facilities conducive to achievement in the schools. (pp. 116-117)

Thus, the explanations for Luso-Canadian academic underachievement within these earlier sources in the non-academic literature often reflect this "cultural deprivation" point-of-view.

- Portuguese-Canadians generally have low educational expectations, (Anderson, 1974; Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 38; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Hartwig, 1979, Neves, 1977).
- Portuguese-Canadians value the accumulation of immediate financial resources over the pursuit of education. This is sometimes illustrated by Portuguese parents who prematurely remove their children from school, in order to put them to work, (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, pp. 80, 100, 177-178, 204; Anderson, 1974; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Hartwig, 1979; Neves, 1977; Noivo, 1997).

### **3. Lack of scholastic ability amongst Portuguese students related to:**

- Low reading skills, (Brazao, 1978; Leishman, 1978; Matas, 1984),
- A perceived low intellectual ability amongst most Portuguese children, (Matas, 1984).

As I have discussed in the previous chapter on Luso-Canadian academic underachievement, there are many indications that Portuguese youth have had great difficulties with the English language. In 1962, 48.4% of the total number of Portuguese immigrant children in the Toronto school system were said to have been reading below their grade level, (Coelho, 1973, 1977; Board of Education, 1962). In the early 1980's one out of every three high school students in Toronto with Portuguese as their first language was in a vocational program, where most students are at a grade 5 level in reading and mathematical skills, (Matas, 1984).

Many teachers and observers have associated and confused this problem with English-language skills with a lack of intelligence (Leishman, 1978). Laura Araujo stated in

1978 that,

Children of Portuguese immigrants get short-changed in Ontario's school system because their weakness in the English language is confused with slowness. (Brazao, 1978).

Laura Bulger (1987) also stated,

Those who have difficulty with English, get left behind. They are enrolled in schools where they learn a trade and are soon put to work. Its a little more money to help in the purchase of a home. In this fashion, dreams of a better future are dissolved. (My translation) (Bulger, 1987, p. 18).

It is partly for this reason that some educators hold the grossly simplified, (and blatantly racist) explanation that Portuguese children do not have the intellectual capacity to cope with the curriculum. For example, in a 1984 article in the Globe and Mail, the principal of the former West Park Secondary School, a west-end Toronto, basic-level institution with a high Portuguese-Canadian student ratio, was paraphrased as saying how students of all ethnic groups find it difficult to cope with academic subjects because they have very little ability to retain things and often have difficulty coping with abstract concepts or generalizations, (Matas, 1984).<sup>5</sup>

#### **4. Disadvantaging practices of the school system in placement and provision of services to Luso-Canadian students**

A number of authors also brought up certain practices of the school system, (many of which are no longer practised), which, in the past, disadvantaged many Luso-Canadian youth. These included inadequate age-placement, the lack of E.S.L. teachers, a more relaxed discipline of Canadian schools and streaming.

### **The General Literature**

Anderson and Higgs (1976) wrote one of the earliest and most extensive analysis of the Portuguese presence in Canada. Although primarily historical in nature, their work describes aspects of the processes of adaptation of the various generations comprising the Portuguese communities of this country. They also present accounts of some of the main problems which the younger generations face upon entering into their new environment.

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<sup>5</sup> Inherent in this manner of viewing students of minority backgrounds are also questions regarding how teachers define and measure "abstract concepts", "abstract skills" and "logical deduction" and whether or not the definition or evaluation of these may not be biased by cultural factors.

Since this book was written at a time when the presence of large numbers of Portuguese in this country was still a relatively recent fact, it generally does not depict the disproportionate absence of Luso-Canadian students in colleges and universities as a problem. The authors assumed - as did many people in the Portuguese community at the time - that this was a temporary phenomenon. Indeed, in a number of places, the authors voiced their expectations that many young Luso-Canadians would soon be entering into post-secondary education (Anderson & Higgs, 1976. pp. 50, 183).

However, in various parts of their work, they give recognition to a budding community underachievement problem by describing the presence of low educational ambitions amongst the community's youth:

The young people are reaching Grades 9 or 10 in high school. Many are taking vocational courses. The young men are entering skilled trades, carpentry and welding, or are training to become electricians or auto mechanics; the young women are entering hairdressing, secretarial work, clerical work in banks, or seeking careers in social work, nursing or teaching (Anderson & Higgs, 1976. p. 187)

Also,

Among Portuguese Canadians, it is not generally believed that extensive education is necessary to adjust well to Canada [...] There is no clear class basis for parents' encouragement of their children to continue their studies, for in many cases they do not consider education beyond elementary school to be necessary in order to find employment. (Anderson & Higgs, 1976. p. 36)

The authors further describe a number of difficulties related to the practices of the school system, at the time. They mention how older Portuguese children were often put at a disadvantage in their new schools, by being placed in earlier grades, with much younger children (Anderson & Higgs, 1976. p.139). They also related how others experienced the "humiliation" of being forced to return to school after having worked for a number of years in Portugal. Finally, the authors remarked how Portuguese-Canadian fathers don't become involved in their children's schooling, and how the lack of official language fluency often impedes communication with teachers (p. 140).

Despite the extensive scope of the information contained in this source, many of the observations on young Portuguese-Canadians that were made in this book have since become dated. Having been written in the early 70's, most of these comments refer to child

immigrants, rather than to the great numbers of Luso-Canadian children who have since been born in this country. These observations also suffer from the lack of primary research on this topic. Many conclusions were based on the anecdotal evidence of individuals - often students - and on material from the media. For example, in summarizing the findings of articles in The Spectator of Hamilton, a comment is made which most probably no longer applies today,

School teachers with many Portuguese students in their classes note that each year one or two of the girls are taken out of school to marry a young man in a match initiated by their parents. (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 134).

In another instance, it is affirmed that young people coming to Canada under the sponsorship of an older brother or sister have made a faster and more successful adjustment to the school and social environment than those who immigrated with their parents, (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 140). Yet, the question of how the complex issue of adjustment was measured was not discussed.

In fairness, the authors mention how little attempt was made to analyse the educational patterns which were only then becoming evident. As they state at one point, "the whole history of education and ethnicity in Canadian life is a complex one which calls for much research..." (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 137).

Another comprehensive general reference dealing with the Portuguese in Canada is Alpalhão and Da Rosa's (1980) examination of the Portuguese in Quebec.<sup>6</sup> This book examines, in a detailed and scholarly fashion, the process of the immigration and adaptation issues of the Portuguese in the province of Quebec.

This work also treats the analysis of the circumstances of the second generation in a more comprehensive fashion. It avoids the kinds of untested blanket assumptions which marked much of the general literature (see Appendix 1). For example, in describing the state of duality of young Luso-Canadians, the authors do not assume that these become "Canadianized" quickly and easily:

...the children, who are more attached to their new homeland, feel torn between their own tastes and those of their parents and suffer from a certain insecurity about their destiny and their future. (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, p. 146).

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<sup>6</sup> This is the English translation of Alpalhão & Da Rosa (1979). A subsequent Portuguese translation was later added: Alpalhão & Da Rosa (1983)

Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1980) also remarked on the presence of an underachievement problem amongst Luso-Canadian youth in Quebec. They mentioned how the average education level of young Portuguese in Quebec was lower than that for the province, in general (p. 167).

They stated:

This Portuguese community has a reputation as a group of hardworking people who respect the social order. There are some, however, who see as negative the emphasis placed on economic concerns as opposed to the lesser interest shown in the culture of origin and in education. In general, young people tend to limit their schooling to the required minimum because they prefer to find jobs which can guarantee immediate earnings. (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, p. 80)

And,

In the choice of studies, one still finds a tendency towards vocational courses as opposed to an academic option which would normally lead to a university career. (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, pp. 165-166)

In attempting to account for this phenomenon, they described the tendency of many parents to favour work over schooling:

For immigrants, children's schooling continues to be regarded as a means of acquiring social prestige and guaranteeing the future rather than as a factor in integration. However, as we have already pointed out, many immigrant parents are still content to have their children receive a minimum of schooling and enter the labour market as soon as possible (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, pp. 165-166).

They also commented on the conflicting values of the community and the receiving society and on how the high degree of value placed upon home ownership and economic progress sometimes lead Luso-Canadians to focus on working (pp. 100, 177-178, 204).

Yet, as was the case in Anderson and Higgs (1976) book, this work was not about education. Alpalhão and Da Rosa's (1980) general analysis devoted relatively little attention to schooling issues, or to the educational ramifications of the process of the adaptation of youth. Consequently, it dealt mostly with value differences between the first and second generations. Furthermore, no primary research on parental or youth attitudes and practices was available upon which to rely. For the most part, conclusions were formulated from a sampling of the material which was available at the time. This led to at least one instance of a comment which appeared to contradict earlier statements about the preference of parents for giving their children a minimum of schooling:

We must underline the efforts made by the Portuguese group to maintain their

culture of origin and to share in the cultural values of the new milieu. This is particularly evident in their concern with education and the social advancement of their children. Many Portuguese children are subjected to a very intensive curriculum, usually chosen by the parents, who find their fulfilment in the achievements of their children and who frequently tend to enrol them both in official schools and in the Portuguese school, sometimes adding private lessons in ballet, drama, piano, etc. (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, p. 167).

A final limitation of their work was the question of the applicability of their observations to the situation of Portuguese–Canadian youth in English Canada. Since the language and culture of Quebec society are more closely akin to the Portuguese than is the case in English–Canada, (in that both are Latin-based), it is hard to guess what specific impact this may have upon the educational and adaptive circumstances of Luso–Canadian youth in that province. For example, one immediate difference is the higher incidence of differentiation and “discrimination” which Luso-Canadian youth in Quebec seem to report (See Chapter 10 of the present study).

Another extensive reference on the Portuguese in Canada was provided by Hamilton (1970). This work is a scholarly general report on the Portuguese community that is based almost entirely on historical, anecdotal and media material. The report was written for the Toronto Board of Education, as a resource to aid teachers to better understand their Portuguese pupils.

Hamilton (1970) describes only in passing the presence of lower educational expectations of the part of the Portuguese and situates this squarely within the realm of a clash of cultural norms, between a rural traditional culture and a modern liberal one. As Hamilton says in one point:

Special problems of transition are faced by a people such as the Portuguese who have moved from a largely rural class background with low educational standards and an authoritarian family, state and church life to an urban milieu speaking not only a new language, but maintaining different employment and mass educational standards and expressing an often secular life style. A clash of cultures has resulted as the ‘Canadian way of life splits the generations in immigrant families’ (Hamilton, 1970, p. 75) (Quotation marks in original)

And,

This conflict of opposing traditions and life styles is an especially poignant issue for the many young people. Accustomed to a highly structured family, church, and school environments, they find themselves torn between the often contradictory demands of both becoming Canadian and yet remaining Portuguese. Often older children are expected to leave school to earn a living...

...Such practice is customary for many Portuguese at home, and even within the school age population a clash of cultures soon occurs (Hamilton, 1970, p. 77)

Hamilton (1980) also alludes to certain “barriers and communication gaps, which reinforce the immigrants’ isolation within his own community” (p. 81).

Unfortunately, the emphasis of Hamilton’s (1970) work was on Portuguese history, society and political realities. It offered little useful information on the Portuguese in Canada, and virtually nothing on the situation of Portuguese children in the classroom. Furthermore, no empirical data describing the specific situation of Luso-Canadian youth in Toronto schools was collected or presented. For example, this report could well have included the administration of a short questionnaire to Luso-Canadian parents or students.

In fact, even with Hamilton's extensive collection of information on Portuguese society, some of the few inferences on Portuguese youth in Portugal remained inaccurately substantiated or based on assumptions. For example, in describing the relative weight which traditions hold in determining the life of adults and the career choices of youth in Portugal, he states,

The distance between Portuguese and Canadian experience is difficult for even the most reflective mind to grasp. In Canada, for example, the relation between fathers and sons is often described in terms of a 'generation gap'. In Portugal, the opposite is true. When a student is asked to indicate his occupational goal, he is likely to reply 'like my father' rather than specifying an actual occupation. Like father, like son. This is the meaning of an oral tradition for the individual Portuguese of rural extraction. (Hamilton, 1970, p. 80)

Hamilton’s observation of the reproduction of economic roles amongst the Portuguese is somewhat warranted, given the fact that the second generation have generally been reported to follow their parents’ occupational directions and class positioning (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 82, 187; Noivo, 1997). However, Hamilton erred in ascribing this tendency to the effects of “tradition” and in failing to look at the social and environmental determinants to occupational choices. Put simply - until very recently - a father's field of work has traditionally been the only economically available path which was open for most young people in rural Portugal and the only ready source for occupational “role modelling”. For example, a study of work perceptions in that country indicated that, in comparison to the United States and

Australia, Portuguese students had the least work experience; a fact that was attributed to the high unemployment rate in this developing nation, (Nevill & Perrota, 1985). Other studies have shown that in the rural areas, the only available avenues for economic or social progress for those children who would not inherit property has historically been the priesthood, or emigration (mostly to Brasil) (Durães, 1987; Vieira, 1990). Finally, a 1988 study conducted on Portuguese high school students illustrated that Portuguese boys clearly preferred jobs that provided high salaries and prestige, while girls chose those that were judged to be the most feminine and that also provided the most prestige, (Mullet & Neto, 1988).

Another important reference on the Portuguese in Canada was a report conducted for the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto which attempted to study the relation between rural immigrants and Toronto's community services, (Ferguson, 1964). This report is an account of a two year project which the Institute undertook to study the way in which Portuguese and Italian immigrants lived, as well as the various needs and difficulties which social workers observed concerning the former's adaptation to life in Toronto, in the early 1960's. It is interspersed with interesting case histories, which the author uses to illustrate her points.

In this report, Ferguson described how the Portuguese and Italian communities were facing a serious drop-out problem:

School officials are particularly concerned about the drop-out problem among children of immigrant parents, which, they feel, is higher than average, although no statistics are available for comparison (Ferguson, 1964, p. 86).

Ferguson (1964) also quoted a Board of Education Report which showed that Portuguese students were amongst the five language groups who were found to be functioning below their grade level ("Board of Education," 1962).

As in many of the references which we are discussing, Ferguson ascribed the drop-out problem to parents who removed their children from school prematurely (Ferguson, 1964, pp. 77, 86).

Children are part of the family working unit and are expected to contribute as soon as possible to the family income (Ferguson, 1964, p. 86).

However, Ferguson described a few cases which indicated that parents sometimes removed their children from school, for reasons other than to assist the family financially. For example,

she cites one case of parents who wanted to remove their 15 and 16 year-old daughters because they were wanting to adopt habits and preferences, such as wearing lipstick and attending parties with boys, which were non-traditional for the family, (p. 77). In another case, a 14 year-old boy had begun taking time off from school to deliver newspapers in the afternoon, because his mother was unaware that she was eligible for Mother's Allowance (p. 77).

Ferguson, (1964) attributed the decision of parents to remove their children from school to their lack of knowledge of the need for education, as well as to the difficult socioeconomic situation of many new immigrants from rural origins:

There are many requests for work permits for children between the ages of 14 and 16 and because family incomes are low, school authorities find it difficult to refuse. If parents were sufficiently aware of the need for education, they might be willing to make more sacrifices, and if parents earned more, economic pressures might not be so great, and they would not be so dependent on children's pay cheques (Ferguson, 1964, p. 86).

Ferguson (1964, p. 35) described the attempt to quickly purchase a home as one of the biggest reasons for the difficult financial situation of many immigrant families. According to the author, many Portuguese and Italian immigrants became highly indebted with a mortgage, since upon entering this country with virtually no material or financial resources, they regarded home ownership as the primary means to their security:

New immigrants find themselves here with no possessions, nothing but their hands. They bend every effort toward saving for a home, which gives them security, some roots and some status in the community. Without it, they are no-bodies (Ferguson, 1964, p. 35).

Finally, Ferguson (1964, pp. 82-86) made a prophetic warning about increasing automation and the way in which this would decrease the availability of unskilled positions, in the future, for both immigrants and their children:

...it appears to be an obvious, positive, and inescapable fact that a large number of rural immigrants will suffer seriously from unemployment in the not too distant future (Ferguson, 1964, p. 85).

Ferguson argued for a proactive stance regarding this problem:

The school drop-out problem is serious among immigrants as well as among native born. Among these young people are the potential professional and skilled workers which Canada needs so urgently now and for a few years to come. Special attention is needed to the matter of keeping them in school and making it possible for them to develop their talents (Ferguson, 1964, p. 108).

Ferguson (1964, p. 109-119) gave a number of recommendations designed to lessen the adaptation problems of these immigrants, which included informing immigrants of the impending effect of automation upon employment (p. 113), finding methods of upgrading the general education of these groups, (p. 113) and the creation of scholarships for promising immigrant youth (p. 117)

As in the case of the previous works, many of Ferguson's observations are also now outdated. Furthermore, although she includes some discussion of the difficulties encountered by Portuguese-Canadian youth at school and at home, her field of focus was limited to operative problems and those aspects of immigrant adaptation which involve the intervention of social workers. In practice, this means that, as in many other works where case studies are utilized, there was the tendency to illustrate certain points utilizing only the most extreme examples. Furthermore, although Ferguson stressed the importance of education and communication, there was also little mention of the role which schools and school programmes (ex. E.S.L.) played in bettering the educational prospects of immigrant children.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the report, little distinction was also made between Italians and Portuguese, so that in many of the examples that were used, the author did not stipulate to which group it referred.

Ferguson (1964) also makes certain assumptions about the way immigrant children adapted to their new environment. For example, she did not describe any aspect of the internal cultural conflict in the younger generation:

"If [the immigrants] are married their children grow up as Canadians and have little interest in the old country." (Ferguson, 1964, p. 34)

At least one recent work has thrown doubts into this blanket assertion. Antonio Arruda's (1993) study, of 17 adults in Vancouver found that many of these subjects either did not lose, or were attempting to recapture, their Portuguese identity. Furthermore, the participants at a 1986 conference which was entirely conceived and organized by Portuguese-Canadian youth concluded,

The retention of the Portuguese identity of ancestral values and cultural roots is important to Luso-Canadian youth today. They do not want to shed their roots, but they feel they are in a cultural tug-of-war. (Luso-Canadian, 1986)

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<sup>7</sup> At this time, E.S.L. for children had not yet become standard practice in Toronto's public schools.

Recent years have also seen the creation of Luso-Canadian clubs in the two Toronto Universities and many other youth also participate in the clubs and associations of the Portuguese community. Finally, it was Portuguese students who lobbied for the teaching of the Portuguese language at Toronto's Harbord Collegiate (a Secondary School) (Azevedo, 1992).

Anderson (1974) also wrote an extensive description of the social network which determined the process of immigration of the Portuguese to Canada. Through a study based on 200 interviews, she argued that networks of informal and family contacts provided the opportunities for employment and housing that have allowed Portuguese immigrants to come to this country and to achieve "success". She also made mention of the nature of life for the Portuguese in Toronto – including comments on the situation of the 2nd generation.

Yet, her work suffers seriously from the presence of unproven and unstated assumptions. For instance, she took economic success to be the only criteria for success in life for Portuguese immigrants. She also defined the dubious economic success that Portuguese have found in this country through recourse to superficial markers, such as a well maintained home:

"The Portuguese manual workers were chosen for this study for several reasons. They are highly regarded generally in Toronto by employers because they are hard-working persons who fit well into the majority of manual jobs. In the neighbourhoods in which they settle they have achieved an excellent reputation for a high level of home ownership and for maintaining their property in excellent condition. Although many of the immigrants have few years of formal education, they not only support themselves but frequently are economically successful, especially by contrast to their North American educational counterparts." (Anderson, 1974, p. 3)

In describing home ownership and the well-kept condition of one's home as the only criteria for success, Anderson ignored other factors of personal accomplishment; such as certain qualities of family and social life which the Portuguese take as a measure of fulfilment and which other authors such as Noivo (1997) and Nunes (1986a, 1986b) have argued they sometimes sacrifice in their struggle to obtain financial stability. Anderson also glossed over serious social issues of the Portuguese in Canada by ignoring the material, physical and economic privations, sacrifices of lifestyle and frequent exposure to disability in the workplace, which most Portuguese endure in order to achieve home ownership. This was done, even

though her respondents clearly indicated the importance of this aspect of their lives to her,

"Although many men in the sample came originally to better their standard of living, they do not necessarily consider that they have bettered their way of life."(Anderson, 1974, p. 178)

In a more recent study, Noivo (1997, p.88) also observed how the second-generation individuals whom she interviewed considered themselves inadequate and felt that they had failed to succeed academically and occupationally in this society.

Laura Bulger, (1987) was another author who wrote on issues affecting the second-generation. Bulger's (1987) work is comprised of two essays, drawn mainly from the personal conjecture of the author. These are focussed mainly upon issues of adaptation, acculturation and identity of Luso-Canadian young people, as well as on the problems which this engendered. The author briefly described the history of the founding of Canada, as well as this nation's Multiculturalism policy. She further elaborated upon how these influence the sense of identity of second-generation Luso-Canadians.

Bulger (1987) characterized Canadian society as one which offers many Luso-Canadians of the second generation more economic freedom and political plurality, but which allows them much less social freedom:

Outside of the home, no one objects strongly or contradicts in public, for fear of being impolite; no one displays great intimacy or emotions, because of the fear rooted in an anglo-saxon puritanism; no one gesticulates, for fear of being looked upon badly or asks personal questions, for fear of being indiscrete. The adolescent perceives this social conditioning and conceals himself, humbled, behind a strange comportment, that manifests itself in various ways, either through an excessive timidity or through exhibiting a forced <<canadianism>>, refusing to be <<Portuguese>> or to speak Portuguese (Bulger, 1987, p. 11) (My translation)

She described Canadian society as "...a materialistic society, where the utilitarian and profits negate the human aspects," (Bulger, 1987, p. 9) (My translation). Within this context she affirmed that Luso-Canadian youth seek not only "...economic independence but also social access and political participation" (p.9) (my translation).

However, she also commented on how members of the second-generation are ultimately marginalized within their new environment, and detailed how the conflicts caused by their duality often leave young Luso-Canadians with a lack of motivation to succeed:

Confronted, however, by customs that had begun to wane in their country of origin and by a new code of conduct that is imposed upon them, without it,

however, being a part of their experience; rich in options but indecisive regarding choices, even because the motivation which is their parent's pride, is lacking to them; marginalized within their own environment where they grew up and insecure about a past that they little know and that, at times, they often wish to forget, the youth of this second generation have difficulties in affirming themselves as citizens of their new country. (My translation) (Bulger, 1987, p. 20).

As Bulger described at one point, this marginalization is often brought about by the status of these youth as “hyphenated Canadians,” who belong to an ethnic group which is socially and economically less privileged (Bulger, 1987, pp. 10-11)

Bulger’s work made a tentative link between the influence of a socially and economically dominant society on the identity development of second-generation Luso-Canadians and their ultimate success. However, it was inadequate as an analysis of educational issues. As in previous references where the issues of youth are discussed, the implicit message of Bulger’s work was that the impending problems of this generation are solely attributable to the effects of the clash of cultures and its subsequent duality. As she related:

In this second generation, are deposited all of the expectations and in it is also identified the conflict of a phenomenon for which our historical situation predisposes us. For them, the loneliness is as wide as their progenitors, perhaps even heavier because they find themselves at the confluence of various directions, without knowing which path to take (Bulger, 1987, p. 19) (My translation)

Moreover, in describing educational difficulties, Bulger made only one comment, which described how school related barriers often lead traditional Portuguese parents to give up on their children’s education and on their future:

“You have to get used to living in this country.” “Here one doesn’t live as back there.” “Explain to your parents that they have to get used to a healthy diet.” Repeat the school counsellor or the social worker. And the children, who didn’t understand yet their status as “immigrant children,” children of immigrants, make a gesture like they understand. They are docile, sometimes, others, rebellious, as all adolescents. But the educational system is complicated. Those who have difficulty in English, these get left behind. They are enrolled in schools where they learn a trade and soon they are put to work. It’s a little bit more money to help in the payment of the house. And this is how dreams of a better future are dissolved. (Bulger, 1987, p. 18) (my translation)

Bulger closes her discussions by citing how the written testimonials of those in the second-generation reveal “...great disturbance and suffering” (p. 20).

In summary, Bulger’s (1987) analysis was too brief and generalized to clarify the

problem of underachievement. The author also placed the exclusive emphasis for the successful integration of the Luso-Canadian second generation into mainstream Canadian society almost exclusively on the outcome of the negotiation of their cultural duality. In this fashion, she generally neglected to comment on educational barriers, the influence of economic and social marginality upon the duality of Luso-Canadian youth, as well as on how these factors influence the creation of role-definitions within traditional Portuguese families.

One of the few Canadian sources which deals directly and exclusively with the education problems of Portuguese youth in Canada was written by Ana Maria Coelho (1973; 1977), a teacher in the Cambridge (Galt) school system. Like Hamilton's (1970) work, this report was written as a resource tool directed at teachers wanting to increase their understanding of their Portuguese students. However, unlike Hamilton's work, this essay did not focus on Portuguese history and culture, but rather presents a brief, narrative account of the major adjustment problems of Portuguese youth in school, home and community, and some of their causes.

Coelho's (1973) report was one of the few early works to describe some of the school-related barriers which disadvantaged Luso-Canadian children. The author mentioned how during the early 70's, when the report was produced, most Luso-Canadian child immigrants were thrust into the Canadian school system with no consideration of age-appropriateness. She described how many Portuguese children were reading and speaking below their grade level (p.4). She also described the lack of school resources, such as E.S.L. and special reading classes, the dearth of qualified staff to deal with language minority children and the discipline problems which resulted when Portuguese immigrant children began to take advantage of the more lax discipline in Canadian schools.

Yet, although this author mentioned these school-related barriers - as in Ferguson's (1964) and Hamilton's (1970) work - the emphasis in this report remained in detailing how the attributes of traditional, rural Portuguese culture prevented the successful integration of these children in Canadian schools and created the conditions for a culture conflict. She stated:

The problem of transition is essentially twofold: A change from rural to urban and the conflict between the two cultures (Coelho, 1973, p. 5).

In making this point, she cited information from both of those authors, as well as the media, to

describe the worst excesses of some of these families, such as daughters being “beaten senseless” by their fathers for suspicion of promiscuity (Correl, The Toronto Daily Star, June 7, 1969, Cited in Coelho, 1973). In paraphrasing a line from Ferguson’s book, she stated:

Consequently, the problem faced by the school is not only second language learning, but a social and psychological problem. (Coelho, 1973, p. 5)

In describing a growing underachievement problem amongst Portuguese children in Galt, Coelho ascribes this issue directly to the practice of parents removing their children from school prematurely:

Today Galt school officials are particularly concerned about the drop-out problems among Portuguese children. There are many requests for work permits for children between the ages of 14 and 16. Often the child is quite anxious to remain in school. The main reason is that parents feel that the children should supplement the family’s income. Children, to the Portuguese, are part of the family working unit and income. They usually are expected to turn over their complete pay cheque until they plan to marry. (Coelho, 1973, p. 6)

Yet, in making this observation, she also went further to provide a heavily value-laden interpretation for this action and directly accused Portuguese fathers and mothers of not caring about the welfare of their children:

The tragedy of it all is that some of these children are very ambitious and talented. Many are university material but their whole future is risked because of family selfishness, not necessarily financial need. The father would much rather have a large figure in his bankbook and materialistic wealth, than scholarly children." (Coelho, 1973, p.6)

Coelho’s substantial assumption about the situation of financial largess amongst Luso-Canadians during the 70’s was made in direct contradiction to Ferguson’s (1964) comments of the precarious economic circumstances of many people in this community; a curious position, given the fact that Coelho obviously used Ferguson’s report as background material for her own work.

Coelho's (1973, 1977) essay was useful as an introductory source for teachers wanting to learn more about the culture conflict of their Portuguese students. However, as a source of analysis on the academic underachievement of Portuguese students, it was extremely resumed, generalized and inadequate. Furthermore, as in Hamilton’s (1970) work, no attempt was made to gather primary data to support the observations that were made. The author also gave little

weight to examining how the practices of the school system which were identified created and perpetuated students' "social and psychological problem."

More seriously, it was heavily tainted with value-laden, unsubstantiated, culturally-biased assumptions about the supposed "inadequacies" of traditional Portuguese culture. This feeling culminated at the close of this work, where the author insinuated that the problems of Portuguese students will only be resolved, when they are able to rid themselves of the vestiges of their Portuguese cultural values:

But there is a spark of hope, for culture is not a static entity [...] Migrants make adjustments in their new environments, and in so doing create new values and attributes (Coelho, 1973, p. 8).

In the end, Coelho makes it obvious that her interpretations were heavily influenced by the ubiquitous encroachment of her own negative family experiences. She confesses,

"Many of the conflicts discussed in this paper have some hope of being resolved. Others will continue to exist for many decades to come. The young immigrant must cope with them or revolt against them in order that he may find his peace of mind. As one who has been put through the grind mill, I can honestly say that I cannot deduce any magic solution." (Coelho, 1973, pp. 7-8)

This point highlights one of the major limitation which characterized both Coelho's work, as well as some of the material which is based solely on limited numbers of interviews with second-generation Portuguese-Canadians. This is the tendency for many authors writing on the Luso-Canadian family to regard adolescent problems (for example, educational difficulties, or conflicts between parents and youth) strictly in terms of culture conflicts. For example, many of Coelho's observations could as easily have been made of mainstream Canadian children who were going through the normal turmoil of adolescence:

"He begins to regret this commitment to the family. He yearns for independence and self-identity. This often is the basis for a family split.", (Coelho, 1973, p. 5)

This tendency was also apparent in one of my own earlier publications, which I wrote while still an undergraduate Geography student, and which examined the adaptation problems of the Luso-Canadian family, (Nunes, 1986a). More extensive and updated than Coelho's (1973; 1977), this work examined the particular obstacles and difficulties experienced by each of the different nuclear family members, in turn, including the children. This is also the only

work to-date which has attempted to elaborate, from a psychological perspective, on the process of acculturation of Luso-Canadian youth, on their school-related difficulties, and also the only available source (besides Ferguson's, 1964, work) which attempted to formulate specific recommendations for alleviating the adaptation problems of Portuguese-Canadian families.

Within this work, I discussed many of the same school barriers which were described by Coelho (1973, 1977), such as lack of E.S.L., the inappropriate placement of older students in earlier grades, and the inability of most Portuguese parents to assist their children with educational matters (Nunes, 1986, p. 37). I further mentioned my belief at the time that the lack of parental incentive was the root cause of the poor scholastic advancement of Luso-Canadian youth:

Problems in maintaining a high scholastic achievement and very often pressures from the parents to begin contributing financially to the family are behind a high Secondary School drop-out rate (Nunes, 1986, p. 38).

I went on to make a prediction about the future of the community's youth, by stating that although, "young Portuguese-Canadians now in school will be more willing to enter university," (Nunes, 1986, p. 43), in actual fact "few will permeate into [these institutions]" (p. 38).

However, while this work invariably helped to augment the few references on Luso-Canadians which were available at the time, like Coelho's (1973; 1977) report, the focus of my book was on problems of adaptation, rather than education. For example, the section dealing with problems of Luso-Canadian youth dealt almost exclusively with their internal cultural conflict:

The immigrant Portuguese child's greatest challenge is to deal with the tenuous yet crucial problem of their ethnic group identification (Nunes, 1986, p. 30)

Also like Coelho's work, this examination was mainly anecdotal and consequently suffered from a lack of empirical validation. While this reference avoided much of Coelho's culturally biased comments and assumptions,<sup>8</sup> the discussion around youth centred mainly around the problems which result from the cultural conflict between parents and their children,

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<sup>8</sup> For example, one major difference between the approach in Nunes (1986) and Coelho (1973) was that I did not convey the message that the influences and limitations of traditional Portuguese culture are necessarily at the root of the problems of most Portuguese youth.

as well as on the importance of a healthy resolution to the individual youth's ethnic group identification (pp. 32-36). Furthermore, most of my observations were based on only a few interviews and limited bibliographic research (which included Coelho's 1993 work). Consequently, this discussion on youth adaptation was written almost entirely from my interpretation of my life experiences and those of my closest peers.<sup>9</sup>

One of the most recent general sociological examinations on the Portuguese was conducted by Noivo (1993, 1997).<sup>10</sup> This author interviewed 35 Luso-Canadians - 10 each from the first and second generations and 15 from the third-generation - in an effort to chronicle the marital and parent-child relationships of these three groups. The author described how the "social injuries" of class and gender inequalities, migration, generational conflicts and minority group status juxtapose amongst Luso-Canadian families to negatively affect their quality of life (Noivo, 1993, pp. 66, 68-69, 1997, pp. 7-31). She went on to illustrate how the marriage between the "immigrant project" (pp. 54-59) (to succeed economically, purchase a house, etc) and "family projects" (pp. 28, 46-48) (to create a better environment for family life) often leads to multiple contradictions, visible and invisible injuries amongst its members, and the compromising of the dreams and aspirations of these individuals, (most particularly for women, the elderly and youth). As the author concludes:

...migration ended up placing tremendous strains on kin ties, particularly on sibling relationships. Carrying out family and migration projects simultaneously masks many social contradictions and constitutes, intensifies and doubles social burdens. (Noivo, 1997, p. 135)

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<sup>9</sup> It becomes clear from these and other works that the anecdotal material which has been written by members of the second generation, or the material which is heavily based on interviews with adolescents and young adults, must be appraised with great caution. For many young Portuguese who live in the large urban centres with significant immigrant communities, their main contact with "mainstream", middle-class Canadian patterns of parenting and upbringing has been through middle-class teachers, educational material, and - most importantly - through television. In particular, the images of Anglo North-American parenting and family life which were invariably transmitted through this medium to children during the 60's, 70's and 80's, were highly selective and stylized portrayal of an idealized family existence. This gave children, and particularly those minority children who had little contact with mainstream families, ample opportunity to begin to form implicit comparisons between the supposedly "real" (or imagined) bucolic Anglo North-American "standards" of family life which they saw on television, and their own traditionally-rigid, often discordant, imperfect family life. Thus, when interviewed, these young people would often overemphasize the more negative, authoritarian and restrictive elements of their Portuguese upbringing, as a means of driving home an implicit, or implied, comparison.

<sup>10</sup> The first is a short journal article which summarizes the major findings of the study.

Noivo (1997) also described how the intersection of “family projects” and “immigrant projects” often leads directly to the co-opting of the younger generations in the projects of the older individuals, in ways which stifle their schooling and social mobility.

It is the family trajectories and life experiences of previous generations that largely determine the lifestyles of the younger members. (Noivo, 1997, p. 134)

The second-generation individuals within Noivo’s (1997) study eventually internalized their parents’ vision of what constitutes a better economic life - sacrificing their personal academic advancement to the family’s economic project and maintaining their own children in an artificially high standard of living (p. 57). As a result, of the 10 second-generation members which she interviewed, 7 had dropped-out of high-school and had been required to pool their monetary resources with the family (p. 56), mainly by being obliged to submit their pay cheques to their fathers (p. 66). As Noivo summarized:

Very few second-generation members have actually fulfilled the aspirations of the first generation. Instead, most continue to rely substantially on the socioeconomic resources of their aging parents.[...] the overall educational, social and economic lives of the third generation are alarming. Yet, none of the parents in this study seem to grasp the structural barriers to class mobility, nor are they ready to (re)examine their methods of “helping” their children, and to question their and their children’s perceptions of what constitutes a good (family) life.(Noivo, 1997, p. 134)

The author also described how, second-generation parents were insecure and tended to blame themselves both for their own and their children’s low educational level:

Because the majority see Canada as an open and mobile society based on merit and equal opportunity, many parents also feel personally responsible for and embarrassed of their children’s poor academic achievement. Like other working-class members, they interpret “their” failure to move up the social ladder as individual inadequacy and not as a structural problem. Accordingly, these parents ordinarily voice strong regrets for “having made nothing” of themselves, for “not having gone to night school,” and for “not having been given the opportunity to continue studying.” But, most persuasively stress - as if to vindicate their injured self-image - “it’s going to be different with our children. (Noivo, 1997, pp. 88-89)

She further described how these second-generation parents placed a great deal of emphasis on providing their own children all the opportunities and resources which they felt they had lacked, as well as on encouraging these children into high-paying, high-status occupations, such as doctor and lawyer (p. 89).

However, Noivo (1997) also relayed grave concerns that, because of this treatment, the

3rd generation are living in relative indolence and ignorance of their vulnerable educational and economic position. Of the fifteen youths which she interviewed, only one was financially independent (Noivo, 1993, p. 71) and most were living pampered and sheltered by their parents, well above their means. The author describes her fears that an entire generation in the community is heading for an economic calamity:

First, a great number of third-generation members are neither pursuing an education nor acquiring marketable skills. They remain oblivious to the current trends and demands in the labour market, namely to the fact that increasing automation will result in the elimination of the kinds of jobs working-class immigrants have generally held. Second, whereas these largely unskilled working-class youths expect to get personal fulfilment and gratification from their work, they are also used to a lot of leisure time and to relatively higher consumption than their class position allows for. Many appear fervently determined “to enjoy life instead of *just* working hard and saving” (their emphasis). Finally, I found it appalling that no one, not even their parents, seems to realize the seriousness of the situation, or seems troubled by the uncertain occupational/material future of the third generation. (Noivo, 1997, pp. 94-95)

Noivo's (1993, 1997) study represents the most recent general sociological examination of the Portuguese and, as such, its findings are more contemporary and up-to-date. The author skilfully narrates a picture of the complex interrelationships between class, economic position, family obligations and educational success.

However, this work also shares some of the limitations of previous work on the Portuguese in Canada. While the discussions of the educational situation of the various generations are more complex, and hence more valuable, than those in previous general references, nonetheless, they remain interspersed throughout the narrative on the family dynamics and intergenerational relationships. Given the relative importance which the issue of education was shown to have within this study, it might have warranted a more detailed examination.<sup>11</sup>

Similarly, virtually no reference was made of the effects which school structural factors may have played on the decisions of the second-generation members to abandon school, to take up their parents' family projects. In this sense, Noivo seems to have given tacit assent to their beliefs that the responsibility for their failure was entirely on their shoulders. At one point in her study, Noivo describes how the second generation suffer from a lack of self-worth and

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<sup>11</sup> In fairness to the author, it should be mentioned that this was not the stated aim of the study.

self-respect, largely because of their failure to progress:

...like most parents, the second generation wants their children to acquire “cultural capital” in the form of a higher education and marketable skills, perceived as enabling them to eventually get those “good” jobs that bring economic security and social respectability. But unlike most middle-class Canadian parents, the second generation suffers the type of class injuries discussed in chapter one, namely lack of self-worth, social respect, and dignity. These parents tend to blame themselves both for their own and for their children’s low educational and occupational levels. Because the majority see Canada as an open and mobile society based on merit and equal opportunity, many parents also feel personally responsible for and embarrassed of their children’s poor academic achievement. Like other working-class members, they interpret “their” failure to move up the social ladder as individual inadequacy and not as a structural problem. Accordingly, these parents ordinarily voice strong regrets for “having made nothing” of themselves, for “not having gone to night school,” and for “not having been given the opportunity to continue studying. But, most persuasively stress - as if to vindicate their injured self-image - “it’s going to be different with our children.” (Noivo, 1997, p. 88-89)

And yet, even here, the author seems unclear as to whether these parents hold any accountability against the school system. Noivo (1997, p. 89-90) affirms - in an apparent contradiction in her narrative - that those second-generation parents in her group placed almost all responsibility for their children’s educational progress on schools and teachers:

Those I met placed almost all responsibility with schools and teachers. (Noivo, 1997, p. 89)

And,

...second-generation parents attempt to “make-up” for their self-perceived inability to motivate and assist their children intellectually by authoritatively “forcing” them to study. When this method fails, parents seemingly realize their mistakes and end up feeling even more inadequate and guilty. This is particularly true of mothers, who are accused by spouses, older children, and other kin of not enforcing adequate and stricter study habits and schedules on youngsters. Not surprisingly, these mothers tend to react by transferring the blame to others, namely to teachers and schools. (Noivo, 1997, p. 92).

One important critique of much of the preceding material was provided by Arruda (1993), who decried the lack of balance in much of the available information on Luso-Canadian youth and its obsessive focus on conflicts and problems. As Arruda berated:

Although Portuguese families began arriving in Canada in the mid-1950’s, there appears to be little systematic treatment of Portuguese-Canadian childhood and adolescent experiences in this country. Canadian and New England works that do investigate children and youth on their own terms seem to have paid little or no attention to investigating any issues other than their problems of adjustment to a new country. Indeed, one offering from Southern Ontario, *Papers on the*

*Portuguese Community* (1977) is so saturated with “problems” that had translated copies been sent to the Azores and northern Continental Portugal, forward-looking parents might have remained longer within their perceived *miséria*. (italics in original: author) (Arruda, 1993, pp. 8-9).

Arruda argues convincingly that, by focussing upon problems of adjustment, and by overlooking cultural diversity and social change within Portugal and the immigrant community in Canada, the previous literature has constructed a “monolithic composite” (p. 9) of a Portuguese-Canadian family (Arruda’s paper will be discussed in the section on empirical studies).

Further observations on the education of Luso-Canadian youth are also found in numerous newspaper, magazine and journal articles, and various social service reports which have been written on the Portuguese in Canada.<sup>12</sup> Many of these newspaper articles and social service reports were written after the mid 80’s. Consequently, they tend to address the issue of academic underachievement more directly. In particular, the reports which were compiled by the Portuguese Interagency Network (a Toronto umbrella organization) generally discussed Luso-Canadian students’ academic problems in light of the economic and structural limitations of the Portuguese family (Costa, 1995; Grosner, 1995; “The Portuguese,” 1984).

The 1984 report “The Portuguese Community: A Reflection of Current Trends” conveyed the results of a questionnaire which the Portuguese Interagency Network administered randomly to 210 Portuguese households, in Toronto’s Wards 2 and 4. The results indicated that, from the 169 households which responded to the question on dropping-out, 44 children had left school early, (“The Portuguese,” 1984, p. 6). The author of this report gives his/her opinion that this is considered high, and mentions that these figures confirmed earlier Toronto Board of Education statistics regarding early-school-leaving amongst the Portuguese. The reasons given for dropping-out were listed as “academic” (37.5%), “economic” (25.0%), and “preference for work” (29.2%) (p. 6). The report also made some observations, regarding this issue:

- There was a lack of confidence in educational achievement, in the Portuguese community.
- Children were found to be marrying at a very early age, and this practice was

<sup>12</sup> Although there are greater numbers of these than the general sociological and historical major references, only the most important of these will be discussed at this point. The remainder will be referred to, where necessary, during my subsequent discussions.

seen to be encouraged.

- Education was not being encouraged.
- Parents and students were not aware of funding for education, in the form of grants and loans.
- There was the perception that a university education was beyond the means of parents and impossible for their children.
- Parents' level of education were found to be very low, (approximately 70% of respondents had completed grade 4, or less, while 7% had no schooling at all (p.5). This meant that these did not provide viable role models for their children.

(“The Portuguese,” 1984, p. 6)

This report also describes the overrepresentation of the individuals sampled at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale and attempted to link this reality to the lack of academic advancement of community youth, (p. 7-9). In particular, the report mentioned how their insecure economic positions, coupled with their need to purchase a home, often induced many young people to abandon their studies for the working-world:

When they first came to Canada, they moved into apartments or shared facilities with other families which they found very restricting in various ways. Thus, in order to maintain family sanity and sometimes just to find accommodation with enough space, the Portuguese often purchase homes. This places a financial burden on the family which they can only meet by both parents and sometimes the older children going out to work (“The Portuguese,” 1984, p. 9).

Having been based on a survey, this report is more empirically-based than much of the previous literature. However its range of scope within the education field and the questions that were asked were very limited. Consequently, some of its conclusions were unclear. For example, there is no clarification of what was meant by “academic” or “economic” reasons for early-school-leaving. Furthermore, as in much of the previous material, this report is also dated.

In the end, the author makes a number of recommendations about the need to promote awareness in the community about the value of education and parental involvement in school associations, as well as the revision of the policy of streaming. Significantly, one of these recommendations is that another study be conducted specifically on children in the community (“The Portuguese,” p. 21).

The report by Grosner (1995) is a general introduction to the Portuguese and Brazilian

communities and, as such, does not discuss education issues extensively. Mention is made of the underachievement problem, as well as to the lack of participation and encouragement of Portuguese-Canadian parents:

Traditionally, the perception has been that Portuguese-Canadian parents do not value education and do little to encourage it, a belief created by the fact that many parents do not seem to participate in activities connected to their children's schooling, and by reports of parents who encourage their children to enter the work force as soon as possible (Grosner, 1995, p. 33)

However, the author goes on to state that there is still no evidence to suggest that Portuguese parents value education any less than other parents, since no research has been conducted (p. 34). The author also cites the systemic barriers of the education system, such as streaming, the lack of E.S.L. instruction, the lack of teachers of Portuguese background, low expectations on the part of instructors, biases against the language and culture of Portuguese students, cultural biases in psychological tests (that are utilized in the recommendation of children for special education), and a curriculum which ignores the students' cultural and historical background (Grosner, 1995, p. 34).

However, although more recent than the previous 1984 report by the Portuguese Interagency Network ("The Portuguese," 1984), this latest profile of the Portuguese and Brazilian communities is broadly focussed and provides no new information in the way of education.

The newspaper articles which were written following the early 90's were mainly centred around the concerns of community members regarding what they saw as the disadvantaging policies and practices of the school system (ex. "Carl," 1998; Duffy, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995e; Ferreira, 1998; "Insucesso escolar entre os," 1994; Levy 1995; Matas, 1984; Nunes, 1995; Philp, 1995; Ponte, 1994; "'Portuguese' students," 1995; "Será," 1994; Vieira, 1995). Many of these articles described the results of the various educational statistics that were emerging from the Toronto Public School Board, as well as the community's reactions (ex. Matas, 1984). The coverage of the education concerns of the Portuguese-Canadian community was especially intense following the release of the 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey, (Brown, 1993; Brown, et. al, 1992; Cheng, et. al., 1993; Yau, et. al., 1993) (Duffy, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1995e; Ferreira, 1994; Nunes,

1995). Other newspaper stories described the work of the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education, (Ferreira 1995a, 1998; Levy, 1995; Ponte, 1995; Vieira, 1995). Still other newspaper reports - especially those from the Luso-Canadian media - discussed the community's own responsibility on this problem (Duffy, 1995f; "Insucesso escolar alarma," 1994; "Insucesso escolar entre nós" 1992; "Mesa," 1995; "Não dá," 1994; Ribeiro, 1995; "Será," 1994).<sup>13</sup>

In general, the reaction that was prevalent in the community media, while stopping short of condemning Portuguese parents directly for taking their children out of school, raised general and broad questions about the role of the community within the education problem. For example one article in the popular Toronto Luso-Canadian paper A Voz called for the community to also look outside the schools, in order to find the answers to the problems described in the 1991 Toronto Board Survey, (Brown, et. al, 1992; Cheng, et. al. 1993; Yau, et., al., 1993):

It would be ridiculous to think that there existed a conspiracy against us...! To start with, it would be best to say what we should not do. We should not ignore the facts, or use this report to, once again, start fighting amongst ourselves or start denigrating or attacking our institutions - like the family, or even the schools - which are bad, and I believe which teach little, [but] they are this way for all of the other 16 ethnic groups. It would be ridiculous to think that there exists a conspiracy against us, [that was] organized by the "Board of Education." ("Será, 1994) (My translation: Author) (Underlined in original)

Another article within the same edition stated the problem in this back-handed fashion:

We were all present at the release of a report based on surveys that were more or less scientific and that informed us that our youngest - those who are today in the ranks in the Secondary Schools - display... ... one of the lowest rates of academic success. And this, whatever they may think, those who still believe that it is more important to have two houses, than a good [degree] and a good academic preparation, is alarming. ("Insucesso escolar alarma," 1994) (My translation: Author).

Other writers in the community, while recognizing the barriers imposed by the school system, (ex. streaming), focussed their energies on informing Luso-Canadian parents of the need to become more involved in their children's schooling and to actively work against the negative practices of local schools, (Ferreira, 1995b; Ribeiro, 1995). One of these, in

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<sup>13</sup> This is not meant to be an exhaustive list, merely to provide a sample of the varied sources and points of view which have entered into the underachievement issue, over the years.

particular, Katherine Ponte, a second-generation law student at the time of the release of the 1991 Toronto Board Survey (Brown, et. al. 1992), used her regular column in the newspaper Família Portuguesa to become a tireless critic of the education system, (Ponte, 1994, 1995). She was also one of the key individuals behind the creation of the Portuguese-Canadian Coalition for Better Education, when various people and groups from the Toronto Portuguese community coalesced around her efforts to present a petition to the 1995 Ontario Minister of Education, David Cooke. The petition asked for assistance in making the educational system more accountable to this community (Ferreira, 1998; "Petition," 1995; Ponte, 1995).

### **Refuting Some of the Explanations for Underachievement**

As the community newspaper articles suggested, some of the explanations for Luso-Canadian academic underachievement which are raised in the general literature are common amongst many people in the Portuguese community; particularly the belief that some Luso-Canadian parents place economic concerns over their children's education (see Chapter 9 "Role of Parents"). However, a few empirical studies have raised questions regarding the validity of this widely-held belief.

In one report conducted in 1970 on the Portuguese in Metro Toronto, Pinto (1970) described how all of the Portuguese parents interviewed for his study had stated that a child should continue his or her education for as long as he or she desired. Similarly, in both Januario's, (1992) and Noivo's (1997) studies, the parents interviewed made statements that, they hoped that their children could acquire the education that they didn't achieve. In fact, the second-generation parents in Januario's study mentioned that they were ready to support their children as long as necessary, in order to achieve this goal. In a part of the questionnaire from present study which was not utilized in this dissertation, 78% of those people who answered cited a university education as a sufficient level of schooling for their children (although these were sampled mainly from those people who are active in clubs and associations) (Nunes, 1998a). In a report completed in 1982 by the Toronto Board of Education, in which the degree of importance which grade 8 students placed on education was compared by ethnicity, Portuguese-Canadian students rated education to be significantly more important than money or jobs (Larter, et al., 1982). Furthermore, these Luso-Canadian students gave a slightly higher

rating for education than the Canadian respondents. Similarly, a large majority of students in a study by Cummins, Lopes & King (1987) agreed that their parents showed an interest in their studies and would like them to have an academic career.

If we accept the finding of Noivo, (1997, p. 57) that second-generation Luso-Canadian youth "internalize the first generation's vision of what constitutes 'a better (economic) life'" and desired economic priorities, then we might assume that the answers of the students in the last two studies might possibly reflect their parents' attitudes towards education. Regardless of this debate - and the prevalence of people's opinions regarding this matter - the important point is that the evidence is often contradictory concerning parental attitudes.

The points of view contained within the anecdotal, historical and sociological references are also contradicted in part by the observations and conclusions from the few empirical studies which have been conducted specifically on Portuguese youth. In general, those studies share the common tendency of placing a great deal of emphasis upon the practices and attitudes of the school, as the major factors in the determination of academic underachievement.

### **Summary of the General Literature**

In summary, the available information on the topic of the academic underachievement of Luso-Canadian youth continues to be scattered amongst numerous scholarly and non-scholarly general references on the Portuguese community. This information is not detailed and mentions little of the education issues of these children. It is focussed mainly on the adaptation difficulties of Portuguese youth and upon describing the "cultural" and "values conflict" between themselves and their families. In this fashion, the literature has promoted a "child-centred" and "cultural deficit" assumption of the academic problems of Portuguese children; an explanation which advances the idea that certain negative aspects of the Portuguese cultural heritage are the root cause of their academic failing. This point of view has generally been supported by the reports and newspaper articles about the community, which ascribe the problem mostly to the lack of promotion of education, on the part of Portuguese-Canadian parents.

However, the information contained within these references - most of which were written before the widespread dissemination of the results of the 1991 Every Secondary

Student Survey (Brown, et. al, 1992; Cheng, et. al., 1993; Yau, et. al., 1993) - is neither detailed nor has it been substantiated by primary research. Furthermore, with the exception of those newspaper articles which were released following the publication of that Survey, the authors of most of these scholarly and non-scholarly general references have largely failed to critically examine the structural, political, social and economic factors in society-at-large and within the educational system, which may play a part in creating underachievement.

### **Empirical Studies on Luso-Canadian Youth**

While few scholarly works are available on the general topic of the Portuguese in Canada, even fewer primary research studies have been conducted which specifically examine Luso-Canadian youth, or on issues that are directly related to their education (Arruda, 1993; Cummins, 1991; Cummins, Lopes & King, 1987; Cummins, Lopes & Ramos, 1987; Feuerverger, 1991; Januario, 1992, 1994a, 1995a; McLaren, 1986; Pepler & Lessa, N.d.). There are also a number of theses and dissertations which examine various themes impacting on the education of Luso-Canadian children (Aguilar, 1994; Dodick, 1998; Gerlai, 1987; Kady, 1978). Unlike the case with most of the general literature, these are works which detail the results of empirical research projects, which explore one aspect or another that impacts upon issue of underachievement. In addition to these, there exists at least one other extremely valuable study, which was conducted in the United States on Portuguese children in one New England school, (Becker, 1990).<sup>14</sup>

One important feature of these reports is that, they are all highly critical of the role of school policy and practices, in structuring academic failure. In particular, the authors of these studies have placed an emphasis on illustrating how the policies, procedures, rituals and expectations of educators define the role and identities of their Portuguese students and contribute to the latter's academic underachievement. Hence, the findings of these researchers tend to add a new dimension and clarity to the conclusions offered in the general literature sources, or openly contradict many of the assumptions within these works (ex. Becker, 1990;

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<sup>14</sup>This was not a Canadian study and great care must be taken regarding the applicability of these findings to a Canadian context because of the differing social, economic and political conditions in the two countries, particularly with regards to government policies on Multiculturalism. However, this work is still useful for drawing parallels.

Januario, 1992; McLaren, 1986).

The most extensive study as yet conducted on the academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian students was Peter McLaren's Schooling as a ritual performance, (1986). In this study, McLaren examined how the formal and informal, overt and covert ritual systems of a predominantly Portuguese, working-class, Catholic Middle-School in Toronto's West End, structured the roles and identities of its students, towards the twin aims of producing workers and making Catholics. Utilizing an analysis that was situated within ritual and performance theories, McLaren detailed the process by which Azorean students in his target school were moulded and prepared, through the ritual system erected by school officials, to fulfil the latter's lowered expectations of them. In accomplishing this, he positions ritual studies within a theory of educational praxis, and incorporates into his analysis such diverse fields as anthropology, liturgics, performance theories and educational research.

McLaren (1986) began this work by describing some of the theoretical constructs behind the study of rituals and schooling, then went on to provide a broad cultural profile of the Portuguese and the problem of underachievement within the Toronto community's youth. He next moved to a description and analysis of the ritual systems which he observed in his target school, through the elaboration of a framework describing the different "states," or "behavioural clusters or complexes," of rituals which he observed (McLaren, 1986, p. 83). These he named the "streetcorner" state (pp.84-88), "student" state (pp. 88-89), "sanctity" state (pp. 89-90), and "home" state (90-92). He then proceeded to utilize this framework to help to describe examples of the school-based rituals, symbols, patterns of walking, talking, working and playing which he observed amongst students and teachers and to discuss their implicit relationships within the wider cultural system, whose implicit aim - he concluded - was the reproduction of an acquiescent working-class. These rituals included such phenomena as "micro rituals" (ex. individual lessons), "macro rituals," (an aggregate of lessons, or the ritual of passing from one grade to another), "rituals of revitalization," (staff meetings, emotional discussions between students and teachers, school-wide masses), "rituals of intensification," (rituals which are meant to recharge and unify students or staff emotionally) and "rituals of resistance," (passive and active acts on the part of students, to resist the coopting pedagogy and method of instruction) (McLaren, 1986, pp. 79-81). McLaren concluded his work with some

recommendations and reflections on the issues which he had discussed.

Throughout his work, McLaren (1986) contrasted examples of the different “states” and the implicit, unstated intentions which each embodied. For example, in describing some of the rituals encompassed by the “student state,” McLaren observed:

The political and cultural characteristics of the student state left physical as well as psychic marks upon students. The rigid, mechanical, invariant and eros-denying gestures of the student state mirrored the essential ideology transmitted through the root paradigms of “being a good worker” and “being a good Catholic.” While listening to the daily “lecture-style” instructions, students would sit up straight and tall, their eyes frozen on the teacher. When working on an assignment, students fixed their eyes to the opened books or sheets of paper on their desks. Slouching or leaning back on chairs, interrupting a lesson with a raised hand, standing up during a seatwork exercise, or staring out of the window for more than a few minutes invariably incurred strict reprimands from teachers (McLaren, 1986, p. 218).

In contrast to this image of the “student state” as oppressive and culturally indoctrinating, McLaren offered his observations of students within the “streetcorner state” and painted these instances as liberating tools of the resistance of these young people to the culturally annihilating and implicitly hegemonic school agenda:

While in the streetcorner state, students are indulgently physical and exhibit an unfettered exuberance. Activity in the streetcorner state sometimes bears a close approximation to primary experience: bodies can often be seen to twist, turn and shake in an oasis of free abandon, as though locked within some experiential primordium or primal state of non-differentiation. There is often a great deal of physical contact. Behaviours have an *ad hoc* and episodic characteristic to them, often appearing unbound and ungoverned (McLaren, 1986, p. 85).

What McLaren attempted to show in this study was not simply that these working-class Luso-Canadian youth were abandoned academically by their school, but rather that this institution played an undeclared, yet active, role in constructing the academic failure of its students. McLaren summarized the effect of the teaching rituals which he observed in this school, on the self-concept of its students:

Instructional rituals functioned mainly to sanctify the workplace, to hedge the cultural terrain with taboos, to shore up the status quo, and to create a student body conditioned to accept such a state of affairs. Ritualized classroom lessons tacitly created dispositions towards certain student needs while simultaneously offering to fulfil those needs. For instance, students were made to feel inadequate due to their class and ethnic status and hence the school offered to help socialize them into the “appropriate” values and behaviours by tracking them into designated streams and basic level courses. (McLaren, 1986, p. 215)

Another important contribution of this work was McLaren's success in uncovering what were deprecating and often blatantly racist attitudes amongst the teachers in this school, regarding their Luso-Canadian students. These were often brought out by teachers to explain and account for the former's academic failure. As McLaren described one staff meeting:

During one meeting, a staff member exhorted those present not to expect too much from this year's crop of students, claiming that teachers couldn't be expected to fill sixty-ounce bottles with ninety ounces of wine. By this he meant that Portuguese students - presumably because of their language and cultural differences - couldn't be expected to learn as much as middle-class Anglo-Saxon students. Staff meetings thus became occasions during which the tacit categories that located Portuguese students as academically inferior were credentialized and made legitimate. The paradigmatic status of cultural deprivation theory was therefore enhanced through the imputed consensus that Portuguese students were 'inferior' to middle-class students in manifold ways - the most pronounced deficit consisting of academic achievement. Through informal gossip on the part of teachers, the Portuguese student was made into a type of subcultural underdog - a member of an underclass or *Untermensch*. (McLaren, 1987, p. 119) (*Italics in original*)

And,

Under the shibboleth of 'cultural deprivation', the concept of the Portuguese student as an 'alien' from a subaltern class became part of the ideological ensemble or set of canonical categories of teacher thinking and therefore part of the teachers' corpus of classroom knowledge. Through informal teacher dialogue over sandwiches and coffee, the stereotype of the Portuguese 'deviant' was able to invade the lexicon of professional chitchat.

In addition to communally confirming categories of deviance with regard to students, staff meetings also had a determinate effect on the school's hidden curriculum. Meetings such as these were part of the unstated pedagogical plot of redeeming Azorean students from the horror of their 'mediaeval' culture-forms, their 'vagrant' attitudes, and their 'primitive' raw being." (McLaren, 1986, p. 120)

Furthermore,

On one occasion, a senior staff member used the term 'wolf in sheep's clothing' to describe a group of students. A definite feeling was evoked that the Portuguese student was 'primitive' in some fundamental way. Thus, the emergence of the feral stereotype." (McLaren, 1986, p. 121)

Finally,

Students were reified as lacking in socialization or as pathologically deficit in cultural graces: in(sic) short, they were regarded as constitutionally disposed towards academic retardation and atavistic behaviour - the Lockean view of children as unformed adults in need of civilizing taken to a hideous extreme. One smiling teacher tried 'humorously' to sum up the situation by describing the students as products of 'bad sperm'" (McLaren, 1986, p. 122)

McLaren's study represented one of the few major research projects which has been conducted exclusively on the underachievement problem of Portuguese students and, in this sense, it is a pioneering work. It is also useful as an analysis of how wider-world relationships of power, coercion and the advancement of implicit agendas are played out within a classroom setting, between teachers and minority students, to the eventual disadvantage of the latter. Unfortunately, as an analysis of ritual and reproduction, McLaren's study has a number of serious and irredeemable flaws.

The most important and obvious of these limitations is that McLaren did not take into consideration the obvious cultural differences in nonverbal behaviour between his Portuguese students and their mainstream Canadian teachers (Hall, 1959; Wolfgang, 1984, 1992), nor how these might have accounted for the differences which he ascribed between the "streetcorner" state of his Azorean students and the "student" state promoted by his more reserved (presumably) Anglo-mainstream teachers (ex. p. 91). For example, in depicting the scene at a school dance, he describes in primal, exotic and animalistic terms, what to many Portuguese might be considered normal patterns of behaviour amongst their normally more expressive and exuberant Latin youth:

While bodies were on sexual display during the fast dances, there remained a sense of sanctified prurience. Some teachers admitted feeling threatened by the fluidity, pleasing eurhythmics and unrestrained indulgences of student performances. Laughter was explosive and feet tapped the ground in a delicate frenzy. Several students started to emit wild groans and before long the whole gym was an orgy of pre-verbal utterances. Students formed small circles and danced around the gym. Some bodies joined together in contagious hysteria: writhing, twisting and sliding across the floor in a human snake. Boys slow danced tenderly with girls although girls usually danced with other girls. One teacher admitted being 'shocked' and 'horrified' at witnessing some boys dancing with other boys. (McLaren, 1986, p. 154)

The language which McLaren utilized in this passage appears not to explain Azorean "streetcorner" behaviour so much as it illustrates McLaren's own beliefs about what constitutes moral depravity.

Adversely, at other points in his analysis, he did not make the distinction between the behaviour of troubled teens and "Azorean streetcorner behaviour":

The cultural objectives of the instructional rites were often in conflict with those of Azorean streetcorner behaviour. For instance, politeness and obsequiousness in responding to authority are not traits that fare well in the streetcorner

state.(McLaren, 1986, p. 169)

In this instance, what McLaren seemed to be implying was that streetcorner behaviour in Azorean culture, (or the behaviour of "comunitas" as he termed it - loud and boisterous repartee, p. 86, 92), does not include politeness and deference to authority; a patently ridiculous observation and one which many of those familiar with Portuguese culture would vehemently contest.

McLaren's failure to correctly interpret the "rituals" of his students was particularly highlighted by the fact that the author did not conduct any research in the homes of the Portuguese-Canadian children which he was observing (p. 90). This lack of knowledge of the home-life of his students is ultimately reflected in his lack of a true understanding of the culture of his Portuguese subjects and, possibly, in an inability to truly comprehend their attitudes regarding their education. For example, McLaren never attempted to gauge student's attitudes regarding their ethnic identity, vis-à-vis their mainstream teachers; a factor which often has a bearing on the types of non-verbal behaviour, rituals and "microinteractions" which are expressed by minority members (Cummins, 1994). Similarly, the author did not trouble himself to find out whether the rituals of resistance which he observed might also have been expressed within the home (in which case, they might not have been interpreted as such by the author). Despite this serious omission, at one point in his work McLaren, himself, described the importance of understanding the context behind observed rituals:

It is exceedingly difficult - if not impossible - to attempt any interpretation of ritual without first understanding its relational aspects, that is, without examining the contexts (historical and situational) within which the ritual is enacted. Furthermore, a substantive evaluation of the ritual system of a school is more than undertaking a sign hunt or a symbol hunt; rather, it is to locate the parameters of the hunt itself in the sociopolitical milieu of the wider society - one in which notions of power and cultural distribution are taken seriously (McLaren, 1987, pp. 81-82)

This failure also led the author to an analysis of the Portuguese community which was brief, superficial and riddled with unseemly and often erroneous stereotypes (pp. 52-62). For example, in walking down the streets of Toronto's Portuguese community, what most caught his eyes were the:

...colourfully painted homes and the profusion of rust-splotched cars... ...front yard gardens that were decorated with small shrines made from bathtubs turned on their ends and buried halfway into the ground; the plaster statues of the

Virgin entwined with blinking, coloured lights... ..and the fences constructed from concrete blocks and decorated with pottery shards, broken glass and pop bottles (McLaren 1987, p. 52).

Another major weakness of this study was that McLaren (1986) ascribed the perpetuation of the oppressive ritual systems in his school almost exclusively to class and religious bias, while attributing relative little importance to racially- and ethnically-motivated attitudes and assumptions on the part of their mainstream teachers. In this fashion, the author generally avoided an analysis of the culturally- and racially-relativistic attitudes behind the perpetuation of dominance.

This occurred despite the fact that many of the teachers which he interviewed freely shared their opinion that they regarded their Portuguese students to be culturally and racially distinct (often even non-white) and also gave these cultural and racial differences as the reasons behind their students' underachievement. For example, McLaren (1986) relates the belief that Anglo-Canadians as a whole view the Portuguese as non-white, and also as inherently and racially inferior to their own numbers:

Canadians are apt to describe Azoreans not as the exploited poor but as an exotic race who would add to the Canadian stock a much needed element of 'colour' and 'industriousness.' Yet, among some Canadians there exists a growing paranoia about being 'outbred' by darker-skinned nationalities. (McLaren, 1986, p. 53).

McLaren's apparent indifference to racial and ethnic imperatives in the school was also reflected in his own treatment of his subjects. McLaren was often not aware that he was communicating in his passages, the same racial and ethnocentric assumptions which he occasionally attributed to the teachers in his school. For example, in contrasting his "dark" Azoreans students to their "white" instructors, the author appeared to be saying that he, himself, considered his Portuguese subjects "non-white":

The liminal initiands (the Azorean students) are often feared by the generally white, middle-class instructors (the Azoreans are dark, exotic, physical; they are gypsies, outlanders, relegated to a pariah status). (McLaren, 1986, p. 99)

McLaren also indiscriminately and surreptitiously interrupted his dialogue to gratuitously provide graphic vignettes which repeatedly accented violent, sexually explicit and crude behaviour, on the part of the Portuguese students in his school, (ex. p. 61, 87, 145, 155, 187). Since the author almost never bothered to explain the relation of these passages to

the preceding narrative, or to the complex of rituals which he was trying to isolate, most often, their purpose was not clear and they seemed to have been inserted merely to engage and titillate the reader. McLaren's mocking tone further heightened the impression that he was trying to paint these students as the very "degenerates" which their teachers felt them to be:

It was amazing to see so much activity among the students so early in the morning. Movement was pronounced, even exaggerated. After searching in vain for a handkerchief, a kid about 12 sporting the moustache of an 18 year-old, blew his nose directly on the pavement. I was worried that someone might slip on his invention. (McLaren, 1986, p. 87)

In offering these passages in this careless and insensitive fashion, McLaren himself seemed to be perpetuating the same image of the "feral" stereotype of his Portuguese students that he criticized amongst his teachers (McLaren, 1986, p. 121).

In summary, the flaws in McLaren's work greatly overshadow the contribution which this study has made to the question of Luso-Canadian underachievement. Particularly disturbing was McLaren's emphasis on the rhythm of his work, over its substance. Instead of clarifying the difficult issue of oppression by ritual and symbolic interaction, this author's unquestionable virtuosity with the English language served mostly to mask over the serious and fundamental misinterpretations which precipitated throughout this book. Ultimately, this work did not really come to terms with the issue of the academic underachievement of Luso-Canadian youth, since it virtually excluded the point-of-view of these young people and their families. Worse yet, having been written entirely from the author's personal (and biased) perspective, it further excluded and denigrated the very group which it was intended to examine.

One valuable qualitative study, conducted in the United States in an urban New England high school with a population of recent and early arrival Portuguese immigrant students, reached similar conclusions to McLaren, regarding the importance of practices and attitudes in the school system (Becker, 1990). In this study, Becker related how the implicit educational policies and practices of educators in that school actively derailed the school's explicit multicultural policy and practices, in a fashion which negatively shaped the ethnic identity of its Portuguese students. These policies and practices stigmatized Portuguese students and directly contributed to their academic underachievement, through "self-fulfilling

prophesies" (p. 51).

...Portuguese students quickly lost their sense of ethnic pride. This loss also affected their school performance...Failing grades further encouraged early school dropout. (Becker, 1990, p. 53)

Portuguese students in this school were regarded as "low brow", truant, low in self-esteem, excessively obedient, too docile, inordinately respectful of teachers, and as lacking in interest in both education and in the social life of the school. Portuguese students were also consistently the most underachieving and the most likely to drop out.

At the same time, teachers also re-interpreted what have traditionally been seen as positive Portuguese cultural concepts in a negative light: The penchant for hard work became viewed as anti-intellectualism; close family ties became interpreted as exclusionary tendencies; respect for authority was seen as docility; protection of females was regarded as sexist and discriminatory; fear of blacks was racism; non-political involvement was un-American, (Becker, 1990, p. 51), (This type of re-interpretation was also found to be occurring by Januario (1992).

Becker described what she saw as racist attitudes against the Portuguese, on the part of educators:

"When the teachers' feelings about the Portuguese were examined closely, many revealed patterns of racism, ethnocentrism, and cultural superiority." (Becker, 1990)

Furthermore, Becker described a racial hierarchy in the school which, if not directly created by teachers, was nevertheless explicitly promoted by these. Portuguese ethnicity was conferred the least prestige by the teachers, while blacks, (who have traditionally been regarded as the most undesirable group in the racial hierarchy of the United States), were regarded as the most popular and desirable.

Becker detailed how, as a result of these negative evaluations, Portuguese students displayed a dichotomy of ethnic identification, where pride in ethnic origin was openly displayed at home, yet was played down in the school. She described the effect of the school's ethnic denigration on students who had been in the United States the longest,

"Aspects of the early students' ethnic identity revealed an ambivalence stemming, in part, from ethnic pride nurtured in the home, and ethnic rejection as reflected in the implicit policies of the high school." (Becker, 1990, p. 52)

Becker added,

At home, by contrast, the early arrivals not only spoke Portuguese almost exclusively, but pointed with pride to their Portuguese heritage. They showed pictures of their homeland, told stories about their villages, and kept embroidery, special costumes for feast days, unique musical instruments, and even recipes on display. Although most of the early arrivals could speak English and Portuguese with equal ease, they used Portuguese with me at home and English in school, regardless of the language I used with them. (Becker, 1990, p. 53)

Becker saw the denigration of the Portuguese as one means of identifying and isolating them as a distinct ethnic group in the school.

This author also described how, on the one hand, the practices and attitudes of this school mediated against the maintenance of a Portuguese ethnic identity, on the other, those Portuguese students who comprised the earliest arrival group were still not accepted as "American," even after they had assimilated Anglo-American culture. Becker elaborated,

"Total assimilation into the Anglo group was, however, prevented by the Anglo students' unwillingness to accept the Portuguese, and by the teachers' continued labelling of the early arrivals as Portuguese. A fairly common form of approbation used among Anglos and blacks alike in the school was the expression 'Quit acting like an immigrant' or its variant form 'Quit acting like a Portagee.' The behavior in question could be anything from sloppy eating habits to an unattractive wardrobe. The expression was used as a general sign of disapproval and was not directed towards members of any ethnic group in particular." (Becker, 1990, p. 53)

and,

"The effect of implicit educational policies on the ethnic group became detrimental to the maintenance of ethnic identity in the school. While change in the cultural/symbolic aspects of ethnicity preceded the dissolution of structural barriers, assimilation of the ethnic group was simultaneously encouraged and thwarted by the educational hierarchy. Students continued to be regarded as Portuguese long after they'd chosen to identify themselves as Anglos. Because acceptance by Anglos was neither immediate nor total, group members still associated with each other, further increasing their identification with the ethnic group." (Becker, 1990, p. 53)

Evidence of the importance which mainstream attitudes and perceptions may have upon the ethnic identity of the Portuguese is also available from Canada. In a sociological study conducted on the Portuguese experience in Vancouver Boulter (1974) described how the actions or practices of all members of society were what defined or set up ethnic differences, rather than those differences being an attribute of any particular ethnic or immigrant group. In

another study, Fernandez (1979) found that being Portuguese conferred different status at different times. In a similar fashion to the conclusion of Becker's (1990) study, Fernandez found that Portuguese immigrants also frequently express their Portuguese identity in private while attempting to project a Canadian identity in public. Fernandez also noted how Portuguese children born in Canada are never really accepted as "Canadians" but are frequently referred to as "immigrant" children, (Fernandez, 1979, p. 5). Fernandez adds,

"While as individuals Portuguese experience acceptance, rejection, respect and disregard by Canadians to varying degrees, nearly all acknowledge the existence of at least subtle indicators of a negative evaluation of being Portuguese in Canada." (Fernandez, 1979, p. 7)

Another study which explored the home and school factors affecting the achievement of Luso-Canadian children Januario's (1992) qualitative comparative analysis of English- and Portuguese-Canadian, Kindergarten and grades 1-2 students (as well as a subsequent article taken from this project (Januario, 1994a)). Through the presentation of a number of case studies, Januario (1992) detailed how different factors, and in particular differential teacher's evaluations and expectations of Portuguese students resulted in the differential success of the two groups of sample children.

Among the important points which were highlighted by Januario's (1992) comparison was a disturbing lack of recognition by teachers of the progress which some of the Portuguese project children had accomplished, throughout the time of the study. In other words, despite the stated importance given to "process" over "product" in educational methods and assessment, some of the Portuguese children had invariably been evaluated in terms of "product," while their relative strengths and progress had been poorly evaluated, or ignored.

Another factor which came to light was the differential treatment afforded some of the Portuguese students by their teachers; treatments which at times appeared to be related to differential expectations, rather than to objective evaluations of accomplishments or needs. In one instance Januario remarked of a teacher's indifferent attitude to one student,

The unequal reception accorded to Carlos as opposed to Asher and Judith for a similar amount of work seems to be based on overall academic standing and expectations rather than strictly on the task at hand. (Januario, 1992, p. 24)

In another instance, Januario (1992) noted how the expectations of teachers were often determined by cultural factors, rather than by measures of specific academic progress. The

author mentions the emphasis on oral activities in the early grades, rather than on pencil-and-paper work; she also describes teachers' evaluations based on the transmission of culturally-specific social skills, such as the ability to engage in lively group discussions, (Januario, 1992, p. 46).

In Januario's analysis, it becomes clear that those children who did not manage to meet their teachers' culturally-based expectations quickly became labelled as lacking in academic competence and were left to develop by their own devices, according to the teachers' subjective vision of their capacities,

...children were only called upon to do what they were perceived to be individually able to do rather than being expected to meet the normal curriculum expectations for the grade." (Januario, 1992, p. 53)

Similar points were made in Januario's (1994a) publication about the case of Tomás, a kindergarten student who began having difficulty soon after entering school. After outlining the case of this pupil, Januario listed a series of major issues which, together, characterized the tension between school and home which led to perpetuation of this child's poor achievement. These included social class, lack of parental confidence to participate in school, inconsistent teacher expectations, unequal treatment, ability grouping and streaming, difficulty in acquiring English skills, the lack of support for students with little English, the lack of valuing of heritage languages and cultures, and the slow response of the school to respond to "at-risk" students (Januario, 1994a).

Januario's (1992, 1994a) works deftly revealed how teachers' self-fulfilling prophecies regarding some of their Portuguese-Canadian students, when coupled with cultural and class differences - such as the conflicting expectations between parents and teachers regarding proper educational approaches - combined to relegate some of the children in her studies to lower-tiered levels of study. However, since Januario's (1992) work was limited to case studies concentrating on students and their progress, there was little opportunity afforded to enter into an analysis of the reasons for the differential expectations of teachers, their evaluations and treatments of some of the Portuguese children in her sample.

Januario's (1995a) report described a study where a series of questionnaires and interviews were sent to principals and School Board administrative staff, in order to gauge their

opinions regarding their Luso-Canadian school populations, culture language and achievement issues, staffing and parent-school relations. Case studies were also presented detailing two schools with high Portuguese-Canadian populations. The author observed that the notions of social class and ethnic status were factors in the “racialisation” of the Portuguese-Canadian group in the school system. Parents and children are seen to be suffering a linguistic deficit and their cultural background is blamed for their school problems. One educator stated:

The girls have no goals, see everything as a block and can't see beyond high-school, are depressed and want to be employed and expect the job to be permanent; they are satisfied with the idea of a factory or stocking shelves; they feel inferior and don't see themselves in white-collars [sic] jobs and say 'Not for me!' They are not living up to their potential. The pressure to work interferes with their ability to stay in school; there is a mentality that you're lazy if you don't work. (Januario, 1995a, p. 68)

Yet, Januario also concluded that - despite this attribution of responsibility on parents - schools are not acting on better including the Portuguese and other minorities. They are only “just beginning to integrate curriculum initiatives and teaching strategies that take cultural and racial factors into consideration,” and “they still do not have the knowledge or the willingness to integrate community input and content into curricular and extra-curricular initiatives to improve learning outcomes.” They also “are yet to be fully implanted in their communities.” (Januario, 1995a, p. 76).

Thus, the manner in which schools related to the culture of Portuguese students, and hence the messages that they convey regarding identities and roles, took on a great significance in these previous research studies. In particular, the devaluation within the schools of the culture and class of Portuguese students was a recurring theme voiced by these researchers. As I have illustrated, McLaren (1986) described the deprecating attitudes held by teachers in his school, regarding Azorean students and their culture. Januario (1992) also criticized the predominant view, regarding Portuguese and other immigrant languages, in her schools of study:

These are not “language-deficient” children but rather “language-enriched” children; bilingualism or trilingualism should be seen as part and parcel of the acquisition of literacy and not as a marginal issue. The researcher noticed, for example, that a substantial portion of the school staff in the two schools were fluent in languages other than English and French because of their immigrant roots, but this precious attribute always seemed to be underplayed in the school culture and community. (Januario, 1992, p. 54).

Januario and McLaren further mentioned how Portuguese children in their studies were frequently evaluated by teachers according to criteria that were different than those applied to their mainstream classmates (Januario, 1992; McLaren, 1986).

Both Becker (1990) and McLaren (1986) saw this devaluation of Portuguese culture, and the attitudes and practices subsequently adopted by teachers, as reflections of wider mainstream relations of power between the Portuguese and the Anglo-mainstream. Becker stated,

The ambiguity of the public school's response to the socialization of its LEP populations reflects a larger ideological tug-of-war being played out by the American people...Anglo conformity and melting pot ideologies persist through implicit policies that undermine effective bilingual program implementation.(Becker, 1990, p. 54)

McLaren paralleled her views,

Forms of instruction and teaching practices generally constituted an inadvertent ritualized reaffirmation of ethnic stereotypes and the daily ritual remaking and reconfirmation of class division. (McLaren, 1986, p. 224)

A number of other studies and theses have also been completed which examine the responses of parents and adolescents to their and their children's schooling issues.

One of these reports examined the attitudes and experiences of minority activist parents with the education system (Kari & Januario, 1994). The authors interviewed two dozen activist-parents (including a number of Luso-Canadians) in order to formulate observations regarding issues of power and inequality and what type of parent was being encouraged to participate. Most of the people interviewed did not fit into the stereotype of the "typical," well-educated, middle-class activist-parent. The authors elicited experiences which ranged from co-operation, achievement and solidarity, as well as anger and frustration. The most predominant theme was the difficulty and perseverance which was required of minority parents that were working to change the practices of the schools. Many of the Luso-Canadian parents reported a mixture of frustration and pride.

There was frustration and disillusionment that the process of change was dragged on by the Boards over many years. Parents mentioned that change in the basic structure and organization of schools had been marginal. As one person stated "It doesn't look any different" (p. 64) and it remains difficult for outsiders to monitor regular classroom practices. Significant

change occurred mainly where parents worked with officials and teachers with goodwill and cooperation of individual teachers and officials.

Yet, there was also a strong feeling of pride amongst some Portuguese activists that they had been able to work together with a number of groups to bring forth changes to the policy of streaming (by destreaming grade 9). As one person stated:

Now imagine, here we are, Portuguese parents with a funny accent, you know, very excited, in front of the CBC cameras and having tremendous debates with the owners of the system and telling them, "You are wrong, you know, and we can prove to you you are wrong. You know why you are wrong? Because of this and this and this. Look at your own statistics," you know. "Just explain this to us." So finally, because they could not get rid of us, they start paying attention and they start giving us credit. And all of a sudden, here they are telling the newspapers that, "These guys are great!" [...] So we, at times, we were really very confrontational. But we won. They were the ones who said we won. (Dehli & Januario, 1994, p. 49)

One of this report's most significant, yet unstated, conclusions was that those Luso-Canadian activists who appeared to have been the most successful, were those who had worked in direct, public and vocal confrontation with the schools (as the example above illustrated). Also significant is the recommendation of the report's authors for the implementation of a participatory-action research project, involving students teachers and parents, that would examine family-school interrelationships (p. 83).

In her thesis, Aguiar (1994) examined the specific elementary school and immigration experiences of seven Portuguese women, who had been born and raised in rural villages in São Miguel, Azores, in order to understand the impact which these experiences had had upon their lives and upon their relationship to their children's education. Aguiar found that these women saw their role as encouraging and supporting their children, since they had little educational means to become more involved in the latter's schooling. All of these women were also reported to have high educational expectations for their children, since the same opportunities had been denied to them. Most also expected discipline in school but rejected the corporal punishment which had characterized their own school years. Aguiar concludes that it is more feasible to change the curricula and pedagogic relations to meet the needs of their children than to attempt to change the home culture of these women. Aguiar closes with a number of recommendations which revolve around the responsibility of the school to work more closely

with parents from limited educational backgrounds and to have more communication with these regarding their children's schooling.

In a similar project, Arruda (1993) interviewed seventeen adult subjects who had been teenagers in Vancouver between 1962 and 1980, in order to gather their adolescent experiences. He concluded that the lives of Luso-Canadian adolescents often differed considerably from one another. He also argued that, the literature on Portuguese-Canadian adolescents has ignored cultural diversity both within Portugal and within the immigrant communities by not accessing individuals from varying backgrounds. Consequently, it has portrayed a "monolithic" view of (p. 21) of Luso-Canadian adolescence; one which has dwelt obsessively with problems and conflicts and. Arruda stated:

Indeed, one offering from southern Ontario, *Papers on the Portuguese Community* (1977) is so saturated with "problems" that had translated copies been sent to the Azores and northern Continental Portugal, forward-looking parents might have remained longer within their perceived *miséria*. (Arruda, 1993, p. 9)

The subjects in Arruda's study experienced different degrees and recollections of parental control, family life, work and educational situations. For example, the older parents in this study - who had been parents of school children in the 1960's - had a more positive perceptions of the Canadian school system than younger parents or their own parents had held. Arruda also paraphrases a number of observers who stated that dropping-out of school had been less of a problem in Vancouver's Portuguese community than in Toronto's and that by the end of the 1970's "Portuguese parents [in that region] were taking a vital interest in their children's education" (p. 17).

Arruda (1993) reached these divergent conclusions because a number of his subjects originated from "middle-class" and Continental (European mainland) backgrounds, which afforded them a much more liberal upbringing than had been the case with rural-Azorean and working-class Luso-Canadians. Other factors which Arruda said had contributed to different experiences between adolescents were parental dispositions, the gender and age of subjects upon emigration and individual personality.

Arruda's (1993) main contribution was in illustrating how that all communities, including the Portuguese, are composed of people from a variety of backgrounds. More

importantly, while the findings of this study are difficult to generalize to the community at large - since the Luso-Canadian community is overwhelmingly working-class - they have illustrated the degree of significance which factors such as class origins, may hold in determining the problems - educational or otherwise - of Luso-Canadians.

A series of reports and theses have also been conducted on topics related to literacy development, bilingual proficiency, heritage language and English as a Second-Language issues, technology issues and mental health amongst Luso-Canadian children. These are important in the fact that, all of these aspects have some bearing on the academic achievement of youth. A number of these reports also made observations relating to such issues as parental interest in education, children's preferences in ethnic identification and language. Some of the conclusions in these reports, especially those in Cummins, Lopes and King (1987) and Cummins, Lopes and Ramos, (1987) directly contradict the findings and prevailing opinions of previous work on underachievement, especially with regards to parental attitudes and children's rejection of their Portuguese identity.<sup>15</sup>

Cummins, Lopes and King (1987) explored the language use patterns and proficiency of Portuguese children in grade 7 who were taking heritage language classes, in order to determine the links between language proficiency, family background, language use patterns and language attitudes. The major finding of this study was that, although the surface features of a child's first- and second-language usage may be different, there is a common underlying proficiency which works at a deeper level of language processing, especially as regards academic/cognitive aptitude. Another important conclusion was that holding positive attitudes towards Portuguese language maintenance and the actual use of Portuguese in the community are not detrimental to students' English proficiency. Although this study did not look at underachievement, nonetheless, some of the other findings were of relevance to the issue:

Firstly, thirteen percent of the sample were receiving special education, with the proportion climbing to 26% if those schools which did not test their special education students were not counted; secondly, a large majority of the participants felt that their parents showed an interest in their education and would like them to have an academic education and go to

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<sup>15</sup> The reports in this series by Cummins (Cummins, Lopes & King, 1987; Cummins, Lopes & Ramos, 1987) are also summarized in Harley, Allen, Cummins and Swain, (1990).

university (p. 39). This is in contradiction to both the prevailing opinions in the general literature, as well as to the results of Board Surveys, where Luso-Canadian high-school students have stated that their parents have low expectations (Cheng, et., al, 1993, p. 8); thirdly, most Luso-Canadian children were also reported as being comfortable with their Portuguese and Canadian cultures. There was little evidence of the rejection of their Portuguese identity, in favour an English-Canadian one; the use and exposure of Portuguese appeared to be more related to proficiencies and to formal exposure at school, trips to Portugal, going to mass, than to attitudes or perceptions of the language and culture; in addition, knowledge and pride in the Portuguese culture showed the most consistent relationship to proficiency; finally, this report argued that the positive attitudes towards the maintenance of Portuguese are not detrimental to a student's English proficiency.

Cummins, Lopes and Ramos (1987), (also described in Cummins (1991)), attempted to document the process of second-language acquisition amongst 5-7 year old Portuguese children in Toronto and compare these to a sample of students in the Azores, in order to investigate language interaction at home and at school and relate interactional variables to academic achievement. Their findings indicated that the reading performance of children who maintained their first language was significantly better than those who did not. They concluded that the promotion of Portuguese at the preschool age amongst Luso-Canadian children cultivates general language proficiency, conceptual development and family communication at no cost to the acquisition of English.

As mentioned, the findings by Cummins regarding positive identity maintenance and parental expectations contradict the prevailing opinions in the general literature on the Portuguese. This discrepancy may possibly be due to the fact that much of the literature on the issues of Luso-Canadian young people is written about the turbulent adolescent years, whereas Cummins' studies sampled younger children. One may also speculate whether the negative conclusions concerning the desire of Luso-Canadian young people to distance themselves from their parents' culture and language may not simply be an expression of the rebellion which occurs amongst all adolescents. In fact, both Noivo, (1993, 1997), as well as Arruda (1993) observed that many of their adult subjects had begun to take an interest and pride in the Portuguese heritage which they had rejected as teenagers and young adults.

A thesis by Gerlai (1987) examined the possible relationship of proficiencies in first and second language, to success in learning to read, amongst Portuguese-Canadian children. The author found that home language background variables had little association with results on standardized tests. However, this author did comment on the association between parental attitudes and reading:

Positive parental attitudes to the learning of English, the improvement of the children's general level of English comprehension, and a specific understanding of what reading in English is about would contribute to the reduction of under-achievement. (Gerlai, 1987, p. 127)

Those parents whose children were in the "reading" group had higher educational expectations for their children. In addition, a higher percentage of children whose parents had over a grade 6 education were readers.

Kady's (1978) work asked whether formal ESL instruction led to fewer errors in verb phrases amongst Luso-Canadian children. Although ESL training was found not to be of benefit in this regard, the study did find that informal sources of English-language learning (television and peers) were found to be the most useful. Portuguese students were also said to be experiencing "...serious difficulties in adjusting to the academic programs, even after two years of formal ESL instruction..." (p. 35).

Feuerverger (1991) examined the link between heritage language maintenance and ethnic identity in 148 university students, from a number of different ethnic groups. Feuerverger found that while the Portuguese and Italian students had the highest mean scores for learning their ethnic language in order to participate in their community and for identification with the homeland, the Portuguese had the second-lowest score for "positive perception of ethnic identity" (Feuerverger, 1991).

The main themes to arise from Feuerverger's (1991) study were the relationship between language and ethnic community participation, the relationship between ethnic identification with the homeland and language, as well as the need for language literacy at home. One important observation of this study was how the low literacy levels of parents were mentioned by some students as a source of generational conflict. Another was the fact of how the Portuguese identified strongly with their ethnic homeland and with the need to learn the language in order to communicate with the community and with that homeland. The importance

of this “regenerative effect of identification of the homeland” (p. 15) was stressed by most students. The image of the homeland which had been passed on to students by their parents needed to be transformed into one which is more relevant. One young Luso-Canadian mentioned the beneficial effects of developing an understanding of a vital and modern ethnic culture, beyond that which their parents can show them. According to this person, in the past, the choice for young Luso-Canadians was:

...between a static (immigrant) culture or the mainstream. But now when a young person goes back to Portugal they begin to see that it's possible to be a young person there, to listen to rock music, to dress in the right fashion. (Feuerverger, 1991, p. 10)

The same student also lamented the fact that his regular day-school curriculum never included anything that related to the historical importance of the Portuguese in the world. According to this person,

I used to think (and so did many of my peers) that what I learnt in the [Portuguese-community night-school] classes were lies, distortions... It wasn't until I got to university did I realize that it was the English curriculum that was a distortion. (Feuerverger, 1991, p. 13)

Dodick's (1998) thesis compared two schools - one inner-city and predominantly Portuguese, the other middle-class and English-speaking - in order to examine approaches to computer networking and the pedagogy surrounding this technology. This researcher found that the differences between the two schools in terms of use of information technology largely depended on the individual pedagogy of teachers and on the differences in education and economic levels of parents between the two schools.

Finally, the Earls Court Child and Family Centre also conducted a series of research studies designed to estimate the child behavioural problems and needs of the Portuguese children and families who utilized the services of their centre, (Peppler & Lessa, n.d.). Among other conclusions, the authors of this study discovered that 64.4% of the Portuguese referrals to the centre were for disruptive behaviour, (mostly classroom related) and that 16.1% were for school and learning problems. Furthermore, in a part of this study which included a survey of agencies serving the Portuguese, 70% of those institutions cited school behaviour and academic problems as "almost always a problem" for Portuguese children, and 82% cited academic problems as an identifiable stressor.

However, the results of this study cannot be utilized to reach any definitive conclusions regarding the nature of academic difficulties in Portuguese children. Firstly, the research conducted was not intended to address the issue of academic failure directly, but rather examined issues related to the provision of mental health services to Portuguese youth. Secondly, and for the same reason, one must be wary of extrapolating analyses of academic "problems" from the figures cited since, the Portuguese children included in the study were generally referred to the centre by the school system, rather than by parents, (Portuguese children were much less likely to be referred by their parents than by the schools). This means that, the figures cited are only an accurate sample of the range of behaviour which teachers have deemed as a problem; they may not be indicative of a cross-section of problems of adaptation as a whole, or may not accurately represent what parents or students might identify as the more general difficulties related to academic issues.

In summary, we have seen that the few empirical studies which have been conducted on Portuguese underachievement in Canada have concentrated mostly on detailing the influence of educational practices and policies, as well as the attitudes of educational officials, in structuring the roles and identity definitions of Luso-Canadian youth. Some have also pointed out the influence of mainstream attitudes in determining the way in which teachers relate to their Portuguese students. Other studies have contradicted the prevailing opinions in the scholarly and non-scholarly general literature regarding the roles of community members in structuring underachievement. In this fashion, they have shifted the burden of ultimate responsibility for the underachievement of Portuguese students from parental and community attitudes and practices, which the general literature has promoted.

Despite the importance of the empirical studies on education in bringing a new focus to this problem, as I shall now illustrate, this material also displays many shortcomings, which limit the range of answers that these studies provide.

### **Limitations of Existing Empirical Studies**

The available empirical references on education displays serious shortcomings and, as yet, has not answered important questions.

First and foremost, the limited number of these studies makes it difficult for an

adequate picture of the problem to emerge. Until now, no large-scale project had yet attempted to synthesize all of the fragmented claims contained in the disparate studies.<sup>16</sup> There is also, still, no broad-enough body of empirical knowledge which can allow researchers to confidently identify the principal factors at the root of underachievement in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

Secondly, the few studies which are available have generally focussed upon the ways in which the self-concept of Luso-Canadian children is negatively affected by the disadvantaging role and identity definitions, which are transmitted to them within the educational environment. Nearly all concentrate exclusively upon school policies, curriculum, educator's practices and attitudes. Schools are portrayed as places where the bulk of this transmission is occurring. Meanwhile teachers are often portrayed as individuals with tremendous power to structure the failure of these children in their misguided attempts to "redeem" Portuguese students from their parents' supposedly negative cultural legacy and disadvantaging patterns of behaviour.

Yet, with the exception of Noivo's (1993, 1997) and Arruda's (1993) works, few studies that have conducted primary research on youth and their education have described the ways in which messages about role and identity definitions are transmitted to Luso-Canadian young people outside of the classroom. Similarly, they have also not delved into the factors which allow the perpetuation of existing patterns. In essence, these research projects have fallen short of analyzing the role which the Portuguese or mainstream Canadian community's attitudes, practices and context have played in allowing students to either accept, or resist, the disadvantaging role and identity definitions which they experience at school.

For example, Peter McLaren (1986) restricted his analysis to examining the role of classroom rituals in conveying these messages. His work did not delve into the social and institutional vehicles which influenced and perpetuated teachers' opinions, regarding Portuguese students. The role of both implicit and explicit School Board policy, practices and norms on teachers' sense of their mission, the issue of why - and how - the Portuguese are

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<sup>16</sup> Jim Cummins (1984) compiled a study which attempted to synthesize many of the disparate generalizations regarding the underachievement of minority students. While this work made reference to previous research on Portuguese students, and while Cummins himself has done considerable work with the Luso-Canadian students, this reference did not specifically attempt to analyze the case of the Portuguese.

regarded by the wider society, as well as the question of why Portuguese students were susceptible to this type of treatment, were not explored.

For example, McLaren pointed to class bias as the reason behind his schools' discriminatory treatment of Portuguese children. Yet, even though a number of his teachers alluded to race-based explanations to explain their students' underachievement, McLaren did not follow-up and investigate if - and how - any of his teachers considered their Portuguese students to be racially different, or inferior, to themselves. In McLaren's study, one is simply left to speculate about what factors were leading the school's teachers to regard their Luso-Canadian students in such a deprecating fashion.

More importantly, McLaren failed to interview Portuguese parents for their views on their own, and their children's, roles. In this fashion, he ignored the influence of the Luso-Canadian community in resisting, or acquiescing to, the ritual systems which he identified. At least two studies have indicated that notions held by mainstream society-at-large are pivotal in affecting the manner in which Portuguese in North America structure their ethnic identity, (Boulter, 1974; Fernandez, 1979).<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, Becker's (1990) study did not actively explore the processes which brought about the emasculation of official educational policies and perpetuating the "hidden agenda." Neither were the attitudes of her student's and their families' gathered - to any great - extent in an attempt to discover why these students acquiesced to their marginalized roles.

It is clear that, none of these studies has adequately bared the underlying state of affairs which leads to the perpetuation of the disadvantaging attitudes, policies, practices and role relationships that were described. In this fashion, none of the references dealing with the education of Luso-Canadian children have satisfactorily tackled the question of why disadvantaging school policies and practices have taken so long to change, or why the community is not able to resist these factors.

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<sup>17</sup> In a sociological study conducted on the Portuguese in Vancouver Boulter (1974) concluded that the actions or practices of all members of society are what defined ethnic differences in this target group, rather than those differences being an inherent attribute. In another study, Fernandez (1979) found that being Portuguese conferred different status at different times. In a fashion reminiscent of Becker's (1990) findings, Fernandez observed that Portuguese immigrants expressed their Portuguese identity in private while attempting to project a Canadian identity in public. Fernandez also noted how even Portuguese children who were born in Canada were never really accepted as "Canadians" but are frequently referred to as "immigrant" children, (Fernandez, 1979, p. 5).

None of these studies has also attempted to describe the part which Luso-Canadians themselves play in structuring their own situation, roles and identities within this country and the part which these definitions may play within underachievement.

Finally, most of the authors of these empirical studies on Portuguese youth have neglected to ground their findings in the growing literature on minority underachievement; a body of research which has become increasingly concerned with the influence upon school practices, attitudes and role definitions of larger-world relations of power between majority and minority groups, (see next Chapter). As I illustrate in the following section, scholars studying the general problem of minority underachievement have generally moved away from explaining this phenomenon as being a consequence of student's "cultural difference" and "cultural deficit", often gauged by microethnographic methods, and have moved towards examinations of the effects of structural societal and community factors on minority schooling, characterized by macroethnographic approaches, (ex. Ogbu, 1978).<sup>18</sup>

### **Summary**

As I have attempted to show in this chapter, very little scholarly research has been conducted either on the broad topic of the Portuguese in Canada, or on the specific topic of the schooling of Luso-Canadian youth. Most of the information on underachievement in the Portuguese-Canadian community amongst the general scholarly literature and the anecdotal sources is fragmented, unsubstantiated by research, child-centred, culturally biased or contradictory. In the case of formal research studies, these have focussed mainly on describing how the practices and policies of the school system negatively structure the roles and identities of Portuguese students. Most importantly, the existing empirical studies have generally failed to seek out the point-of-view of community members, in order to investigate their, or their community's, roles within this country, or how these issues may contribute to the underachievement of their children.

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<sup>18</sup> (The former uses such tools as sociolinguistics to examine divergences in speech and microinteractions that affect achievement. The latter attempts to explain classroom behaviour through a discourse and analysis of wider societal power relationships).

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **THE RESEARCH ON MINORITY ACADEMIC UNDERACHIEVEMENT**

#### **Introduction**

As I have argued in the previous chapter, little information is available on the educational underachievement of Luso-Canadian children. The scholarly general sources on the Portuguese and the research studies on the education of Luso-Canadian children have offered only scattered information, or have focussed mostly on school practices. These works have generally failed to address the ways in which the Portuguese in Canada view their roles, or their social and economic position within this country, or how these may affect the education of their children. None has also consulted widely or directly with the community-at-large, in order to research these issues from the latter's point of view.

Yet, as my personal story has suggested, the important educational decisions of Portuguese-Canadian students and parents are rarely taken without strong considerations about family economic, role and identity concerns. Furthermore, as my review of the history of the problem of academic underachievement in the Toronto community also illustrates (Chapter 3 - "Significance.."), it is difficult - if not impossible - to alter school practices without first providing community members with the means to collectively examine their places and roles within the dominant society (ex. the publication of Board reports and subsequent community debates) and then mobilizing them to effect change.

As I will attempt to show in the present chapter, those scholars who study the issue of minority academic underachievement have also moved from studying the effects of cultural and language differences within the classroom on the academic performance of minority students to placing a greater emphasis on understanding the social, economic and historical context in which their group is situated and upon how this affects academic achievement. In particular, one of the leading theories on academic underachievement, the "Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) focusses a great deal of importance upon the manner in which group members view themselves, and their positions, in relation to mainstream society.

## **The Debate on Minority Academic Underachievement**

A number of researchers have reviewed the debate on minority school failure, (Cummins, 1984, chap. 5; Erickson, 1987; Foley, 1991; Ogbu, 1987; Trueba, 1988). The most recent and extensive of these, provided by Foley (1991), described how in the last few decades, the work of educational anthropologists and sociologists has dichotomized into two camps: The first was coined by Ogbu (1987, pp. 313–314) as "improvement research", consisting of "microethnography" and "intervention ethnographic studies"; the second he described as "explanatory research," consisting of "comparative analysis of ethnographic studies" and "comparative ethnographic research."

Those who practice "improvement research" or "microethnography" concentrate on describing how subtle differences in behavioural style, between students and teachers, and between minority students and their mainstream peers create the conditions for minority school failure.

"Explanatory" or "comparative research," on the other hand, focusses on a more holistic, historical and ecological view of the problem. The issue of minority academic underachievement is viewed as being rooted in a cultural dynamic, having historical, economic, and political determinants.

Although recognizing the different streams dealing with this issue, Foley (1991, p. 63) simplified these various research tendencies into the two camps of "micro-" and "macroethnography". Since it is not the aim of our paper to conduct a detailed comparative analysis of the distinguishing characteristics of these branches, nor of entering into an extended discussion of the merits of dichotomizing past research in such a fashion, we will accept Foley's generalizations and limit ourselves to providing a brief examination of the development of the field, from its beginnings rooted in "microethnographic" approaches to the current state of divergency in research focus.

### **The "Microethnographies"**

Up until the late 1960's, scholars basically regarded the problem of the academic failure of minorities as one of "cultural deficit", (Foley, 1991; Ogbu, 1987). In other words, many pundits held the opinion that minority children failed disproportionately in

school because they pervened from home cultures which were underdeveloped in intellectual terms. These children were regarded as "deprived" of the skills in abstract – and sometimes moral – reasoning, which characterized the perceived "sophistication" of the middle–class, mainstream society that directed their schooling.

This perspective on academic difficulties was quite obviously based on a highly subjective and personalized valuing of cultural differences; one which sometimes took on ethnocentric and even racist proportions. As Erickson described it,

As the anthropology of education became a distinct field in the mid–1960's, its members were generally appalled by the ethnocentrism of the cultural deficit explanation. It was not literally racist, in the sense of a genetic explanation. Yet it seemed culturally biased. The poor were still being characterized invidiously as not only deprived but depraved. (Erickson, 1987, p. 335)

Related to the "cultural deficit" explanation were the views reviewed by Cummins (1984), that bilingualism or lack of exposure to the language of the school were factors which impaired children's thinking processes and prevented them from becoming "good" and "moral" citizens. According to Cummins, both of these ideas have been refuted by empirical evidence, yet are still popular amongst many teachers and parents.

As a consequence of the inadequacies of these theories, in the late 1960's some anthropologists began to counter the belief of "cultural deprivation" by developing an alternative explanation, which relied on the notion of "cultural difference", (Cummins, 1984, chap. 5; Erickson, 1987; Foley, 1991; Ogbu, 1987; Trueba, 1988). In this point of view, minority school failure was seen to derive not from any inherent inferiority of minority cultures, but rather from differences in communication style between students' cultures and those of the mainstream.

This "cultural difference" perspective characterized the so–called "microethnography", and was epitomized by studies which adopted a sociolinguistic approach, (Cazden, John & Hymes, 1972; Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Heath, 1983; Hymes, 1974; Philips, 1983). These researchers intensively explored ethnic group differences and minority school failure as a consequence of subtle differences in speech styles, between minority students and their educators. Cultural conflicts and incongruencies that resulted in different treatments from teachers were seen to be generated by different

kinesic and proxemic styles, as well as by different communicative competences in turn-taking, question-asking and answering, story-telling, literacy and speech style.

Perhaps the most persuasive evidence for the "cultural difference" position was provided by the results of the Kamehameha Early (or Elementary) Education Program, (Au & Jordan, 1981; Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1987). This research project, located in an experimental school in Honolulu, saw the generation of dramatic improvements in the reading scores of native Hawaiian children enrolled in the programme, when changes were made to bring instructional practices, classroom organization and motivation management in line with culturally appropriate practices for Hawaiians. In specific, reading lessons were structured to conform to a major speech event in Hawaiian culture called "Talk Story," characterized by rapid interactions between children and teachers and by children complementing and building upon one another's responses. Significantly, when the same classroom structures were applied to a school in the Rough Rock community, in the heart of a Navajo reservation, the practices which had been culturally compatible and educationally effective for Hawaiian children were found to be both ineffective and often disruptive in the teaching of Navajo children, (Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1987).

### **Sociological Research**

In the field of Sociology, during the 1950's and 60's, the mainstream regarded minority school failure as an issue which revolved around the unequal distribution of power in society, and of the yielding of such power as a means of social control, dominance and, ultimately, the perpetuation of the capitalist system, (Apple 1979; Sharp & Green, 1975). Mainstream sociology held mostly a "macroanalytic" perspective on the issue; one which was heavily influenced by the neo-Marxist work of Bowles and Gintis, (1976).

The field of "ethnomethodology" was another method of "microethnography", which also arose at this time to describe how the institutionalized communicative practices of school authorities served to socially construct the educational failure of minority students (Foley, 1991). Researchers who adopted this approach, (many of whom worked from the fields of educational sociology), illustrated that minority youth were distinguished from

their peers by being given less counselling, attention in class and leeway to answer standardized tests and by examining the way in which the instructional organization of schools disadvantaged students, (Cicourel, et al., 1974; Mehan, Hertwick, & Meihls, et al., 1986; Whitty, 1985).

### **Critique of Microethnographic Approaches**

Research approaches which relied on examinations of the cultural differences of specific groups, in specific settings, succeeded in providing an explanation for minority school failure which, superficially at least, did not appear to place a value judgment on the cultural attributes of minority children.<sup>1</sup> However, although few researchers disputed the existence and the importance of such "cultural differences", disagreement surfaced amongst anthropologists and sociologists over the perceived limitations of "microethnographic" explanations and their lack of usefulness in framing an adequate universal theory of minority school failure.

The approach of "microethnography" was criticized for its behaviouristic, deterministic tendencies, (Erikson, 1987, p. 342; Foley, 1991). Foley (1991) lamented,

The ethnographies that this culture concept produces leaves out any rational, autonomous actors with guiding motivations and interests other than their rules of speech. (Foley, 1991, p. 68).

Another problem attributed to "microethnographies" was the narrowness and decontextualized nature of their focus. A number of critiques of these ethnographic methods, have argued that cultural and linguistic practices must not be studied outside of

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<sup>1</sup> However, one problem which was prevalent amongst studies which examined the communication styles of minority children and their educators was that, in making the contrast, minority styles were invariably examined in terms of how they differed from the mainstream. In this way, an assumption of "normality" and hence a tacit valuing was often attached to teachers' and students' conventions. For example, in reading Hanna's (1984) review of research studies detailing and explaining the nonverbal behaviour of black children, one is continually shown how black children's actions differ from those of whites. Black children are continually referred to as "more..." or "less..." than whites. The conclusion is inescapable that, not only is black children's behaviour "atypical", but that their cultural attributes, (rather than the cultural difference itself), can also become the source of many problems in the school, if these are not "tolerated", or at least understood. There is no acknowledgement that, in areas of high concentrations of blacks, where many of these studies were conducted, the "black" style of communication might be regarded as the "norm" and that, perhaps, the nonverbal behaviour of mainstream teachers and pupils in these schools is what brings "dissonance" to these environments.

the context of social history (Marcus & Fischer, 1986, Wolfe, 1982)

In the same vein, Foley (1991) also criticized the "limited notion of cultural tradition" provided by constructivist or ethnomethodological accounts. According to Foley, ethnomethodology "...does not study people as members of cultural and societal traditions." and "Constructivists do not usually study how these lived traditions are part of the practical reasoning that constructs reality or school failure." (Foley, 1991, p. 68)

Foley further mentioned how there is no grand theory guiding microethnographic studies and that, therefore, these studies cannot provide a universalistic explanation of minority school failure.

The Anthropologist, John Ogbu (1987) echoed the criticism of those who saw "microethnography" as too narrow in focus. He critiqued the "microethnographers" for attempting to "explain" why minority children failed in school, (i.e.. attempting the formulation of general theory), while using only the results of "intervention" or "improvement" studies (Ogbu, 1987, p. 314). Such studies, claims Ogbu, are not designed to "explain" why minority children fail or succeed, in that they are not theoretically sophisticated or comparative. He added,

Intervention ethnography or ethnographic research in search of 'cultural solutions' or 'cultural compatibility' is not and cannot be about *why* minority children succeed or fail in school; the orientation is toward discovering 'what works' and, perhaps, 'what works best for whom?' (Ogbu 1987, p. 314)

This researcher also provided what has since become, by far, the most effective argument against "microethnography". Both Ogbu (1987) as well as Erickson (1987) argued that, "microethnography" did not adequately explain why some ethnic youth who were culturally and linguistically very distinct from the mainstream (ex. Chinese, Punjabi) had none of the school problems that other minorities experience. If school failure was, indeed, the result of linguistic and cultural dissimilarities then, these groups should display the same academic difficulties as groups such as blacks and Hispanics.

Ogbu further criticized "microethnography" for not adequately explaining intragroup variability, (Ogbu, 1987, p. 314). "Microethnographers" could not account for why some black, Native Indian and Chicano children succeeded in the very same

environments in which their ethnic peers failed.

Ogbu went on to offer an alternative explanation of minority school failure, which was based on comparative ethnographic research; one which eventually came to exemplify the "macroethnographic" or "explanatory" approach, (Foley, 1991).

**The "Macro" Approach: John Ogbu's  
"Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance"  
(or, "Caste" Theory)**

While Ogbu (1987) believes that all minorities encounter adjustment and academic problems, resulting from differences with the majority culture in communication style, he feels that the question which researchers must answer is why some minorities succeed despite these barriers, and why others do not.

According to Ogbu, the important factor in determining academic success or failure is not this difference in communication style between groups, but rather, the social, historical and economic context of oppression in which minority youth are located, as well as the nature of their group's response to such treatment, (Ogbu 1987). For Ogbu, the cultural differences between minority students and the mainstream, which "microethnographers" have recorded, only become salient under these specific historical conditions of oppression and inequality.

Ogbu presented this social and historical perspective of minority school failure in the form of his "Caste Theory", (Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Ogbu & Simons, 1998).<sup>2</sup> Under this theory, Ogbu postulated that a system of social

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<sup>2</sup> Ogbu actually referred to "castelike" minorities and societies, as a way of differentiating these from the more rigidly defined caste societies and minorities of such countries as India, (Le Grand, 1981; Ogbu, 1987; Trueba, 1991). However, those who review his work have continually reduced this concept to the more easily quotable notion of "caste" (as Trueba (1991) has noted). For example, Trueba relates how Foley, in his (1991) review of the history of minority school failure, misinterprets Ogbu's "castelike" classification of minorities as referring to "caste":

Castelike people are not born into a social and cultural setting that places them in a position of permanence and unchangeable disempowerment regardless of individual responses to oppression. The process of castification characteristic of 'castelike' groups does not necessarily affect all members of a given ethnic group, nor is it irreversible. (Trueba, 1991, p. 90)

This misunderstanding has forced Ogbu to abandon the use of the term "castelike" in favour of "involuntary minorities" and to describe his theory as the "Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance." (Ogbu & Simons, 1998)

stratification, or "castelike" grouping, exists in industrial societies – including that of the United States – which works at preventing some minorities from achieving equality with the mainstream (Le Grand, 1981; Ogbu, 1987). Membership in any one particular "castelike" group is determined at birth, in accordance with such factors as skin colour or ethnic group membership. At birth, all members of a "castelike" minority also inherit a legacy of community forces which act upon one's group to maintain the caste; forces which also directly impact on academic success and employment.

Ogbu's "Caste Theory" is characterized by two related parts: In the first, Ogbu discusses the various community forces which work to create and perpetuate a subordinate minority underclass.

### **Community Forces Acting Upon Minority Groups**

Ogbu (1987) identifies these community forces as those originating from society at large, from schools and classrooms and from the minority community itself.

Social forces affecting "caste" grouping and minority achievement include the imposition of a "job ceiling" on minority group members. Such ceilings, characterized by the existence of consistent pressures and obstacles that selectively relegate minorities to lower-status and lower-income employment, serve to perpetuate the "caste". (Le Grand, 1981; Ogbu, 1978, 1987).

A further social force is the presence of discriminatory educational practices and policies, such as inferior and segregated schools, which prevent minorities from having access to a good education (Ogbu, 1987). As a result of discriminatory educational practices, many minorities are discouraged from investing in education, as a means of achieving success. In this manner, a tradition of poor academic performance is also developed.

Forces at work in schools and classrooms are also identified as contributors to the academic failure of minorities and the perpetuation of "castes". Ogbu (1987) listed such factors as lowered teacher's expectations of minority students, the labelling of minority youth with academic problems as "handicapped", the denigration of minority cultures, the presence of pervading beliefs held by the majority in the inferiority of the minority culture

and the cultural differences between students and teachers, as being the elements in schools and classrooms which contribute to minority school failure.

Lastly, Ogbu (1987) cited the response of each ethnic community to discriminatory mainstream social forces as the final factor determining the academic success or failure of minority youth. Minority groups may perceive the barriers erected by the mainstream as either temporary difficulties to be overcome on the road to eventual success and assimilation, or as agents of a permanent policy of limitation and exclusion. The prevailing interpretation will then determine the manner in which parents and students respond to the demands of the academic environment (Ogbu, 1987).

### **"Autonomous", "Voluntary" and "Castelike" Minorities**

Having presented the idea that these disadvantaging forces act to perpetuate the social differentiation of minorities, Ogbu's theory then attempts to explain the different responses of the various minority communities to these forces.

In this second part of his analysis, Ogbu looked to the different historical relationships between minority groups and the mainstream and to the varying responses to disadvantaging social forces, which these have developed. From this historical analysis, he saw common patterns which allowed him to divide these groups into three distinct typologies, (Ogbu, 1987).

The first group of minorities, Ogbu (1987) has termed "autonomous" minorities. These are people who have maintained a long-standing, distinct identity in a society, yet who are not subordinated. This group would be typified in the United States by the Jews or the Mormons.

The second group he described as "immigrant" or "voluntary" minorities. Typically, these would be people who had voluntarily moved to their new society, and would find themselves in the process of adapting to a new language, and a new culture. Ogbu mentioned that this group would not experience lingering, disproportionate school failure, (Ogbu, 1987, p. 321).

The third group Ogbu called "involuntary", or "castelike" minorities. These are people whose ancestors would have been brought involuntarily to a new society through

slavery, conquest or colonization and who comprise the "castelike" groupings that form the focal point of "Caste Theory", (Ogbu, 1987, p. 321). Blacks, Native Indians and "Mexicanos", (i.e.. the descendants of Mexicans in the Southern United States), would typically be considered "involuntary" minorities. These groups are characterized by the fact that they are relegated to menial positions and normally experience many more academic difficulties than either of the other two, or the mainstream, (Ogbu, 1987, p. 321). "Involuntary" minorities also perceive the racial barriers which they confront and their lack of opportunity quite differently than "voluntary" minorities. For this reason, involuntary minorities have accepted the negative views of their place in society, and thus do poorly in school (Ogbu, 1974; 1978; Suarez-Orozco, 1987).

### **Differences Between "Voluntary" and "Involuntary" Minorities**

According to Ogbu, these different historical origins of the three groups have led to substantial dissimilarities between them, with regards to the nature of their cultural difference from the mainstream, their social and collective identity, their folk theories of success and in their level of trust of mainstream institutions.

In terms of cultural difference, while both groups possess cultural differences from the mainstream, Ogbu (1987) postulates that "immigrant" and "involuntary" minorities differ in the quality of the cultural differences between themselves and that mainstream. He sees "immigrant" minorities as displaying "primary cultural differences", or, differences which already existed prior to a group's contact with a dominant mainstream; while "involuntary" minorities display "secondary cultural differences", or, cultural differences which arise as a response to the situation of contact between the minority group and a dominant mainstream. This idea of a difference based on the situation of response to mainstream culture is central to the second branch of Ogbu's theory.

Secondary differences, says Ogbu (1987, p. 323), are not primarily based on a distinct "homeland" culture for their point of reference but rather, are characterized by the alteration and "cultural inversion" of mainstream cultural features. In other words, while "immigrant" minorities utilize the culture of their homeland as the frame of reference for their cultural markers, "involuntary" minorities define their appropriate cultural markers in

opposition to those of the majority. Typical of secondary differences are, for example, the creation of different styles of the English language. In this fashion, members of "involuntary" minority groups can also regard certain forms of mainstream behaviour as improper for them since, to act in that manner may be to take on the attributes normally attributed to the dominant group. Thus, for example, blacks in the inner-city could regard success in school as attempting to act "white". In those environments, failure in school could presumably become a cultural marker for blacks.

The social or collective identity of "involuntary" minorities is also characterized by this secondary and oppositional character. While "immigrant" groups have the opportunity to define themselves in relation to the culture of their nation of origin and to mold their social identity apart from that of the dominant culture, "involuntary" minorities invariably define themselves in opposition to the dominant group, (Ogbu, 1987). In this fashion, "oppositional cultures" are created.

In light of "job ceilings" and the lack of the sense of the possibility of advancement through the formal education system, these "oppositional cultures" provide the minority youth of "involuntary" groups with alternative role models, valuing and folk theories of success. Ogbu (1987) states that, while "immigrant" minorities often regard barriers to advancement as temporary or inevitable realities to be endured by newcomers and invariably compare their situation with their often inferior or more blatantly socially restricted opportunities back home, "involuntary" minorities, have no point of reference other than the memories of the historical domination of their group by mainstream society. They perceive the obstacles with regards to schooling and employment which are placed in front of them as being permanent, or as not easily removed. They may create alternative models of success, often based on what is commonly termed as "street-culture", where the successful individual may be the wealthy drug-dealer, admired and emulated by the neighbourhood youngster for the success which he has forged for himself within his limiting environment. They may also witness that, for their groups, success most often comes in other areas where the prevailing political or socio-economic mainstream hierarchy is not threatened, (ex. sports, the entertainment industry). In time, this "oppositional culture", and the alternative models of success may come to define the essence of the

group, for many of its members. Foley (1991) summarizes the issue in this way.

Given the logic of cultural inversion, voluntary minorities come to understand being successful in school as acting white and adopting a white style of speech and cultural expression. This sort of oppositional logic dictates that they must choose between being occupationally successful (white) and culturally successful (black). Quite ironically, the battle to preserve their ethnic culture becomes the very thing that dooms Castelike minorities of color to academic failure.(Foley 1991, p. 66)

Finally, Ogbu (1987) concluded that the differing historical perceptions between "voluntary" and "involuntary" minorities also cause the two groups to differ with regards to the relations which they hold with mainstream institutions. Since "immigrant" minorities do not perceive discrimination as being permanent or as institutionalized and they often contrast the more open and egalitarian relationship which American schools hold with parents and students, with the more closed and hierarchical association in their homeland, they are more optimistic about the future and have more success in schools and in the work force than "involuntary" minorities. For example, according to Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi (1986), "voluntary" groups, such as the Chinese, do not perceive the racial barriers and the lack of opportunity of American society to the same extent as blacks. On the other hand, "involuntary" minorities hold a deep distrust of the motives of mainstream institutions, and the people who are there employed.

### **Consequences of Different Styles of Cultural Differences**

In concluding his theory, Ogbu discussed how these contrasting cultural differences that "voluntary" and "involuntary" minorities bring to the school act upon the two groups to result in dissimilar problems in the classroom.

Ogbu (1987) detailed how "immigrant" minorities face difficulties which are rooted in the nature of their primary cultural difference. These may include: difference in styles of nonverbal behaviour; the lack of certain concepts in their culture, which are necessary for such subjects as mathematics; different styles of learning, ex. rote; and the lack of language skills.

Yet, Ogbu (1987) mentioned how "voluntary" minorities eventually triumph in school despite these barriers since, they perceive that their problems in school can be easily

reduced to ones of problems of adaptation; they come to feel that their cultural differences are what need to be overcome in order for success to be achieved. Furthermore, they are willing to assimilate in the classroom since they feel that their cultural attributes do not need to be maintained as markers of identity. Their identity is linked to a distant homeland and its culture. The culture of the school is regarded as additive to their home culture, which has the social norms in their country of origin as a point of reference. Immigrants don't expect schools to teach them their own culture and tend to adopt the dominant folk theories of success.

Their relationships with the schools follow a similar pattern. They appreciate what they perceive as an education which is better and more sensitively delivered, than what would normally be available to them in their homeland. They also feel that, they must follow school rules and attitudes, since they are merely "guests" in their new countries.

On the other hand, "involuntary" minorities are guided by the oppositional nature of their culture. Since their comparative frame of reference is "white", mainstream culture, they may equate the culture of academic success, and the cultural/linguistic compromises that students have to make, with "becoming white", (Ogbu, 1987). They sense much more clearly the institutionalized discrimination which exists for all minorities and therefore distrust the institution and its motives. Because of this, they do not interpret school rules of behaviour the same way as "immigrant" minorities. They may feel that school rules only exist to impose "white culture" on their group. The fact that schools often react paternalistically and defensively in the face of their opposition only adds to their suspicions. In light of this situation, they develop alternative strategies of "getting ahead", which do not include the schools.

Finally, Ogbu (1987) described how the strategies which "involuntary" minority parents have developed in dealing with schools and school-related matters often do not help their children to overcome these difficulties. These parents may have little or no involvement with their children's education, besides providing verbal encouragement. When they become involved, their participation may take the form of active confrontation of teachers and educators. They may stress collective struggle over the individual achievement of their children. They unconsciously teach their children ambivalent attitudes

about education. Finally, they instil weak socialization of the use of time and of academic work habits into their children.

In essence, the relationships which minority students have with the adult world teach them that economic and general success in life, for their ethnic group, will not be achieved through formal schooling. The parents of some minority groups then adopt the pessimism of the mainstream regarding their children and cause the perpetuation of the notion of failure (Ogbu, 1974).

Finally, the schools' response to these factors and the extent of development of this cultural curriculum in minority children are the remaining factors that will determine the extent to which minority children succeed in school, (Ogbu, 1987).

### **The Responses of "Microethnographers" and Other Researchers**

According to Foley (1991), Ogbu's "Caste Theory" is more comprehensive and systematic in interpreting minority school failure than the "Cultural Difference" explanations. Foley also believes that Ogbu has successfully shown that only under certain historical conditions of forced assimilation and racism, do small cultural differences become large ones, which inevitably lead to school failure.

Yet, despite its popularity, Ogbu's theory has drawn criticism from a number of researchers, both from the camps of "microethnography", as well as others.

According to some, Ogbu's theory is overly deterministic in cultural and economic terms and contains overwhelming generalizations that are contaminated by neo-Marxist and psychoanalytic biases, (Erickson, 1987; Trueba, 1988).

In particular, Ogbu has been pilloried for the vagueness of the criteria used to define his caste and immigrant taxonomies, (Cummins, 1984, p. 122; Trueba, 1988).

Another, and more damaging criticism, is the observation that these taxonomies have no basis in empirical support, and that the causal relationships which Ogbu's theory posits are merely asserted, not demonstrated directly, (Erickson, 1987; Trueba, 1988).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Although Erickson, (1987, p. 340), notes that there is some empirical support, in the form of studies which show that domestic minorities have a higher rate of failure, while immigrant minorities generally do well and other evidence in the form of studies which illustrate that some domestic minorities which have become immigrant minorities do well in their new environments.

According to Trueba, (1988, p. 91), sociolinguistics can explain the differential response of minorities, as well as "caste theory".<sup>4</sup> In relation to this, Trueba (1988) also voiced the opinion that in Ogbu's theory, the cultural response to societal forces becomes the true basis for taxonomic differences, and not the historical background of the various groups.<sup>5</sup>

Ogbu's theory has also been criticized for not explaining the success of some "involuntary" or domestic minorities, such as Jews, (Cummins, 1984, p. 122), and for ignoring the growing class variability in some domestic minority communities (Erickson, 1987; Foley, 1991; Trueba, 1988). For example, Foley felt that Ogbu has not been able to explain how some minority individuals, such as Mexicans in South Texas, can enter the middle-class and maintain their oppositional culture as a positive, viable culture. In this fashion, Foley believed that Ogbu underestimated the capacity of oppositional cultures to empower minority individuals.

Related to this was the criticism that Ogbu applied a "value-laden" dichotomy to culture, which sees the culture of origin of minority groups as "positive" and their adaptive oppositional cultures as "negative", (Foley, 1991). According to Foley, Ogbu appears not to hold a very high opinion of minority adaptive cultures. Foley (1991) also lamented Ogbu's "excessive" emphasis on the negative legacy of racial oppression and on the apparent lack of ability of domestic minority groups to overcome it. Foley (1991) summarizes,

Put simply, Ogbu focusses so much on racial dominance and develops such a strong argument for the legacy of racism, he hardly explores the survival strategy he calls 'collective action.' In the politicized ethnic community we studied, his model of racial oppression greatly overstates how negative and dysfunctional ethnic oppositional cultures are. (Foley, 1991, p. 82)

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<sup>4</sup> I believe that there is a fundamental problem with Trueba's (1988) calls for a culturally-based explanation of minority-school failure, in that these do not envision *agency* within students. He states that, when given the "...culturally and linguistically appropriate interaction, the child then develops a suitable cognitive structure that is continuously revised with new experiences and feedback" (p. 281). Yet, this presupposes that children will want to learn, even when academic material is presented to them in culturally appropriate fashion. What many observers of minority children have concluded is that those from particular groups simply give up on schooling, because they do not see it as relevant to their group. Furthermore, he states that academic failure is a social phenomenon, linked to historical and social conditions, (p. 282). It would appear to me that this is exactly what Ogbu was saying.

<sup>5</sup> I believe there is a sound basis for this criticism.

### **Attempts to Unify the Field**

Despite these strong criticisms, a number of researchers have seen the need for a synthesis of the two camps. According to Foley (1991), "microethnographers" have ultimately responded to Ogbu's ideas and criticisms by incorporating a greater historical and contextualized perspective into their ethnographies, (ex. Heath, 1983; Mehan, et al., 1986). Others have also shifted their examination from groups which fail in school, to those which succeed, (Trueba, 1987; Trueba & Delgado-Gaitan, 1988). Still others have turned the question around, by examining the success or failure of schools in educating minorities, (McLaren, 1986; Tomlinson, 1991).

However, in a reply to Foley's (1991) article, Trueba (1991) disagreed with the perpetuation of the view that the field is still today dichotomized into two methodologically distinct camps. He mentioned how, since the early 1980's, most educational anthropologists had already understood the need for a greater social, economic and political context, and how most regard the use of sociolinguistic methods as complementary and vital to the more contextualized methods practised by Ogbu.

Cummins (1984, chap. 5) illustrates this synthesis of approaches. In his examination of the issue, he concluded that no one cause of minority failure can be singled out; rather, minority failure has a multi variate origin composed of a combination of historical reasons explained by "Caste theory," as well as by other factors including the ambivalence of minority groups regarding their cultural allegiances, the interruption of cultural transmission – characterized by Feuerstein's (1979 cited in Cummins, 1984, chap. 5, pp. 124–125) notion of "cultural deprivation" – differences in quality of educational treatment and subtle mismatches in social interaction between minority children and their educators.

Also in response to the ongoing debate, Cummins (1994; 1996, p. 19) has formulated a model of underachievement which attempts to encompass both macro- and micro-ethnographic approaches. His "Socioacademic Achievement Model," describes how coercive or collaborative relations of power in the wider society promote academic success or failure, by influencing educator roles and educational structures, which in turn determine the micro-interactions between teachers and students. According to Cummins:

[these micro-interactions] not only reflect the relations of culture and power in the society, they *constitute* these relations and thereby embody a transformative potential. (Cummins 1994, p. 13)(his italics)

For this reason, these have the potential of either disempowering or generating power through the relationship between educators and minority students.

Trueba (1988; 1991) also discussed how the arbitrary "pigeonholing" of researchers into the labels of "basic" and "applied", and "macro" and "micro" ethnography creates artificial boundaries which are ultimately damaging to the aims of research in minority failure. Trueba, (1988) cited Mehan, et al. (1986) as an example of how, in the field of sociology, many researchers are also moving away from the "macro" versus "micro" and "basic" versus "applied" dichotomies, and are freely moving from one methodological extreme to the other.

### **The Call for More Interdisciplinary, Ethnographic and Community-based Research**

In clarifying the issue of minority failure, Trueba (1988; 1991, p. 88) and Erickson, (cited in Trueba, 1988) call on the advances which more interdisciplinary work can provide in providing a better understanding of the relationship between field-based research and theory-building efforts, and between the building of empirical data bases and the construction of better explanatory models of human behaviour. Trueba (1991) states:

...many of the difficult problems studied in minority education are so complex that they require more than a single discipline. Therefore, it would seem reasonable to me that the broader theoretical context for the discussion of minority achievement can also be drawn from other disciplines, such as psychology and sociology, and from branches of these disciplines that explore universal theories of learning and cognitive development across cultures. (Trueba, 1991, p.88)

Ogbu, himself, described the need for this issue to be approached from a broad, ethnographic and community-based approach; one which could describe the social realities of minority groups, from their own points of view:

...conventional explanations have given insufficient attention to understanding why minorities behave the way they do from the point of view of the minorities themselves; instead, they have evaluated the behaviors of minorities from the perspective of the dominant group's perceptions of their own social reality or from the perceptions and interpretations that the dominant group members have of the social reality of minorities. Consequently, current explanations of the

variability in the school performance of minority students have usually been constructed without the benefit of what the minorities themselves think, and, from my point of view, these theories cannot adequately account for the variability in the school performance of minorities who are members of the same social class as dominant group peers or who are from different social classes. Nor can they explain adequately the variability in the school performance of children from minority groups who experience cultural and language differences or conflicts in school, nor the performance variability among members of the same minority group either from the same social class or from different social classes. To construct a more adequate explanation of the variability in the school success of minority children, it is necessary to incorporate the perceptions and understanding that the minorities have of their social realities and of their schooling. (Ogbu, 1991)

### **Summary**

As I have attempted to illustrate, those scholars studying minority academic underachievement have generally moved away from “microethnographic” approaches - which postulate that differential patterns of academic success between minority groups are attributable to cultural language differences within the classroom - to examine the social and economic context in which a minority community exists and the responses of its members to that environment. In particular John Ogbu’s “Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance” attempts to explain the academic failure of “involuntary” minorities, by seeing these as adaptations to a history of discriminatory practices on the part of dominant society. Ogbu’s theory places a great deal of importance both on the manner in which a group has come to live within a dominant society, as well as on the “community forces” (perceptions and responses) which have arisen to interpret and negotiate their problems. For this reason, Ogbu and number of other researchers have also called for more community-based research, of the type exemplified by the present study, in order for these interpretations to be better understood. The fact that Ogbu’s model does not seem to apply to the case of the Portuguese-Canadians - a topic which I will analyze in the discussion section of this study - serve to validate Ogbu’s calls for this kind of research.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

#### **Previous Research**

As we have argued in the previous chapters, little scholarly attention has been focussed on the Portuguese community and on the issue of the underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth.<sup>1</sup> More importantly, no study has yet consulted with the Portuguese across Canada, nor attempted to discover what they perceive to be their roles within the social, political and economic context of this country. Furthermore, no academic work has examined how Luso-Canadians feel that these factors may impact upon the situation of their children's academic future. Finally, few of the studies conducted on the Portuguese have been grounded on - and contributed to - established theoretical work on minority underachievement, both at the "macroethnographic" and "microethnographic" levels. In particular, John Ogbu's "Cultural Ecological Theory of School Performance" and Paulo Freire's work on critical pedagogy, seem to present frameworks for explaining the difficult educational situation of the Luso-Canadian community.

#### **Research Directions**

Scholars such as Ogbu and Cummins, who work within this underachievement research, have described how members of minority groups often exist within a context of the political, economic and cultural dominance of their community, on the part of the mainstream (Cummins, 1988, 1989, 1996, 1997; Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1983, 1987; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). These authors have also postulated that the ways in which these minority individuals mediate and interpret the forces characterizing this dominance, may ultimately contribute to academic underachievement. In this fashion, Cummins and Ogbu have described the importance, within underachievement research, of exploring the situation of dominance within which these groups are found (Cummins, 1989; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). In particular, they have stressed the need to understand the ways in which this dominance affects the repertoire of ideas, assumptions, opinions and actions which community members have formed regarding

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<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive listing of these reports, as well as of other material such as newspaper articles, unpublished manuscripts, etc. please see Teixeira, & Lavigne (1992, in press).

education (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

Yet, previous studies on Luso-Canadians have done little to examine this relationship of dominance, or to probe how Canadians of Portuguese descent might perceive it. On the contrary, these studies have sometimes served as vehicles for the transmission of the author's own assumptions, political agendas and views on the problem (ex. McLaren, 1986).

### **The Need for Community Control**

One of the reasons why these studies have not examined the relationship of dominance, or challenged researchers' assumptions, is that these have not included any real involvement in, or control over, the research process on the part of the Portuguese-Canadian community. In essence, these studies have actually reproduced, in the unequal partnership between researcher and researched, this same relationship of domination which Ogbu and Cummins have linked to underachievement. Previous studies on the Portuguese in Canada have relegated community members to the status of "passive participants." Community members have not been involved in formulating or questioning the assumptions behind these studies, in helping to develop the study questions and research design, or in implementing the research projects.

Yet, scholars have argued that the design of a research or educational project is often as important in perpetuating (or overcoming) the assumptions behind a study as the actual research questions (Brown & Tandon, 1983; Freire, 1970)

Thus, in order for Luso-Canadians to be able to define their ontological and existential situation as a low-status minority living within the mainstream domination of this country, it is imperative that community members be allowed to develop, structure and realize a study which would examine this issue from their particular point-of-view.

### **Questions in This Study**

In keeping with the preceding discussion and the following from those areas which have not been explored by previous work, the present study proposed to investigate the following specific questions, through a Participatory-Research framework:

1. What is the overall educational, economic, political, social and cultural context of the Portuguese-Canadian community? What relationships, if any, do community members feel exist between this context and the academic underachievement of their children?

2. What do Luso-Canadians perceive to be their situation, and their roles, in relation to mainstream Canadian society and other minority groups? What do Luso-Canadians perceive to be the role of the attitudes and practices of community members in the problem of academic underachievement?
3. What kinds of priorities and actions do community members see for a grass-roots, community organization such as the Congress in bringing about the resolution of these problems?
4. How does the case of the Portuguese in Canada serve to clarify prevailing theories on minority academic underachievement, or, how do these theories help to explain the educational problems of the Portuguese?

### **A Participatory Framework**

The study outlined in the following pages proposed to examine these very questions, through a theoretical framework which incorporated elements of Participatory Research, (Brown & Tandon, 1983; "Developments", 1981; "Focus", 1988; Park, 1993; Park, Brydon-Miller, Hall & Jackson, 1993; Participatory Research, 1982; "Special", 1975; Thiollent, 1994) in a process of Social Development Practice, (ex. Abrahams et al., 1990; Pilisuk, McAllister & Rothman, 1996). More specifically, this study aimed to explore the context in which Portuguese-Canadians exist - in particular, the issues of education, economics and culture - from the point of view of community members, and from a critical pedagogy perspective.

In this capacity, it was conceptualized as the first part of the participatory process - the "exploratory" phase comprising the collection of "generative themes" (Freire, 1970, pp. 75-118; Thiollent, 1994, p. 48-50). It also fulfilled the role of the information-collection phase within the social-development paradigm (Abrahams et al, p. 40). This project also incorporated the active participation of community members in the formulation of the research questions, design and in the implementation of the research activities.

### **What is Participatory Research?**

Participatory Research, (or P.R.), is a framework for community development, which aims to create social action and critical consciousness amongst individuals who are suffering under situations of social disadvantage, through involving them, as equal partners, in the planning, development and implementation of a research project, that is intended to investigate

and overcome their situations of inequality. The framework of Participatory Research has been developed to allow disempowered groups in various situations throughout the world to identify relevant questions relating to their social, economic and cultural domination and to help them effect real change in their circumstances, (Brown & Tandon, 1983; "Developments", 1981; "Focus", 1988; Park, 1993; Park, Brydon–Miller, Hall & Jackson, 1993; Participatory Research, 1982; "Special", 1975). This framework has grown out of work in the critical education of Third World peoples and, in particular, from the approach of Paulo Freire, (1970). The Participatory research approach has been applied to various and diverse situations of disadvantage, throughout the world, (ex. Gajanayake, 1988; Gaventa, 1988; Horton, 1993; Kassam & Mustapha, 1982; Maguire, 1987; McDonald, 1985; Orefice, 1988; Park et al. 1993; Pascall, 1988).

In its capacity as a framework, P.R. often lacks a definitive methodology and structure (Alary, Beausoleil, Guédon, Larivière & Mayer, 1990, pp. 201-205; Lapati, 1988). As Alary et al (1990) has even stated "the participatory research process itself has rarely been described"(p. 201). Yet, the techniques which have been applied under the rubric of "Participatory Research" share three common elements:

- 1) Collective investigation of problems and issues with the active participation of the constituency in the entire process.
- 2) Collective analysis, in which the constituency develops a better understanding not only of the problems at hand but also of the underlying structural causes (socio–economic, political, cultural) of the problem.
- 3) Collective action by the constituency aimed at long–term as well as short–term solutions to these problems.

(Participatory Research: An introduction, 1982, p. 2)

Hall (1981) has more precisely described the essential elements of participatory research, what he terms as "...an integrated activity that combines social investigation, educational work, and action..." (p.7):

- The problem originates in the community or the workplace itself.
- The ultimate goal... is fundamental structural transformation and the improvement of the lives of those involved...
- ...the workplace or the community [is involved] in the control of the entire process...

- ...the awareness in people of their own abilities and resources [is strengthened] and mobilizing [is supported].
- The term "researcher" can refer to both the community or work-place persons involved as well as those with specialized training.
- [Outside researchers] are committed participants and learners in a process that leads to militancy rather than detachment. (Hall, 1981, pp. 7–8)

One of the central tenets of Participatory Research is the active collaboration of the disempowered in the development, structuring and implementation of the research project, from the initial formulation of major questions, to the compilation and interpretation of conclusions, (Park, 1993, p. 10; Participatory Research, 1982, pp. 2–3). Another important component is the emphasis which is placed upon group action, that is designed to reverse or ameliorate the conditions of disadvantage, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, pp. 281–282; Hall, 1981, pp. 7–8; Participatory Research, 1982, pp. 37–38).

Thus, Participatory Research is a process whereby a group of people facing a situation of disadvantage collectively – and with the aid of a facilitator/resource person who has been trained both in the process of critical problem-posing and in the range of available formal research tools – act to unravel the underlying causes of their situation and to formulate workable solutions. The research group decides as a collective: a) How to formulate the problem; b) What information is to be sought; c) What methods are to be utilized; d) What concrete procedures are to be taken; e) How the data should be analyzed; f) What to do with the findings; and g) What action should be taken to act on the findings (Park, 1993, p. 10).

### **Techniques of Participatory Research**

In this process, Participatory Research utilizes techniques of collective problem-posing, discussions and analysis to deal with the issue of concern to the research group. The collective first begins from the concrete experiences of its members and moves to include both theoretical analysis and action aimed at change, (Participatory Research: An introduction, 1982, p. 2). Once having initiated the process, the group may call upon any one of a range of methods to further the process. These may include group discussions, public meetings, research teams (composed of local members and/or outside consultants and technical

experts), surveys, community seminars, fact finding tours, production of audio–visual materials, popular theatre, educational camps, interviews, data analysis, etc. (Participatory Research: An introduction, 1982). The formally-trained researcher, who assists the group, initiates the problem–posing, facilitates the process, serves as a resource person, explains the different methodological research options available to the collective and, if necessary, trains participants in their uses.

### **Goals of Participatory Research**

Throughout this process, the component of action designed to ameliorate the immediate situation of the oppressed group is a central and essential goal of Participatory Research, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, pp. 281–282; Hall, 1981, pp. 7–8; Maguire, 1987, p. 29; Park, 1993, p. 10; Participatory Research, 1982, pp. 2, 37–38). This method of inquiry assumes that, since all research is effected in order to bring about change, movement against the situation of disadvantage is a necessary element of all true research, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, p. 282). Freire's (1970) notion of the "praxis" between reflection and action, (pp. 75–76) has greatly contributed to this idea. For Freire, knowledge without action is ultimately meaningless: "...denunciation is impossible without a commitment to transform, and there is no transformation without action." (Freire, 1970, p. 76)

Another important goal of Participatory Research is the empowerment of group members and of the disadvantaged community, (Comstock and Fox, 1993; Gaventa, 1993; Tandon, 1988). As Comstock and Fox (1993) have stated,

A further element of the critical criterion is the capacity for participatory research to generate a self–sustaining dialectic of reflection and action – a spiral–like process of self–criticism and theoretically guided political struggle. This makes the researcher increasingly redundant and unnecessary as members of the community gain knowledge and confidence in their ability to carry on the process themselves. Thus the object of participatory research is not only to generate liberating knowledge and practice but also to initiate a permanent process of action and reflection which leads communities to undertake further analyses and struggles on new issues, (Comstock & Fox, 1993, p. 112)

As Gaventa, (1993) has further summarized,

...participatory research attempts to break down the distinction between the researchers and the researched, the subjects and objects of knowledge production, by the participation of the people–for–themselves in the process of gaining and creating knowledge. In the process, research is seen not only as a process of creating knowledge, but simultaneously as education and

development of consciousness, and of mobilization for action. (Gaventa, 1992, p. 34)

### **Assumptions of Participatory Research**

A central principle underlying participatory research is the belief that there are fundamentally differing and conflicting interests between social groups, which are involved in situations of inequality, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, p. 282–283). The implications of the existence of these differences in interest are that true action can neither be taken by others for the dominated group, nor on their behalf; since members of the dominant group will neither see problems in the same light as the dominated, nor will they readily accept definitions that threaten their position, (Hall, 1981, p. 7). Therefore, action must be taken by oppressed groups, for themselves. This belief effectively rules out problem-solving collaboration with dominant groups, and is a major difference between participatory research and its close cousin, action research, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, p. 285–287).

This frame of thought also underlies the belief that knowledge is a commodity which, throughout time, has been wittingly and unwittingly utilized by "experts" from the dominant groups to maintain the status-quo, (Hall, 1979; Gaventa, 1993; Maguire, 1987; Park, 1993). In order to solve the immediate situation of disadvantage, this knowledge must ultimately be reappropriated by the people or community in crisis.

Thus, the role of knowledge in Participatory Research is different from that in most other research methods. Participatory researchers give weight to "useful knowledge", experiential knowledge and "felt" knowledge over the abstractions of traditional social science, (Brown & Tandon, 1983, p. 281; Gaventa, 1993; Park, 1993, p. 5–8). In this fashion, knowledge is seen to spring from action and action from knowledge, ex. see Freire's (1970) notion of *conscientização*, (p. 19–21), (Park, 1993, p. 8).

A related tenet of Participatory Research is the belief that members of an oppressed group will thus be in a better position to understand the essential elements of their own disadvantaged situation than the more technically-versed professional researchers who represent the dominant social collective, (Tandon, 1988). This is, despite the fact that the "oppressed" often have difficulty in voicing their experienced knowledge in ways which allow them to overcome these situations, (Freire, 1970).

## **Role of the Formally-Trained Researcher**

The role of the formally-trained researcher in a participatory research group is one which changes over the time of the study. In the beginning of the project, the formally-trained researcher either brings the group together, or joins an existing group where he/she can assist with technical knowledge, regarding the different research methods that are available. This researcher often activates interest amongst the participants in examining the problem in a more structured fashion and promotes critical discussion, (Park, 1993, p. 10). As the study progresses, the researcher, who might have formed the group in the first place, takes on the role of resource person, aiding members of the group in identifying and selecting appropriate methodologies to help research the questions which the group has targeted and helping to develop the practical and critical skills of group members, (Park, 1993, p. 10). Throughout the project, the following components must be adopted by the initial researcher, (summarized from Participatory research: An introduction, 1982, p. 39):

- A willingness to deepen one's knowledge of the local situation, through observation, listening, questioning, etc.
- A growing understanding of the holistic situation at the local level.
- A willingness to be self-critical and open to criticism.
- An ability to ask critical, hard questions while leaving the final decisions up to the constituency.
- A commitment to long-term involvement with the constituency.
- A commitment to sharing any risks of repression from those in power.
- A commitment to transferring appropriate skills to members of the constituency.
- A commitment to making the interests of the constituency a priority over one's personal interests.

## **Validity and Replicability**

Unlike with other research methods, participatory research does not concern itself with replicability as a means of validating the "truthfulness" of findings. Rather a number of factors related to process and outcomes have been identified by Comstock and Fox, (1993) as contributing to the validation of the results of participatory research. These include pragmatic criterion, (did the process solve the problem?), the position of historical materialism, (that the

research project is part of a process, which, if relevant to a particular group or class and applicable to their situation, is thus valid), and the critical criterion of validity, (has the exercise created a self-perpetuating process of dialectical reflection and action?), (Comstock & Fox, 1993, p. 111).

### **Bias**

The paradigm of participatory research makes no pretence to the objectivity of the initiating researcher and, instead, places an emphasis on that researcher to ally him/herself squarely on the side of the dominated group, (Brown & Tandon, 1983). In fact, the roles demanded of the initiating researcher clearly include commitments to a strong degree of activism on behalf of the disadvantaged collective, (Participatory Research: An introduction, 1982, p. 39–40). The only negative bias of which the researcher is warned is that of placing ones' personal interests ahead of those of the group with which one is working.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **The Portuguese-Canadian National Congress**

Until recently, no organization within the Portuguese community yet existed which had the mandate and backing to undertake a study of the type identified in the previous section. However, in March of 1993, a work group comprised of Luso-Canadian social service workers, business-people, students, clubs and associations - under the initiative of the Portuguese Interagency Network (a Toronto-based social service “umbrella” organization) - brought together approximately 250 Portuguese-Canadians, in a three day-day conference in Ottawa, Ontario, in order to initiate a dialogue about the best means of addressing pressing national issues. Those individuals and associations in attendance at this Conference created the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress (hereafter referred to as “The Congress”) and elected the first Board of Directors, for this fledgling organization (Costa, 1995).

Like its counterparts in other ethnic communities, the Congress is an organization which seeks to identify and address the concerns of the Portuguese communities scattered throughout Canada and which promotes programmes and activities, that are designed to bring about their resolution. The individuals attending the inaugural conference charged the organization with the mandate to act on behalf of its members, on such issues as the social, economic, cultural and political development of the community, matters of social justice, human rights, the promotion of the full participation by community members in Canadian society, and the communication between Luso-Canadian communities and between Portugal and Canada. The Congress was also envisioned as an organization which could become a consultative body for the various levels of government.<sup>1</sup>

#### **Rationale for the Study**

Initially, the beginnings of this study reflected the very pragmatic nature of the organization. The study was commissioned because of the need to begin the work of the Congress from a foundation of knowledge about the actual state of the Portuguese-Canadian

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<sup>1</sup> For more precise details, please refer to Article 1 of the Congress By-laws.

communities; in particular those in the smaller population centres.

Yet, there was also a general consensus amongst those individuals at the March 1993 Ottawa Conference, that the concerns of the national Portuguese community, along with the activities of the Congress in addressing those concerns, could not be determined solely by the 250 people in attendance. There was an understanding that the resolutions taken at this Conference constituted merely a starting-point and that the fledgling organization needed to tap directly into the hopes and the vision of the communities-at-large, in order for the organization to function effectively.

Another reason was that no nation-wide research project on the Portuguese-Canadian community had ever before been attempted. Neither had any organization ever tried to consult with the various pockets of Luso-Canadians, scattered throughout Canada; many of these being located in places where economic and social problems could possibly be made more complex by cultural and geographic isolation. Finally, there was also the need for a project which could raise the profile of the Congress amongst these communities and which could foster a greater participation in the organization, on the part of all Portuguese-Canadians.

It was with these objectives in mind, that the newly-elected Executive soon sought funds, from the Federal Government's *Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada*, (now the *Multiculturalism Programme of the Department of Canadian Heritage*) for a national "Needs Assessment", which would serve to direct the activities of the Congress in the upcoming years. Upon receipt of the funds, an opening for a full-time, temporary Research Coordinator was posted across Canada. The position was filled in April of 1994 and the project officially launched.

### **Preliminary Activities**

#### **Priorities-Setting Meeting with the Congress Directors**

One of the first activities of the project was a meeting between the Research Coordinator and the 18 volunteer Directors, in April of 1994, in order to set priorities for the study. At this meeting, the Directors laid out their hopes, objectives and views on the project. They described their vision of a study which could identify local and national needs and problems of Luso-Canadians, gather information on how the communities are accessing social

services, enquire about cultural, social, educational and vocational needs and provide a general overview of population statistics. They also felt that the study could also serve to establish lines of communication between the Congress and the outlying communities and, in this fashion, possibly bring the communities closer together. Finally, they wanted a study which would utilize various research tools, in order to help determine which methods worked best with our communities.

This meeting was audio-taped and a summary of the proceedings was mailed to those Directors who had been unable to attend the meeting. A note was also included asking for the latter's input and comments on the decisions taken at the meeting.

### **Creation of a Community Steering Committee**

Following the meeting with the Directors, one of the first tasks of the Research Coordinator was the creation of a Project Steering Committee. This Committee was entirely composed of Luso-Canadian community members. These consisted of the Research Coordinator, a number of Congress Directors from the greater Toronto (Golden Horseshoe) region, (including a small business-owner), individuals in the social services, education and health fields, and one academic. The Community Project Steering Committee, in conjunction with the Congress Directors, had full control over formulating the general objectives and research methods, as well as developing the major questions. The Steering Committee also developed and revised the questionnaire and focus group questions, as well as taking the decisions to produce a training video and newsletters. In addition, a number of the members of the Steering Committee provided personal assistance and guidance to the Research Coordinator, throughout the study, in the form of securing national mailing lists of clubs and associations, writing articles for the newsletter, imparting moral and technical support, etc.

In total, there were 12 Steering Committee meetings. Each meeting was conducted in Portuguese, except in instances where the Committee member felt more comfortable in expressing him/herself in English. The meetings were audiotaped (except for the 8th meeting, due to technical problems) and written minutes of each session was produced by the Research Coordinator.

In order to make the development of the study as democratic and participatory as

possible, after each Steering Committee meeting, the Research Coordinator mailed the summary of the event, to all of the Congress Directors who were scattered across Canada and encouraged input from these, regarding the decisions which had been taken. A number of these Directors from outside the Toronto region provided input through these means, and their comments were brought to the following Committee Meeting and discussed. On various occasions, the Research Coordinator also followed up on these comments, through long-distance calls to the Director who had provided input.

### **General Objectives**

The general objectives, as identified by the Steering Committee and the Congress Directors were thus to conduct a nation-wide research project on the Portuguese-Canadian community, in order to:

- Broadly profile the state of the Luso-Canadian population, that is scattered across Canada.
- Gather the opinions of Portuguese-Canadians across this country, regarding what they perceive to be the major issues affecting their communities and the role which they see for the Congress in their resolution.
- Raise the profile of the Congress amongst these communities and, in this fashion, foster a greater participation in the organization.
- Collect suggestions for improving on-going Congress communication and on ways to foster a greater representativity on the part of the organization.
- Define the Congress membership and those individuals who are most involved in community organizations, in terms of demographic indicators, level of integration, the resolution of life problems and access to social services.

### **Community Control and Participation**

One important component of this project was the need to provide community control, and local ownership, over the development and the realization of the research. Besides the creation of the Steering Committee and regular telephone and mail communication with the local Directors, numerous volunteers were also recruited throughout the various communities, to undertake the realization of the focus groups. This not only allowed the scope of the project to increase (ex. more focus groups) but it also provided a means through which local

community organizations and individuals participated in, and gained ownership in the study. All moderators and secretaries of focus groups were granted a small honorarium, except in the case where this individual was a Congress Director.

### **The Methods Utilized**

In order to accomplish the defined objectives, the Steering Committee, in conjunction with the Research Coordinator, agreed upon a study which would incorporate three different research strategies (a questionnaire, focus groups and compilation of statistics from the 1991 census) as well as two outreach components (a newsletter and a media campaign).

### **The Questionnaire**

The first part of the study consisted of the development of a 14-page questionnaire, which was mailed to approximately 600 individuals and 250 associations, churches and media across Canada (Please see Appendix 2).

### **Goals.**

This questionnaire was designed to:

- Gather the opinions of Congress members and of those people who are heavily involved in community associations and development regarding what they believe to be the most crucial issues facing their community.
- Collect recommendations regarding the role and structure of the Congress in resolving these problems.
- Gather a general profile of this segment of the Portuguese community, in terms of such variables as age, income/occupation, community participation and cultural maintenance.
- Identify common issues of access to community services.
- Promote the involvement and participation of the local communities in the study.

### **Distribution.**

One thousand copies of this questionnaire were mailed to all of the Congress members (approximately 600) as well as to approximately 250 Luso-Canadian clubs and associations, community media and churches across Canada, (approximately 1-2 questionnaires per

organization). Instructions were provided in the mailings allowing the further photocopying of questionnaires, in case individual clubs, churches or other organizations wished to make this instrument more widely available to their members. In addition, the questionnaire also included a pre-addressed, postage-paid, reply envelope, which helped to facilitate the response process.

### **Translation into English and French.**

While it was written in Portuguese, the questionnaire was also made available, upon request, to respondents in English and French. At the end of the questionnaire covering letter, a small note was added in these two languages, asking those respondents who were interested to return their requests, along with a forwarding address, in the mail reply envelope (see Appendix 2). Two requests for an English-version questionnaire were received and the questionnaire was summarily translated by the Research Director and verified, utilizing the back-translation method. No requests were received for a French-language questionnaire, thus, no such translation was conducted.

### **Response.**

A total of 168 questionnaires were received. This represented a return of 16.8% on the 1,000 forms which were sent out.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the total numbers of returns was nevertheless too low to attempt many reliable statistical analyses. Furthermore, since the questionnaire was sent mainly to individuals who were heavily involved in community affairs and, subsequently, since these constituted a non-random sample, little benefit was seen to conducting more rigorous statistical tests, beyond simple frequencies and cross-tabulations.

### **Coding.**

The results of the questionnaire were entered on computer into a data-entry programme and the results were analyzed through the statistical programme SPSS. This decision was taken in order to facilitate the gathering of frequencies and cross-tabulations. In addition, by computer-coding the answers and leaving them in an SPSS readable format, the data has been left in a form which will allow easy comparison with another sample, should the Congress decide to administer the same questionnaire again, at a later date.

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<sup>2</sup> This was a reasonable return, especially considering the length of the questionnaire.

In order to forestall any kind of bias on the part of the Research Director, an outside consultant was sought out to assist with the aggregation and coding of the open-ended questions, dealing with major issues and Congress directions (Ilda Januario, a Luso-Canadian Research Officer at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education). These were also placed in SPSS-readable format and analyzed along with the closed-ended questions.

### **Identification of important issues**

Through a series of open questions, respondents were asked to state what they felt to be the issues and problems that are faced by their local community, as well as by the wider Portuguese-Canadian communities, scattered across this country (see sample Questionnaire in Appendix 2). People were specifically asked to list one or more economic, social, political, educational and cultural issues. In addition, they were also asked their opinion as to which of these they believed to be the most important and which they felt the Congress should attempt to resolve.

A further series of questions prompted respondents to rank-order (from the most to least important) lists of issues, which had been pre-defined by the project Steering Committee as being potentially significant to the Portuguese communities and to the Congress. The first of these questions invited respondents to prioritize which issues were most crucial to their communities. The second asked people to rank the issues to which they felt the Congress should give the most attention. The third presented a list of activities that are designed to improve the economic and professional situation of Portuguese-Canadians and asked people to evaluate those activities in order of usefulness.

### **Profile of respondents and patterns of access to community services**

The questionnaire also asked questions that were designed to gather a profile and the patterns of access to social services of Congress members and of those people who were most heavily involved in Luso-Canadian associations. Although the results of this part of the survey are of value to the Congress and to social service organizations, they have not been included in this dissertation and only occasional reference will be made to them, according to their relevance towards the ensuing discussion. However, these have been fully detailed in the

published report of this study (Nunes, 1998).

### **Focus Groups**

A series of 18 focus groups were also conducted in the majority of those regions where there was a significant number of Portuguese-Canadians (Table 6) (Kruger, 1993). Three of these groups were restricted to youth (up to 24 years of age), one each in the East, Centre and West. Another meeting was held in Toronto only with participants of Azorean origin. These groups were organized and conducted in the local regions by Congress Directors and by volunteers that were gathered from the immediate community. The regions to be sampled were selected by the Steering Committee .

**TABLE 6.**  
**FOCUS GROUPS ORGANIZED**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Mixed Ages</b>	<b>Youth Only</b>	<b>Totals</b>
Toronto, Ont.	3	1	4
Hamilton, Ont.	1		1
Sudbury, Ont.	1		1
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.	1		1
Ottawa-Hull (Ont. & Que.)	1		1
Montreal, Que.	1	1	2
Quebec city, Que.	1		1
Halifax, N. S.	1		1
Winnipeg, Man.	1	1	2
Saskatoon, Sask.	1		1
Edmonton, Alta.	1		1
Vancouver, B. C.	1		1
Osoyoos, B. C.	1		1
<b>Totals</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>18</b>

Local moderators and recorders were provided instructions in how to organize and conduct a focus group through means of an in-house training video, which was created specifically for this project by the Research Coordinator.

Unlike the case with the questionnaire, the people who took part in these meetings were recruited from amongst the community-at-large, and not solely from the clubs, associations, media and churches.

### **Goals.**

The goals of these groups were to:

- Gather the opinion of participants on the issues and problems facing the various Luso-Canadian communities across this nation.
- Gather community opinions regarding the role of the Congress, in addressing these issues.
- Seek out the views of individuals from groups who have not often been consulted in the community, or who may be underrepresented amongst the membership of clubs and associations, ex. Portuguese of Azorean background, youth, women and seniors.
- Ensure that as many different regions as possible have an opportunity to voice their concerns.
- Engender community participation and ownership of the process, through the recruiting of local moderators and secretaries as well as through the involvement of grass-roots individuals, in community focus groups.

### **Focus group questions.**

Each focus group was asked a series of six questions, which were designed to gauge the opinions of participants regarding major local and national problems as well as the role, functioning and structure of the Congress. The questions were:

- What are the issues which most affect Luso-Canadians, nationally?
- What are the issues which most affect Luso-Canadians, locally?
- What do you feel should be the role of the Congress in the resolution of these problems?
- How do you feel that the Congress should be structured, in order to better represent the opinions of its members?
- In your opinion, what would be the fairest system of voting, with regards to Congress positions.
- How should the National Executive be elected?

The same questions were also asked in the youth focus groups, however, the focus group moderators were instructed to probe for those issues and problems which were of specific concern to youth.

### **Training of moderators and secretaries.**

- **Focus group kit**

In order to overcome the obstacle of training and equipping volunteer moderators and secretaries over vast distances, a focus group kit was developed, (see Appendix 3). The kit was mailed to each potential focus group moderator and consisted of the following:

- **Training video**

The main training tool of this kit was an hour-long video which was written and produced by the Research Coordinator, with the assistance of a number of volunteers. This video was produced in-house, by means of very basic filmmaking techniques on regular VHS tape. Yet, it effectively explained and demonstrated recruitment and group facilitation methodologies. Approximately twenty duplicates of this video were copied free-of-charge by St. Joseph's Health Centre, in Toronto and were sent out to all of the potential focus group facilitators.<sup>3</sup>

### **Recruitment table.**

In order to ensure that the participants chosen for each focus group were representative of the different segments of the community-at-large, the meeting organizers were provided with a list, and an accompanying table, which directed them to recruit participants from amongst specific segments of the Luso-Canadian population and in specific proportions, (see Appendix 3). For example, organizers were instructed that, amongst the 10 to 15 participants which they would have to recruit, 5 of these should be men, 5 women, 6 of Azorean descent, etc.

This table, which organizers were asked to fill-in as they went about the process of recruiting participants, was devised as a means to help these individuals keep a running track of the categories of participants which had already been filled and those for which more recruitment was needed. In addition, since the moderators were instructed to return the completed table to the Research Coordinator, this instrument also served as an effective means for the Research Director to check on the representativeness of each particular focus group (i.e.. whether the final group roughly mirrored the community-at-large).

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<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, this video has been made available to the community by the Congress and the other organizations to where it was sent and has become a resource for other community groups to utilize.

Despite these procedures, the list and table served mainly as guidelines, not as rigidly imposed quotas. The organizers were allowed to use some measure of their own judgement and their own knowledge of the composition of the community, to determine the exact proportions of people that they should recruit from the designated categories. For example: in the Okanagan valley, where many Portuguese work in agriculture, it may have been less relevant to seek out the same proportions of business-people for the group.

### **Supporting material.**

The organizers were also provided with all of the necessary forms and material for the realization of the focus group (a detailed list of step-by-step instructions on how to set up a focus group, letters of introduction, stationery, pen, pencil, folder, etc.), as well as two blank audio-cassettes and a pre-addressed, pre-stamped, padded reply envelope. The volunteers were instructed to tape the meetings and to take notes. The resulting tapes and notes were returned to the Research Coordinator who transcribed and analyzed the results.

### **Budget.**

Finally, each focus group was allowed a budget of \$250, (including an honorarium for the moderator and secretary). Although the Steering Committee did not feel it appropriate to pay for the participation of focus group attendance, they felt that providing a light meal, or buffet-style snack, was an effective and culturally-appropriate means of securing attendance and of compensating individuals for the few hours which they spent contributing to the process.

### **Review of Census 1991 Canada Data**

A final important aspect of the study was the gathering of statistics from the 1991 Census. This was done in order to provide a general overview of the state of the Portuguese-Canadian communities. Unfortunately, only broad information on age levels, education and income could be gathered, since beginning with the 1991 Census, Statistics Canada had already begun to limit the amount of information on the various ethnic communities which they make available in published format. The costs and difficulties involved in gathering more precise data placed the goal of a more detailed examination out of reach of this study.

## **Media Campaign**

The launch of the questionnaire of the Needs Assessment was initiated with a media campaign in the Portuguese media. During November of 1994 to January of 1995, interviews were held with C.F.M.T. T.V. (multicultural television) in Toronto and with various Portuguese-language radio stations in this city. In addition, a press-release was sent to the local and national community papers. The regional Directors across Canada were also sent periodic press releases and instructed to approach their local media to talk about the project.

## **Newsletter**

One extremely important part of this campaign was the publication of three issues of a Congress newsletter, which was undertaken by the Research Coordinator and which served to inform the community about the development of the study (see Appendix 4). The first issue of the newsletter was mailed out to all of the members of the Congress, as well as all of the clubs and associations across Canada, prior to the mailing of the questionnaire. Subsequent issues served to inform the community about progress of the project and to inform members of current Congress activities. A newsletter was also published, at the end of the study, in order to summarize the findings of the final report, for the community-at-large.

## **Limitations of the Study**

Nearly all of the research methods which are utilized in these types of projects are fraught with their own particular inherent limitations. This is also the case with the present study. While these should never invalidate the overall value of the results that are obtained, they must, nevertheless, be acknowledged, since these limitations can affect the generalizations which can be made from the available data.

- **This project incorporated only the “first-stage” of the Participatory Research process.**

Although the present study followed the participatory research framework of collective investigation, collective analysis and collective action, outlined in Participatory Research: An introduction (1982, p. 2), it did not incorporate all of the three elements identified above. Only certain aspects of the second and third points were undertaken. A final report was produced

(Nunes, 1998a, 1998b) and there was the collection of themes within the focus groups. However within these groups there was no decodification and critical analysis of popular language (as has been described in Brandão, 1981; De Oliveira & De Oliveira, 1981; Freire, 1970, pp. 75-118; 1981). This process has also been described as the generation of “spiralling” logic (Goyette & Lessard-Hebert, La recherche-action, cited in Alary, Beausoleil, Guédon, Larivière & Mayer, 1990, p. 207) and “...the participation in an ever-deepening analysis of words or experiences common to [people’s] reality...” (Participatory, 1982, p. 3).

However, in its attempts to reach out and sample the voices and opinions of community members, this study did fulfil one important stage of P.R., which was the attempt to collectively seek out the community, in order to gather the “generative themes” and “generative words,” (Freire, 1970, pp. 101), which serve as the subject matter for the subsequent critical deconstruction of community problems (Freire, 1970, pp.101-103; 1981, pp. 39; Brandão, 1981; Yeich, 1996; p. 114).

This project also incorporated a number of the approaches and processes of Participatory Research. These were the active participation of community members in the formulation of the research questions and design (described, above, as stage 1 in the P.R. process), as well as in the implementation of the research activities. An attempt was also made to mould the research process along the lines of the major philosophical tenets of the P.R. paradigm, as described by Tandon (1988, p. 10-11):

- the valuing and legitimizing of people’s knowledge and perspective;
- the refining of the capacity of community members to analyze their situations and to conduct an inquiry into the reasons behind their problems;
- the appropriation of knowledge by the community (and the creation of new knowledge, that is relevant to ordinary people);
- the liberation of the minds of community members by helping them to reflect on their situation.

#### • **Financial limitations**

The most severe limitation of this study was the insufficiency of the funds which were allocated to a project of this magnitude. In essence, the financial resources for this undertaking - one which was attempting to reach 1% of the population of the second largest country on

earth - were on a level with studies that are conducted in small towns or with limited urban populations. This severe financial constraint resulted in a lack of adequate materials and assistance, (such as outsourcing the video and newsletter production), severely restricted the amount of travel and long-distance communication available to the Research Coordinator, made it impossible to bring other paid research or secretarial assistance into the process, and thus caused massive delays in the project.

- **The vast distances**

While a great deal of the value of this study lay in the recruitment and training of local volunteers to conduct focus groups, working with unpaid volunteers over vast distances proved a daunting task and was often highly frustrating. Little could be done to encourage those individuals who did not have the time, formal education or experience to organize focus groups in a timely fashion, or to send needed information to the national project office (besides recruiting someone else).

Because of this factor, in some regions, the delays in realizing focus groups reached from between 6 months to 1 year.

### **Questionnaire Limitations**

There were a number of limitations inherent in the questionnaire process, which should also be summarized.

- **Non-random sampling**

The most important limitation of the questionnaire is that this survey was not administered in a random fashion. To attempt to do so would have presented virtually insurmountable problems, given the time and financial constraints of this study and given the unavailability or unreliability of the available lists of Portuguese-Canadians. Thus, a decision was taken by the Steering Committee to limit the distribution of the questionnaire to Congress members, clubs and associations and the Luso-Canadian media. The non-random distribution pattern which was utilized effectively means that generalizations taken from the questionnaire

data cannot be extended to the Portuguese-Canadian population-at-large.<sup>4</sup>

However, this does not mean that the information that was obtained is not valid or useful. The results of the survey section of the study can - and should - be interpreted as the opinions gathered from that segment of each community which is most involved in its social, cultural and political life and, consequently, of those individuals who have a good understanding of the problems and issues of the community-at-large. Meanwhile, the results from the focus groups can, and should, be regarded as the opinions of more diverse segments of the general population.

The fact that there is a high degree of parallel between the issues raised by respondents in the questionnaire and in the focus groups is one indication of the degree of convergence between various segments of the community regarding the problems of Luso-Canadians and the role of the Congress in addressing these concerns.

**• The low number of returns and the low rate of response to certain questions.**

Although there was a nearly 20% return on the questionnaires, the actual number which were received (168) was insufficient to carry out any highly complex statistical analyses. Thus, the statistical inquiries which were conducted were mostly limited to simple frequencies and

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<sup>4</sup> In essence, the questionnaire was not administered in a random fashion for a number of reasons:

1. There is no master directory, or list, of all of the Portuguese-Canadians across Canada, from which names could have been randomly selected.
2. Similarly, in most of the Portuguese communities, there do not exist any directories which list all of the Luso-Canadian residents in that area, (ex. telephone directories, consular lists).
3. Where Portuguese telephone directories do exist (ex. Toronto) these are frequently incomplete or inaccurate. For example, households which have unlisted phone numbers are not included. Furthermore, some of the Portuguese telephone directories list people whose names are Portuguese-sounding, yet who are from other ethnic groups, ex. from Latin-America, Spain, Sri-Lanka, Goa, the former Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Cape Verde and Angola, etc.
4. In addition, lists compiled by the Portuguese consulates are also unreliable, in that they are dependent on self-disclosure. Many Luso-Canadians have never registered with these offices.
5. It would have proved financially and logistically impossible to conduct a random phone survey across Canada, in the hopes of chancing upon Luso-Canadian households. Perhaps, fewer than 1 in 100 households that would be called would turn out to be from a Luso-Canadian background. The study was not afforded either the time or resources to hire people to undertake this activity.

Thus, the Steering Committee decided to work with the lists which were readily available and to distribute the questionnaire to key informants (ex. those involved with associations, churches, the media etc).

cross-tabulations.

Furthermore, there was also an unexpectedly high non-response rate to the open questions which asked opinions about important issues. This ranged from 50 to 66 non-responses for the questions asking for local issues, to 105 to 115 non-responses for those asking for opinions on national problems. It was clear that, the majority of respondents were only able to comment on the situation of their local community and deferred giving opinions about national issues, which many of them most probably did not feel themselves qualified to answer.

### **Focus Group Limitations**

The focus group process also displayed some limitations, which need to be summarized.

- **Research Coordinator did not moderate the groups**

The most important limitation of the focus groups was the fact that the limited funds afforded to the study did not allow the Research Coordinator the opportunity to travel to the different regions to conduct the meetings, or to procure the services of professional moderators. This meant that there was often great difficulty in securing volunteers to conduct local focus groups and, in a few regions of significant Portuguese-Canadian populations, the Research Coordinator was unable to secure anyone to conduct a focus group, even after repeated telephone calls and referrals. This was the case in the regions of Kingston Ontario, Calgary Alberta and Kitimat British Columbia, where the Research Coordinator was not able to recruit volunteers to organize these meetings. Because of this problem, these areas were unfortunately not covered by this study.

- **No distinction was made by participants between national and local issues.**

Another limitation was that, in nearly every focus group, the participants did not make the distinction between national and local issues. Most people found it very difficult or impossible to comment on national problems, because most had had limited contact with other Luso-Canadian communities. In addition, there does not yet exist an effective Canada-wide

Portuguese-Canadian newservice to reflect a pan-Canadian image of the Portuguese back to the local communities. For this reason, more often than not, when asked for their opinions on national problems, most people at these meetings commented on their local situations and simply extrapolated to the wider community.

- **Relatively few youth focus groups were conducted**

Finally, in retrospect, given the relative importance which most participants placed on issues related to the newer generations, (ex. the education of young people, the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture) the study may have benefited from the realization of a greater number of all-youth focus groups.

- **Focus groups were not conducted in some areas of significant Luso-Canadian populations**

In a few areas of significant Luso-Canadian populations, most notably Kitimat, B. C. and Kingston, Ontario, no volunteers could be secured to conduct focus groups. Consequently, the Portuguese-Canadians in these regions were not consulted in this study (except by the incidental questionnaire returned from these regions).

### **Ethical Considerations and Consent**

Focus group organizers were provide with letters of introduction and consent, which they were instructed to copy and distribute to all focus group participants, prior to their participation within the groups (Appendix 3 ). They were also instructed to inform these individuals that the meetings would be audiotaped, but that they should not use any last names during the discussions. Organizers were also directed not to include any names in the recruitment table. All participants were informed that the tapes and transcripts would remain in the possession of the Research Director. Finally, in the completion of the final report (Nunes, 1998a, 1998b), great care was taken to remove any and all references which could be used to identify individual participants from the testimonies included in these publications (ex. references to past jobs, etc).

## CHAPTER 8

### STATISTICAL PROFILE OF THE COMMUNITY

The first part of this study entailed the gathering of general statistics on the Luso-Canadian population, from the 1991 Census of Canada. This information served to provide a broad profile of the state of the Portuguese in Canada, in terms of demographics, education and income. In most cases, numbers were accessed for both individuals of Portuguese ethnic origin (i.e. including the Canadian-born), as well as for Portuguese immigrants (i.e. all of those who were born in Portugal, including those who may have already become Canadian citizens). As we will attempt to show, this statistical information reveals a community whose members have significantly lower levels of formal education and income than either the general population, or a number of other substantive minorities. The figures also point to a community whose children are rapidly losing the use of the Portuguese language and whose lack of political and

economic leverage is evidenced through a critical deficit of individuals in higher-earning managerial and technical positions.

**Table 7.**  
**Portuguese-Canadian Population**  
**by Ethnic Origin and Sex**  
Single and Multiple Responses, for Canada, Provinces and Territories, 1991 Census - 20% Sample Data

PROVINCE	RESPONSES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Ontario	single	88,685	87,635	176,300
	multiple	13,200	12,895	26,095
Quebec	single	18,750	18,420	37,165
	multiple	2,905	2,905	5,810
British Columbia	single	8,710	8,160	16,865
	multiple	3,540	2,975	6,515
Alberta	single	3,475	3,355	6,830
	multiple	1,575	1,405	2,925
Manitoba	single	4,360	3,865	8,220
	multiple	625	685	1,310
Nova Scotia	single	255	255	510
	multiple	605	635	1,240
New Brunswick	single	180	100	280
	multiple	315	290	610
Saskatchewan	single	215	260	475
	multiple	180	140	320
Newfoundland	single	135	55	190
	multiple	140	115	255
Prince Edward Island	single	25	20	40
	multiple	30	55	85
Yukon Territory	single	10	10	15
	multiple	30	45	80
Northwest Territories	single	10	-	15
	multiple	25	35	65
Canada	single	124,760	122,125	246,890
	multiple	23,125	22,175	45,290

Source: Compiled from Statistics Canada, *Ethnic Origin*, Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993. Catalogue number: 95-315, Table 2A, pp. 60-95

### Population Numbers

Over the years, a number of sources have reported different numbers for the Portuguese community in Canada. This disparity has resulted in an ongoing debate concerning the actual numbers of Canadians of Portuguese origin.

According to the 1991 Canadian Census, there are approximately 292,185 people living in Canada who claim a Portuguese ethnic origin (See Table 7.). Of these, 161,180 were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1996).

The vast majority of ethnic Portuguese - approximately 200,000 - live in Ontario, with

another 40,000 residing in Quebec, and 20,000 in British Columbia. Within Ontario, approximately 140,000 people live in the Toronto Census Metropolitan Area, while in Quebec, 36,000 live in Montreal, thus making these the two areas the largest urban concentrations of Portuguese in Canada (See Table 8.).

**Table 8.**  
**Portuguese-Canadian Population by Ethnic Origin and Sex**  
**for Selected Census Metropolitan Areas**  
Single and Multiple Responses, 1991 Census - 20% Sample Data

C. M. A.	RESPONSES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	C. M. A.	RESPONSES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Toronto	single	62,075	62,260	124,330	Halifax	single	185	175	355
	multiple	8,280	8,300	16,580		multiple	315	315	630
Montreal	single	16,080	16,245	32,325	Windsor	single	380	315	700
	multiple	2,235	2,250	4,485		multiple	95	155	250
Kitchener	single	7,075	6,680	13,760	Québec	single	405	310	710
	multiple	800	585	1,390		multiple	120	105	225
Vancouver	single	4,790	4,460	9,255	St. Catharines-Niagara	single	185	215	395
	multiple	1,820	1,460	3,280		multiple	265	175	445
Hamilton	single	4,900	4,725	9,625	Saskatoon	single	150	185	340
	multiple	615	620	1,240		multiple	55	50	105
Winnipeg	single	4,230	3,745	7,970	Sudbury	single	155	150	300
	multiple	560	630	1,210		multiple	30	20	50
Ottawa-Hull	single	3,375	3,205	6,580	Saint John	single	60	45	110
	multiple	685	780	1,465		multiple	95	90	185
London	single	3,230	3,100	6,330	St. John's	single	50	30	80
	multiple	410	510	915		multiple	80	60	135
Edmonton	single	2,405	2,280	4,685	Sherbrooke	single	60	75	140
	multiple	665	715	1,385		multiple	20	-	25
Calgary	single	845	905	1,755	Regina	single	45	35	80
	multiple	495	395	895		multiple	45	20	65
Victoria	single	865	810	1,675	Chicoutimi-Jonquière	single	30	15	70
	multiple	395	365	760		multiple	35	15	25
Oshawa	single	710	755	1,465	Trois-Rivières	single	25	-	30
	multiple	335	360	695		multiple	10	15	20
Thunder Bay	single	450	360	810	Source: Compiled from Statistics Canada-Ethnic Origin Ottawa: Industry, Science and Technology Canada, 1993. Catalogue number 93-315. Table 2b, pp. 96-127.				
	multiple	85	95	175					

Yet, the validity of the Statistics Canada numbers have often been challenged by sources within the community who feel that this agency grossly underestimates the real number of Portuguese living in Canada. For example, the Portuguese Embassy in Canada has pegged the number of Portuguese-Canadians at approximately 525,000 people.<sup>1</sup> This includes: 400,000 people in the Toronto Consular area (145,000 in the pre-1998 City of Toronto alone); 70,000 in the Montreal area; 47,000 in Vancouver and surroundings; and 8,000 in the Ottawa-Hull region.<sup>2</sup> According to Teixeira (in press), a geographer and researcher on the Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with the Portuguese Embassy, November 21, 1996.

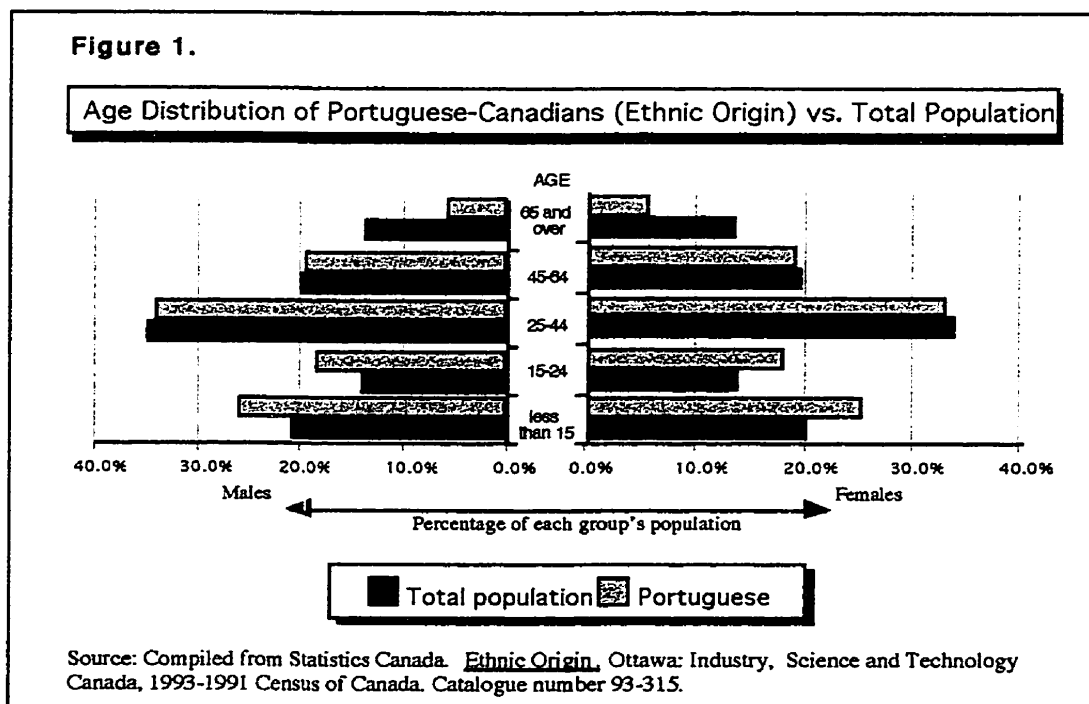
<sup>2</sup> However, these numbers are also approximations, in that they only reflect those individuals who have voluntarily registered with their local consulates and whose families have updated their consular offices with the births and deaths of family members. Despite this lack of an accurate population-counting method, the amount of discrepancy between the Statistics Canada and the Consular figures is much too wide to be simply the result of the lack of an effective process.

community, a number of factors amongst the Portuguese in Canada often affect the accuracy in completing the official census survey and ultimately make it difficult to determine the precise numbers of this group in Canada. These include:

- **The lack of participation of many Portuguese-Canadians in the census.** Many Luso-Canadians quite simply fail to complete and return their census form.
- **Those living here illegally often will not complete a questionnaire, for fear of being discovered and deported.**
- **Many people have difficulties in understanding and correctly answering the census questionnaire.** For example, many Portuguese will list their - or their children's - mother-tongue or ethnic origin as "English" or "Canadian," although they may speak and/or understand Portuguese at home and identify with a Portuguese origin.

### Age Distribution

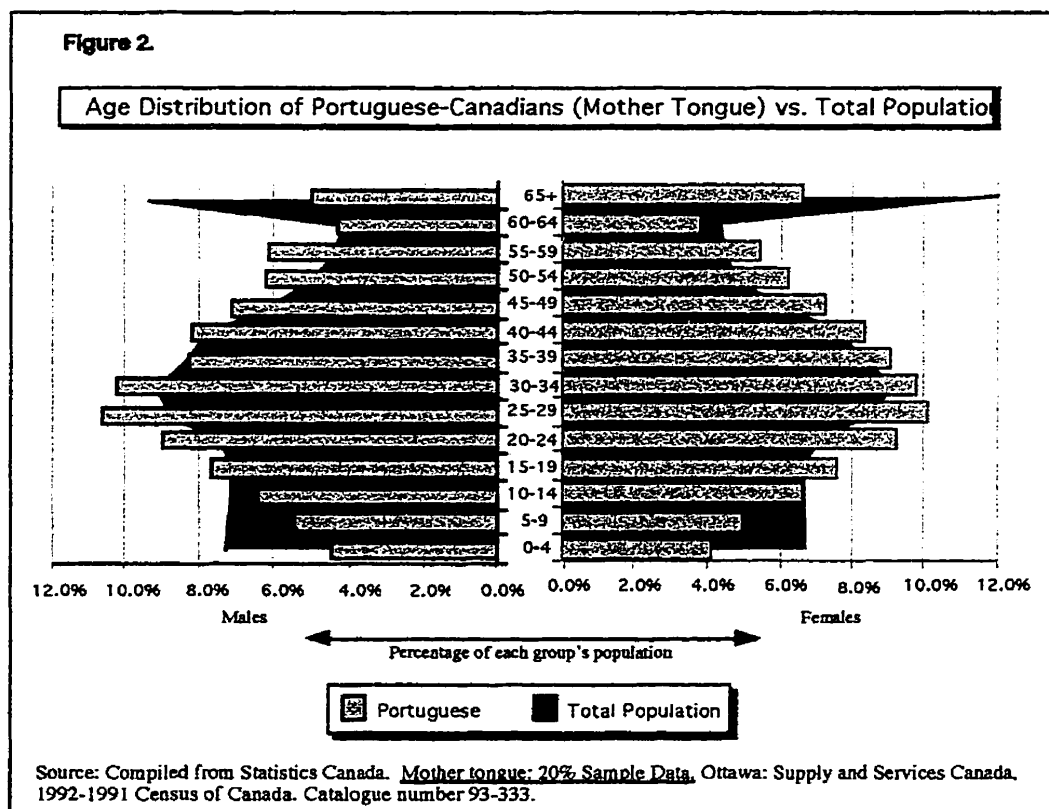
As can be seen in Figure 1, the age distribution of the Portuguese-Canadian community (gauged according to ethnic origin) roughly matches the age grouping of the wider population in Canada. Yet, amongst the Portuguese in Canada there appear to be a greater proportion of youth, (those below 24 years of age) and a smaller proportion of those who are 65 and over, than is the case in the total population.



No doubt, the disproportionately low percentage of seniors in the Luso-Canadian community is, most probably, a reflection of the absence of large numbers of Portuguese elderly in this relatively recent migratory flow. Those who have immigrated from Portugal to Canada since the mid 50's have tended to be married and single men in their 20's and 30's, many of whom immigrated individually and later brought over their wives and children (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 23-32). This lack of an elderly population was also been aggravated over the years by the fact that the Canadian government has traditionally placed barriers on the immigration of the elderly and on family reunification, (including the sponsorship of elderly parents).

In a similar fashion, the overrepresentation of youth in the community, is most probably a reflection of this selective immigration process, which favoured young families, in the prime of their childbearing ages.

However, when the population of Portuguese-Canadians is gauged according to mother tongue statistics (Figure 2.), one can see that, in comparison to the ethnic origin data that was described in Figure 1, Portuguese youth 14 years of age and under are now underrepresented, in comparison the total population.



Furthermore, the proportions of young people who have Portuguese as their mother tongue actually decreases substantially as one moves from the older to the younger age groupings (i.e. from the categories 10-14 to 0-4 years).

This discrepancy may have two explanations: Firstly, the category of “*mother tongue*” will inevitably include non-Portuguese people from Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil, Angola, Cabo Verde, etc. These groups might contain relatively greater proportions of individuals in their 20’s, 30’s and 40’s than what would normally be the case in other populations and, consequently, this might serve to decrease the proportion of other categories, such as young people and the elderly.

However, a more plausible explanation is most likely the fact that large numbers of young people of a Portuguese ethnic origin are quite simply no longer being taught the Portuguese language as their mother tongue. Another explanation might also be that many Luso-Canadians are not citing Portuguese as their children’s mother tongue on the census forms. However, the fact that the proportion of children speaking Portuguese as their mother tongue decreases significantly between the age categories of 10-14 to 0-4 is an indication of a subsequently greater increase of this language loss in the younger age groups.

In summary, while there is a relatively greater proportion of Luso-Canadian young people than other young Canadians, it would appear that many of these young Portuguese are rapidly losing the capacity to speak their parents’ language.

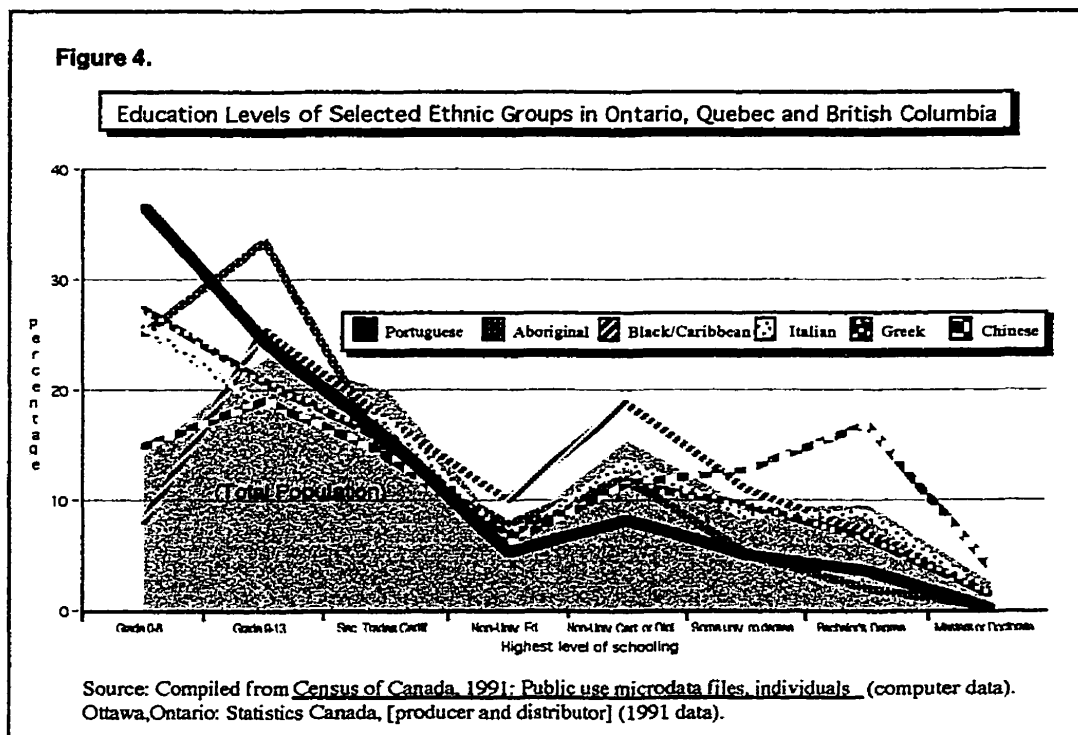
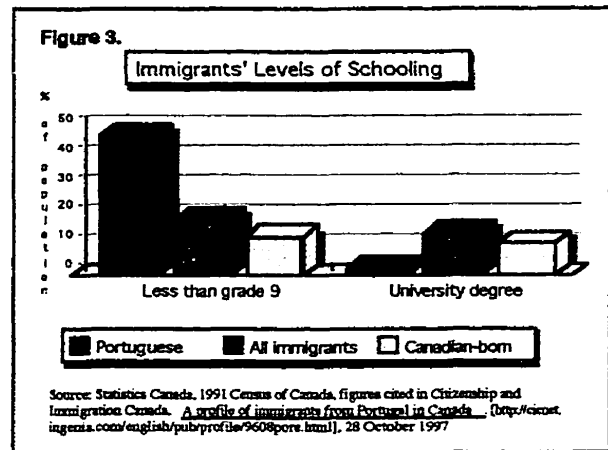
In fact this evidence serves to buttress the concerns voiced throughout this study, by both the respondents to the questionnaire and the participants to the focus groups, who identified this language loss and the speed with which it is overtaking the youth in their communities as one of the primary concerns of the Portuguese in Canada.

### **Education**

Figures from the 1991 census give some indication that, as a group, Luso-Canadians display disproportionately lower levels of formal education than other minorities and the population-at-large. More specifically, there are significantly fewer individuals with post-secondary studies amongst the Portuguese-Canadian community and disproportionately greater numbers of people with less than a grade 9 education.

Census figures show that those who were born in Portugal (i.e. immigrants) are more likely than other immigrants and Canadian-born individuals, to have less than a grade 9 education, (48% for Portuguese vs. 19% and 13%). They are also less likely to have a university degree (2% vs. 14% and 11%) (Statistics Canada, 1996) (See Figure 3).

Similarly, if one compares individuals of a Portuguese ethnic origin (i.e. both immigrant and Canadian-born Portuguese), with those from other origins, one can see a similar pattern. Approximately 37% of all individuals of Portuguese ethnic origin in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia (where 92% of all Luso-Canadians reside), have a grade 8 education or less, (Figure 4.).<sup>3</sup> This is nearly three times the comparable proportion amongst the general population in those provinces.



<sup>3</sup> These figures only include those individuals who are 15 years of age and over. In addition, only Ontario, Quebec and B.C. were profiled because data are not available for the Portuguese in the Atlantic Provinces. There are so few Portuguese in these regions that such data would compromise anonymity.

Furthermore, this tendency holds true until grade 13, where the percentage of Portuguese with less than, or equivalent to, this grade level is consistently greater than the norm for the total population.

Following this pattern, the proportion of Portuguese in all categories of schooling above grade 13 in these provinces, is consistently less than in the general population. Only approximately 4% of the individuals in these Luso-Canadian communities have achieved a university degree of any kind.

The extent of the seriousness of this problem is only apparent when one compares the Portuguese to other minority groups in these provinces and, in particular, to those groups who for many years have reported widely on the presence of a severe lack of educational achievement within their own communities, (ex. Black Caribbean, Aborigines). When the Portuguese are compared to these minorities, one can see that there is a significantly greater proportion of Luso-Canadians who have achieved no higher than a primary school education than is the case in any of the groups sampled, including the Aboriginal and Black Caribbean communities. More significantly, Figure 4. also illustrates that, of the groups which are shown, the Portuguese are the minority with the lowest overall proportions of individuals with any type of schooling above the level of secondary trade certificate (this would include all of those people in apprenticeship programmes, community college and university). In fact, the Portuguese display proportions of post-secondary schooling which are comparable to, or lower than, the levels reported in the Aboriginal communities, in these provinces (the exception is the category of individuals who have acquired, or are studying towards a Bachelor's degree, where the Portuguese have roughly double the 2% reported in the Aboriginal community). Furthermore, the Portuguese also display the lowest proportional representation of individuals who have enrolled in, or completed, non-university educational programmes, (which would include such things as study in community colleges and technical training institutes).

Although these findings only show the situation in those three provinces with the highest Portuguese populations, they nevertheless provide strong evidence to corroborate the importance which survey respondents and participants in the focus groups throughout this study have placed upon the issue of education and upon the problem of the lack of educational achievement of Luso-Canadian youth. Without a doubt, the lower levels of schooling of Luso-

Canadians - and particularly the lower educational achievement of youth - was seen as one of the major problems confronting the community. Furthermore, these figures also serve to buttress the call of the younger participants in a number of the focus groups, who called for the Portuguese to be included in government and school equity programmes, that are designed to provide equality of opportunity in education and employment to visible minorities and Aborigines.

### Income

Information from the 1991 Census was also gathered in order to describe and compare the earnings levels of Portuguese-Canadians. Statistics were collected from the reporting of 1990 income by both individuals of Portuguese ethnic origin (i.e. including the Canadian-born) (Statistics Canada, 1991) and by Portuguese immigrants (i.e. all those born in Portugal, including Canadian citizens) (Statistics Canada, 1996). These figures indicate that there are not disproportionate numbers of Luso-Canadians who are living in poverty. However, the Portuguese tend to earn lower average salaries, have substantially fewer individuals earning over \$40,000 a year and are disproportionately underrepresented amongst the ranks of professional and management positions.

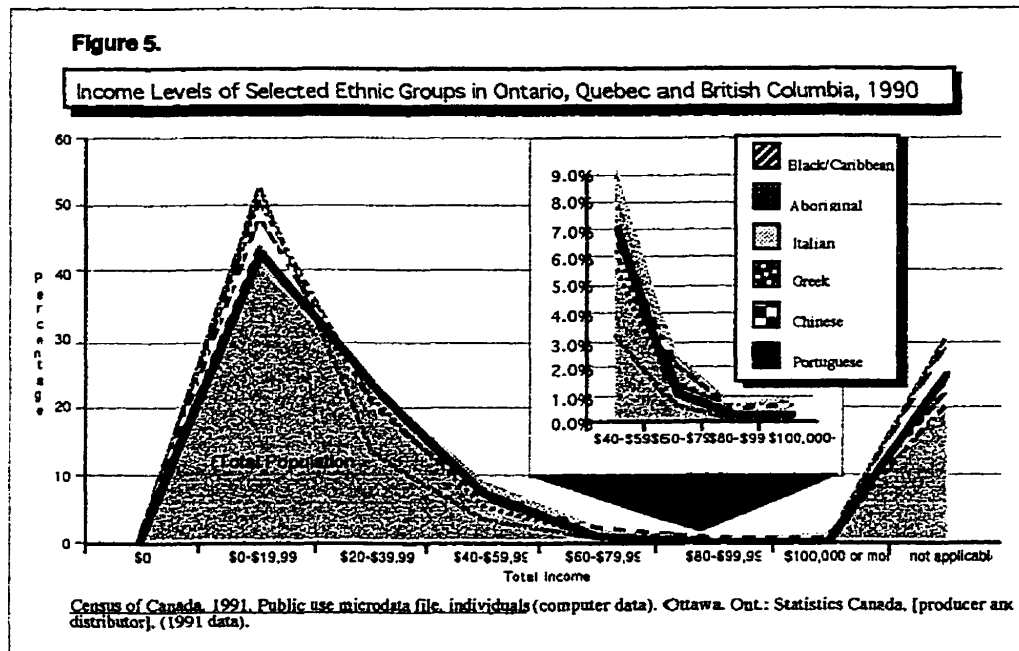
As Table 9 and Figure 5 indicate, the Portuguese had roughly the same percentage of people earning below \$40,000 a year as the general and ethnic minority populations (Table 9, Figure 5, Figure 6). In fact, there were proportionately fewer Portuguese earning less than even \$20,000 (42.8%) than there were in the general population, or in the Chinese, Greek, Aboriginal and Black-Caribbean communities.

**Table 9.**

#### **Individual 1990 Income Levels for Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia**

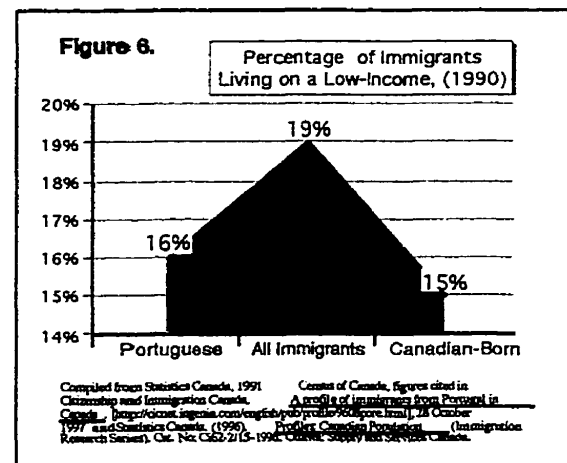
	\$0	\$0-\$19,999	\$20-\$39,999	\$40-\$59,999	\$60-\$79,999	\$80-\$99,999	\$100,000+	not applicable
Total population	0.1%	43.4%	23.0%	9.0%	2.4%	0.7%	0.9%	20.5%
Portuguese	0.1%	42.8%	23.2%	7.1%	1.0%	0.3%	0.3%	25.2%
Black/Caribbean	0.0%	43.3%	20.9%	5.6%	1.0%	0.3%	0.2%	28.7%
Aboriginal	0.1%	52.4%	13.6%	3.1%	0.6%	0.1%	0.1%	30.1%
Italian	0.1%	41.2%	23.2%	8.8%	2.2%	0.6%	0.8%	23.1%
Greek	0.2%	50.4%	20.7%	6.2%	1.4%	0.6%	0.6%	20.1%
Chinese	0.1%	47.7%	20.6%	6.6%	2.0%	0.5%	0.7%	21.8%

Census of Canada, 1991, Public use microdata file, individuals (computer data). Ottawa, Ont.: Statistics Canada, [producer and distributor]. (1991 data).



As Figure 6 illustrates, The Portuguese also do not appear to suffer disproportionate numbers of individuals living in low income situations. In fact, the overall proportions of Portuguese immigrants living below Statistics Canada's Low-income Cutoffs were less than those for all immigrant groups (except in the case of seniors) although, they were slightly above the figures for people born in Canada.<sup>4</sup> This pattern persisted even after age-standardization was applied.<sup>5</sup>

The exceptions to this were Portuguese immigrant seniors, and youth aged 15-24, both of whom displayed higher percentages of individuals living on low incomes than their Luso-Canadian counterparts of other age groups (22%, and 19%). Portuguese-Canadian male youth also displayed the highest unemployment

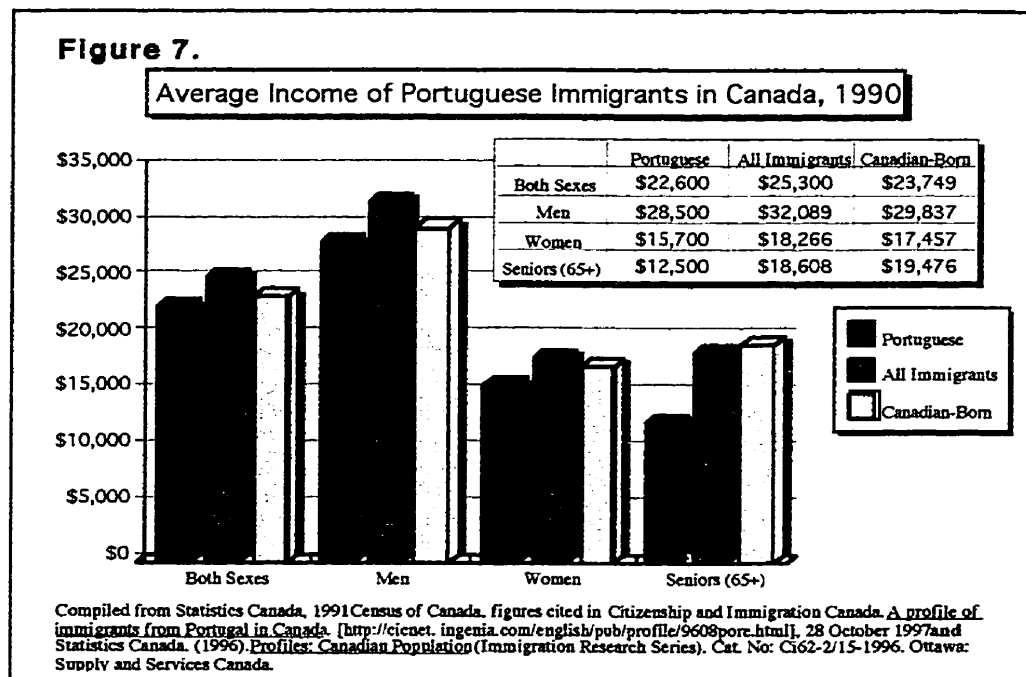


<sup>4</sup> Statistics Canada's Low-income Cut-off in 1991 was \$30,011 for a family of 4, which was living in a centre of more than 500,000 people (Statistics Canada, 1995)

<sup>5</sup> Direct comparisons of socio-economic indicators, such as income and education, between specific immigrant groups and the general population is often affected by differences in the age distributions of these groups. Therefore, in order to compare such indicators between two or more populations, Statistics Canada often adjusts the target populations, so that they have the same age-structure as the Canadian-born population and so that comparisons may be rendered more meaningful.

rate of any age group in the community (15.7%). However, their unemployment rate was nevertheless below that for all immigrant and Canadian-born male youth (17.6% and 16.3%) (Statistics Canada, 1996).

However, while there do not appear to be disproportionate numbers of Luso-Canadians living in poverty, this community also tends to have lower average incomes than other Canadians or immigrants. As Figure 7 illustrates, in 1990, Portuguese immigrants earned an average individual income that was between \$1,150 to \$2,700 less than either the Canadian-born population or the total immigrant population, (depending on whether age standardization was applied).



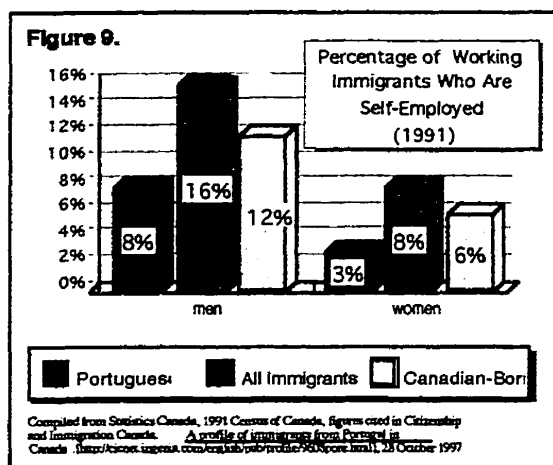
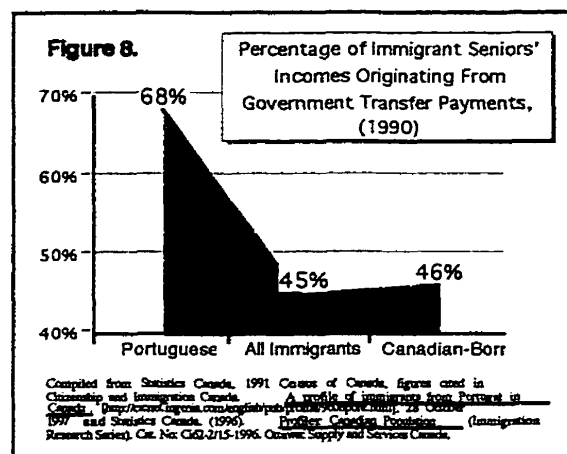
This difference is especially acute in the case of women, youth (i.e.. 15 to 25) and Portuguese seniors (i.e.. 65+), who tend to have significantly lower incomes than Canadian-born and immigrant elderly. Portuguese women earned approximately \$2,500 less than the average for women in all immigrant groups, while their income was nearly half of what their male Luso-Canadian counterparts earned (\$15,700 vs. \$28,500).

In particular, Portuguese immigrant seniors earned substantially less than the average for the elderly from all immigrant groups and almost \$7,000 below the norm for Canadian-born seniors. Portuguese immigrant seniors also relied much more heavily on government

transfer payments than their counterparts in both the general and immigrant communities. As Figure 8 details, a much larger share of the income of Luso-Canadian seniors was comprised of these payments (most probably pensions) (68%).

The proportions of Portuguese who earned above \$40,000 a year in 1990 in Ontario, Quebec and British Columbia were also

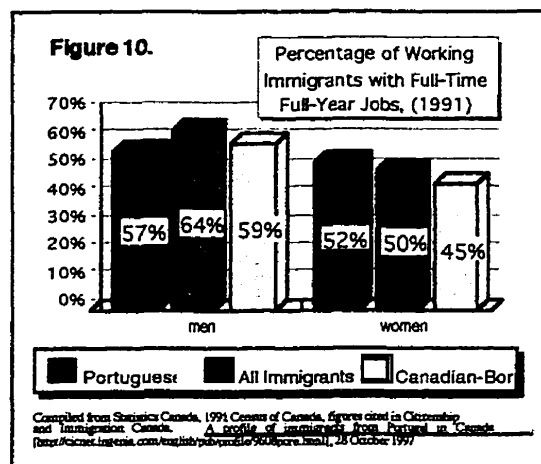
significantly lower than those for the total population and were comparable only to the Black Caribbean and Aboriginal communities. As both Table 9 and Figure 5 illustrate, in 1990, there

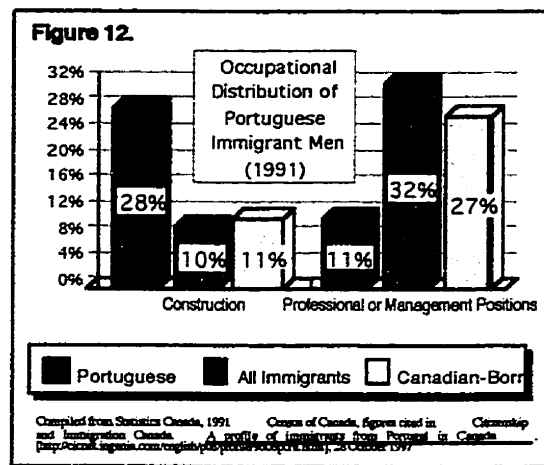
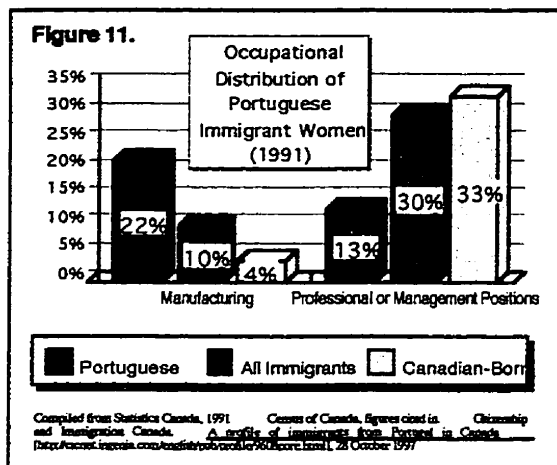


were proportionately between one-half to one-third as many Luso-Canadians earning from \$40,000 to \$100,000 or more, as there were in the general population. Furthermore, as the amplification within Figure 6 shows, the proportions of Portuguese earning at, or above, \$60,000 a year are second-lowest only behind those of Aboriginal Canadians and roughly equal to the Black/Caribbean community.

Finally, as Portuguese immigrants are considerably less likely than others to be self-employed and, in the case of men, to have full-time, full-year jobs (Figures 9 & 10).

As is further indicated in Figure 11 and Figure 12 this community is also substantially underrepresented in the managerial and occupational positions and over-represented in the fields of manufacturing and construction.





In summary the evidence indicates that the numbers of Portuguese who are earning below \$20,000 and \$40,000, or who are living below the Statistics Canada Low-Income Cutoff, do not appear to be disproportionate to those in the general population, or to those of other major ethnic groups. This suggests that there are not disproportionate numbers of Portuguese who are living in dire poverty. However, individuals in the Portuguese community tend to earn lower average salaries than is the case with all immigrants, or the general population.

There are also disproportionately very few individuals in the Portuguese community who are earning above \$40,000. Finally, disproportionate segments of the Portuguese community work in construction and manufacturing.

Yet, while some comfort may be taken in the knowledge that there do not appear to be large numbers of Luso-Canadians who are living at a bare subsistence level, the lack of a significant, high-earning sector in the community is cause for concern. This lack is disquieting evidence of the paucity of Portuguese-Canadians in positions of higher responsibility, such as the skilled trades, technical postings and management; a circumstance which sets the stage for the perpetuation of the Luso-Canadian community in predominantly lower-wage, lower-status, working-class positions, which has traditionally had less influence over the direction of government policy.

This concern is especially significant to Luso-Canadian immigrant seniors, whom - as we have seen - appear to rely much more heavily on government transfer payments than other

elderly. This group - along with Portuguese women and youth - will obviously be hit much harder than their immigrant or mainstream counterparts by future government austerity measures. However, at this point, they would appear to be one of the groups which, in the future, will have the fewest community resources to influence the direction of these same policies.

### **Summary**

As I have illustrate in this statistical profile from the 1991 Census of Canada, Luso-Canadians comprise approximately 1% of the Canadian population and are predominantly concentrated in Ontario (Toronto) and in Quebec (Montreal). Their community is characterized by its disproportionately high numbers of individuals with low levels of formal education, as well as by its lower levels of average incomes. Portuguese seniors, in particular, rely significantly more than their counterparts in other groups, on government transfer payments. Some of these education and income levels are on a par with - and in some cases, below - those in the Aboriginal and Black/Caribbean communities. Portuguese-Canadians are also disproportionately underrepresented in managerial and professional positions. In addition, very few Luso-Canadians earn over \$40,000 a year. Despite this fact, few Luso-Canadians are living in poverty (as defined by the Low-Income Cutoff). This picture of the Luso-Canadian community places its members into the category of what would commonly be termed the “working poor”; that is, of individuals who are not destitute, but who have limited resources and who must work in low-level, low paying positions, just to meet their basic needs.

## CHAPTER 9

### RESULTS

#### Introduction

Cummins (1985, chap. 5) has suggested that it may be unreasonable to attribute the problem of minority academic underachievement to a single underlying cause, or to explain it through recourse to any one particular theory. According to the author, this phenomenon most probably results from the intersection of a series of historical, cultural, social and educational factors; parts of which have been articulated through various approaches, ranging from “Caste-theory” (Ogbu, 1978), to the interruption of cultural transmission, differences in quality of educational treatment and subtle mismatches in social interaction between minority children and their educators. Cummins (1994, 1996, 1997) has further argued that larger-world unequal relations of power - expressed through the coercive “macro-interactions” between a dominant majority and a dominated minority - will influence the nature of roles, relationships and classroom “micro-interactions,” which occur between teachers and minority students and, in this fashion, produce underachievement.

Both of these ideas thus serve to suggest that, the academic underachievement of Luso-Canadian students, can only truly be understood through unravelling the particular way in which the members of this group perceive their places and roles within the particular historical, social, cultural and economic context in which they exist. Only in this fashion, will we be able to recognize the state of affairs which has prevented many Luso-Canadians from achieving - what Paulo Freire has termed - an “emergence” (Freire, 1970, p. 100-101) from their “limit-situations” (p. 89), towards “intervention” (pp. 100-101) in their disadvantaging reality.<sup>1</sup>

In keeping with this framework, the ensuing pages will present what the participants in both the questionnaire and focus group portions of this study have perceived to be the most crucial issues, problems and challenges that are afflicting their Luso-Canadian communities. Through these descriptions, this chapter will detail how these Luso-Canadians have perceived their community to be marginalized educationally, economically, socially and culturally, as well

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<sup>1</sup> In discussing the term “limit-situations,” Freire does not make it clear whether the term is his, or whether it was originally coined by Prof. Alvaro Vieira Pinto. (1960). Consciência e realidade nacional [Consciousness and national reality]. Rio de Janeiro: (no publisher cited), vol. ii, p. 284.

as the way in which they saw the issue of education - particularly the underachievement of the community's youth - as both arising from, and contributing to, this marginalization. Within this study, I am defining marginalization as the disproportionate exclusion, either self-imposed or otherwise, of community members from the various social, political, cultural, economic and educational expressions of Canadian society. Taken together, these descriptions served to weave a web of the economic, social and political context, which was seen as perpetuating the underachievement of its youth.

In presenting these results, this chapter will also highlight what these individuals regarded as the role of disadvantageous attitudes and practices of their community, its members and its institutions - as well as those of mainstream society - within this marginalization.

In keeping with the focus on education, the following pages will highlight those issues which were most directly identified with the community's educational deficit. Other issues will be presented in summary form only and a comprehensive discussion of these is available in Nunes (1998a, 1998b). Finally, since there was a very close match between the issues which were cited in the questionnaire and the focus groups, this section will present the results of both, in an integrated format.

### **Setting a Priority on Education**

As the major part of this chapter will illustrate, participants throughout this study described many divergent issues, ranging from educational problems to economic concerns, cultural issues, the lack of political representation and social services, etc. However, both questionnaire respondents as well as focus group participants were also asked to prioritize the issues which they had identified and to comment on how the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress should best go about resolving these problems.

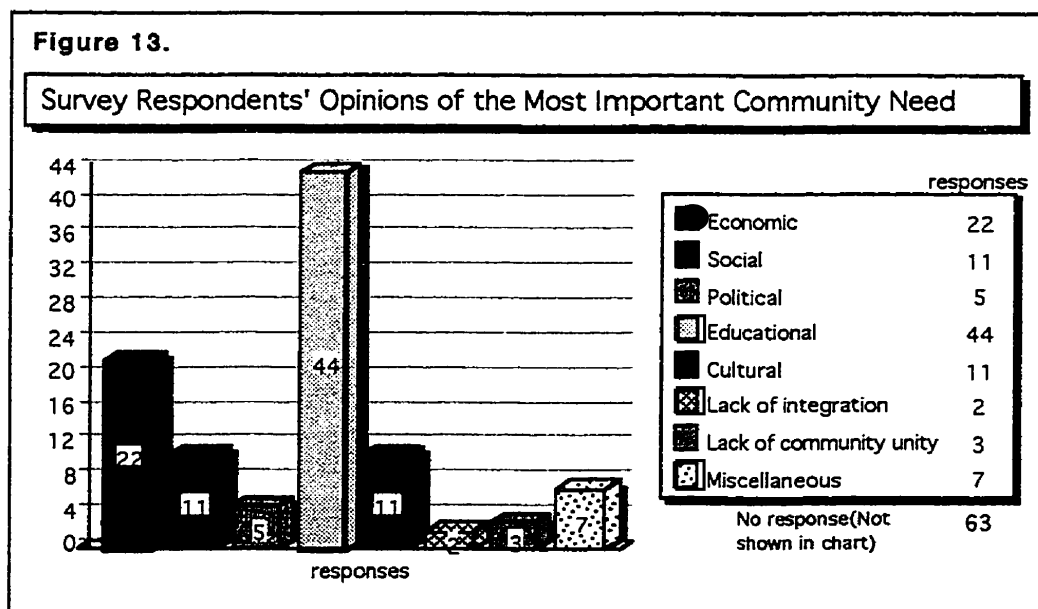
As we will now outline, when asked to identify priorities, most people regarded the community's educational and political deficit as being at the root of the greater part of the issues affecting Luso-Canadians. Furthermore, within this deficit, one of the primary concerns which people identified was the pressing need to increase the number of Portuguese-Canadian young people who are entering into post-secondary education.

## **Priorities Identified in the Questionnaire**

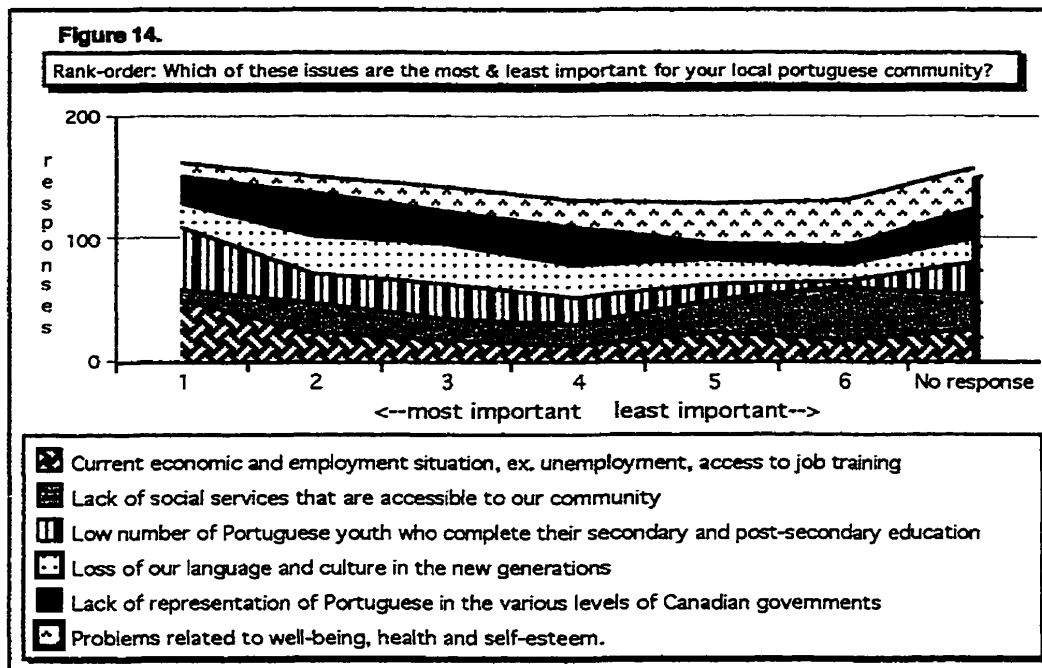
Respondents to the questionnaire were given the opportunity - through a series of both open- and closed-ended questions - to state which issues they felt to be the most important to their local and national communities. People were asked to rank issues by order of greatest urgency and then indicate which of these the Congress should attempt to tackle (See Appendix 2). The results revealed that people responding to the questionnaire were mostly concerned with the issues of education, the community's economic health and political representation:

- **Educational and economic issues** - ex. Youth dropouts, the need to further the education of Luso-Canadian youth, more community education, the poor economic and employment situation, lack of job retraining, etc.
- **Political, cultural and social issues** - ex. Lack of political representation, loss of the Portuguese language and culture, lack of their promotion, lack of social services, problems within the family, etc.
- **Other issues**, ex. lack of integration, community unity, etc.

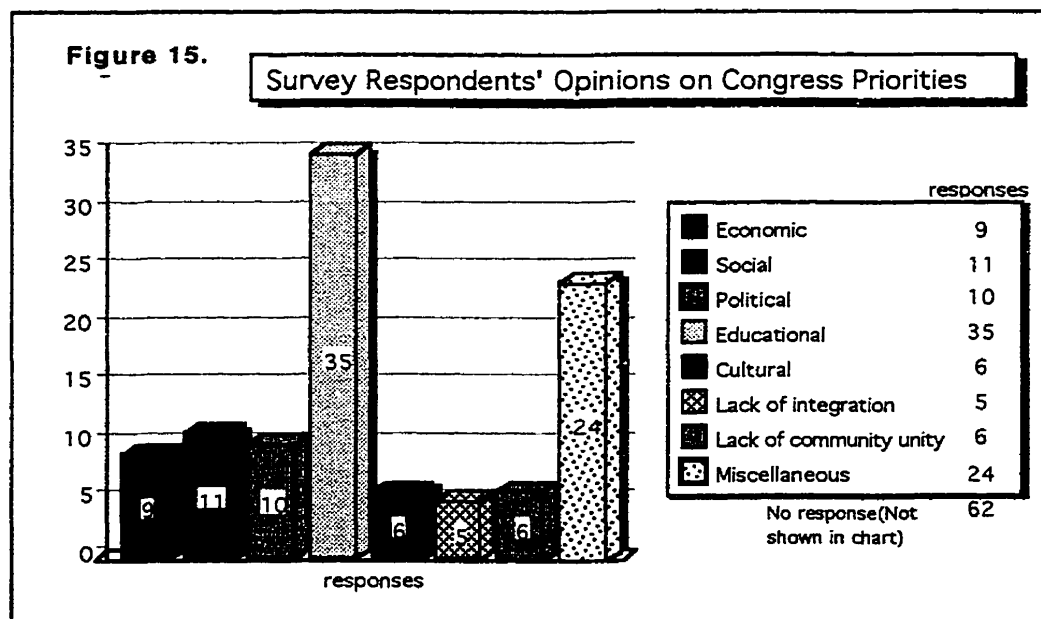
As is illustrated in Figure 13 and Figure 14 the largest, single category of people, of those who responded to these questions in the survey, regarded educational issues as the paramount concern in their local communities.<sup>2</sup> People described the low number of Portuguese youth who completed their secondary and post-secondary education and focussed particularly upon the need to promote the education of Luso-Canadian youth.



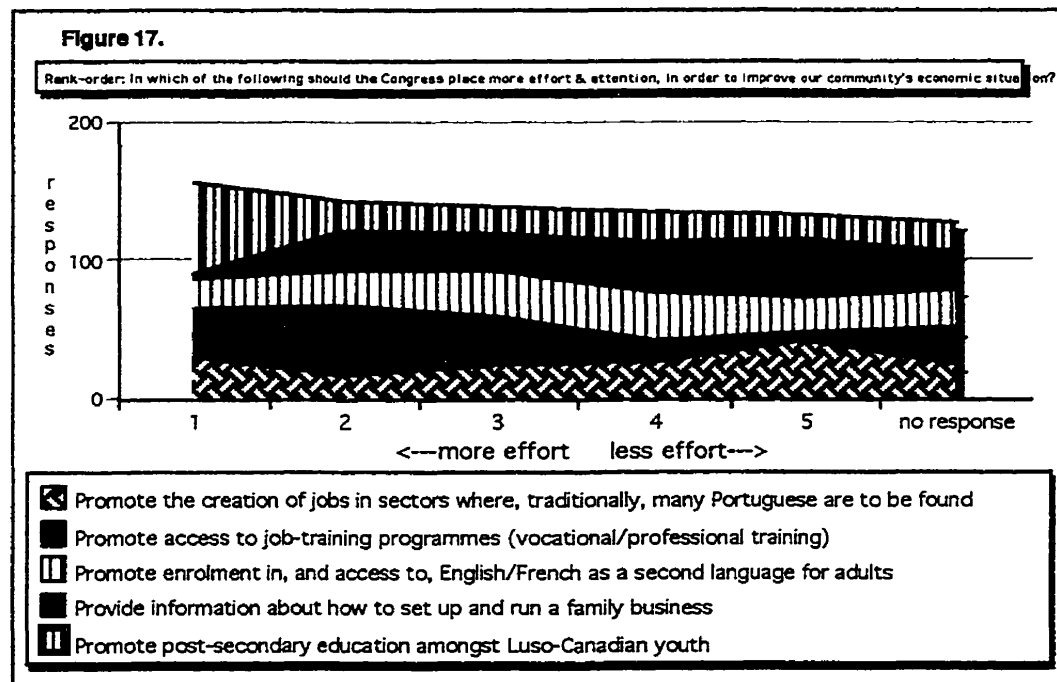
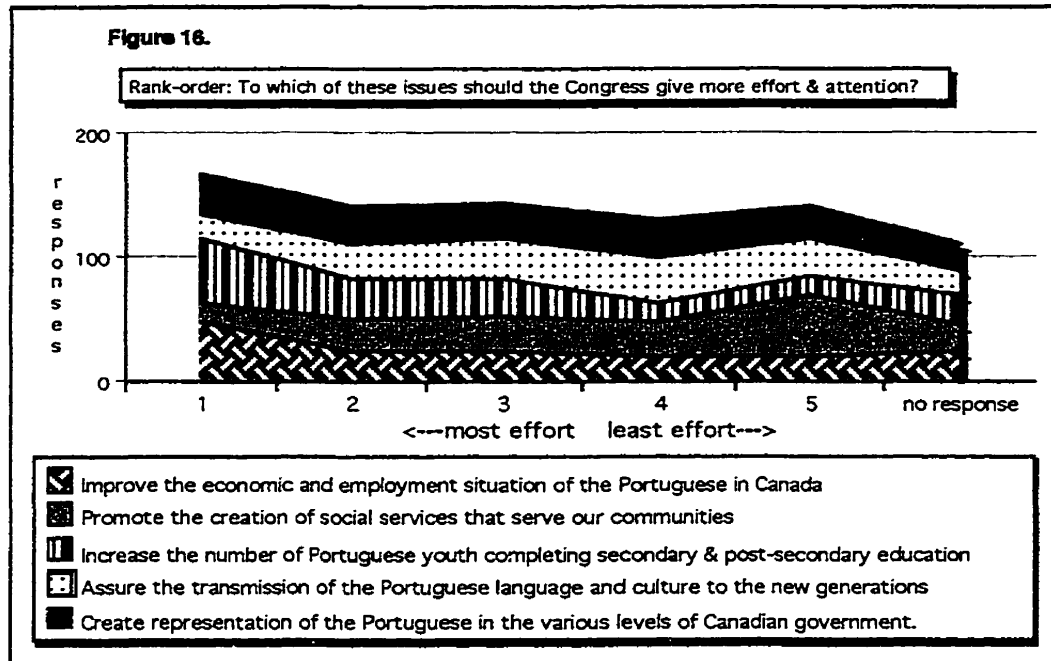
<sup>2</sup> Relatively few people answered the question dealing with national issues. Many stated in the focus groups that they knew very little about other Luso-Canadian communities.



The issues which were most often selected in second place were economic issues and the poor economic and employment situation of Luso-Canadians, (i.e.. unemployment, access to job training, etc.). Similarly, when asked upon which issue the Congress should best direct its limited resources, the largest single group of people were also those who felt that education should become the organization's main priority (Figure 15 and Figure 16). This would include working on such activities as the underachievement issue, community education and fostering a greater political participation amongst community members.



Finally, when asked specifically in a closed-ended question to prioritize some suggested ways to help solve the community's economic problems, more people ranked the promotion of post-secondary education amongst Luso-Canadian youth and the promotion of access to job-training programmes as "very high" and "high" priorities than any other issues (Figure 17).



### **Priorities Identified in the Focus Groups**

In a similar fashion, participants in the focus groups were asked what they felt to be the role and function of the Congress in the resolution of the problems which they had identified. Participants in most of the focus groups felt that the main roles of the Congress should be to act as the strong political voice of Luso-Canadians across this country and to educate the community. Those in the three youth focus groups had very similar preferences to those in the integrated meetings; however, these young people tended to place more of an emphasis upon the promotion of unity amongst all Luso-Canadians.

In summary, many of those individuals who participated in this study, either through the questionnaire or in the focus groups, regarded the issue of the community's low education levels as the primary concern, which underlay many of the other issues that were identified. Furthermore, within this focus on education, the issue of the academic underachievement of the community's youth, took on a special significance in ensuring the community's future health, or its continued marginalization. Thus, in the following sections, we will detail how the Luso-Canadians who participated in this study identified this marginalization, and the roles which they saw of community attitudes, opinions and education.

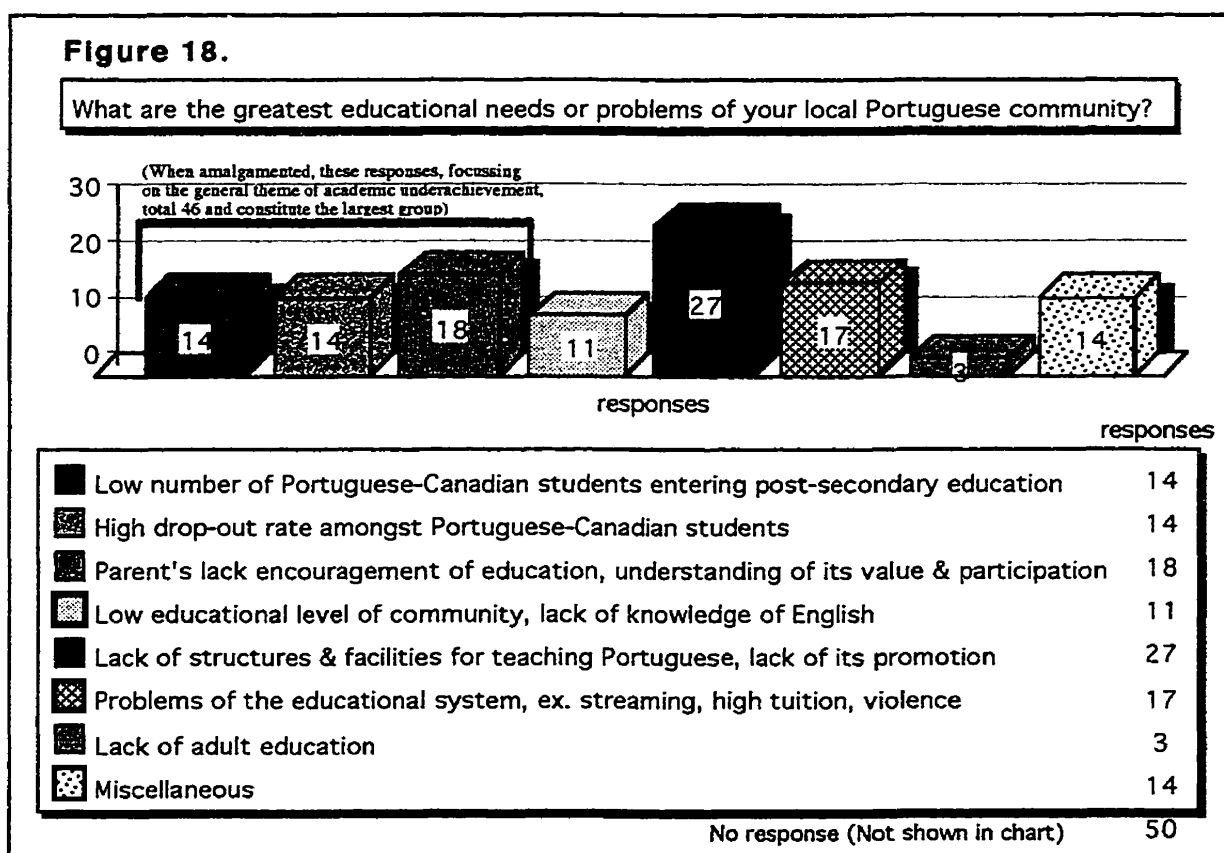
### **The Community's Educational Marginalization**

The theme of an educational deficit, in its various forms, (i.e. youth underachievement, the lack of education amongst adults, and the community) was identified by many in this study as the most important concern which Luso-Canadians facing. People in both the questionnaire and the focus groups expressed serious apprehension about the perceived lack of academic underachievement of the community's youth, the generalized lack of English or French-language skills amongst many long-time Portuguese-Canadians and about the rapid disappearance of the Portuguese language and culture to the younger generations.

Throughout their discussions, people described how the educational and financial limitations of the first generation have led directly to the isolation and marginalization of this group from Canadian society and from professional advancement. Yet, people also rationalised these problems, by attributing them to the lack of educational opportunities which many immigrants experienced in Portugal before emigrating, as well as to the need which most of

these had to attain rapid economic security in their new land.

However, this same rationalization did not occur when the discussion turned to youth underachievement. People reserved their greatest concerns - and criticisms - for the high drop-out rate amongst Luso-Canadian youth (in some regions), the manner in which these were disproportionately failing to enter into post-secondary education and for the perceived lack of encouragement of education, on the part of some Portuguese parents. They roundly condemned the way in which young Luso-Canadians are failing to take advantage of opportunities which their parents did not have. Throughout many of the groups, people also expressed strong fears that, through their unwise educational decisions, the younger generations are reproducing the low-income, working-class legacy of their parents and, in this fashion, creating a bleak future for both themselves and the community as a whole.



## **The Academic Underachievement of Luso-Canadian Youth**

One of the issues that was most often identified by questionnaire and focus group respondents was the perceived poor performance of Portuguese-Canadian students in the Canadian school system. A total of 46 people who responded to the questionnaire described, through an open-ended question, one or another of the various aspects of this issue as the most serious educational problem which their local community is facing (Fig.). Concerns related to academic underachievement (25 responses) and problems of the education system (15 responses) were also cited by survey respondents as the community's prime national educational issue.

A total of six focus groups (including two of the three youth focus groups) also identified the major educational problem in the community as the fact that relatively few Luso-Canadian students are attaining a post-secondary education. People in Toronto spoke of the high proportion of "dropouts" (early school leaving). The group in Winnipeg focussed instead upon the fact that - although many in their region were graduating - too few of these were choosing to enter college and university. Others described the belief that many in the community emphasize working over schooling. Participants in the Hamilton and Toronto focus groups also made such comments as "our children do not study" and "there is a school problem." They further decried the "lack of dedication to youth" on the part of the community.<sup>3</sup>

The group in Montreal did not feel that there was a "dropout problem" in their community. However, even at this meeting, some participants did acknowledge that, in their city, many students study at lower levels or drop difficult subjects and that some Portuguese parents ("about half and half") sometimes pressure their children to go to work. They cited concerns about the "quality of education" which Portuguese youth are receiving in local schools, as it related to academic achievement and discipline. One participant described how "...parents... are concerned with their children's schooling... with the quality... [their] success... or lack of success..." These issues were cited by some of the women in attendance

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<sup>3</sup> The high importance placed on this issue at the Toronto and Hamilton meetings was most certainly influenced by the prior release of the Every Secondary Student Survey (Brown, et. al., 1992; Cheng, e. al., 1993; Yau., et. al 1993) which showed how Portuguese students in Toronto Public Schools were dropping out in disproportionate numbers and studying at significantly lower levels, in comparison with students from other ethnic and racial groups.

as being of special relevance for Portuguese women.

**Luso-Canadian youth are dropping-out in disproportionate numbers.**

Participants in three of the Toronto meetings, as well as in Hamilton and (some of the participants) in the Winnipeg youth groups, identified the key issue in underachievement as the fact that many Portuguese students in their regions do not complete their secondary education.

One participant in one of the Toronto meetings said:

I think the [major problem] is the one of finishing high-school.... If they finish high-school, they are encouraged and they go to university. If they don't finish high-school, they don't go.

Another participant in Winnipeg said:

There are a large number of Portuguese in university... ..who have had a lot of success. But, one also sees many young people, twelve, thirteen, fourteen years of age, who abandon school, who have very grave problems.

In Toronto, a young person described the situation in one school in Brampton, Ontario:

In Brampton, where I'm from, the high-school where I went, where it's about 65% Portuguese, if you make it to the actual high-school graduation, it's a big thing. And then, if you actually go on to university, it's an extra big thing. I mean, you either drop out within in high-school, or you drop out after high-school. Like, I mean, no one is looking forward to continuing because everyone is too worried about... buying a car, or finding a full-time job and, probably, moving out of the house. So no one really thinks about school.

One participant in Winnipeg commented about how Luso-Canadian youth who drop-out fail to comprehend the consequences of their decision and how this error ultimately hampers their future employment opportunities:

These youth are anxious to leave school. I don't know why. And they leave school knowing full well that they will not be able [to find a job], or that, at least, they will have much more difficulty if they don't finish their schooling... ..even so, they don't care. I have a number of personal examples that I know of. And, frankly, I can't find a solution for this problem. And, I live it also. They want to leave school and they don't think about the future.

Participants in the Toronto youth meeting and in one of the Winnipeg meetings were divided on whether they felt the most important underachievement issue for the community was the dropout rate, or the fact that many high-school graduates don't go on to post-secondary education. Similarly, they were unable to agree on whether the problem manifested itself more strongly amongst those of Continental versus Azorean Portuguese background, or amongst

those born in Portugal versus Canada.

**Few Luso-Canadian students are entering into post-secondary education, especially the academic streams.**

Participants in Winnipeg and in the Toronto youth group were not unanimous in identifying early-school-leaving as the major aspect in the underachievement problem. While some - generally those in Toronto - felt that there were many Portuguese youth which did not finish high school, others - mostly those in the Winnipeg and Montreal groups - felt that there were relatively few Portuguese high-school dropouts in their area. Yet, one point upon which all regions agreed was that there were relatively few Luso-Canadian students choosing to attend post-secondary education. As one participant in Winnipeg stated:

In a general sense, the Portuguese community is right on track with the rest of the Canadian society... ..the eighty-five or eighty percent - or whatever it happens to be - do get their grade twelve. But, they don't proceed to go further with it. And unfortunately they decide to go into, whatever... without a more formal education, which is unfortunate... ..Because, nowadays, a grade twelve won't get you as strong a job, or as good an opportunity to have a secure job, as if you have a university degree, or a community college...

Another participant described a similar view of the situation:

My experience is that they do stay and graduate from grade twelve. I think the large majority of them though, do not go on to post-secondary. Unless you want to include vocational or community college... ..I think there's more students going into the community college field and doing the vocational training and apprenticeships. There's more and more doing that. There's more and more going into a post-secondary education.

The younger participants in the mixed-age group in Winnipeg also voiced their belief that those Portuguese young people who were in schools or in universities were hard-working and generally able to compete, intellectually and academically.

**The Community is Undergoing Economic Marginalization and Social Reproduction**

Some of the participants in the groups in Hamilton, Winnipeg and Montreal expressed their strong fears that the present educational deficit of Luso-Canadian youth will have grave concerns for the future economic and social well-being of the Portuguese community in Canada. They described how many of the Luso-Canadian youth who drop-out of school are entering into the same socio-economic roles which their parents currently occupy. They went

on to detail how this will result in the future marginalization of large segments of the Portuguese community. One person in Montreal declared:

...this worries me because we as a Portuguese community... will find ourselves in the future.... with a population of underdeveloped individuals, who do not have the preparation to meet the challenges of the extremely advanced society in which we live... ...we will find, for example.... ...that a certain percentage of youth of Portuguese origin will not have a place in society. They will not have a place because the roles which their parents play today [for example] cleaning the Place Ville Marie, and other such functions, tomorrow these youth will not even be able to do these jobs, because these perhaps will not even exist, or, if they exist, they will go to another type of person. So these youth will be quite a bit lost.

Another participant in Winnipeg cited her personal experiences to illustrate how the working-class legacy of the Portuguese community has reproduced itself, over the years, in the entrance of younger Luso-Canadians into positions of unskilled, manual labour:

When I arrived twenty years ago (I was already eighteen years of age) I went to work in a factory. I felt bad because in Portugal I only wanted to study. But, because of my [lack of] opportunities... ...I only went to the 'colégio' until I was thirteen. When I got here, [and started working] in the factory, I would look at girls who were thirteen, fourteen, who had come here as young girls, and think to myself, 'what I had to endure with my father, how he hit me in order for me to go and study'. And they, here, with so much opportunity [to study], carrying bundles of blue-jeans on their backs. This for me... ...it would leave me saddened. Because I did not have the opportunity to come here when I was young. And, I think that this continues. Those mothers who dedicated themselves to the factory... their children today are doing what their mothers did.

The participant went on to explain the pressure that, even today, is brought to bear upon her own son, to prematurely end his education:

My son... ...finds many people who tell him... ...'Why do you have to go to university? Where are the jobs?' [I tell him], 'Don't worry about the job. It's going to come. Look after yourself. Leave everybody else...' [and he says] 'Oh, my friends, they want a car, they want to be a mechanic'. But, I look at the friends that he accompanies. They are from those mothers that I knew and who, twenty years ago, at thirteen, fourteen years of age, did not want school. They only did a year or two. This is a problem that is going to continue for a while. And it's a pity. I feel that it's a shame. But, I don't see that this problem is only of today. It comes from twenty years ago.

Finally, one young participant in Toronto stated his opinion of the importance which solving the educational issue holds for overcoming the overall marginalization of the Luso-Canadian community:

Well, I think the high dropout rate in Toronto, is definitely a big issue,

nationally. I don't know how statistics diverge from that. But, I think, the more educated the Portuguese community can be on a national level, the better we'll be able to organize both politically, culturally and, hopefully, economically.

### **The Lack Of English- Or French-Language Skills. Amongst The First Generation**

Another issue which was frequently identified in the focus groups is the widespread lack of English- and French-language skills amongst those of the first generation. People mentioned how there are many Luso-Canadians who are still unable to communicate in English, even after having resided in Canada for many years and after having acquired Canadian citizenship. One participant in Ottawa-Hull stated his opinion about how this issue is at the root of many people's problems: "The other difficulties arise because of the language. Everything starts with the language." Participants in the focus group conducted in the Maritimes cited how the lack of English prevents people from getting better jobs and often goes hand-in-hand with lack of integration in Canadian society. One participant in Toronto commented on how this lack of English is the key issue which limits job opportunities and contributes to the lack of integration into Canadian society:

...people, especially older people, can't speak English. For this reason, they can't get good jobs... they can't achieve a higher level... only the very basic. They can't get more involved in Canadian social life, get to know - for example - what is going on in the English-language television.

One man in the Edmonton group described how the lack of English affects many Portuguese in their workplace:

We go to find work and many people - since we can't speak English - don't pay us any mind. There are many people that I know who apply to certain jobs and they are not hired because they don't know the language. Many times, there are people here who are sick, or on sick-leave, or on social services, and who want to go to school, but they can't go because the government will not pay the classes that they would attend... The government will not pay, or it will take away our sick benefits...

And

At work they send us here and there to the hardest jobs that there are in the factories, or in construction, because we don't know how to defend ourselves, we don't have the language, or anyone who can help us...I think this is what affects us greatly.

Another man in the Osoyoos, B.C. focus group described how the lack of fluency in

the English language was the key to many other problems for the Portuguese, such as the lack of participation in the political process:

Politics is like everything else. Everything leads to one thing: The language, the reading and writing [of English]. The Portuguese have not been a long time in this region. Because of this, those people who are older, their English is not sufficient for them to involve themselves in issues of politics. And, in everything that the Portuguese could talk about, it all leads to the same thing: The speaking of English, writing English and reading English. It always comes knocking at the same door... in every problem which exists.

Participants in the Ottawa-Hull group described how this lack of language skills prevents the Portuguese in this region from understanding what options and services are available to them. For example, one man stated how people make limited use of the services at the Canada Employment Centres because many don't know how to fill out the necessary forms and how to talk to the employees. The same participant went on to cite the case of a Portuguese family who didn't know that there was a baby bonus, until after he had informed them and they had received a lump-sum payment from the government.

Participants in this group also described how his lack of language skills is especially acute amongst the elderly and how it most especially affects their ability to access the health-care system. One man stated his opinion that, some people in the Ottawa region often postpone going to the doctor, because they know they will be unable to communicate effectively. This problem is perpetuated by the near total lack of Portuguese-speaking health professionals and is most acute when it comes to accessing specialists.

Despite recognizing the disadvantages of not speaking English or French, people in the Sault Ste. Marie focus group did not feel this issue limited local community members with regards to employment. Some mentioned how Sault Ste. Marie's tradition of receiving large proportions of immigrants has created an environment where people (such as employers) are more able to accommodate or overlook people's lack of language skills, than in other parts of Canada. As one participant mentioned "...they look more at your work than they do your language."

Another man in Montreal commented on the fact that he had never needed to be able to speak French, in order to conduct his job:

I don't need to speak French, in order to work. And even the boss was very grateful because... he would say 'This is the kind of worker that I want. These

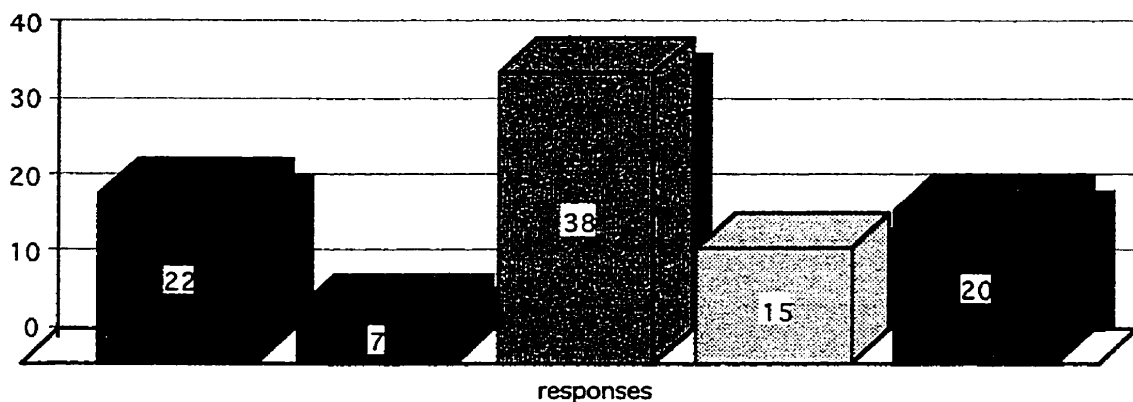
kinds of workers don't waste their time talking to anyone.'... 'he knows about blueprints. He knows how to work with a machine. He doesn't need to talk to the blueprint. He doesn't need to talk to the pieces. He does his job, starts, sends it in and it's all done. Look he is even a good worker because this way he doesn't waste his time talking to anyone.'

### The Community's Economic Marginalization

The economic issues that were raised by people in the questionnaire and focus groups described a community that was largely marginalized from the mainstream economic and occupational profile. People in both the questionnaire and focus groups identified unemployment, and youth unemployment as the most important local and national economic issues, and discussed how this was having a disproportionate effect on the community. A related concern was the concentration of many Portuguese in jobs which afford them low salaries and a low-status amongst society-at-large.

**Figure 19.**

What are the greatest economic needs or problems of your local Portuguese community?



Low salaries for most, low returns for labour, low-status employment	22
No diversification (ex. few professionals, concentration in low-wage jobs)	7
Unemployment, youth unemployment, lack of unskilled jobs.	38
Need for retraining programmes	15
Miscellaneous	20

No response (Not shown in chart) 66

Another major issue that was listed by the respondents to the questionnaire was the lack of retraining programmes, especially for people with little formal education. Focus group respondents also mentioned a related problem by describing instead how many Portuguese are not upgrading and specializing their skills. The issues of the high numbers of disabled workers and the presence of disadvantaging labour laws were also brought up in the focus groups. In the case of the questionnaire, there were also many divergent opinions to this question, which are reflected in the high number of miscellaneous answers.

### **The High Rate of Unemployment / Lack of Jobs**

Both the participants to the focus groups as well as the respondents to the questionnaire identified unemployment, and youth unemployment as the most important local and national economic issue, for Portuguese-Canadians. When asked about pressing economic issues which were affecting his community, one man in Ottawa-Hull responded gruffly: "That's an unnecessary question... I think that's one of the most difficult things these days, finding a job so that one can survive." One other participant in one Toronto meeting described how "the community is in an economic crisis" and how for the first time in their history, the Portuguese community in this city now makes up a significant part of the welfare rolls. Participants in the focus groups in Hamilton, Edmonton, Toronto, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Saskatoon, the Maritimes and Winnipeg also mentioned the fact that today there are many fewer jobs available in traditional areas, such as construction, and spoke of the need to improve the situation of the economy and to increase the number of available jobs, especially for youth. Participants in all three Toronto meetings also decried the fact that employment in the traditional manufacturing and unskilled jobs (especially construction) seems to be "stalled". Yet people in one of the Toronto meetings were also divided as to whether the problem was lack of jobs, or lack of jobs which paid a living wage.

Participants in Saskatoon also talked about how the lack of jobs was affecting the future survival of the community in that region. One woman lamented: "My son goes everywhere, writes his applications, doesn't find a job... for almost two years, without work, only part-time..." People at this meeting communicated a pessimistic outlook towards the survival of the Portuguese community in Saskatchewan. They cited how the poor economic situation and the

greater vulnerability of the Luso-Canadian worker has led many Portuguese to not want to build a future in this province. Other participants at this meeting blamed Saskatchewan's low population for the lack of jobs and a job creation strategy. They felt that the low numbers of residents in this province has created an outmigration of people to other regions and resulted in a climate of hopelessness amongst all Saskatchewan residents towards the future.

One person in the Maritimes spoke about how the lack of English-language skills and the lack of formal recognition of the professional credentials which some Portuguese bring from Portugal created a difficult economic situation of some of the people who have immigrated to this region. This participant complained about how the lack of English language skills made it impossible for many to write tests which would allow them certification in Canada, in their profession. As he said of the lack of English: "[The immigrant] knows how to work in his profession, but has difficulty in writing these exams."

Yet, despite their gloomy portrayal of the unemployment situation in the Portuguese community, some of the participants in a few of the groups commented that this was not an issue which was particular to the Portuguese and that the Portuguese always find a way to survive since, they have a reputation as hard workers and will generally take any kind of work. One participant in Sault Ste Marie commented:

Luckily, we have a special name: The 'Portuguese' name. Where a Portuguese works [once], he soon has [more] work... ..We only need a little bit more help, because with our hands, our experience, and with the way in which we are, we always survive in this country, although with some difficulty.

The youth group in Winnipeg also saw the high unemployment rate of all Canadians, as well as the fact that many Portuguese are employed seasonally, as factors which disadvantage Luso-Canadian youth academically. The people in this group felt that unemployment in the family places an extra burden on Luso-Canadian youth, especially in the case of new immigrants. One young person felt that Portuguese-Canadian youth are not directly affected by their parents' unemployment, however, he did state that the lower economic means of many Luso-Canadian parents often mean that the children of these families usually end up paying for their own education, through part-time, summer jobs, or student loans. Some in the group also felt that the recent changes to the unemployment insurance plan might make the situation worse. One young woman also mentioned the fact that a lot of Portuguese in Winnipeg were

seasonal workers, who are greatly affected by the recent changes to Unemployment Insurance Act, that were targeted mainly at cutting the benefits to these employees. One participant explained:

“As long as we have new immigrants coming over... ..it’s always going to be a challenge, because they have to establish themselves financially... be able to facilitate their future, in terms of finding a job. And, that’s not always something simple to do...”

### **The Concentration of Luso-Canadians in Low-Paying, Unskilled, Low-Status Jobs**

Respondents to the questionnaire identified as one important economic limitation the fact that many Portuguese-Canadians receive low salaries, low returns and a low social status for their labour. Participants in the focus groups in Toronto, Montreal and Sault Ste. Marie meetings also described how many in the community tend to hold jobs where they earn substantially less than other Canadians and where they face much less job security. One man in Montreal bemoaned the substitution of low-paying manual labour jobs in the place of formerly high-paying positions:

I know two individuals who earned a reasonable salary. But, for whatever reasons.... their company went out of business. They were left without without any money... For them to get work in another company - for example, they were making twelve, thirteen, fourteen dollars an hour - today, they are making six, seven dollars. And, I also know people... who were forced to sell their house, losing thirty, forty and in some cases even fifty percent, in order to go back to Portugal, because they couldn’t make a living in this country.

One participant in Toronto shared a personal experience of being diminished occupationally, in order to illustrate how the lack of good-paying employment has affected the self-esteem of Portuguese-Canadian men:

I have been a mechanic for 32 years. I took a seven-year mechanics course. I was in Angola, in Africa, in Saudi Arabia, I’ve been practically to the entire world. I got here, I took out the permit to work as a mechanic... I went to a shop where I worked for a week for 50 hours. They gave me \$150. I went to work in another, they gave me \$8 an hour for 56 hours. Can one accept this?... ..I... I picked up my toolbox... and threw it into my car. One becomes angry [desorientado]. This is exactly what happens to men... many times they become angry [desorientado] as a result of the economic situation... There is work [out there]. They just don’t want to pay.

Participants in two of the Toronto meetings also identified how a lower-than-average

income often leads Portuguese students to after-school and summer jobs, in order to work to support themselves and their families and how this ultimately encourages underachievement.

One person stated:

...one of the problems within the Azorean community is that practically all of its youth... work part-time, sometimes even four or five hours a night. I think it is impossible for a child who works... who is sixteen years old, who works four or five hours a night...to continue to function very well [in school]. Really, when he or she gets home and has to do homework and study and goes to sleep at one o'clock in the morning, and has to be at school at eight or eight-thirty, they certainly aren't getting the sleep that they need... ...In most cases, I have had the chance to speak to parents and tell them that this is unacceptable, [and I ask], 'why do you let you son or daughter work five or six hours a night?' [and they reply] ' Oh, I don't mind. What they earn is for themselves, and in this way, I don't have to buy them shoes, I don't have to buy pants and whatever else they need. This is out of my reach.' Therefore, it is a relief for them that they don't have to give their children what their children need. They can go to work and, thus, work for what they want. I think that this is a problem which has much to do with the level of education which we see in our schools.

Participants in Sault Ste. Marie also brought up the fact that most Portuguese lack the same white-collar contacts which many other individuals from other groups often take for granted. This often limits the opportunities of young people who are recently out of school and trying to secure employment in positions requiring a degree of skill or education. For example, one participant pointed out the existence of a situation of preferential hiring in the town's city government, which discriminates against the entrance of people from previously unrepresented communities:

Yesterday, I was with someone who works for City Hall. He told me himself that they hire new workers from amongst those who are recommended by someone on the inside and that whoever doesn't have anyone on the inside who can bring them in, has little chance of getting in.

### **Many Luso-Canadians Are Experiencing Financial Difficulties**

The people in at least two of the focus groups brought up the fact that the recession was affecting Luso-Canadians more severely than those in other communities and cited how they personally knew of many individuals in the community who were currently experiencing severe financial difficulties. Most of the focus group participants in this and other groups asserted their opinion that most Portuguese in Canada have a work-ethic, an ability to adapt and a willingness to take any kind of work, all which usually allow these individuals to be able to

survive in difficult economic times. However, despite these viewpoints, many people agreed that this survival has neither been won at an easy price - in terms of quality of life and employment - nor was it any longer guaranteed, in light of the new economic realities. One woman in Ottawa-Hull described as a “fiction” the belief that the Portuguese are more capable of surviving in a recession. She cited her situation:

Nowadays, there are people in financial crisis. I can include myself as one of them. My husband hasn't worked for a year. His only source of income is... a disability pension plan; seven hundred dollars a month. We pay eight hundred and some a month in rent. So.... this is a crisis... I include myself in this group.

The people in the July Toronto group also discussed how many Portuguese men are currently facing severe financial pressures and stated how many of these men do not easily discuss these issues with their families, a factor which occasionally causes some of these men to turn to alcohol. As one participant asked?

Why doesn't [a man] go home and talk to his wife, instead of going to the café and talking to his friends and getting drunk? Why does he do this? He has financial pressures, he has to discuss them with his wife, to say.... 'how are we going to resolve this problem?' Let's reach an agreement, let's try the best way that we can.' No. It's not by dismissing his whole family, going to the café, shaking the hand of this, or that one, [and saying] 'Hey! Bring a round of beer for everyone!' Our community is like this: If one pays, all want to pay. Sure, so at the end of the day, the guy has drank too much. He comes home, argues with his wife, because of the problems that are behind all of this... the wife can't say anything, [and he says] 'Ah! Go to...!' This is completely wrong... this is one of the serious problems that affects our community, nowadays...

### **Luso-Canadian Workers Are Not Upgrading Their Skills or Entering Into More Specialized Areas of Traditional Employment**

Another issue which was identified as a factor which maintained Luso-Canadians in a marginalized economic position was the fact that there are very few options available for those Portuguese who desired to receive job retraining. People described how there were many people in the community who were not able to move to better and higher-paying employment, because they themselves do not seek to upgrade, or acquire, new job skills, and because very few job retraining programmes are geared to those who have little fluency in the official languages and/or a limited formal education. People in the focus groups also spoke about how those who were already working do not generally attempt to enter more specialized areas of

traditional employment. For example, one participant mentioned how, many Portuguese who are currently employed in construction do not seek retraining for such skilled positions as drafts men, machine operators, carpenters, etc..

One participant in Winnipeg stated that this lack of career development can be attributed to a “fear” of school on the part of many Portuguese, who - for the most part - have a very low level of formal education. Others at this meeting described the fact that many of the courses which offer upgrading or skills training are inaccessible to many Portuguese, because of the language barrier and the fact that many courses are geared for those who already possess a certain level of formal education. Since there are relatively few courses which are structured to accommodate the limitations of many of these workers, the impression is created that any type of upgrading is out of the reach of most people. Finally, those in the Hamilton meeting also described how there is very little knowledge in the community regarding how to access available government funding for retraining, special job promotion and incentive programmes, etc.

### **Portuguese-Canadians Are Being Disproportionately Affected By Disadvantaging Labour Laws**

A few of the participants in the November Toronto focus group also described how the repeal of pay equity laws in Ontario and the enactment of new legislation designed to curb the power of unions will severely affect the situation of Portuguese workers, in such occupations as office cleaning.

One respondent in particular went on to explain how these laws, along in conjunction with a lack of formal education, leave Portuguese women vulnerable to exploitation and abuse in their place of employment:

...I don't think anyone in this city, not even women in Canadian mainstream society suffer as much abuse as the Portuguese women who work in office cleaning. It is unimaginable and I think it is something which has been very, but I mean, very much ignored.... I think that in most cases... if the Portuguese community were interested and would send inspectors from the Ministry of Labour to look into the work that these women do, in the majority of the cases, the companies would be held responsible, because these women do tasks that would not be accepted... and no one has been doing anything about this.

### **There are Disproportionately High Numbers of Disabled Workers in the Luso-Canadian Community**

People in a few of the focus groups and in the questionnaire also discussed how the Luso-Canadian community seems to suffer a disproportionately high number of disabled workers.<sup>4</sup> One participant in Winnipeg mentioned the fact that many Portuguese have become permanently disabled, as a result of work-related accidents, and do not have the health, job skills or education to take up any other type of work. He also cited the fact that Worker's Compensation is not doing enough to allow these individuals a "dignified" life. The participant described the effect which this has had on these individuals:

These people have a great inner conflict, where they feel completely out-of-place, depressed and apart from the social context which they like. They don't know whether they should go to Portugal... they don't know whether they should live here. They live a life of fear. There is a large number of people that are in this situation.

More than one person in the Maritimes also described how claims made for Worker's Compensation disability benefits are taking exorbitantly long to process. One participant described the issue in this fashion:

This is a problem which is being very badly administered because, there are cases which take two, three, four, five, six years to be resolved.... We are being punished - I think there is no other word for it - we are being greatly punished because of this.

Another participant cited his own case:

I speak from a personal experience that I had with an accident at work. The insurance company paid me for one year and I have been two and a half years without receiving a penny.

Participants specifically blamed the Compensation system, rather than Doctors, for the delay in these cases.

### **Portuguese-Canadian Youth Are Not Entering Into "Non-Traditional" Jobs**

The youth groups in Winnipeg and Toronto mentioned how Portuguese youth are not accessing "non-traditional" jobs and, thus, how a large segment of the community is not able to participate in all levels of society and the economy. One participant in Winnipeg mentioned

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<sup>4</sup> In this respect, it is also significant to note that 9 respondents, or nearly 9%, self-identified as "disabled from a work-related accident".

how it was time for the community to step away from entering en-masse into unskilled jobs, such as general-labour, construction work. This individual also mentioned how it was also time for those youth who are acquiring more formal education to start moving away from traditional fields. She cited the specific example of many educated Portuguese women, who have a tendency to enter into teaching:

There's nothing wrong with teaching. I have tons of friends who are teachers. But, there are other jobs that they could go into. There's business. I got a commerce degree. I was in commerce. And I was the only Portuguese female. I felt like 'Where are the other females?' I know that there are tons of them. Why aren't they in commerce? They could go into commerce, into medicine, pharmacy, dentistry. There's a lot of non-Portuguese who are going into these careers. Why aren't Portuguese people going into those careers as well?

Another participant in Winnipeg attributed this problem to the lack of role models in the community, from these diverse fields.

### **Luso-Canadian Students Fear That They Will Not Be Able to Find Suitable Employment After Graduating**

One related issue discussed by the participants in Montreal were their concerns that they will not be able to find suitable employment after finishing their studies. Some, like the following young man, expressed concerns that they would not find work at all:

I'm afraid that, after finishing school, I won't be able to find a job at the end. But, it's also a fact that my father always says 'learning is its own reward (o saber não ocupa lugar)...' But, there is the problem of wasting time. That's it. My fear is of the job not being there at the end. Right now, I would like to be a lawyer, and I even thought, I very much like business. So, I would like to start my own business... ..but right now, I'm not exactly sure if that's what I want to do for the rest of my life. So, for now, I'm going into the sciences in college, in order to have something to fall back on, so that I can at least have an education. But, the fact is, everyone says, a person nowadays can't be sure. And there is always the fear that, in the end, there isn't going to be a job.

Others described their fear that they would never be able to enter the field for which they qualified, or in which they were interested. One young man stated that he was not anxious about being able to find work, he was much more worried about which field he would ultimately be employed. Another woman stated:

There is just one thing that worries me: I'm afraid; sometimes I find myself thinking... I know that in my situation, if I can't find work, I can go to work for my father... I will never go on unemployment, or a similar thing, because I can count on them. But, it's just that... I want to make it by myself. I'm not studying so that, afterwards, I will go to work for my father. That's not what I

want to do with my life.

### **The Relative Weakness of the Luso-Canadian Business Community**

The groups in Vancouver and Winnipeg discussed how the local Portuguese business class in their regions was relatively small and weak and described how this contributes to the increased marginalization of the community-at-large (this point was also raised briefly in one of the Toronto meetings, where the Portuguese business community is strongest). The people in these groups detailed how those Portuguese-Canadians who own businesses generally have less education, professional skills and connections than their mainstream counterparts. According to participants, this contributes to weaker businesses in the community and to a lack of social development, since a weak economic structure ultimately leads to a weak social and political structure. One woman explained:

[What affects the community] is exactly the economic part, precisely because of the lack of good education... and skills. People are not prepared, they don't have a defined profession. Our people came here, they brought tailors from the village... I have a brother that came over as a tailor, because he was was a tailor and one of the best. But, when he arrived here, he had to go and paint houses for a German guy, who then left him with money owed to him. He did not know how to speak and [the guy] never paid him, (him and one other). Because, my brother, in order to [work as a tailor] needed to know the names of things and he did not know any English.

One young woman elaborated on the difficulties and isolation which results during the attempt to start a business in the Portuguese-Canadian community:

When you start a business, you're on your own. You don't know people yourself, that's it. There's not another Portuguese person that's gonna come to you and say, 'don't worry, I have these connections. I have these contacts. I can help you.' You don't find that. And, that's where you have to find a way to unify people, so that they will do that.

Another participant in Winnipeg also spoke of the lack of support which the community affords to Portuguese businesses in the region. In speaking of the attempts of the local Portuguese business association to reach out to the community, this person commented:

Many people notice that the Portuguese are the last ones to support Portuguese businesses. The motive for this... we don't know why. We have spoken in various meetings and we have not been able to reach a conclusion as to the reason.

Ironically, one participant in Vancouver lamented the fact that those young people in his

local community who were ambitious about progressing in their economic roles thought only of going to university or college, instead of being “creative” and launching themselves into business. He urged groups such as the Congress to encourage creativity and the entrepreneurial spirit. In his view, the health of the business-class will be essential in moving the community away from isolation and towards a greater progress in mainstream Canadian society. In a similar vein, the participants at this meeting also felt that the same lack of skills and education which affect the :Luso-Canadian business-class are also what underlie the overall problems in community unity.

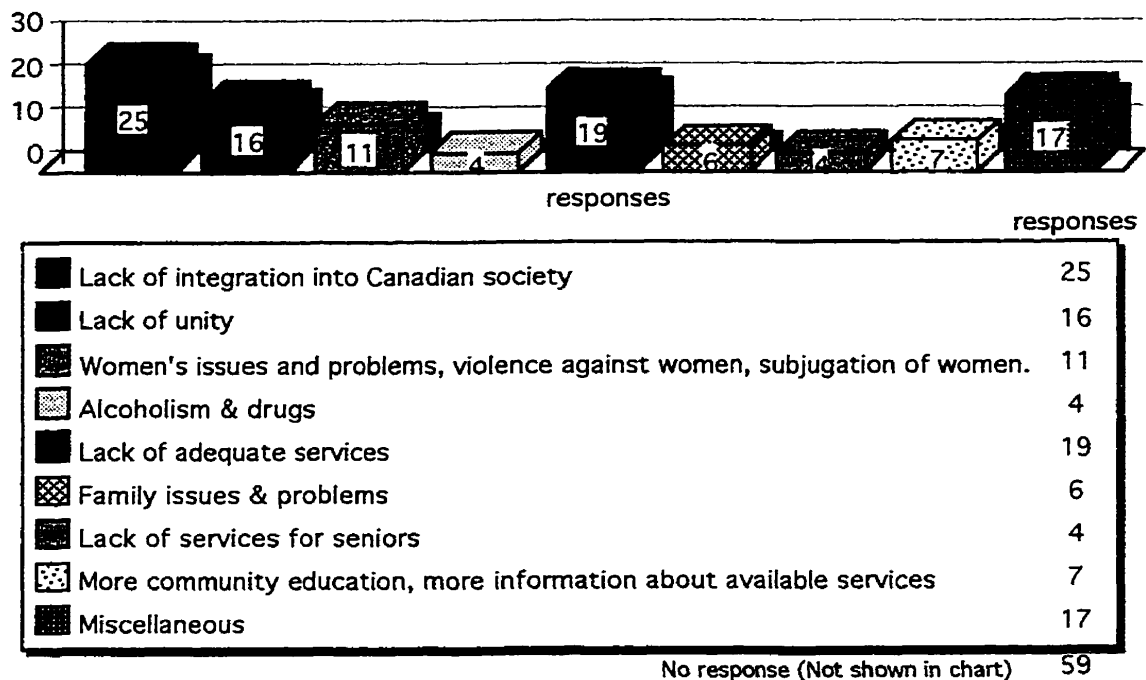
### **The Community’s Social Marginalization**

In listing what they perceived to be the greatest social problems of their local communities, people in both the focus groups and the questionnaires outlined a series of issues which read as symptoms of a community which is marginalized from the mainstream of Canadian life. People identified the lack of integration of Portuguese-Canadians into Canadian society, the nonexistence of adequate social and community services, and a lack of community unity, as major issues which set the community apart from the mainstream and which served to isolate many Luso-Canadians. Respondents to the questionnaire also described the top national issue as the lack of adequate services (10 responses). The need for integration, lack of unity and women’s issues and problems were all tied for second (7 responses each).

Throughout their discussions, people continually referred to how this social isolation is often a direct consequence of the low education levels of the community and the lack of English, or French, language skills. They also described how this tendency towards marginalization from the mainstream on the part of older immigrants is affecting those of the second generation, in ways which is also serving to alienate some younger Luso-Canadians. According to participants, many of those from the second-generation are encountering both a difficulty in communicating with their families, as well as a difficulty in fully becoming a part of the mainstream.

**Figure 20.**

What are the greatest social needs or problems of your local Portuguese community?



### **The Lack of Integration in Canadian society.**

The lack of integration of the Portuguese in Canadian society was cited by most individuals in this study as the prime social issue of concern. The people in the Winnipeg, Ottawa-Hull, Sudbury and Toronto focus groups discussed how the lack of English-language skills amongst many first generation Portuguese, along with the community's generally low education levels, often result in a tendency towards isolation from mainstream society; especially amongst Portuguese seniors.

The people at the Ottawa-Hull meeting described how many Portuguese in this region isolate themselves at home, or limit themselves to church-going activities. One participant mentioned that those who stayed at home normally did not want to enter into any of the activities of the wider Canadian community, while those who confined their sphere of activities to the church often rejected the ideas arising from other sectors of the Portuguese community. Because of the great numbers of church-going Portuguese, this rejection has often led to deep divisions within the local community.

A few of the participants in the Sudbury meeting commented on their own situations. One woman stated: "If I associated more with Canadians, maybe I would feel happier here." Another mentioned how interaction with Canadians is made more difficult by the existence of wide cultural differences:

I have a neighbour. This woman invites me to go to her house almost every day and I don't go. Why? That's the issue. They have a way of thinking that is totally different from ours.

Some of the participants in this northern Ontario meeting mentioned how these cultural differences were more acute, in the case of the older generation of Portuguese immigrants, whose traditional way of thinking is often maintained "as if they were living in Portugal". At least one participant described how there was a need to teach Portuguese about "Canadian customs", in order to help these integrate in a better fashion. Another participant cited the lack of recreational and occupational opportunities for Portuguese seniors.

A few of the Azorean participants in one of the Toronto meetings described how the combination of low education levels, lack of English-language skills and a rural upbringing prevents many in the Azorean community from adapting to life in Canadian cities and even from integrating into Portuguese-Canadian Associations. One participant added:

...I think that the Azorean community, [due to] the stigma that it has been given - the one of being a community of people who know how to read or write very little - they end up isolating themselves from everything which has to do with a group. I think this will turn out to be a very big problem. I think that in the next generation, we will be able to deal with it. However, I think that, presently, the stigma that the community can't read nor write keeps it away from whatever community or public meeting.

A number of the Azorean participants in the November Toronto focus group also described how the use of an inaccessible level of Portuguese in community education campaigns, meetings and in translations of material contributed significantly to this isolation. One person said of community meetings:

[People say to themselves] 'Why am I going to go there to see Dr.... (who is going to speak) and receive all of this abuse from someone who knows very well how to present himself and to communicate.' Especially when the people on the other end don't even know how to receive... his message. The message is not even intended for them. The level of language that people use doesn't serve the community.

Another confessed:

This meeting, for example, if it was with people with education, well, I probably wouldn't even be here. Because, I don't have the education ('cultura') to be amongst people who say two or three things and I, afterwards, don't even understand what they have said.

This isolation, rooted in a lack of English-language skills, became a pattern for many people, from which they have never escaped. According to some of the participants, many of those who are isolated from the social developments of modern Canadian life are equally isolated from similar developments in Portugal, or, in some cases, even from the activities of their local Luso-Canadian community.

### **Conflict and Lack of Communication, Between Portuguese-Canadian Parents and Youth**

The most consistent theme which surfaced throughout all three youth focus groups was the presence of an ongoing conflict and a lack of communication between Luso-Canadian parents and their children. This issue was given a great deal of prominence in Montreal and Winnipeg. In Toronto, where the main issue was the academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian students, participants nonetheless gave examples of this problem in their own lives. In particular, one participant in the Toronto meeting described how this conflict was one of the major issues for the Portuguese community in Sudbury and spoke of how in that city "...there was no respect between the kids and the parents." Participants in all three groups discussed, in detail, the many facets of this problem:

### **Differences in Culture, or "Mentality, Between Luso-Canadian Parents and Youth**

The issue which these young people most generally described in relation to this conflict is how Portuguese parents and youth have different values, "cultures," or "mentalities," a situation that, according to focus group members, is brought about by the presence of a wide generational, language, educational and culture gap. As one young woman in Montreal put it:

The problems that we find the most... is between our parents and ourselves. We have here two ideas... and mentalities... that are completely different... Portugal has a mentality that is completely different.

Another young man in Montreal stated:

I find it hard to live with my parents. Here, the culture is different and we have to act in certain ways.... It's different compared to Portugal. So that, when we

want to do something, our parents say 'Ah! You can't do that.'. But that's something which is done, and in Portugal it wasn't done. There is a conflict between the cultures, that's what I think.

One man in the Toronto group stated his view that, although there is always a generation gap between parents and youth, the cultural distances which are present in most Portuguese-Canadian families add another layer of communication differences to the already difficult relationship between parents and their teenage children:

I think it's something that, in effect, adds on.... ...You're always going to have, amongst parents and kids, conflict... Kids are going to see things differently from their parents. But, what happens is, if you're from the same background as your parents, you know, both born and raised in Canada, you have the same base values. What happens, with parents from Portugal, your values are this far apart (hands widely spaced apart), as opposed to this far (hands narrowly spaced apart).

### **Difficulty in Communication and Understanding Between Luso-Canadian Parents and Youth**

According to the group in Winnipeg, the wide gap between the culture and education level of Portuguese-Canadian parents and their children makes communication in many Portuguese families "twice as hard" as in their mainstream counterparts. They described how the tendency of many Portuguese parents to cling to traditional values and practices has prevented these from coming to a genuine understanding of their children.

Participants in Montreal spoke about how this lack of understanding and communication has led many young people to feel very alienated. As one woman described her relationship with her parents:

I feel a little like they don't understand me. And this gives me problems afterwards to talk to them, because I think that they are never going to understand my point-of-view.

One consequence of the traditionalism which people in Montreal and Winnipeg described was the reluctance of many Portuguese parents to discuss sexual matters with their adolescent children. One woman in Montreal stated that in her house the subject of sex was "taboo." In her words: "They are so used to not talking about this that, if we even bring up just a part of it..." Another man described how, in his house, the subject was not even "taboo," but was quite simply never acknowledged. In relation to his father, he said:

[He] does not want to know about anything. I can do what I want, but he

doesn't want to know about it. That's it. It's just that... With respect to [sex] there is no openness.

Another young woman stated:

In general, the Portuguese are not very open with this subject. I think that the majority of Portuguese, either they are very closed to the subject... or if they talk about it, they do so with a certain reluctance, and they don't know how to approach the question...

One man stated:

I think the Portuguese are not that open [about sex] with their parents. The Quebecois... they talk to their mothers or fathers openly. They even have their boyfriends over at any time of the day and their parents don't mind. But, in my house, that wouldn't be the case...

Participants in Quebec also described how Portuguese parents, in general, had a very traditional view of the role and place of sexual relations. As one woman put it:

The way in which [parents] were raised was, 'You only have sexual relations, when you get married.' And, many times... - I personally believe in this - it is only when you get married that you have sexual relations. It's with your husband. It's between you and your husband and 'that's it'. However, many times, if a father knew that a son or daughter had already had relations... ...they would start to scold the person, [and say] 'How are people going to look at this? How is the community going to look at this?... My God, what is going to happen?

Participants described how this lack of openness often prevents young Luso-Canadians from discussing this issue at home. One young woman in Winnipeg commented:

I think when it comes to sexuality, a lot of Portuguese kids are afraid to talk to their parents about sex. If they even mention the word 'sex' they'll probably just close their ears and go 'oh, no, no! I don't want to hear the word.'... ...I would say the majority of Portuguese youth don't feel comfortable talking to their parents.

This woman stated that Portuguese youth often access information on sex from schools or guidance counsellors. Others felt that not enough is being done in the Portuguese community to provide both parents as well as youth with more information, and to foster dialogue within families. Another woman declared:

I don't think parents approve of the sexual orientation courses that are being offered in high-school. The parents don't approve of what they are teaching. They probably think that these courses are encouraging premarital sex. And since they think that, I think that they should be organizing together, maybe, trying to give out information to their kids about abstinence and other information. But, they're not doing it. They're just closing their ears.

Another participant described how the older generation are especially reluctant to discuss matters relating to homosexuality. According to this participant,

If you deal with homosexuality... There's such a closed avenue, when it comes to the older generation when you say anything homosexual... ..it's either rude remarks that you hear or... whatever... It's unfortunate that it happens... and in the young community, that translates a lot of times.

A few of the participants in Montreal did mention that they could discuss sexual matters with their parents relatively easily. One man described how, although he felt a reluctance to discuss sexual matters with his father, he could do so, if necessary because his father was very understanding. Another woman described how in her house she could talk about anything and her parents would accept a certain degree of sexual liberation from her. However, even this person felt that some actions that were not considered uncommon in Quebec society are regarded as a lack of respect by many Portuguese parents, including her own:

...we talk in my house without any problem. Yet, we don't sit around the table talking about this subject. What I mean is, there is a place and a time for everything.... ..I have a friend whose boyfriend sleeps in her home, during the week or on the weekend. In my house never. Even if he were Portuguese. Even if he slept upstairs and me downstairs.... [This] I think is good. I think there has to be respect for my parents, respect for the house where I live. It's not mine, it's my parent's. I have to have respect for the, while I am there at least. So, I think this is good. That's too much liberty. It's good to talk however, 'doing' is something else.

In general, the participants condemned this lack of openness to dialogue about sex, on the part of Portuguese parents. They described the importance of communication, in this age of sexually transmitted diseases, such as AIDS. As one participant stated:

Nowadays, there exists these things in society about which we must talk. This is a very important subject. Many times, it may not affect [our parents] but it affects us all a lot.

They also reiterated the importance of communication and how young people would end up learning about sex from other sources. In the end, most in the Montreal group agreed that they liked neither the "Portuguese" manner of discussing nothing nor the "Canadian" way of extreme openness and liberality.

### **The Rebellion of Some Luso-Canadian Youth**

A number of the people in the three youth groups described how the constant parental

pressure and the lack of understanding of their parents often causes some of these youth to feel isolated and to rebel. For example, participants in Montreal discussed how some young Luso-Canadians are sometimes threatened by their fathers or mothers not to continue their romantic involvements with non-Portuguese partners and how these often persist with the relationship, sometimes just to spite their parents:

They are going to go out with that person only to go against their parents. They know that their parents want them to go out with a Portuguese... and then, the children find a way that makes their parents get even angrier. And there is always this conflict and no one ever resolves anything.

Another young man in Toronto described how his independent-minded sister had run away from home and dropped out of school at 16, because of the friction between her and her mother, and how, despite these problems, she became the person in his family who experienced the most success:

She dropped out at 16, right around the time she moved out. Her and my mother, they were always, at each other's throats... ..my mother, over from Graciosa, she's used to kind of traditional ways and, at that time,... ..my mother was really strict... ..(My sister) ended up going back to university... ..At 23 she went back to adult college... ..and she just graduated from... ..Law School now. So, yeah, definitely, I think that relations with parents, I don't know if I could say they'd be better or worse in the Portuguese community, but specifically Azoreans, where a lot of the islands, where people come from kind of agrarian backgrounds, and you go to the Azores and you realize, it's really behind. And I know that the mainland, some parts of it are like that... ..But, you go back to Graciosa and, you're thinking 'it's like going back here, fifty years.'

Finally, one young woman in Winnipeg aptly summarized how some Portuguese-Canadian parents often confuse "Canadian" values for "modern" values, and how, in rejecting the former, they set the stage for their children's rebellion:

I think a lot of parents... ..have been brought up in a very traditional society. They have brought their traditional values to Canada. I think the people in Portugal have progressed and they are much more liberated now. But, the Portuguese people here in Canada haven't been exposed to that liberation. They've maintained their very traditional ideas and they haven't moved. And so, when their kids are trying to adopt some of these Canadian values... ..(laughter) ...'modern' values (but, your parents always label them as 'Canadian') ...your parents don't understand. And, unless you can talk about them and make them understand, they have a problem. And, if they don't want to understand, you're going to rebel. And, one way... ..you're going to rebel is drugs, gangs, premarital sex... Your parents will yell at you... of course you're going to do it... and other things that parents don't want you to be doing, but you end up doing anyway.

People in all three groups commented that the membership in gangs and the problems of drug or alcohol abuse amongst young Luso-Canadians often result from the lack of communication between parents and their children. Participants in Toronto and Winnipeg mentioned that there was an increase in gang membership and drug use amongst all youth, in general, and that these problems are also affecting the young Portuguese in their communities. However, the people in both groups did not feel that these concerns were any more severe in the Portuguese community than in society-at-large.

Although the people in Toronto did not feel that there was a higher incidence of drug use amongst Luso-Canadians, some pointed out that the Portuguese tend to live in areas which have traditionally seen high levels of drug abuse, (i.e. inner-city, working-class neighbourhoods). As one person stated:

Unfortunately, some of those areas have been predominantly Portuguese. It used to be predominantly Italian, around where I live, but they used to have the same problem. You know, Italians have kind of moved out, and you're seeing that now. The kind of suburban push in the Portuguese community, up to Brampton, and like more... ..Mississauga. I don't know if those problems would transfer to... ..suburban communities. But, I know that, in the inner-city, you see drug problems with blacks, Italians, Portuguese...

Only one young woman was of the opinion that there was a disproportionate use of drug use amongst Portuguese youth, in her city, on the outskirts of Toronto:

...you go to the high-school I went to and we'll have, like, what's called a 'smoking area', which is across the field from the school, and if you go around and take a poll, you'll find that about 80% of those are Portuguese. And, while everyone is in class, they are the ones hanging out there, having their smoke, or flirting around with others, or passing around drugs, which is crazy there in Brampton too. Drugs and pregnancy, and things like that. And it's mostly in the Portuguese community, that I've noticed. And it's continued to rise, like, I mean the problem is getting worse and worse and worse and worse all the time.

One participant in Winnipeg felt that the issues of gangs and drugs was much more prevalent amongst those Luso-Canadian youth which did not identify with the Portuguese community or become involved in its activities. As she described:

The people that you probably see that are going to the gangs, are people that are probably not involved in the Portuguese community, as a whole. They're probably the people who wouldn't say that they were Portuguese. They're the people who are 'Canadian.'

## **The Lack of Access to Culturally and Linguistically Appropriate Social Services and Information Regarding Important Issues**

One of the issues most identified across the country as leading to a marginalization of the community was the lack of equitable access to services, on the part of many Luso-Canadians. People in both the questionnaire and in the groups in Vancouver, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg, Sault Ste. Marie, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Osoyoos, B.C., Hamilton and the Maritimes spoke of the inability of many Luso-Canadians and, in particular the elderly, to access available social and health services. They called for English- and French-speaking institutions to provide services in Portuguese and for more interpreters. They also asked for more public service information to be made available in this language and recommended that more portuguese-speaking professionals be hired and appointed to positions of responsibility. They also suggested that Portuguese people could be placed together when receiving services at hospitals, nursing homes, schools, etc.

People at the Hamilton and Winnipeg meetings described how there are virtually no social services - or even social workers - which are currently able to serve the Portuguese community of their regions. In particular, they mentioned how there was nowhere to turn for those Portuguese who had marital and psychological problems, Worker's Compensation problems, youth who were contemplating suicide and individuals suffering from alcoholism or domestic abuse. In Hamilton, they particularly cited the lack of an Alcoholics Anonymous group in Portuguese. As one participant in Winnipeg said:

It's hard to see someone whose cheque was not deposited, who has nothing to eat and who needs to go to Welfare, but who is unable to go there because they have no one to go with them, because they don't speak English. This still happens many time in our community.

Another participant termed it "ridiculous" that people in his region would still need to bring along a translator, in order to visit a doctor and he called for aggressive action to place more Portuguese into these charges:

I think that it is extremely ridiculous, for someone to accompany a woman to the doctor. It would be like accompanying someone... ..to confession...  
...Going to the doctor is a personal act... ..we need to put our foot down.  
There are eighteen thousand Portuguese, they already pay enough taxes to justify them having some service.

Throughout the Ottawa-Hull meeting, the participants continually described the

necessity of having one or more community workers, to whom people could feel comfortable in turning to, when they had any range of problems or needs, (such as personal problems or domestic violence). One woman cited:

We have no one in the Portuguese community, at the official level, to help us... I know a lady who... is 51 years old and her husband doesn't understand the language. This lady is dying and they have never understood one hundred percent what the doctor explained to them. A serious illness, cancer.... and neither one nor the other have ever understood one hundred percent. Why? They don't have anyone... Where are these people going to turn? To the financial help which the church provides?

Still another participant mentioned the community's need for a Portuguese-speaking psychologist or therapist. He especially lamented the fact that those Portuguese who are sent by the courts to therapists, to deal with such matters as family violence or child abuse, are sent to professionals who don't know either the Portuguese language or the Portuguese culture very well:

I feel a pity that, the people that are often referred to the courts, when they have a problem in those courts, that they refer [them] to these therapists that only speak English. They don't understand the language, they don't understand our culture very well. Many times, it is already very frustrating...

This participant also commented:

Many times, in cases where the husband became intoxicated, beat his wife... he comes to court various times. The judge passes sentence... that he has to seek counselling; it's mandated by law. He doesn't speak English, doesn't understand English. Where is he going to go? Where is he going to get this help...? There are many such cases, many cases.

One man also raised the point that the Portuguese don't often have the financial means to pay an independent psychologist and that this factor often has a detrimental effect on treatment.

Participants in Saskatoon were especially critical of both the Portuguese and Canadian governments for the lack of support and orientation that is given to new immigrants to their region. As one participant described: "When one arrives here, one feels almost isolated, in a world that is completely different. One feels almost as if abandoned." They described how the local community has no resources to direct new immigrants to needed services, (such as, translations, language training, lawyers, doctors, etc.). As one participant commented:

The Canadian government, in the first place, is the one who has the responsibility of helping people who immigrate to here.. ...But, after they are here, the Canadian government does not care anything about them.

Some of the participants felt that it would be most useful to have a location in each centre where these immigrants could go to receive orientation. One elderly participant told her story:

I came to this country sponsored by my husband. I did not have time for classes, I did not know how to speak [English]. I lived a satisfying life. My husband died, I have my children. But, I don't know to where my children have moved. That's what's needed... a Portuguese service for us to get information and advice. That is just an idea of what we would need here in Saskatoon.

Finally, a regional issue of particular concern for people in the Maritimes was the lack of accessible and appropriate Portuguese-language training for local youth, as well as a Portuguese Kindergarten and a Portuguese priest.

### **The lack of information about important issues and available services.**

A related theme which arose throughout the study was the lack of access to information about available social, health, education and business development services and important issues. Participants in the focus groups described how available services were not being promoted in the Portuguese community and how there are few or no places for the Portuguese to go to find this information. For example, the group in Sault Ste. Marie decried the lack of public service information, (such as health, workers' compensation, etc.) in the Portuguese language. One participant suggested that organizations in the larger urban centres who produce such brochures and pamphlets in Portuguese should ensure that these are distributed in the smaller communities, such as the ones in Northern Ontario.

A few of the groups also discussed the need to bring information about recent government cuts in the social services and education to the attention of the community. For example, people in the Edmonton group discussed how government cuts in social services are affecting the community and called for more information which can bring people together to oppose them, so that - as one participant described - "...[the ship] doesn't sink more than it already has". Similarly, two of the younger participants in the Maritimes focus group described the need to bring information to the community on recent cuts to post-secondary education and other social programmes; both of which are forcing unprecedented increases in tuition which, according to them, will disproportionately affect Portuguese families. The same participant also made a plea for the Congress to oppose the education cuts on the part of the Federal

government and support the creation of educational equity programmes similar to those which target visible minorities.

### **Stereotyping, Discrimination and Denigration of the Portuguese**

Another aspect of social marginalization which was cited by individuals in this study was the issue of discrimination and denigration of Luso-Canadians and their culture. Only a handful of questionnaire respondents mentioned the issues of discrimination or racism against the Portuguese. Similarly, many of the people in the focus group meetings stated that they had never personally experienced overt racism or discrimination, or that they have never been subjected to a treatment that was any different from that which individuals from other minorities must endure.

However, some of the participants in the Quebec City, Maritimes and Toronto focus groups did speak, at-length, of the existence of subtle forms of what they termed “discrimination” and stereotyping against the Portuguese in their regions. In particular, those in Quebec were the most vocal in describing how the Portuguese in their area suffer from labelling by the host community. People in the Maritimes also affirmed that some Luso-Canadians in their regions suffered reprisals as a result of the mid-90’s fisheries dispute between Canada and the European Community and that they are sometimes seen as taking away now-scarce jobs from native-born Canadians. Finally, participants in Toronto also voiced their belief that the Portuguese community is actively discriminated in the provision of services, by such groups as the police, the Justice and health-care systems. One man at the Toronto group commented:

When... they see that it’s something related to the Portuguese, they don’t want to know anything... the police, or whomever. Last night, my garage was broken into. The first question the police asked was, ‘what area do you live in? I said, such and such... they didn’t want to know anything else. We made the report by phone, the police never showed up...

Another related:

..they see that they’re Portuguese, it almost seems as if they put you in the corner. Even in the hospitals and everything...

Others at this meeting complained of stereotyping by professionals. One woman related:

I know a 15 year-old boy who went to the Doctor this week and the Doctor told him to study, in order not to be like his people.

A few of the participants in the Maritimes mentioned that they had never experienced racism or discrimination and had always been well accepted by Canadian society. As one participant said: "Here, as long as there is respect, as long as one has a little bit of manners and as long as there is a little bit of understanding... one has no problems." Most of these participants felt that the level of racism or discrimination which existed in their region against the Portuguese was not much more (or even less) than what any immigrant would experience in any other country.

However, these participants attributed this acceptance to the fact that they had learned the language and had integrated into mainstream society. In their discussions of the issue, they described the existence of a subtle racism - sometimes even practised by other immigrants - which is directed towards those who do not speak English or do not integrate. One participant stated:

One only has to be from a different origin... from a different country... if there isn't an understanding, or if the person is not at the level of understanding or speaking English correctly, there is a difficulty perhaps, in being accepted.

Other participants described how the lack of jobs is causing the beginnings of a subtle prejudice in their region against the Portuguese, whom they say are often more valued by employers than other workers, because of their work-ethic. One man stated:

I have noted that, at times, in jest or intentionally, they now tell me 'Hey guy! Go back to your own country!', because they know that I am taking the job of a machinist who could be Canadian. What I mean is, the thing is said in jest. But... today it is said in jest, tomorrow it could be said in a serious tone. But, that is [a result of] the job problem that the country is facing.

Another woman said:

My husband, who was [working in this company] for a short time, knew more than many of the others. He was not laid off. And the others who were there for nine, ten years were laid-off. The others came to him... and said, joking around 'Go back to your own country'. But, they only say this joking around because they know very well the kind of work that he does. But, just because he has an accent, because he is Portuguese, they tell him 'go back to your own country.'

Another young man said:

One thing which they have done with my father at work is say that, because he is Portuguese, he only wants to steal the money of Canadians to take back to Portugal... They're always taking advantage of him [and telling him] 'do this, do that', because he is Portuguese.

This same young participant described the existence of subtle prejudice in the school environment:

Sometimes they take advantage of us. They say 'You are Portuguese, you'd better go back home'. Only sometimes. But it is always said jokingly. But one isn't sure if it is only a joke.

The participants also talked extensively about how Canada's recent dispute with the European Community over fishing in the Grand Banks led to an unfair and derogatory stereotyping of the Portuguese in the news media and how these stereotypes found their way to students, the schools and the local community and created negative feelings between people.

The same young man commented:

The school... blames the Portuguese... They [teach us that] the Portuguese are stealing fish from Canadians, that they are always fishing and taking everything back to Portugal. Also, other things like 'the Portuguese are the most bogus refugees' and such things in school. Everything is against the Portuguese...

Another participant described how the media portrayed the Portuguese as "stealing" Canadian resources and lamented the lack of support by the Canadian government:

Portugal is the nation... which buys the most fish here in Nova Scotia. In consideration of this, [The Canadian Government] should give more support to Portugal... The Portuguese ships have fished off Newfoundland's Grand Banks for five hundred years. And Canada only buried Portugal and didn't support them one bit. They went against Portugal one hundred percent. And, where Portugal was practically blameless... So, the Canadians should have more consideration about what they put on the news.

And,

Not only the media, but also the... chief of the fisherman's union attacked the Portuguese constantly. The Premier of Newfoundland did exactly the same thing. I remember one occasion when I heard an interview on Sun Radio. This [chief] was attacking the Portuguese.... I telephoned Sun Radio... just to give them an idea of the extent of the lie. I said, 'remember, Portugal is smaller than Nova Scotia. How is it possible for us to have so many fisherman to come over here and steal all this Canadian fish...? In comparison, when one wanders around here, in every corner you see fishing boats.' The woman thanked me for having called to deny what [the man] had said... Certainly, she didn't repeat on air what I had told her...

Another participant described what he saw as the opportunism of Canadian politicians, in this matter:

The Canadian government communicated officially that, the cod problem was mostly as a result of the Newfoundland fisherman, the National Sea [company]... Simply because this was election time, and since it was necessary

to satisfy Newfoundland fisherman, they chose a scapegoat... I happen to know that the scapegoat which they chose was Portugal, because it is the one country that wouldn't retaliate.... ...They publish in letters this big that fishermen are very upset because they are stealing their cod, and they publish in letters ten times smaller, in an inside page, that the Canadian government recognizes that Portugal was the country which has caused the least damage to the cod banks.

Despite these having feelings, the participants stated that they did not perceive the existence of any discrimination against them, with regards to such things as employment and entrance to post-secondary education. They also described how they (or their children) had never encountered such overt discrimination at school. One young woman said "I've been studying here for fourteen year and I've never had problems. My teachers always...want to know if you have a certain cultural identity..."

The participants at the Quebec City meeting also mentioned that they did not perceive much overt discrimination against the Portuguese in such matters as housing, health and social services, education and employment. As one participant put it, the Portuguese community is very well integrated into the local community and most speak enough French to be able to communicate effectively. However, in those meetings where the issue of discrimination arose, this was the group which most passionately and elaborately described the existence of covert discrimination against the Portuguese. One participant offered his view of the way in which minorities are viewed in Quebec:

...I know that there is always discrimination because, [according to Quebequers] 'those who are not like us are no good'. I know that this is a bit of a caricature, but this is the biggest problem that we have here in Quebec.

Another participant stated the following:

What we would like is to be considered citizens, in the entirety... that each time that someone who saw our name, would not give a little start....

Some of the participants also spoke about how society in Quebec City does not easily recognize the skills and professional credentials of women and new immigrants and how, in order to be accepted, a newcomer in this province needs to be "better" than his native-born peers.

In my opinion, one of the big problems... which exists in an subconscious fashion, is discrimination.... You know that, in order for a woman to be equal to a man, she must be superior to him. In order for an immigrant to be equal to a native of this country, he must be superior to him.... That person who has

been born in a particular place is more valued.

The same participant went on to give an example of the type of discrimination which he has suffered in Quebec:

...While I worked... I was always well received.... [However], at the moment when I needed to... ..sell my services as a professional, as an independent, from that moment onward, I began to see that when a tender arrives with the name "Silva"<sup>5</sup> at the bottom, it doesn't have the same value as one which has the name "Tremblay". One can say what they want, but it's reality... ..This is a dream that is so difficult to achieve, that I hope to achieve it for my children. I tell them, many times humorously, 'Well, someday, the name 'Silva' will be the same as Tremblay.'

Other participants discussed how some Luso-Canadians in Quebec have been forced to change their names in order to seek employment. As one person affirmed:

We know young people who changed their name, in order to be able to practice their profession. The son of... changed [his] name in order to be able to work as a radio announcer. Because, with his Portuguese name, he would not have been able to work as a radio announcer.

One of these participants also lamented that his own daughter had been led to change her name. The gentleman in question pined: "My name is now wiped out... Three centuries of my family name... is finished now... why? It is this discrimination."

Still another participant described how her supposedly "foreign" name caused her to be labelled as an "ethnic candidate" during the preliminaries to a previous election and how this was one factor which had contributed to her loss of the nomination. She described her continuing efforts to remain within the mainstream of the party:

What I mean is, I had to make people forget my name... ..I was in the executive of the party and I had a number of things, but, in order to get there, I had to make them forget that I have a 'foreign' name. It's sad but that's the way it is... I had to do it, and I was able to. And the only reason why I was able to present myself without any problems with the party.. ...[was that] they already knew me for a long time and they knew that I was capable... ..But, there is the other side of the coin.... ..I've never presented myself as an 'ethnic'... ..there are always these positive discriminations for 'ethnics' [within the party]... ..I've never utilized those... ..I've always been in the party as a young person, as a woman. I have never tried to utilize this mantle of 'ethnic'. But afterwards, all these different ethnic groups came and tried to take advantage, [saying to me] 'We can say that you are an 'ethnic'.' [and I said] 'Yes. I am of Portuguese origin and yes, I am very proud of this, but I don't want to take advantage of that, I have never needed to do this, to get this far...' This irritates me... ..Now I am always getting invitations for everything which is 'ethnic' in the party. But, the other candidates who also lost don't receive anything. Why

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<sup>5</sup> This is not the respondent's real name, but rather a pseudonym to protect anonymity

should I continue to receive these invitations, when I have never utilized these things [this label]?

A few people in the group also commented on the stereotyping which occurs of the Portuguese in the public and professional mediums of the province. One woman described how social service workers regularly stereotype the Portuguese:

Social workers place this stigma [on the Portuguese]: Violence. 'He hits his children. These are the Portuguese, these are the Italians. They are used to hitting.'...Only because your name is like this, they think that you hit your children.

Another person cited a newspaper article, which had recently been published in the newspaper "Le Soleil," where the term "The little Republic of Portugal" was used. This participant spoke of how terms such as these were examples of the denigration of the Portuguese culture and history, which sometimes occurs in this province. The participant also described how this denigration of Portugal and the Portuguese culture in the public mediums, coupled with the feeling of smallness, ultimately affect the way in which young Luso-Canadians view their ethnic origin and themselves:

... and we are ashamed... ...to be Portuguese, because it is a small country... and here.... what they look at is not the intrinsic value of things. They look at the appearances of things. There is more value in appearances than in 'being'. Thus, there is a certain inferiority complex [amongst the Portuguese].

According to some of the participants, they did not perceive the same type of discrimination in the larger communities of Toronto and Montreal, as in Quebec City. They felt that the existence of this discrimination was proportional to the degree of homogeneity of a society. The great homogeneity of society in Quebec City directly contributed to discrimination against those who are from different origins:

The more homogeneous a province or a country, the more there is discrimination... [Toronto is a place] where I feel... in a certain way... a foreigner... ...But, where I feel that discrimination does not exist. Why? Because there are many foreigners in Toronto and here is the opposite. So as soon as I open my mouth, [they ask] 'what is your country? Where do you come from?'

Another participant described how the combination of isolation and the challenges of breaking into homogeneous Quebec City society have conspired to make success much more difficult for Luso-Canadians in the region:

I worked in Ontario for two years. After six months in Ontario, I was equal to

any person who lived in Ontario. My name was the same as if I were an English person, a Scott, an Italian. When I arrived here in Quebec, it was very difficult.... Only I know how difficult it was. When Mr. X said that what is necessary [to be accepted] is to work harder [than everyone else] and when Mr. Y also said that the with the name 'Tremblay' things would be easier.. I also lived this experience. It was very difficult. And I had to work not 'harder' but 'much, much harder'. And, when you asked us whether it was easier in Canada, or whether the problems were the same between those throughout Canada and those in the province of Quebec, I tell you that it is much more difficult in the province of Quebec and even more difficult in Quebec [City].

He continued:

...In six months in Ontario, I made friends from all backgrounds... ..I worked with all kinds of people. I return to Kingston today, they're all my friends and I left there eleven and a half years ago. And here in Quebec, it took me three years... and I still haven't been able to achieve what I achieved in two years in Kingston. And, I don't have anything to prove to anybody. I worked and I had to work much harder. And, I tell you all. My opinion is this. It is much more difficult here. It's like the song, 'When you make it in New York, you make it anywhere'. When you make it in Quebec, you make it anywhere.

The participants at the Quebec meeting suggested that the Congress could play a role in showing Franco-Ontarians in this region that there is not much difference between themselves and Luso-Canadians.

### **The Cultural Duality of Portuguese-Canadian Youth**

Participants in each of the focus groups in Quebec also spoke about many Luso-Canadian youth in their regions are affected by feelings of an internal values and identity conflict, or confusion. Participants in Quebec City mentioned the existence of a "cultural duality" amidst the youth in their region. Those in Ottawa-Hull described how their community's youth are also suffering from a lack of direction, or conflicting values, and how they need to be helped to find their cultural heritage. One man in Ottawa-Hull stated:

Youth... at this point... is... a little bit confused. Ultimately, they don't know the direction to which they should turn. They don't see any support coming from our country... one of saying 'ok, my parents are Portuguese. What is the interest... that I have in really having ties to this whole situation.' And one can see that the majority begin to forget and [to say] 'I am Canadian.' But, one thing is for sure, one is also already seeing youth, at this moment in time, seeking their roots... They are really looking for something which is forgotten in time. Someone should be supporting these youth, so that they can really start to accomplish something.

Participants described how, on the one hand, many of these young people affirmed that

they felt themselves to be “Canadian” and “Quebecois” and gave evidence of instances where they struggled with their non-Portuguese peers for their acknowledgement of this identity. On the other, many also spoke at length about how many “Quebecois” often regard them as outsiders and “immigrants” a rejection which has apparently led to a reaffirmation of a strong Portuguese identity, even in those cases where the participant was not born in Canada. The result was a genuinely complex combination of feelings of belonging and rejection on the part of these individuals, with some (who were born in Canada) even voicing a desire to return to Portugal. One young woman commented on her desire to be accepted in Quebec society and her lack of acceptance by other Quebecois:

I say ‘I am Canadian, I am a Quebequer [or Quebecois]’, [they say] ‘Oh, no. You are Portuguese.’ I am not Portuguese, I am of Portuguese origin, but I was born here. Many Quebecois don’t consider us as Quebecois, because our parents are immigrants. So, this means that we also, in some way, are immigrants.

Another woman said:

We are Canadians but, if we are here, we are Portuguese. We are the children of immigrants.

When asked how they felt when a fourth or fifth generation Quebecois tells them that they are not Quebecois, one young man said:

I feel upset, because I was born here. I am Canadian, I am Quebecois.

And when one woman was asked what was the reaction of Quebecois when they were told that someone was of Portuguese origin, one young woman said:

They say no.... There are people that accept us more than others but, many don’t. For them, the immigrants... well... I don’t know what they have against immigrants.

Finally, when they were asked directly whether they felt a certain racism, one young woman answered:

Well, yes. And, foremost with the issue of the independence of Quebec. Many Quebecois have difficulty in accepting it if I say that I am Quebecois, I was born here. [They say] ‘Oh no!. You are Portuguese. Your parents are Portuguese. You have nothing to do with this.

While there seems to be a lack of acceptance of Portuguese youth in Quebec society, there seems also seems to exist a problem on the part of these youth with accepting a Quebecois

identity and a tendency to cling to the Portuguese identity. One young man stated:

Unfortunately for me, it's with a little bit of sadness that I have to say that I'm of Portuguese origin. I came here when I was three years old... [I say 'sadness'] because I like Portugal a lot and I am proud to be Portuguese. But, I can't say that I am 100% Portuguese. I am of Portuguese origin."

Moderator: "You would like to be.... 100% Portuguese...?"

"Well, that's it. But, as you have made me admit, I will never have... only one motherland. I was raised here. And, even if I returned to Portugal forever, I would always have [this land] on my mind... since I was raised here and have this [country's] way of thinking.

Another young man illustrated how many of these young people often stress their Portuguese identity:

In my case, if I don't say my name, they identify me as Canadian or Quebecois. But, I'm not ashamed... I even make it a point that they know that I am Portuguese.

Another woman said:

I always say that I am Portuguese. I was born here but, I am Portuguese. And... very often in school, this comes up in conversation with my friends and even with the teachers, [they say] '...you were born here, you are Canadian,' 'but, I am not. I am Portuguese. You would like me to say that I am Canadian, but I am not. I won't say it.' That I say that I am Portuguese... I don't know why... I think that the French-Canadians have a bigger problem accepting immigrants than English-Canadians. And, in my school, we are all immigrants. There are more immigrants than Quebecois. If there is racism, it is the other way around. It is against the Quebecois.... In my school.... everything is Italian, Portuguese...

Another man described his desire to live in Portugal:

Well, I have to say that, I am Canadian of a Portuguese origin, because I was born here. I can't say that I am Portuguese, because I wasn't born in Portugal. But, I like Portugal a lot.... My parents came here with the idea of returning but now, they are seeing that no, maybe they are going to stay here. But, myself, I have a mind that, even if I finish school here.... I have a mind of returning to Portugal and becoming a citizen and getting dual nationality. For this reason, with my friends at school, I don't have any problem in saying that I am Portuguese, or in saying that I am Canadian.

The same young man continued:

I have heard Quebecois say... but not in my school, my school is an English school, and we are almost all immigrants... So many people think this way. Canada has its problems, and even now with Quebec. So, many people are saying that they would like to go back to the countries of their parents... and, in my school it is this way, because everyone understands. But, when I speak to some of the friends on my street, they think differently. They say, 'Ah! You were born in Canada, and now you want to leave your country.' or 'You were born here in Quebec and now you are leaving Quebec when we are going to

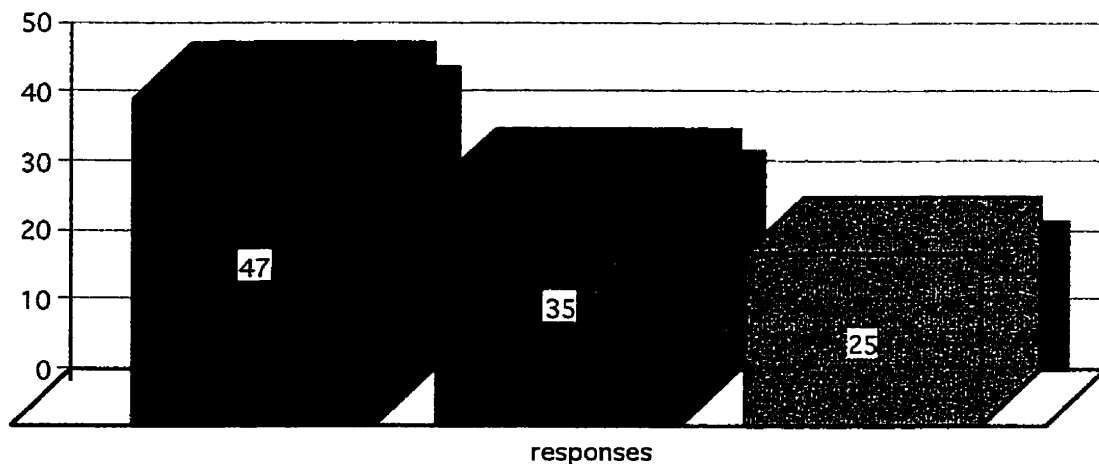
need you.' But, I don't think so.

### **The Community's Political Marginalization**

The lack of political representation, leadership and participation amongst Luso-Canadians were described by virtually every focus group as being a prime example of the community's lack of full participation in Canadian society. Along with the issue of education, these concerns were also perceived to be at the root of the majority of the community's problems. Most participants described the main aspects to this problem as the very low political representation of the Portuguese at all levels of Canadian government, as well as the absence of a strong political leadership within their communities. The lack of representation was cited in the questionnaire as the most pressing national political problem (23 responses) seconded by the lack of interest and participation (19 responses).

**Figure 21.**

What are the greatest political needs or problems of your local Portuguese community?



Lack of interest and participation, lack of youth involvement in politics	47
Lack of representation, lack of Azorean representation	35
Miscellaneous	25

No response (Not shown in chart) 61

## **Lack of Political Representation**

Participants in many of the focus groups cited how there was a great lack of political representation at the municipal, provincial and federal level. People in Quebec City, Ottawa-Hull, Sault Ste. Marie and Sudbury Ontario, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Edmonton, Alberta as well as in the Maritimes described how there are not enough Portuguese who are elected to local and national political office and not enough placed in appointed positions of responsibility. They described how this results in the Portuguese having less of a profile in the community-at-large, fewer services and programmes than other communities and a decreased status in Canadian society. As one participant in Quebec City stated: "We have always been weak." Commenting on the dependency of the community on the whims of government services, another said: "If we were strong, we would not need the government." Commenting on his local situation, one man in Ottawa-Hull questioned:

We should already have here, at the level of Ottawa, someone who could speak for us, within the government. We are a very substantial community within Canada and here in Ottawa we don't have anyone. The Italians have a representative there, all the communities have a representative. We Portuguese are a zero [somos um zero].

Another lamented:

Let's talk about the situation in Vanier. There is a very large population of Portuguese in the area of Vanier and I ask, what Portuguese representation exists in Vanier City Hall?

Participants in Sault Ste. Marie and the Maritimes discussed specifically how the Portuguese community has little political weight in the affairs of the local city governments. They concluded that, if there were more political participation there would be greater benefits, such as more access to civil service jobs for young people. The groups in Winnipeg and Edmonton also spoke at length about the need to have more Portuguese hired and elected to positions of responsibility. Some of the participants even saw this as one means of solving many of the seemingly unrelated problems, which the group discussed. For example, in discussing the problem of early-school leaving, one participant explained how the best way to combat this tendency would be to place Portuguese in positions where they may directly influence the political and economic system which he saw as contributing to the problem.

### **Lack of a strong national voice and representative organizations.**

A similar issue which was raised by other groups was the lack of a strong national voice and of representative organizations, which could lobby governments on behalf of the communities. One person in Edmonton decried the fact that there was no one working to speak on behalf of the Portuguese:

Political activity on the part of the Portuguese, in relation to the Federal, Provincial or local governments is non-existent. We have no one who can speak on our behalf to the Provincial government - which is the one that affects us the most here - or even to the Federal Government. We have no one there who [can say] 'We are working for the interests of the Portuguese community in Edmonton, or in Canada.'

Another participant in Vancouver also mentioned how Luso-Canadians need to have a "loud voice" and offered the adage that "the squeaky wheel gets fixed."

The groups in Vancouver and Sudbury also spoke of the difficulties which are encountered in attempting to develop a strong voice in Luso-Canadian communities such as theirs, which are sparsely populated and widely scattered. People described how the communities in these regions are dispersed and thus do not prevail over a certain geographical or political area. Those in Vancouver also spoke of how most Portuguese in their region are unskilled labourers and how the community has virtually no business class, and thus no clout, on issues of national importance. The group in Sudbury also regarded this lack of a strong voice as a self-perpetuating prophecy, since the lack of such a voice also discourages most Portuguese from further political involvement, as well as from further education and positions of leadership. People at this meeting even suggested that organizations, such as the Congress might consider paying individuals with qualification to lead the process of unification and politicization of the community.

Another related complaint which surfaced mainly in the discussion of the Montreal group was the lack of organizations which were truly representative of the community-at-large, as well as the inability of the grass-roots community to become more involved in existing groups. These comments were often veiled criticisms of the manner in which Congress Directors had failed to keep the community informed of its activities, during the years between its inception and the implementation of the present study. One participant noted:

The community needs an organization which can represent the Portuguese in

general... an organization of the same sort as the Congress, but an organization with substance, one which is capable, which would not allow itself to be dominated by political tendencies or manipulations, of the sort that we all know about.

Another participant said:

There is another aspect: There was a Congress... in Ottawa [the Congress' inaugural Conference]. What was decided at this Congress? Was it decided to make any representation to the authorities? Was this event useful in any way? Were minutes taken at this Congress? Where are they?

Another participant cited the need to nurture representative organizations at the regional level and further described the need to develop a more popular base to existing community organizations:

...the attempts which have been made are unsuccessful for one reason, which is obvious to me: This is that, these were attempts from the top downwards, instead of from the bottom upwards. For example, someone decides to create a Portuguese National Congress, (or it could have any other name)... and decides to contact one person in each region and 'pronto, let's create a Congress.' This desire doesn't necessarily arise from the regions themselves. If the Portuguese community in Montreal did not feel it necessary, or was not able, to organize itself in order to create an organization to represent itself, then it will be even less able to do so for a national organization.

Despite their criticisms of existing Luso-Canadian organizations, the participants at the Montreal meeting recognized the ongoing need to develop an effective representation in the Portuguese community, as one means of securing a greater political voice in this country.

### **Lack of Political Participation**

The participants in a number of focus groups also discussed how this lack of representation is but a symptom of a lack of unity and participation in politics amongst the community-at-large. These individuals lamented the fact that many Luso-Canadians do not vote, or generally do not become involved in the Canadian political process. One man in Montreal said:

The Portuguese don't spring to action, they don't act. They don't pressure their politicians, they resign themselves to total silence. They stay in their little corner, playing cards, they watch television and Benfica by satellite, and they let the boat drift. By letting the boat drift, what has happened is that, in the last eight years, the subsidies to the Portuguese community in Quebec have been on the order of twenty or thirty thousand dollars. Why is this? Because no representations are made towards the political powers. And these even lose their respect for the Portuguese because of this.

Another participant in Quebec City described an attempt by a local Portuguese candidate to run for office.

During the organization of the campaign, we had someone whose responsibility it was to contact the ethnic groups... That person contacted everyone they could find who had a Portuguese name. There were four Portuguese who came to that meeting. And one went there just to talk nonsense, so that he was grabbed by the collar and thrown out.... ....This is what I mean by the cohesion between the Portuguese: There isn't any. On the other hand we had a fantastic evening, there were people there from all over the world, from all colours, from all languages... ...as for the Portuguese, there were only four people and one of these, it would have been better if he had never come....

### **The Disunity and Division of the Luso-Canadian Community**

Another major issue which was identified in the questionnaire and in the focus groups in Toronto, Vancouver, Quebec City, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg and Sault Ste. Marie, was the disunity which was prevalent in the community. The people at these meetings described how the Portuguese community is disunited and divided along regional, political and personal lines. As one person in Quebec City stated: "Portuguese unity does not exist. Solidarity doesn't exist. There isn't any." Another participant spoke thus:

We are all a part of.. Portugal, with the [Azores] islands... But, each one goes in their own direction and no one works together. And it's a shame that this happens.

Another person in Sault Ste. Marie lamented about:

...the isolation, the lack of communication and contact between one another. There is a separation, a certain politic, in this community which separates [divides] many, many individuals, in certain activities, which could be undertaken and are not... due to politics.

Still another remarked:

The Portuguese are friends to one another. We have always been friends, until this day. And, at the moment that we run into difficulties.... we stop being friends, and each runs off in their own direction, and the [whole] does not unite.

One participant in the July Toronto meeting commented, "Just in this city, we have over 100 Portuguese clubs. Why? This is a way of disuniting ourselves." Another complained of the fact that the Portuguese sometimes exploit each other: "If the very Portuguese.... which can do things for us, are the first to discriminate against ourselves...how far can we go?"

One type of division which the participants in Winnipeg identified in their region was the disunity between Portuguese from the Azores and those from the European mainland. One of the participants spoke out passionately against this division and said: "Outside of Portugal, we are all Portuguese."

Some of the people at the various meetings attributed this community division to leaders in the community who carry on long-standing grudges with each other and who only approach the community for their own personal or professional gain. For example, in commenting on the deep divisions caused by the construction of a local church, which was built to serve the Portuguese, but which has, instead, deeply divided the community between two factions, one individual in Ottawa-Hull stated:

So, here is... the aforementioned 'social problem'; the problem... which people were never told about... The people who are normally at the forefront of this situation, for whatever reason, personal reasons, don't inform the community about what is going on.

Participants also mentioned how there are many educated and qualified people who, as a result of these feuds, choose not to become involved in the community. One participant described how many of the youth who have completed post-secondary education or who have achieved successful professional careers often shun involvement with the community:

I know people.... ...who come into my business... ...they ask 'Are you a Portuguese or Italian business?' And I say that we are Portuguese. They answer, 'Oh!, I'm also Portuguese' And I ask them 'I've never seen you in the community. What do you do?' And they tell me.... I 've seen Portuguese who are extremely well placed, in universities, hospitals, very high occupations of whom our community is not aware. They place themselves in their own little world, educate themselves, and have nothing to do with us. They don't want to be recognized, they don't want link themselves to our community... ...those who have become interested in education, seem to close their eyes to our community [and say] 'we're Canadians, we're no longer Portuguese-Canadians.

According to the participants, the community thus loses the valuable skills of many of these individuals, as well as - in the case of the more educated professionals - the opportunity for potential role models.

In discussing the divisions amongst the community, the participants also attributed these to the fact that there is currently no organization which represents a unifying force

nationally and in their regions. One participant summarized this feeling:

There is always a division in Portuguese-Canadian society and it exists, I believe, increasingly, because of people not wanting to join together, or people having the intention to join together, or.... there not really being a group which can start to bring some sort of pressure and begin to have the support - including from here in our country - to really forge ahead with a certain union, to forge ahead, let's say, with a way of saying 'Let's really try to unify the Portuguese. Let's try to do something in benefit of our language, of our culture, of our way of being amongst Canadian society.' This is the need that currently exist. This need is really very great, by what I see in my day-to-day... There is a very great need to really assert our presence, or in other words, to say 'we are living, we are here, there is much which has to be done.'

The group in Vancouver spoke of the need to bring the various divided organizations together under common representation and to utilize the Portuguese language as the central unifying theme. They also cited the need to make better use of communication mediums, such as newspaper, radio, etc. to reach people who may be isolated at home.

Finally, one participant in Quebec City went on to make an impassioned appeal for more unity:

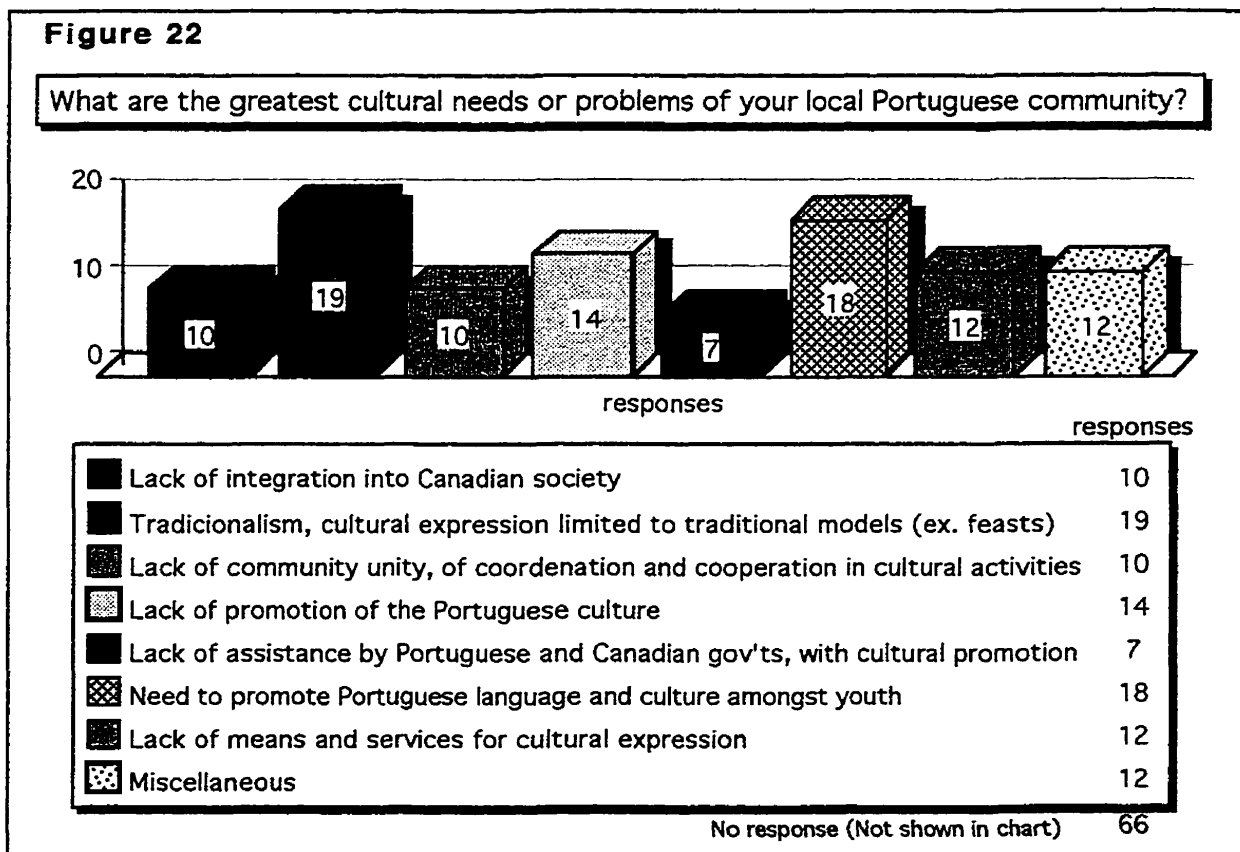
My proposition for the Congress - and I'm going to make an effort to speak Portuguese, because it's not every day that I can get to speak Portuguese... and I have a great desire that this proposition be worked upon much more aggressively - is that... we be more united.. that we come to work more together... that there be Congresses... for Portuguese to get together, annually or semi-annually, in different cities in Canada, where we can all be Portuguese... That there be no differences between A or B or C... That it have nothing to do with politics, or where a person lives, or how they lives, or where they come from. One thing only is important: We are Portuguese and have pleasure in being so.... ...When we become strong and united, everything else will come about in the way in which we want it to.

### **The Community's Cultural Marginalization**

Previous sections have illustrated the ways in which the Luso-Canadians who contributed to this study perceived their community to be marginalized from the social, political and economic mainstream of Canadian society. However, these individuals also articulated a vision of the Portuguese in Canada as also being increasingly marginalized from their own maternal culture. In describing the major cultural issues that were affecting their communities, participants in both the focus groups and the questionnaire described how there was an increasing loss of the Portuguese language and culture amongst those of the second generation

and spoke of the urgent need to promote both, in a more vigorous fashion. Their answers reflected the desire of many participants for a programme of cultural and language promotion on a Canada-wide level, as one means of maintaining community pride and of combating some of the problems affecting the community's youth, ex. lack of communication and understanding between parents & youth, lack of social status.

Yet, ironically, while these individuals called for a greater preservation of their cultural characteristics, they also cited as a problem the high degree of "traditionalism" of many Luso-Canadians and/or the manner in which cultural expression amongst Portuguese-Canadians is limited to traditional models (see section: Role of Community). The apparent contradiction in these two aims would seem to reflect the recognition amongst many of these people of the relevance, vitality and transformative powers of people's cultural resources, in diminishing or ameliorating existing problems.



## **Portuguese-Canadian Youth are Rapidly Losing Their Parents' Language and Culture**

The loss of the Portuguese language and culture was identified in both the questionnaires as well as in the focus groups as the primary cultural issue which people were facing in their regions. This concern was of special significance to the individuals in the smaller or more isolated communities of Edmonton, Alberta, Osoyoos, B.C., the Maritimes, Sault Ste. Marie and Sudbury, Ontario, Winnipeg and Vancouver. A few of the groups regarded this loss as the key barrier to the effective functioning of the community, one which needed to be breached in order for the Portuguese culture to remain viable in their regions and to foster pride and self-esteem on the part of Portuguese youth. As one woman in Vancouver stated:

Our language is the most important thing that we need... After language come all the other issues. But, it is sad to see that there are few people from the second generation who speak Portuguese...

In Edmonton, one man described the urgency of the need to stem the loss of the Portuguese language in his region:

Our language, if we don't continue with it [promote it], in a few years it is liable to die off here in Edmonton. This is something which I lament greatly... the fact of allowing our language and culture to pass away.

Participants in the Winnipeg youth group also described how many Portuguese youth are losing their culture and language and, as a result, are becoming isolated from their parents and their community. In particular, they mentioned that those youth who attend schools where there are few Portuguese or where there is little cultural diversity are frequently pressured to assimilate. These youth often do not speak Portuguese and sometimes have trouble communicating with their parents, not only because they don't speak their language but also because they don't understand Portuguese society. Intergenerational relationships are also strained by the inability to communicate well.

## **The Isolation of the Portuguese-Canadian Communities**

People in Winnipeg identified the isolation of the smaller and outlying Portuguese communities as an important issue affecting youth. They spoke about how the lack of communication between the different populations of Luso-Canadians does not allow young Portuguese-Canadians in more remote places, such as Winnipeg, to have a sense as to what

exists in other Portuguese-Canadian communities nor to foster a greater sense of identity with the Luso-Canadians from other regions. Participants in the Toronto meeting also mentioned how they heard very little about other Portuguese communities and, as a result, they were not able to comment on national issues. As one participant in Winnipeg mentioned, there is a need for the Portuguese throughout this vast country to learn more about each other:

We know our community in Winnipeg. But, personally, I don't really know anything about any other community in Canada. We know that there are Portuguese people in this city, or that city, all over Canada. But we don't really know anything about [them]... they might have some good there in other cities that we could apply here...

Another participant mentioned how an organization, such as the Congress, could foster greater links and communication between the different communities and promote the sharing of such resources as people who are skilled in organizational development and social service materials in the Portuguese language.

### **The Roles Of the Luso-Canadian Community, Parents and Youth**

Along with identifying the main issues which are affecting the Luso-Canadian population, the people who participated in this study also raised a number of other concerns which describe what participants saw as the role of community, Portuguese-Canadian parents, mainstream Canadian society and the school system in the perpetuation of the community's marginalization. These descriptions will now serve to illustrate the fact that Luso-Canadians have taken upon themselves, their community and Portuguese parents the inordinate burden of responsibility for the perpetuation of their educational, political and social marginalization.

These descriptions were raised spontaneously by respondents in the questionnaire and throughout the course of the meetings; and people were not specifically asked to infer causal relationships. Many of these concerns, in themselves, provide further examples of marginalization within this community. However, these issues are here presented separately, as a means of better understanding Luso-Canadians' prevalent sense of their, and their community's, power of agency in these matters.

### **The Role of Community Attitudes and Practices**

In discussing the educational, economic and cultural problems of the community, many people entered into analyses of the roles of community attitudes and practices in the perpetuation of these problems. Participants talked mainly about disadvantaging attitudes that were prevalent in the community (ex. a perceived “close-minded” mentality), as well as the lack of community structures and incentives which could provide support to students, (ex. role models). People also described what they saw as the failings of Luso-Canadian associations to be more open and sensitive to the needs of youth.

### **The Prioritizing of Work, Over Schooling and/or Retraining**

In many of the groups throughout the country, the issue that was most repeatedly raised when describing the lack of educational achievement of Luso-Canadian youth, the lack of English- and French-language fluency, and the lack of job retraining, was a perceived longstanding attitude in the community, which places a disproportionate value upon work over education. Most of these participants condemned the members of their own community for being more interested in working and making money than in education. As one person in Toronto stated: “people are not interested in learning” and “...they are not interested in anything. Only working and fixing up [their house]...” One Azorean participant in Toronto said of the attitude amongst his peers:

Azoreans do whatever they can so that they never go to school. They do whatever they can to go and work. They think that they get ahead this way but they only fall behind. Starting with myself. When I came to this country, I went to apply to study. The school said they would pay me \$75 a week. I didn't want to go to school. I went to work for \$65.

In one Toronto meeting, a young Azorean participant described the problem as stemming from a long-standing “cultural model” of the Portuguese:

I think it might be - depending upon which part of Portugal - maybe the continuation of the idea that, when you get to a certain age, you start to take on some economic independence. [...] Well, it might not be said actually in words, but - there's some kind of cultural intention there, where, you know 'Well, I want to get a car. I want to start doing this... I gotta have the girlfriend, at that age... ..and move on and do other things'. That might be one of the cultural factors affecting it, which might have continued on, even to generations that were born here...

Later, in the meeting, the same participant elaborated further:

...I think it's the kind of modelling. I mean... even if you have a middle-class family and you have a lawyer, and the mother is a teacher, or something, they're not home a lot. But just the modelling that they present to the kids, I think, makes such a difference [...] What's expected of them is much more. While, within the Portuguese families that came over from the Azores, and then started working construction, they might have had the stress for hard work, you know, 'go out, you have to work hard and save your money,' but not that stress on 'look, go to education. Get that education.'

### **The Immediate Need to Work, in Order to Obtain Rapid Economic Security**

Participants in a few of the groups, most notably those in Sudbury, rationalized this emphasis on employment, by alluding to the highly impoverished situation of many Luso-Canadian immigrants, at the time of arrival in this country, as well as to their lack of marketable job skills. They brought up the fact that many Portuguese don't learn English or devote themselves more fully to education, because of their immediate need to establish some measure of economic security upon settlement. One participant stated:

[How would I] arrive here, as I did, and go to school along with my wife... to learn English... if we don't have anyone who will help us to survive in this manner? We go to school, how are we going to survive [earn a living] and learn English? We are going to learn English, how will we earn a living?

Similarly, when a few of the people in the Winnipeg meeting mentioned the fact that there are often night-school classes available, one person commented on the effort which is often required to study at night, after returning from physically demanding jobs:

...we go to work during the day... like donkeys... and at night go to school to learn English?

Similarly, another participant in the Maritimes explained how many Portuguese immigrants generally immigrated with little money and few possessions and thus had the immediate need to build the semblance of a base of economic security, in their new country:

Many would not go to school because, unfortunately, when they arrived from Portugal, they came with immediate necessities... to earn a living. Thus, they worked ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen hours a day. When they got home at night - poor souls - tired, usually hungry, they did not have time to go to school to learn English.

Another participant in the Montreal group stated:

Since people normally emigrate in order to make a living, they end up figuring that at the end of some years they will learn the language on their own. So when

they have a chance at a job, they leave [school] and go to work. I don't think there are major problems with [the access to] language learning here.

### **Lack of Interest in Education and/or E.S.L./E.F.L.**

Participants in some of the groups, such as the Maritimes, blamed the fact that many Portuguese don't bother with retraining, education or language classes because there is a generalized "lack of interest" in these matters amongst many people in the community:

I've been in Nova Scotia since 1959. Eight days after arriving, I started learning English at night-school... many others started and, when they would go to write exams, or to see how things were going, no one would show up. What I mean is, they would have to go to work and no one would show up. From then onwards, they started paying people... to go to school.... not even then would they show up...

(moderator asks whether the problem may not be lack of interest)

....Lack of interest! That's it! That's a big part of it.

Some of the people in the Montreal focus group also remarked on the readily available opportunities which currently exist to help people learn French and English and lamented the fact that many people often leave language training behind in order to work more and earn more money. As one man stated:

The Portuguese have every means at their disposal to learn the language, whether it be French or English. If they don't use them, it is because they don't want to. I came to this country without any money, I did not speak English and I went to school... to learn English. I did not need anyone. So, I don't see where the Portuguese can have problems in learning these languages. If they have never learned, it is because they have never tried to find out how they could learn them, or, they want to learn them without having to struggle...

However, a few other people at the Maritimes meeting attempted to explain this perceived lack of interest by describing some of the difficulties which Portuguese encounter in attending language classes.

### **"Fear" of returning to school amongst many community members.**

One participant in Winnipeg described how the limited experience with formal education in Portugal of most of these immigrants had lead many of these to fear returning to school for E.S.L. or job-training instruction:

What I have noticed many times is that people are afraid to go to school. So, that this is not a problem of Canada, but rather a shortcoming of the Portuguese. They had four years of schooling in Portugal, they came over and since the easiest thing for them was to follow these paths... they used these.

Because, in many cases, many people could better themselves and there is a great fear... fear of school... an inferiority complex... of going to school and not being able to learn anything. We have a very small percentage of people who would be able to overcome... ..the barrier of going back to school... the barrier of going back to English classes. This is one of the big problems of the first generation.

### **Parents' reliance on their children as interpreters**

Another participant in Winnipeg criticized many Portuguese for developing an unhealthy reliance on their children, as interpreters and guides. According to this participant, this was one factor which prevented them from developing adequate language skills:

People that I know... ..arrived here with four, five or six children... ..These children would speak for them. They never got used to utilizing their own [English] language. They would go 'wherever'.... and along would go their daughter... ..their son... ..their daughter-in-law... ..their grandson... ..and whoever else might go. They never had the need to use the [English] language. Their language was the interpreter. And many people became accustomed to interpreters, who were their children. And they became unable to function in that sense. And, it was for no other reason than that...

### **The Inability of the Community to See the Linkage Between Education and Economic Prosperity**

Another problem identified in Toronto, in relation to this, was how many people in the community do not see the linkage between education (including job retraining) and economic improvement. As one participant stated at this meeting, those in the community "...do not see the value, they do not make the connection." This has left the community in a very vulnerable situation, where most people also do not understand that the economy is changing permanently. As another participant stated:

...many Portuguese are not recognizing the fact that the economy is changing in a drastic fashion and that, in five or six years, a person with less than grade 12 and four or five years of College or University will not be able to get a job. These are statistics that will affect our community in an alarming fashion. If we think that the problem is bad now, it will be ten or twenty times worse in a few years.

One man admonished Portuguese youth for the ensuing lack of wisdom which many appear to him to demonstrate:

The young men and women of eighteen and nineteen years of age don't know.... Even a tree knows better [than these young people]. When a tree gets into the sun, if the sun is up at a certain time the tree knows, 'ok, I'll point over

here because here there is sun, and at noon there is sun here, and at three there is sun [here].’ This plant knows better [than these young people]. The sun is ‘over there’, it goes ‘there’. But, someone who doesn’t know anything only thinks like this, ‘ok, I’m going to make my ten dollars an hour because my father makes ten dollars an hour and I’m going to buy a house.’ In reality, there’s no way you’re going to buy a house with that money. Not now. Your parents lived in another time. But, they [these young people] don’t know...

### **The Community’s Lack of Interest in Politics**

As has been previously stated, throughout this study the people who participated in the focus groups pointed to the community’s lack of education and its lack of political involvement as the primary reasons behind the perpetuation of the problems that are marginalizing the Portuguese-Canadian community. These individuals - most notably those in Hamilton, Montreal, Ontario, Ottawa-Hull and Vancouver - attributed this lack of participation to a general apathy and lack of interest on the part of the Luso-Canadian community regarding political matters. This lack of interest was also the prime political issue identified in the questionnaire (especially the lack of participation on the part of youth). One man in a Montreal focus group lamented how the community had “a big problem... in expressing its opinion.” Another stated how the Portuguese “...have a horror of political life, of politics...” and explained how this was an inheritance which it had received from its past. One man in Ottawa-Hull stated how most people “turn themselves off” from political affairs and immediately say “We don’t live politics.” Another cited the overarching importance to most Portuguese of their home life, as one reason why the community is never aware of, or involved, in local political “problems” in Vanier:

...not any problem in Vanier, nor in any other place. Because, once again - there is the case that we’ve talked about - the Portuguese keeps so much to himself and to his home life [*é tão metido em si, tão metido em casa*]... that from the start he doesn’t concern himself with political issues.

The group in Hamilton described how most people in their Portuguese community see no need to involve themselves in politics and how - in general - the Portuguese do not go out to vote, or to become Canadian citizens. They also lamented the fact that the main reason the Portuguese become Canadian citizens is to be able to return to Portugal for longer than the allowed six month period (rather than to acquire the right to vote in Canadian politics).

### **The lack of involvement of Luso-Canadian youth in the political process.**

For the young people in Winnipeg and Montreal (and questionnaire respondents) the most regrettable aspect to this lack of political interest among Luso-Canadians was the reluctance of many Portuguese-Canadian youth to become involved in politics. One man remarked about an apparent reluctance on the part of young Portuguese to vote: "There are many people who think 'oh, my vote is not going to make a difference.' Participants in Winnipeg also lamented the fact that many Portuguese youth don't seem to care about politics or government. As one participant mentioned:

In terms of the entire Portuguese youth community, that is a very small number. I know a lot of people who just don't even care about political discussions, or anything at all like that.

A few participants remarked that this phenomenon went hand-in-hand with the low number of Portuguese who actually ran in elections, and whether or not young people knew anyone personally who was involved in the political process. One participant stated that, if he didn't know a particular candidate he would be "...pretty much out in the dark. I wouldn't really care much about it. Because I don't really know anyone involved in the system."

Another participant remarked:

A lot of them don't get involved because they just don't care.... ....Or, half of them don't know anybody that's in politics. And so, even if they want to get involved, they can't, because they don't have anybody to talk to.

Still another said:

That's my experience too. I got involved because I knew someone who was involved. And I know other friends of mine, from the Portuguese community who got involved, because they know someone who was involved. And, so you have someone... you know someone... that person brings you in and, you try to bring other people in. So, you're comfortable that way. But, I don't think, and I know I wouldn't be comfortable going into a candidate's office and saying 'Hi my name is... and I'd like to help you.' I think a lot of students are not comfortable doing that.

This person also mentioned that, if an issue directly affected young people, (such as, for example, allowing the raising of tuition fees), young people would talk about it. However, she felt that they might not even yet be at the stage where they would be comfortable writing a letter to the government. All of the young participants in Montreal confessed that they lived mostly

within a daily routine of school and home, which rarely included any type of political involvement.

The group in Winnipeg also cited how Portuguese youth are beginning to become active in leadership roles in university, but how they generally tend not to be involved in such things as student councils; although they did mention how there is much more involvement at the high-school level. But here, once again, their participation is often influenced by whether or not they know someone who is involved. One participant stated:

Again, it's a limited few. If you know someone involved, you'll get involved too. If you don't, you won't. Unless you're very ambitious and it affects your career, or you think it's going to help your career...

However, the people at the Winnipeg meeting described how the newer generations of young people are becoming much more vocal and involved than their previous generations of youth. The people at the Montreal meeting further mentioned that given the right opportunities or encouragement, more youth would begin to participate. One young gentleman commented:

They go to school and come home. I'm one of those who wants to do something... The others, they would if there were something [some programme] for them. But, since there isn't, they don't try to do anything.

And,

I think there is a lack of willingness [to get involved]. And, if the government, or whatever other organization could promise something, or initiate something for youth, to raise their interest, if youth would apply themselves, it could be that more people would become interested and we could even achieve something.

### **Lack of Knowledge of, or Familiarity With, the Political Process**

A few of the focus groups attributed the lack of involvement of Portuguese-Canadians in the political process to their lack of formal education, to a lack of knowledge regarding the political process and to the fact that the vast majority of the community is employed in lower-wage, lower status occupations, many with little job security. According to these groups, these are factors which lead most Portuguese to focus upon their economic survival, to the detriment of other aspects of their lives.

Participants in two of the Toronto groups, as well as in Ottawa-Hull, described how the non-involvement of people in their region was the result of a lack of knowledge of the system.

As one man in Toronto said: "More than 90% [that] go to vote, they don't know what they're doing." Another woman in the November Toronto meeting explained:

Besides not having a general knowledge of the philosophical position of each party... of the levels of government... they don't even know for whom they are voting; if it is for the municipal... provincial... or federal elections. So, when there are conventions for the election of the general president of the Liberal or the Conservative party, then people are totally lost.

This same participant also described how this lack of knowledge extends to the available social services, which she claimed were adequate for the local community, but many of which she said the community had little awareness.

Some of the participants in Ottawa-Hull also cited how there is a lack of information on political issues and a lack of education amongst the Portuguese community, which prevents them from understanding and successfully interpreting much of the information that is available to them. Participants described how most of the lack of interest and information occurs at the municipal level, while many people are more aware of provincial and federal matters.

Another important point which was raised by people at the Hamilton meeting was the lack of experience amongst most Portuguese in political involvement. People in this group felt that the legacy of the long-running dictatorship in Portugal left most Portuguese with a lack of skills, experience and education in becoming more involved politically, in Canadian society. For example, they mentioned how most of the directors of the various Portuguese community clubs do not have the political experience or the education to be able to represent the community to the government agencies.

Participants in Vancouver also described people in their community as strongly politically opinionated but poorly active in politics. According to the group, while most Portuguese are vocal amongst themselves, they are not willing to spend the time or money necessary to become involved in politics. They are too overly concerned with their own economic well-being to risk involvement in politics. They are also not involved in the Portuguese political scene. One man explained:

The Portuguese here in this region are very 'politically-vocal' but not active within politics. They are people who read the paper and talk through the perspective of the newspapers political slant, but they are neither updated nor active within Portuguese politics that is integrated within Canadian politics. They can't, for example, debate the fisheries problem, related to Portugal and Canada because they don't know the issues, only what they read in the

paper....

....The other problem... ..is really the economic aspect, which doesn't allow them to enter into the political system, to get to know it, to study it and to debate it, within the actual government. Because, the vast majority of people work - as it has already been said - to make their money, and they don't spend their money to go against, or in favour of, their ends or their progress... ..in another location. They are not about to spend their time or spend their money, because they.... prefer their community. There is not doubt that it is like this...

While noting that little can be done to encourage the older generations to enter political life, some in the Vancouver group felt that organizations such as the Congress should encourage youth to become more involved in the political arena.

### **The Perceived "Closed-Minded" Mentality of the Community**

People in one of the Toronto meetings saw many of the problems affecting Luso-Canadians, particularly the underachievement issue and the lack of leadership, as stemming essentially from - what the participants termed - the "closed mentality" of the community. In deconstructing the different elements of this mentality, people mentioned how they perceived that the community was marked by a widespread "lack of culture" or "education" ("falta de cultura")<sup>6</sup>, a "lack of economic ambition," and a willingness to admit to, confront and question certain problems.

All of these problems that we are here facing arise practically from only one term 'mentality': That is what is very important. And... our community.... suffers... from a very closed mentality....

These comments were raised mostly by the younger participants. However, one older individual also talked about how the academic underachievement problem was a sign that this closed-minded mentality was being perpetuated amongst Luso-Canadian youth.

[Our] children today continue with this closed mentality. They don't know anything ('eles não conhecem nada'), they do not know the things that this country has to offer.... they go and copy their parents..

### **The Community's Negative Stigma of Itself**

Other participants also described how many of the problems which occur in the community have arisen from a widely-held stigma which Portuguese hold about themselves

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<sup>6</sup> This is a difficult term to translate, since in Portuguese it connotes a sense of having formal education, cultural refinement, economic positioning and drive. The closest English term would be "breeding," but without incorporating the sense of haughtiness.

and their place in Canadian society. According to these individuals, the Portuguese in Canada see themselves, and their community, as less educated and less capable of succeeding economically, than those from the mainstream and other groups. These attitudes invariably affect those in the younger generations, by imprinting on them a tradition of low academic expectations and an exclusive focus upon economic subsistence. In exploring the reasons for the underachievement problem, one individual in Toronto stated:

I think that people have gotten used to the stigma which exists in the Portuguese community, which is, that they know how to read or write very little, so that they have to have [can only have] a job in construction or cleaning... It's a problem which ....Canadian society got used to and a stigma to which the Portuguese became accommodated. They accept perfectly the fact that they are only construction workers and cleaners, and they live within this stigma perfectly content.

In describing the community's lack of involvement in cultural matters, another person at a separate Toronto meeting stated of the community's image of itself:

According to what was recently said [In the Toronto Sun by a Portuguese-Canadian City of Toronto Councillor], we are an illiterate community. Unfortunately we are. Many of us.... only think about the cheque at the end of the week. Basically, that is it. It is the eternal problem which is money. But, the aspect of culture never surfaces... Certain things should be done, or that the individual should do for himself, and these are not done. This is also where the problem of the children arise because, they are raised in the same environment as the family. It comes through the parents to the children, and onwards, successively.

### **The Lack of Willingness of the Community to Take Responsibility for Its Own Problems**

Participants in the same Toronto group also attributed to this mentality the absence of strong leadership, the community's unwillingness to face its problems, discuss difficult issues or to confront authority. They decried the fact that the community - and in particular its leadership - does very little to admit to, and openly discuss, problems such as underachievement and to confront them. One participant mentioned: "They do not want to talk about these [our problems]. They would rather remain ignorant." Another participant discussed how the community still doesn't know the nature and severity of its biggest problems, simply because the community has been reluctant to discuss these issues.

### **The Community's History of Reacting to Problems. Rather Than Being Proactive**

According to some of the participants in Toronto, a lack of proactive action in their local community is another issue which what has allowed the perpetuation of the current situation of underachievement. The younger participants especially felt that this has led to a lack of preparation for the future on the part of our community and that there is a need to begin to set clear goals.

In summary, this is how one participant discussed the issue of underachievement and the community's lack of a proactive response:

There are a lot of problems... that we have, for many years, failed to face... we allowed our eyes to remain closed, we let the issue escape us and now, we are seeing the result of this negligence on our part.... The responsibility is ours, as a community, that we closed our eyes to the reality of the situation.

Another young participant mentioned:

...the community hasn't matured yet... hasn't reached its age. A lot of ideas are old ideas... The community isn't yet to par. It's still not yet taken responsibility for its own problems. We need strong leadership... We need centralized, strong leadership... and... goals set. We're always trying to solve problems, we're not saying 'this is what we'd like to see in ten years'. The first thing we need to do is admit we have problems, instead of hiding, (like with this education thing).

### **The Failure of the Portuguese-Canadian Media to Truly Inform and Educate Community Members**

According to these participants, one sign of this lack of responsibility is that the Portuguese-Canadian media concentrates excessively on unimportant events and matters, (such as dances, feasts, petty rivalries between community members, etc.) and ignores, or deals only superficially with, community problems. This sentiment was echoed by participants of a later Toronto meeting who described the Portuguese media as "...a group of people who have been more interested in their own benefit, than in the benefit of the community..." and who lamented the lack of cultural and educational content on Portuguese-Canadian television.

Participants in Toronto reiterated the need for the community to take on responsibility for its own problems. Many felt that, even in those situations where practices outside the community's control have led to certain problems (for ex. educational "streaming"), there is still much responsibility upon the community for not reacting effectively enough against those

realities. Regarding the education issue, one young participant said:

I disagree when I hear people saying 'the system has failed us'. Yes, they have, in many ways. But we've failed ourselves. We let the system fail us. It takes two to work together.

### **The Lack of Community Structures**

#### **The Lack of Luso-Canadian Role Models**

In discussing the lack of educational and political participation of the community, those people in Vancouver, Toronto and Hamilton described how there was a generalized lack of role models for youth in the community. Participants in Vancouver mentioned how parents are often the only examples youth have for role models and, thus, how young people are often a reflection of their parents, their values and habits. One young man spoke about how the lack of "heroes" in his life and in those of other Portuguese youth often resulted in a lessening of their career aspirations and in a romanticisation of their parents' working-class origins and lifestyle:

My hero is (sic) my parents and Jesus.... When a little kid thinks, 'what do I want to be when I grow up?' and he sees his father come home from work, he doesn't see his father come home going 'Oh, my back! I worked so much today!' [His father] can say that one thousand times... ..but [the son] doesn't see this as much as he should. [He thinks] 'My father didn't need to study - he has the fourth grade - and he makes money, he has a house'...you know...

My dream is to have a house, to provide for my children and, that's it.... to be secure... ..I can't say... 'look at Mister H,' because I don't know what he does.... I can't say 'look at the Consul' because I've never seen him. And, if he hasn't been active in my life...

According to the group, the community needs the resurgence of other role models to illustrate to youth how to aspire to new goals and to illustrate to them how to survive the realities of the new global economic system.

#### **There are Few Mechanisms in the Community to Provide Academic Support to Portuguese-Canadian Students and Parents**

Another problem that was identified was the lack of academic support mechanisms, to help students throughout their progress in school. Participants in Ottawa-Hull and Vancouver described how the parents in their communities have little or no resources to which they can turn, if their children are experiencing academic difficulties. For example a few participants in both meetings mentioned the lack of tutoring services in their communities for students with

academic weaknesses.

One participant made the suggestion that, building a social centre might help to bring youth and the elderly together, so that the latter could assist the former with informal tutoring and maintenance of the Portuguese language. One more person suggested that Portuguese professionals could offer eligible students letters of recommendation, to help them enter desired programmes. Support could also be provided through such services as a resume-writing service, which would help students in their job searches. Volunteer “mentors” could also be made available, who could counsel students on how to structure their career advancement

### **There are Few Community Incentives, to Encourage Luso-Canadian Students to Continue their Education**

Along with the lack of information and support, the group in Vancouver also identified as another important issue the lack of incentives in the community that are designed to reward academic success. For example, the participants mentioned that virtually no scholarships exist to encourage success amongst Portuguese students entering academic, vocational or business-oriented study. Some of the people in this group also suggested that a system be developed to encourage student progress. For example, public recognition should be given to students who excel, or who overcome academic difficulties. Similarly, community organizations could offer material incentives to successful students, (ex. trips, tickets to shows, electronic equipment such as computers or television, etc.)

### **The Role of Community Organizations**

People in the Winnipeg and Montreal focus groups discussed the ways in which local Luso-Canadian associations were failing to support the development of youth in the community and doing little to create a positive identification with the Portuguese heritage amongst young Canadians of Portuguese descent. On the one hand, they described how there is a reluctance on the part of many youth to participate in Portuguese community clubs and associations. On the other, they also described how many Portuguese community groups are doing very little to combat this tendency, by including adolescents and young adults in the planning and realization of their activities.

### **Portuguese Associations and Organizations are not “Open” to Youth and not Receptive to Youth Initiatives**

Participants in both Montreal and Winnipeg voiced the general feeling that Portuguese associations are not really “open” to youth. According to these young people, while many older association members say that they are interested in youth participation, they are not really willing to allow young people the freedom to structure their own activities. One young woman stated:

They say they are, but it's the same old thing.... They don't make much of it, in a way that Portuguese youth can become interested.

The group in Winnipeg mentioned that youth involvement and their acceptance as leaders in local organizations are growing. However the group lamented that these do not happen as frequently as they should and that participation by newcomers is often thwarted. One participant remarked:

Unfortunately, when you have these associations that we have, a lot of times, it's the same people who are always involved. And, it's very difficult. Even though a young person might want to get their foot in the door, a lot of times, their foot is kicked out...

Another young man in Montreal told of his experiences working for a Portuguese-language radio programme which was supposedly directed towards youth:

The programme was badly organized and, they did nothing to attract youth. For example, young people's music is the more modern music. And, for them it was always that Portuguese folklore (o malhão), and I don't know what else... Youth aren't going to listen to that. And, this was a programme geared towards youth, it had to be for youth. I remember one time, we wanted to put on 'Chutos e Pontapés' [The Portuguese equivalent to the “Rolling Stones”] and the gentleman went and said. 'Well, you can't put on that music because people don't want to listen to it.' Yeah, but, if this is a programme for youth, this is the kind of music that we have to put on.

When speaking of Portuguese-language community school in Montreal, one woman commented on how this institution organized few activities for those youth who were studying in the grades above primary school. Furthermore, she also stated that the school administrators were not really interested in activities and events for this age group.

### **Luso-Canadian Associations Have Few Activities Which Are Geared Towards Adolescents and Young Adults**

A few of the participants described how, as children, they had been involved in Portuguese community activities, but had grown apart from these events in later years. Some of the reasons they cited for this included, the lack of events which were specifically geared towards their age group and the competition from other activities in which their non-Portuguese friends participated. One woman complained that the activities of most Portuguese associations are geared mainly to the older generations.

### **Luso-Canadian Associations Do Not Conduct Outreach to Youth**

A related concern was that Portuguese associations did not conduct any outreach to involve more young people in those youth-oriented activities which they did offer. One young man noted:

We don't hear about [their activities]. The ones who know are those who go to [the particular club], the ones who are aware of the fact that there is a youth group. But, the other youth, they don't know about these things.

### **Portuguese-Language Television and Newspapers in Canada do not Serve Youth**

Participants in Toronto also criticized Portuguese-language television and community newspapers for being irrelevant for their age group and for generally lacking quality. They lamented the fact that the most important Portuguese community television offering was a Brazilian soap opera and they called for more Portuguese programming. They also mentioned how the local community papers ran many articles that were generally irrelevant to their age group.

### **Portuguese-Language Community Schools Can be Structured in a Manner Which Better Serves Youth**

Young people at the Montreal meeting described their relationship to the local Portuguese-language community school and how certain aspects of the way the school related to its students could be improved.

Most of the participants at the Montreal meeting commented on how they initially had

not liked Portuguese school, but afterwards gained an appreciation of its value. The participants cited a number of benefits of Portuguese school: These included gaining an appreciation of the historical importance of the Portuguese in world history and also associating with other Portuguese youth. One young woman described that she attended Portuguese school to be with other Portuguese and: "...to make us feel... to have a certain environment. I don't know... One doesn't come here just to learn the material." Another young man reiterated the importance of "...knowing where we came from and where we are going." Another man said:

When I got to the secondary level, I began to see how we learned more about the culture and I began to see how Portuguese wasn't something which got in the way, and that knowing the language wasn't something that interfered. When going to get a job, the more languages you speak, the better... That's when I found out that Portuguese was going to be necessary... I'm coming to Portuguese school, I think it's difficult, it's hard... but, I want to at least pass and get my diploma.

Yet, despite their recognition of the value of their Portuguese school experience, some of the people at this meeting also cited a few issues which they would like to see changed in the way the school was operated:

A few participants complained about the financial burden of having to purchase their own schoolbooks, many of which are only valid for one year. One participant made the suggestion that the school provide the books to students, then take them back at the end of the year. Another participant described the fact that the Portuguese school day may be too long and how some of the material is repeated. Finally, a few participants complained that Portuguese school classes are sometimes unruly and undisciplined and commented on how this detracts from their work. One woman said:

...I come to class and here are the others playing around. They should be at home watching cartoons instead of wasting my time. My grandmother is paying for me to come here, there are the expenses of having to buy our books, and I'm wasting my time, sometimes. And, we lose a lot of time here with 'Be quiet back there! Girls, stop talking!' For me, it is already an effort to come here. So that, when I do come, it's to do what I have to do and go home. It's not to sit here and wait for the others to make up their minds.

### **The Role of Parental Attitudes and Practices**

In discussing what they felt to be the origins of the underachievement issue, the harshest criticism voiced by most respondents was directed against Luso-Canadian

parents and the negative role which they were seen as playing in their children's educational choices. People attacked parents for placing a greater value upon working than upon studying, for using their children to supplement the family income, for not promoting the Portuguese language and culture within the family and, some, even for not caring very much about the general welfare of their children.

Ironically, those in the youth groups tended to be much less critical of the role of parents than those in the regular focus groups. The former tended to excuse the attitudes of parents by referring to their lack of education and the disadvantaged economic position of many Portuguese at the time of immigration, which led many of these to focus upon earning a living.

### **Many Portuguese-Canadian Parents Place Earning a Living, and/or the Purchase of a Home Ahead of Their Children's Education**

Most focus groups attributed the essence of the community's educational deficit to what they perceived to be a deliberate and egotistical choice on the part of many Luso-Canadian parents, to place their immediate economic progress ahead of their and their children's long-term educational best-interests. Participants in Quebec City, Hamilton, Winnipeg and in all three Toronto meetings indicted parents for such practices as: Not encouraging their children to continue their studies; not being more involved in their children's education; actively urging their sons and daughters to go to work prematurely, in order to garner their pay cheques; and, particularly, for a perceived tendency to focus obsessively on the purchase of a home and on the liquidation of its mortgage.

Participants in all three youth focus groups also affirmed the importance of parental expectations in motivating students to either achieve, or drop out. A participant in one of the Toronto mixed-age meetings bluntly stated his view of this issue:

...there are many people who are not interested in their children going to school. They would rather see their children come through the door with \$100 or \$200 a week...

Another young participant in Winnipeg described the problem in a more discrete tone:

I guess my concern is parents. And I know before in the past, there were some parents who would not encourage their kids to go further because [they would say] 'Yeah, finish grade twelve. But then go work... and then I'll have half of your paycheque.' or, 'I'll have your paycheque until you get married, and until

you move out.' And, I think that's why some kids probably didn't go further. Because their parents instilled in their mind, 'work after grade twelve and make money.' And, not looking at the long-term consequences of doing that.

Another man in Vancouver said:

A lot of Portuguese fathers and mothers... sit back and say 'ok, education, education, education.. Oh! How much are you making? Fourteen dollars and hour? Ok. Stop! You're at your perfect job; I don't care if you're a secretary, I don't care what you're doing...'

One participant in Montreal brought up the fact that many parents also pressure their children to go to work part-time, or in summer jobs:

Sometimes it's the parents who force a little bit. They see that the young person is in school and [say] 'Ah! You should go to work... to get some experience, because in this way, you will be better prepared for the future.' It's always like this... this big issue of working.

One young woman in Toronto remarked on how the lack of parental emphasis on education impacts negatively on the overall achievement of some of the Portuguese children which she teaches:

I think it's all in the parents. [...] I notice the difference between the kids. I notice the ones that the parents push them. I notice the ones that the kids are basically there because it's a day care centre for the parents. While they go shopping, just drop off the kids...

Another person described how Portuguese parents' seemingly overriding preoccupation with earning a living keeps them from becoming involved in their children's schooling:

...[they have] a job, they try to get another, and their children stay at home. They don't get involved in school meetings. Parents are called to school many times, they never get to find out how their children are doing in school. It is a very big problem.

People in a few of these meetings described how some Portuguese parents will also impose their career choices on their children. One woman in Toronto stated that, in the more extreme cases, some parents will abandon their children when these do not follow their wishes, regarding important life choices: "If the son doesn't rise to what they want...at school or at home, if the child doesn't want to work.. they disown him." Some of the Azorean participants at this meeting also gave their opinion that parents in their community are more likely than those from the Continent to impose their career choices upon their children, especially on young women:

...within the Azorean community, I believe that it is impossible to tell a parent, 'I don't want to be a teacher, I want to be a lawyer.' This is considered unacceptable. If a parent says that his son is going to be a teacher, then they have to be a teacher, or else...

Another person in a separate Toronto meeting also described how in her community, young women are sometimes forced away from non-traditional occupations:

...if it is a young girl, who is saying that she wants to be a lawyer or a doctor, I think the family is liable to start laughing all at the same time, because, these are, traditionally, professions which pertain to men and not to a woman. And I think that the parents don't really understand that this possibility exists... ...I think that within the Azorean family, the traditional values of which occupation a woman can, or cannot, exercise continues to exist. And youth in the Azorean community are under a terrible disadvantage.

People in a number of these groups described how the focus on economic progress amongst many Luso-Canadians is often expressed by a tendency to focus upon rapid home ownership and to limit their activities obsessively to those related to earning a living and caring for their house. The people in Winnipeg mentioned how living life in the exclusive function of working and owning a home is too narrow, how it doesn't lead to healthy social and family relations, and how the demands of paying a mortgage on the limited salary of an unskilled labourer often causes many immigrants to fail to look after their, and their children's, educational or training needs, (ex. learning English).

This lack of interest in activities not related to home ownership and economic security was also cited as the cause of a perceived lack of involvement in community development matters. People in two of the Toronto meetings complained of the fact that one always encounters the same individuals involved in community matters and spoke about how difficult it is to encourage new faces to become involved.

Participants in Montreal acknowledged that there are many Portuguese who do not care if their children leave school and go to work. However, this group mentioned that there are also many parents who place an excessive amount of pressure on their children to succeed in school. In fact, the influence of parental pressure to succeed in school was one of the major issues to arise in the Montreal focus group. One young woman commented:

There are many Portuguese parents who want their children to go to university. There are also others, I would guess that it's half and half... who do not care if their children have secondary five or if they don't have secondary five, for them it's ok. But, there are Portuguese who, I think, would not accept that their

children would drop out of school to go to work, because they know that for them, it wasn't easy not having schooling and having to look for a job.

As another young woman described it:

I think that there are many Portuguese which put a lot of pressure on their children, because there are many who did not have much schooling and... at a certain age, had to go to work.... and when they got here, they had children and they want the best for their kids. So, they put a lot of pressure on them [saying] 'you have to go to school; you have to study; you have to get good marks... because I didn't have that opportunity, and it's a good one...' and such.

Another young man stated:

My father.... only studied up to the fourth grade. And for him, that was enough... In Canada... he sees that, here, everyone has to go to secondary school, CEGEP, university [and] has to have a good job. That's what he wants for me.... [...] My parents want me to go to school, get good grades... they want to see me with a stable life... that I'm going to have a job that's going to last me my whole life.

One participant in Winnipeg also cautioned the group to be careful about making generalizations regarding parent's lack of education and lack of encouragement of their children's schooling. As this participant mentioned, in Portugal, most Portuguese of the 'first generation' did not have the financial means or the available educational structures to acquire a reasonable education. However, he felt that many Portuguese youth inherited family values and strengths which encouraged them to seek better opportunities than their parents:

...the family values, the strengths... to say 'I can't do it now, or I'm not as able to do it. But, I want you to go forward and progress and be able to make something more of yourself, than what I was able to.' So, they see the opportunity there and they try to thrust you... into those positions, so that we can... ...follow whatever pathway we desire.

**Portuguese-Canadian Parents' Low Levels of Formal Education and Working-Class Status do not Allow Them the Skills to Better Assist Their Children With School-Related Matters**

Participants in Quebec City, Hamilton, Winnipeg and Toronto pointed out that the problem of underachievement was intimately related to the education level and social class of Luso-Canadian parents. One person in Hamilton mentioned how many Portuguese parents do not have the formal education to adequately help their children, when these encounter problems at school. Another individual in Quebec City said the following of working-class parents in that city:

In the society in which we live, education is not much valued. Often, it is much more valuable to have a letter from a trade union than to have a diploma from a university.... ....A person who graduates from university as an engineer, or as an architect will earn ten dollars an hour or less, while the other who goes to work... in a construction site will earn fourteen dollars an hour...

One person in Toronto described the powerlessness of Luso-Canadian fathers and mothers, when faced with their children's educational problems:

...sometimes parents, they're not able to help the kids with schooling. Like, why am I hired to tutor their kids? Because, they don't have enough English. They never learned... They only learned enough practical English to do whatever they need. And then, they just don't have enough background to be able to - when the child's having problems in school - 'what am I going to do?'... ...The teacher might call 'Your child's having problems', they don't know where to turn. And that might be also, one of the factors. While, if you have an English parent, somebody knows 'My kid's having problems?'... ...They immediately try to take care of it, and handle it. While the Portuguese parents might have their hands crossed....

Another young woman said of her own upbringing:

My parents couldn't help me actually. They had the good sense to give me a tutor. That they called up all their friend's daughters 'Oh, can you help my daughter with this?' Or, they'd call up... ...my cousins, or whatever.

People in a few of the groups discussed how this educational deficit of Portuguese parents have also left them unable to understand, or appreciate, the academic pressures affecting their children. One young woman in Montreal complained about how this lack of understanding leaves her feeling isolated:

Sometimes, our parents don't have as much education as we do. They don't understand that it's difficult for us. It's not the same thing. They don't know what it is to... be in school, studying all of that material.... learning all of those subjects, [such as] chemistry... everything... is difficult. I'm being very honest. It's difficult for a student...It's difficult to have a head for all of these things. And sometimes, parents think that... it's easy.

They also discussed how this lack of understanding often caused some Portuguese parents to fail to be satisfied with what would otherwise represent a good level of achievement. As one young woman described it:

I have friends who are Quebecois who, if I tell them 'I got an 80 and my father is going to tell me that I could do better', they tell me, 'but you have 80, how can that be, that's a good mark. For me it's good enough.' But, I say that it's not, because I know that my parents are going to say 'Well, 80... You can do better, for example 90.'

People in Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg also discussed how most Luso-Canadian students and parents have very little practical knowledge of the higher-education system which leaves most Portuguese families with great difficulties in making decisions, relating to the many choices pertaining to college and university. One person in Winnipeg described his own situation:

From personal experience... ..my parents really push you to 'go to university.' But, if you need any help, they don't know how. Because my parents only have a grade four education. So, they say, 'why don't you ask that person... or that person.' So, we always draw upon people in our community... ..a Portuguese student who became a doctor, a student who became a lawyer. That's the only reason that we're able to do that, because of those who have already gone ahead of us, and finished their schooling. But, the problem is that our parents want to help us, but they can't...

A related issue which was raised was the inability of some Portuguese parents to appreciate, or relate to, the pressures of their children who are in post-secondary education. Young people in Winnipeg cited how it is not uncommon for Luso-Canadian parents to sometimes enter into conflict with their older children, because the former are not aware of - or sensitive to - the requirements of university or college life. They spoke of the need to bring more information to parents and youth regarding the different options available in these institutions. One participant in Vancouver suggested the creation of a central information system which could help Portuguese students and parents. Another person in Winnipeg believed that this problem could be minimized through the promotion of workshops, which educated parents and students on the details of the education system and on the aims of particular degree paths:

I know that Portuguese youth could do it. I know they can. I just don't think they have the tools to go further. If they had those tools, I know that they would go further. They just need those tools... ..Those tools are informing parents... Because a lot of these parents don't speak English, and they don't know the education system. Or they don't even know what a Bachelor is... A Bachelor of Arts. They don't understand what that is. Or what a commerce degree is. Inform them what it is. Inform students what things exist, i.e., bursaries and loans... ..have pamphlets or information.. ...give out phone numbers of different departments...

### **Some Portuguese Parents do not Devote Enough Time and Attention to the Affairs of Their Children**

Participants in the Toronto meetings also attributed this lack of emphasis on education

and the apparent lack of involvement in their children's education to what they felt was a general tendency amongst some Portuguese-Canadian parents to ignore the matters of their children. One woman said:

...the women concern themselves a lot with their work, and many times it seems like not with their children....they have a job, they try to get another, and the children stay at home. They don't go to community meetings. Parents are called to school. Many times they don't go to see how their children are doing. It's a very big problem.

At another meeting in that city, another person added:

We've reached the conclusion that men... fathers, don't dedicate themselves the least bit to their children, because they don't want to. Because, if they have the time to go to the café, they would also have an hour to dedicate themselves to their children.

Participants in the Toronto groups also described how this preoccupation with work, on the part of Portuguese parents, often results in Portuguese children being left unattended for long periods of time. One participant said:

The problem is also that parents don't spend too much time with their children. The parents work, the children wander the streets, parents come home, the children wander the streets...

Another person at a different Toronto meeting asked:

And what about the children? [Their] parents go to work. Afterwards these parents get a part-time job and the children stay home alone at night. At the end of the day, they go to bed, they don't do their homework. The next day, they go to school... and the parents even speak badly of the teachers. The teachers... these have to seek out the parents, they leave school, they go telephone the student's mothers... There are things which are not even worth discussing... how can the children ever be good if the parents are not good parents?

### **Some Luso-Canadian Parents Preserve Outdated Traditional Values and Cultural Norms**

Participants in all of the youth groups ascribed the wide cultural difference between young people and their elders to the fact that many Portuguese-Canadian parents have not kept up with world-wide cultural changes but instead have maintained rigidly traditional practices and values (many of which are no longer even followed in Portugal). One woman in Toronto told the following story, to illustrate the manner in which differences in even subtle cultural norms have affected the relationships between parents and children in her region:

I know over there there's this perfect example that just shocked me totally.

Now, there's this girl... ..she just got married... ..And she never got along with her mother, never. She was the only child.... ..throughout her whole life, her mother constantly putting her down... ..because she was very social, and she would talk with everybody, but it didn't necessarily mean that she would do anything with everybody. But that's how the mother took it. So, she always had problems. She'd compare her to everybody, and stuff like that. Her daughter just got married. She just had a boy and she named her boy... ..honestly, I don't even remember the name, it was some weird name.. ..an ugly name. But that's the name she wanted for the kid. Her mother went to the hospital and she asked, 'what's the name you gave the kid?' and she said it. The mother got so mad, she started screaming at her in the middle of the hospital, 'you had no right to name your son. I'm the one that should have named him', and all of this.... blah, blah, blah, blah... rushed out of the home, hasn't talked with her since. The daughter had to move... ..to get away from the mother, because she couldn't take the stress anymore. I mean, her only daughter, her only grandson, I mean... And like her, (there are) plenty. Those parents, oh! It's horrible! Those kids! I mean, I was lucky to have my parents.... ..the kids that were there... ..it's pretty sad.

Some in the focus group in Winnipeg also spoke about how many Portuguese-Canadian parents tend to isolate themselves from the broader society and have little involvement with activities or groups outside the Portuguese community. Those in Montreal further felt that many parents in that city are often too focussed on matters in Portugal and do not change to adapt to their new society. According to these participants, this focus on Portugal also creates the situation where many Portuguese parents are unable to understand their children's point of view and the demands of the society in which they live. One young woman in Montreal said:

I hear almost every Saturday, or during the week, the problems that [other Portuguese youth] have with their parents and, they are always fighting with their parents. They don't understand our point-of-view. It is always a struggle between parents and children, in terms of points-of-view. Parents... concern themselves a lot with Portugal. But, we here... concern ourselves much more with what is happening here in this country.

Another person in Quebec City spoke about how this tendency towards traditionalism, when expressed in a setting that is devoid of Portuguese community cultural activities and promotion serves to increase the alienation of the young Luso-Canadians in this region from their roots:

There are many Portuguese here.... who have the idea that in Portugal things were this way or that and, when they talk to their children they say things like 'If this was in Portugal, you wouldn't be able to do this'... These are things which don't help young people to want to be near to their Portuguese roots. So what is their reaction? It is to run away from these roots and to identify ever more with the country where they are living. It is this confrontation. And, here in Quebec, it is possibly even stronger because we have nothing Portuguese here. The only thing which we have is a restaurant... once in a while there is a Portuguese course in the university... But, there is nothing else.

The people at the Montreal meeting noted that the age of the parents had a great deal of influence over how traditional they are, with regards to such things as their children's patterns of socialization. In general, participants felt that the younger the parents, (or the younger the age at which they immigrated), the more understanding and accepting these are towards the lifestyle of young people in this country. Those in the Winnipeg meeting also cautioned against regarding traditionalism as a negative legacy and noted that the traditionalism of Portuguese parents also endows many Portuguese youth with strong family and work values.

**Some Luso-Canadian Parents Place Harsher-Than-Average Restrictions on the Freedom of their Children to Associate With Their Peers, Date, Work and Study in the Fields of Their Choice**

The most widely-mentioned source of friction, between parents and children, was the fact that some Portuguese-Canadian parents do not allow their children - and especially their daughters - to have the same freedoms and choices as other Canadian youth, in such areas as socializing with friends, job selection and romantic involvements. For example, participants in Montreal cited that, quite often, the types of disagreements which arise between youth and their parents occur because Luso-Canadian children feel that their parents do not allow them to associate in the same manner as others with their peers and to date as freely as these. One woman, in Ottawa-Hull, explained how, when some young girls reach the age of 14 or 15, their parents begin to restrict their movements and keep them more at home:

...their friends at school tell them that they are going out to the movies, they go here, they go there... And they begin to feel like their parents don't give them the same freedoms...

Another young woman put it this way:

...If someone wants to go out... to a discotheque, their parents will say 'No. In my day one didn't do that', or if someone wants to go steady at a certain age [their parents say] 'Ha! In my day, it wasn't like that'... In general, these are the types of conflicts which young Portuguese have...

Still another described her situation:

My mother... came here when she was 16. My father was 20. I don't have problems with my parents. They are understanding... However, when I sometimes want to go out... or I want to do things that they never did when they were young, they are much more hesitant to let me do those things... such as going out with my friends, just go out for a little while, they immediately get worried, [and say] 'we don't do that' and 'what is everyone else going to

think'. They are used to the mentality of those which came from [Portugal]...

In addition, the participants also described how many parents have not yet realized that society in Portugal has changed in their absence and that practices and values around such issues as dating and socializing have become much more liberal.

This tight control over their daughter's activities was restricted not only to dating habits and friendships, but also ranged to job, school and career choices. In fact, some of the participants themselves described in detail how they were under the constant threat of being "disowned," should they engage in activities contrary to their parents wishes. One woman told the story of how her father's rigid expectations have often translated into threats to disown her, if she does not make the social and career choices that he wants:

...my father, he's a nice guy, a great guy, whatever, but, he's just so expectant of me. I'm the only girl, I'm the only child....oh.. he's been wanting to kick me out of the house so many times... First because, my friends aren't educated, they're Portuguese but 'they don't know what they're talking about,' and 'their parents don't have an education.' Next because all the guys I've dated, or I've liked, are all construction workers, who have no education. Like, I'm totally the opposite of what I should have been. But, to him... because I don't look at anybody else except Portuguese people.. and he has well 'if you go out with him, I'm kicking you out of the house, I'm never your father again, I will disown you.'

She continued to describe how her father's control over her extends to the type of jobs that she is allowed to hold:

When I was about 13 or 14 I wanted to work, he never let me. The only job I could have is teaching (...) that's the only thing he would let me do. He would not let me work. So, once I was 16, I got a job teaching (...) He was in heaven. I hate it! I'm doing it now, I hate my job! I get paid really well... like really, really well, but it's not something I like. But, if I were to quit that, and find another job.... I was working at (a) Bakery, I loved it. Getting \$6 an hour, it was my favourite job. I had so much fun there. I met different people. It was something... I'm very social and I loved working there. My dad, when he found out I was working at the Bakery, he stopped talking to me, for about a month or two, because I was working there.

Another young woman in Montreal also told the story of how her own father had forced her to give up her summer job, in order not to place excessive demands upon her studying:

My father was forced to give his entire salary [to his parents], not only from one of his jobs, but from both of them. He got to the point where he was working at three jobs and my grandfather kept all the money. But, it wasn't even to save it for him. It was to help pay expenses... For me, [his experience] affected me in this manner...: My father prohibited me from working. I work during the summer, but that's it. And, this happened to me last summer: I got a

job during the summer, but under the condition that, when school started, I would leave it. I knew this but, well, I got another job so I could work on the weekends, even when school started. My father was more than angry. He got home to my house, screaming... I can't even begin to imagine. And I had to leave the job. I worked one weekend. My father made me leave it. There was no discussion, no negotiation, nothing. I had to really leave it. So, he doesn't make me go to work, but he also doesn't let me work. This is something that I would like to do, so that I would be able to set aside some money, because I know that things are difficult... He's doing exactly the same thing [as my grandfather]. Exactly.

The rigid control which some of the participants' parents appeared to exercise over the choices made by their daughters did not appear to exist over the young men in the groups. Many of the male participants described a situation where they had very few restrictions imposed upon them by their parents. One young man in Toronto stated:

"In my experience... both myself and all the guys I know, their parents don't give them any problems. They basically do what they want to do."

Another described the relaxed attitude which his father displayed, the first time he went out with his friends:

When I first told my mom, I was going to go out with my friends somewhere, she got all hysterical. My father was all relaxed on the sofa. Finally, he said 'yeah, you can go', and then I showed up at 4:00 o'clock in the morning, but mom was still there. All hysterical. My father was already in bed.

Despite his father's calm demeanour, this young man nonetheless stated that it was still necessary for him to slowly "break the barriers" to going out with his friends at his own discretion.

One aspect of the tendency of some Portuguese parents to dominate their the dating practices of young people was the difficulty described by some of the participants in Winnipeg and Toronto that some parents have in accepting their children's involvement in intercultural or interracial romances.

The participants in Winnipeg described how Portuguese parents tend to prefer that their children marry those from white, European ethnic groups and from the same cultural and religious background. This may mean that intercultural or interracial couples often have trouble being accepted and integrating. As one participant described it:

"I think that, if Portuguese married a white person.. a white non-Portuguese, it would be much more accepted [than if] they married a non-white... ..person."

One young woman in Toronto described how her previously very “liberal” parents recently shocked her by telling that she should move out of the house, if she did not give up her romance with a non-Portuguese boyfriend:

I’ve been having a lot of problems with my parents lately... And, the main issue is because of my boyfriend, because of the fact that he’s not Portuguese and then they don’t like that, because in their mind, I was supposed to be getting married to someone who was Portuguese. And, the problem got really serious because, my parents, basically about a couple of months ago, told me ‘you either choose the family and leave him, or you choose him and move out’. And then, we decided, we broke up for a while. But we’re now back together again, they don’t know about that. (laughter) And, what they don’t know doesn’t hurt them.

Despite these examples, one participant in Winnipeg remarked that, he felt language and religion were more important factors in determining acceptance by Portuguese parents than race:

I think language and religion are probably the two most important. If you have somebody, even if they are of a totally different race, but they can speak the language and they... ..practice the same religion - and language more so than religion - they’re probably more well accepted. And, we have that example in the community, with [the person] who used to be the pastor of the Portuguese church in our community. He was basically well accepted in the community. And, he was from India.

### **Some Luso-Canadian Parents Do Not Care if Their Children Learn the Portuguese Language and Culture**

Some of the participants in the Winnipeg youth group attributed the phenomenon of the lack of the Portuguese language and culture in the younger generations to the lack of interest of some parents in maintaining their Portuguese heritage. As one participant stated:

I know of some families, for example, their parents just want to become assimilated...Canadian. They don’t teach their kids Portuguese, they don’t come to the Portuguese centre. They just don’t give two hoots. They don’t care what their kids do with their culture.

Another participant felt that this was not an issue which is particular to the Portuguese. According to this man, the majority of young people - of all ethnic groups - don’t focus much attention upon their ethnic background, while many even actively deny their heritage. This occurs regardless of whether or not their parents want to assimilate:

From personal experience, where I work in a Portuguese business, we have parents who come in who can barely get by speaking English, and their children can barely speak Portuguese. And, it seems that, it’s not the parent’s fault, that

they are trying to assimilate, because if they were, they would be more fluent, or at least attempt to be more fluent. And, I don't know if it's the family which is causing the problem. But, I really think it's the youth. And certain youth get pulled, probably, in a different direction, from keeping a strong heritage.

The group in Vancouver also described how some Luso-Canadian parents have actually led their children to reject the Portuguese culture, through their exaggerated focus upon home ownership and work, and by their lack of participation in the activities of their new land.

A few of the focus groups also blamed the disappearance of the Portuguese language and culture on the fact that many Portuguese-Canadian parents do not speak Portuguese at home, to their children and do not make an effort to maintain their cultural and linguistic traditions. In the opinion of a number of participants - including a few of Azorean background - this tendency was especially acute amongst Azorean families. One woman commented on the surprise expressed by her friends and family members at discovering that she is maintaining her children active in the Portuguese community:

I am a mother of three children and I have always had a lot pride in my sons being active in the Portuguese community. However, people with whom I have spoken, including members of my family, and people my own age, are very surprised that I have maintained my children involved with the association, the church, the Portuguese school and other cultural activities.

Another participant, of Azorean descent, also spoke of the loss of her distinctive Azorean culture and of the lack of support which the community itself affords the maintenance of this culture:

Being Azorean, I notice that there is a great lack... [i.e.. a great need] for people to pay more attention to our culture, especially the part of the Azores. This even shocks, at times... The way in which I have my children here, at school, at church, and I see that people are so wrong and that they haven't even been able to understand us. For example, myself, or another person, who wants to bring our children closer [to our culture], we are the ones that are always [told].... 'oh! I don't know why! I don't know why! They're wasting time. And tomorrow they are not even going to speak Portuguese.' I think that this is behind it all in our culture.

People at the meeting in Saskatoon also cited how there seemed to be a lack of interest around the need for a Portuguese school in their region. One participant mentioned how there used to be local classes for Portuguese children, yet they were cancelled for lack of participation. As one woman mentioned:

There does not seem to be an interest in the community to send their children to learn the language, to have the social contact with other children of the same

background, or learn about... their parents' culture. There does not seem to be a unified community.

According to a few of the participants, some of those parents do not speak to their children in Portuguese and do not send them to Portuguese school because they attempt to use these to learn English. One person in Toronto stated: "It is an error which the parents make... many times they use their children to learn English."

Other participants also stated how some parents mistakenly believe that having to learn more than one language will confuse their children, so that their English or French skills will suffer. One woman told her story:

I had friends... who called me vain for wanting that my daughter speak Portuguese, who told me that I would confuse my daughter's head (because I had my daughter at the same time in Portuguese and English school).... I heard so much of this that, one day, I went to my doctor and said: 'Doctor, I came here for the following reason: Do you think that it is harmful for my four-year-old daughter... ..to be in two schools learning Portuguese and English?' And he looked at me, laughed and said, 'Who told you that?' I said 'People tell me.' And he said, 'Don't listen to what people tell you. Any child who is four years old has the capacity to learn four languages at the same time.' From that moment onward, I stopped being worried and my child still speaks both Portuguese and English.

According to participants, the unwillingness of many parents to speak Portuguese at home often results in the loss of the child's ability to speak either language well and in the adoption of their parent's inadequate and incorrect repertoire of English or French. One participant in Quebec City gave this account of one Portuguese father who was trying to raise his children entirely in the French language:

I could never forget one Portuguese who told me that he would never risk speaking Portuguese to his children, because he was afraid that they would have problems in school. And, I say this with all sincerity, this individual's French was horrible.. horrible! Even his Portuguese was full of mistakes. But, his French... he spoke half-Portuguese, half-French. And, he wouldn't risk speaking Portuguese because he was afraid. This was something that I later found out that was constant. People thought that the fact of teaching Portuguese to their children would lead to complications. So they thought 'In that case, I'll speak to them only in French. So the children later would only speak a kind of hybrid language.

Another man in the Ottawa-Hull group explained:

In many cases, the parents speak [a kind of] English that [is unpardonable] (...que aquilo é de dar com um pau em cima). So the child is going to pick up how they say things... that 'slang'... If the father or mother speak English or French well, then it's not too bad. But, it's a problem for the child afterwards,

to speak Portuguese... and, he goes to school already with that word [style of speaking] that is half Portuguese, half English, or half French, that he [heard] from his parents at home.

In order to counter this tendency of parents not to speak Portuguese at home, the people at a few of the meetings spoke of the urgent need to conduct education to parents about the benefits of speaking the language at home, to their children.

Despite also painting a negative picture of the survival of the Portuguese language in their area, the participants in the Maritimes group differed from their counterparts in affirming that many young people in this region had recently become interested in maintaining the Portuguese language. As one young participant mentioned: "...many people don't know how to speak Portuguese, only English... and then, we want to speak to our parents and we aren't able... because its half-Portuguese, half-English." Another young man described how many young people are now wanting to return to Portugal, to find work:

Youth before did not want to learn Portuguese. But, I think that now many young people want to return to Portugal. And now they become more interested in learning Portuguese. They do not like living here anymore...

Another young woman described the length to which she has gone to become familiar with Portuguese "I wanted to learn Portuguese, however, I am learning Spanish because there were no Portuguese classes."

### **The Role of Youth**

A few issues were raised in the focus groups which described the unsatisfactory way in which some of the participants felt that the young people in their community were relating to their parents and to their Portuguese heritage. These issues ranged from families encountering discipline problems with their children, to the presence of a culture and values gap and a sense of cultural duality amongst some Luso-Canadian youth (discussed in a previous section). Some of these groups ascribed at least part of these problems to a widespread lack of interest amongst young Luso-Canadians in their parents' culture or feelings of "shame" and "inferiority," amongst many Luso-Canadian young people, vis-a-vis their Portuguese heritage. However, it is important to note that these points were only raised in the smaller centres, where the community has a much more insignificant profile in the public life of the local society.

### **Many Luso-Canadian Young People Have Little Interest in the Portuguese Language and Culture**

The participants in the focus groups in Winnipeg, Vancouver and Osoyoos, B.C. cited the apparent lack of interest of local youth in the Portuguese language and culture as one of the most salient reasons for the rapid disappearance of the Portuguese presence in their regions. The participants in Osoyoos described how many of the youth in the area are little involved in the activities of the local Portuguese community. The group in Vancouver lamented the fact that many cultural markers were dying out., (such as children kissing parents, etc.). They also stated how, while there are many youth who are "dying to be Portuguese," there are also others who are ashamed of their parents and their traditions. One young man commented: "Lots of young people under the age of 25 to 20, they don't care, you know. They just... pfft...."

### **Luso-Canadian Youth Feel a Sense of "Shame." or "Inferiority" About Their Portuguese Heritage**

A number of the groups spoke about how the cultural duality of youth is often underlain by a sense of "shame" or "inferiority" on the part of Luso-Canadian youth, regarding their origins. One participant in Montreal described how Portuguese youth were often ashamed to acknowledge their Portuguese background and how this prevented them from becoming more involved in community matters. The participants in Quebec City also talked, at length, about how Luso-Canadian youth in their region are often hesitant to recognize their heritage publicly and how they often hold deprecating notions of their parents' culture and values.

### **Discipline Problems Amongst Some Luso-Canadian Young People**

The people in Toronto and Saskatoon spoke about the existence of discipline problems amongst some Luso-Canadian young people and spoke about how these often lead to family conflicts and rebellion. Those in the July Toronto group described this in terms of a "generation gap" between Portuguese children and their parents.

Participants in Saskatoon also cited how hard it was for the Portuguese in this city to control their children and to get orientation for such problems. One person complained that children come home and don't obey their parents: "At home, the parents don't have any control over them." Another participant called for the creation of a local centre which could assist

Portuguese families in these matters.

The young people here, often, don't want to subject themselves to the ideas that the older generation bring to them... it's annoying. Afterwards, there are splits. They start to think that they are already adults... Many times they don't take the best path. It's a situation that no one can do anything about, in my opinion. We try to give the best that we can to our children.... Our children take their own path... It is really a pity that there aren't more Portuguese in this city, that there isn't a centre where people can meet and associate. many times, certain problems which exist, they would exist in the same way... however, they might not be as difficult to bear, as difficult for us to accept; especially for people who have no family support and who feel all alone, in a country that is not totally alien to them, but which still continues to be a bit alien. This is the reason why I say, maybe I won't be here very much longer.

Participants in a number of these groups saw these clashes and discipline problems within the family as signs of a wide cultural gap, or conflict, between Portuguese parents and their children, who are immersed in the culture and values of the host country. They saw this "value conflict" as the main issue behind many of the problems between parents and children (this was also one of the main points identified in the youth focus groups).

### **The Role of Peer and Societal Pressure**

In describing some of the issues which affect the decisions of young Portuguese-Canadians regarding their education, the individuals in this study also discussed a number of issues related to the manner in which societal forces, outside of the Luso-Canadian community may influence these choices. People spoke of such issues as peer pressure, the recruitment of capitalist market forces of consumers and low-paid workers and the disparaging manner in which the Portuguese language and culture is viewed within mainstream Canadian and Quebecois society.

### **Dropping-Out is a Reaction to the Academic and Peer Pressures of School**

When asked his opinion as to why many of his friends dropped out, one participant described how the difficult demands of school combined with peer pressure in the Basic and General levels, where he had studied, worked together to induce Luso-Canadian students to quit school prematurely:

...they just got sick of it... ...they get sick of it and so, the easy way out is just to drop out. That's it. [...] But then, you go out... One guy I know doesn't have a job. How is he going to get a job, after? You tell him to go back. [...] Going back in their 40's, to get their OSSD, or their OAC's.... it's ridiculous...

...also peer pressure, with your friends. One guy's going to think of dropping out, he's going to tell his friend like 'Yeah! Life is so good outside! No pressure. No homework. No nothing.' But, that's not the facts. The fact is, what are you going to have? A job in the future?... ...You're going to have nothing. If I apply for a job now with him, he applies, who's going to get the job? I have a better resumé than he has, because I have a... ...college diploma, and he has nothing.

This participant further described how his friends often pressured him to actions which would prejudice his progress:

I'd just be with them during the day. When they'd go for smokes, I wouldn't go with them... ...Usually, you'd get pressured to leave the class with them, to skip off. They'd go 'oh, if you don't skip off, you're not part of the gang.' I never did that. What's the point of doing that. You're in class for something.

### **Capitalist Market Forces Induce Young People to Prematurely Become Consumers and Workers**

Some participants blamed the North American capitalist economy for creating a situation where young people receive immediate rewards for leaving school and few for delaying their gratification and acquiring a higher education. According to one participant in Winnipeg, the twin demands of North American industry for cheap labour and their need to tap the youth consumer market have created the situations that actively incite young people to engage in immediate consumption. This particularly affects lower-class youth, since these must enter into a much greater and longer phase of delayed material gratification than their middle-class counterparts, before they are finally able to purchase those goods to which they aspire. According to this person, this is a major factor which leads Luso-Canadian students to drop out of school prematurely:

Any boy, today, at sixteen years of age is offered his licence. And, they offer him the licence not for the sake of offering him anything, but, in order to give him an instrument, so that he can start spending money; and, for him to start spending money, in order to work; and in order to work, to take the place of an adult; to work without any benefits; and so, in order to work at night, during the day, on Saturday, on Sunday, at any time, with a minimum salary, without any guarantees... And the boy continues being deceived. Because, he continues making money to buy a car. His life is made extremely easy. At eighteen years of age, he can go drink a beer. At sixteen, he can cruise around in a car [...] It's extremely easy. And, it's much more pleasant for a boy - if he doesn't have a strong preparation and a source of very strong support - to go to work to have a car, than to continue studying, without having a car. But, what's needed is to say to them that, when they get to be twenty years of age, and they become men, they are going to be fired from this job. Because this job has to be given

to another sixteen-year-old boy.

In a related comment, one young person described how many Luso-Canadian youth rebel against their parents' focus upon work and against the lifestyle sacrifices that are demanded of their family, in order to purchase a home. According to this participant, this tendency has contributed to the dropout rate, since - while many young people see schooling as one way to a better life - many others are no longer willing to put off doing and buying the things which they have always been denied.

According to the first participant, what is needed to counter this tendency in the community is a "revolution in mentalities," as well as the concerted placement of Portuguese-Canadians in positions of responsibility, where they can help to change these ideals and this capitalist system.

### **Disparaging Treatment of the Portuguese Language and Culture by Canadian Society-at-Large**

The people in a number of the meetings attributed the problems of cultural duality amongst Luso-Canadian youth to the disparaging manner in which Portuguese-Canadians are sometimes regarded in this country. This was a theme that was particularly stressed in the meetings held in the province of Quebec. As one young woman in Quebec City stated:

[sometimes an older person says to a child] 'Sing in Portuguese' or, 'Do this in Portuguese' Sometimes this can be very amusing, very nice, but it is also very hard on a young person.... A young person does not like to be conspicuous, so what does he do? He puts himself at the level of everyone else... He stops speaking Portuguese. He starts doing exactly as others do, or else... The example of my brother is very good to show this. They called us names. My brother reacted in such a fashion that he always spoke French, so that he would never give the impression that he was of any other origin but French.

People also attributed these feelings to the discriminatory fashion in which the Portuguese language, culture and history are treated, in mainstream Quebec society. One person in Quebec City offered the following example from his own daughter's schooling:

My daughter had a series of problems with a teacher, because she discovered that he didn't teach history correctly. So... she started by confronting this teacher.... she got home and asked me for a number of pages of a survey which I had done on the Portuguese in North America and took it to school to show the teacher. This history teacher had never seen this. He did not know why Newfoundland was Terra Nova', and did not know why Labrador was named 'Labrador', why the Bay of Fundy was called the Bay of Fundy...

The participant continued:

No one knows that Jacques Cartier had a Portuguese captain and that the daily journal of Jacques Cartier was written in Portuguese and that what he knew he had learned in Portugal. No one knows anything about this. These are historical facts that... are present in our lives and that, when these are shown [to youth], they illustrate that the Portuguese have a history to be proud of, a unique history...

For these reasons, participants in a number of groups, and particularly those in Quebec City, Ottawa-Hull, the Maritimes, Northern Ontario and Vancouver stressed the importance of educating the community's young people to the contributions which the Portuguese have made to Canadian history and in promoting the Portuguese language and culture.

### **The Role of School Policies and Practices**

In describing some of the issues surrounding the underachievement problem, some people in this study pointed to the school system, and its practices. These individuals commented upon a perceived lack of support on the part of schools, towards Portuguese students, parents and the Portuguese culture.

### **The Lack of Responsiveness Of The School System**

Participants across the country voiced a number of concerns regarding the way in which their children were being educated in local schools. The majority of people voiced the belief that their local schools were too lax in discipline. They also spoke disapprovingly of Canadian child-protection laws and procedures, which they believed outlawed spanking in the home and, thus, did not allow many people from giving their children a proper moral education. While many of the participants readily acknowledged that there are certain parents who use excessive measures in disciplining their children and while virtually all said that they have never had problems with their own sons and daughters, they also voiced their perception that Canadian practices exaggerated too far in the other direction. They felt these laws disempowered parents from giving their children proper discipline and they believed they also set some young people against their own parents. The groups also voiced other concerns related to the manner in which local schools failed to relate to Portuguese parents and students and to the Portuguese culture.

### **Portuguese-Canadian parents perceive a lack of discipline and moral education in local schools.**

Despite the prominence which was given to the issue of underachievement, the Portuguese-Canadians who participated in this study generally did not look to the schools for an explanation for this problem. Rather, the most often repeated complaint that was levelled against the education system was how local schools failed to discipline their children effectively.

Participants in one of the Toronto groups mentioned the existence of the “generation gap,” a fact which they often attributed to a perceived lack of discipline and the dearth of moral education in Canadian schools. Participants at the meeting complained about how children in school today are allowed to smoke in school and to wear “provocative” clothing. Another man spoke of the disrespectful way in which he perceives the schools have taught his son to relate to authority:

I speak in a soft tone to him and he [tells me off]. And I speak to him in this tone, almost with my heart in my hands [in a pleading tone]. So, for me, there doesn't exist any education in school... within our schools themselves.

Some of the participants in Saskatoon attributed the problems in disciplining young people to the lack of moral education in local schools. One person suggested that the churches should work more closely with the schools. Another woman stated:

The Canadian government has to take a little bit more seriously the problems that families are having in educating their kids. The schools have to take a little bit more responsibility in teaching kids what's right and what's wrong. They spend more time at school than they do at home, and most parents have to work, they have no choice.... If the Canadian government wants to solve some of the future problems that they will have, with these kids, is to educate them between what's right and what's wrong in school and take more responsibility in that, because the parents cannot do it by themselves.... sooner or later its going to hurt the country.

### **Schools are not working with Portuguese-Canadian parents to keep these informed and to reflect their wishes regarding their children's education.**

Another criticism of the education system was how schools did not allow parents the freedom to take actions which these deemed necessary to help their children academically. One participant in the July Toronto meeting also gave an example of how his request to transfer his son from one school to another was repeatedly denied:

I wanted to change my son from one school to another, exactly because of a serious attendance problem that he was having. I submitted the papers, all the papers to transfer him.... the school refused him. Every day they refused him. Every day he couldn't go to school... He was three months at home without attending school.

Another woman echoed a similar story:

I had my oldest girl in this school, and the youngest in another, and I wanted to put both in the same school. They did not let me withdraw her to transfer her to another. I think this is wrong.

Another complaint from the group in Quebec was how schools were not doing a good job of informing Portuguese parents about the functioning of the education system and about important changes.

**Schools are ignoring the wishes of Portuguese-Canadian parents, regarding the manner in which they would like their children to be taught and disciplined.**

Although participants in all three Toronto meetings placed the bulk of the responsibility for the underachievement problem on the attitudes and practices of Portuguese parents, a few individuals in two of the groups also voiced concerns regarding the way in which their local schools were providing service to the community. Some of the participants - like those in one of the Toronto groups - blamed the values and culture gap between Luso-Canadian parents and youth on the lack of discipline and moral education that they believed exists in Canadian schools. These parents felt that their local schools did not discipline students effectively. At the same time, they also felt that these did not allow parents to exercise control over their children in such issues as home discipline and the freedom to send their children to the school of their choice.

### **Schools Are Not Inclusive of the Diversity of Canada's Ethnic Cultures**

Another criticism of the education system was the way in which the contributions of the diverse Canadian ethnic groups in the formation of Canada were not being taught to children.

One participant lamented:

The teaching of the history of Canada, for example, or the history of Quebec, teaches us also about the role which the Portuguese have played, or that other ethnic communities have played in the development of the country - which is something that is completely lacking in today's curriculum.

### **Many Schools Are Not Prepared to Serve Working-Class Students and Parents**

The participants in Quebec City and Hamilton also criticized the education system for contributing to underachievement, by affirming that the schools in their region are not really prepared to serve working-class, minority-language parents such as the Portuguese, or to deal effectively with the problems of immigrant students. Some of the participants in Hamilton also mentioned the “culture shock” which many students and teachers encounter when dealing with each other in school. Another participant in Quebec told the story of an acquaintance who was allowed to immigrate to that province and who completed one year in a local secondary school, but was later rejected entrance into a French-language C.E.G.E.P., on the basis of his lack of French. This participant appealed to the school on behalf of this student by saying: “You want the immigrants who arrive to speak French, but you refuse them in the C.E.G.E.P., because they don’t speak French. This makes no sense at all.”

### **The School System Makes it Extremely Difficult for Students in Basic and General Levels of Study to Move to a Higher Level**

From the discussion of some of the participants, it also became apparent that, under the current system of streaming secondary school students into different levels of study based on ability levels, the school system places severe barriers to the advancement of Basic- and General-level students, who who want to progress to levels where they will be eligible to enter post-secondary education. Two of the participants in the Toronto group described being forced to repeatedly start again, and repeat previous academic years, in their attempts to enter the Advanced level. One young woman told her story:

When I first came to Canada, what the school did to me was incredible. Because I didn’t know how to speak English, they put me in the General level, when I started high-school. And then, I started getting really high marks above people who were born here. And then, I tried to go on to the Advanced, for the following year, and then they told me I had to start all over again. So, instead of putting me in advanced grade 10, they made me take all Advanced grade 9. So I repeated grade 9 with all General, then I repeated Grade 9 with all advanced, before I could move on... ..I graduated, I think with 52 (credits). I took spares in summer schools, and everything... ..And then, at graduation they gave me a best achievement award, because I kept on going back and tried to raise myself up.... ..Because they wouldn’t let me just go to straight Advanced...

Another participant described the same barriers, in his attempts to advance from Basic level

studies:

The same thing happened to me. I went from Grade 9 Basic to 10 Basic and then 9 General to 12 General, 9 Advanced, 12 Advanced, plus 13 Advanced... ...And same thing with English. So, basically, I got 49 credits in high-school. Basically, half of those were English and Maths... ...Plus 3 honour rolls. Which could have been avoided if they didn't label me that way.

### **There is Labelling and Condescending Treatment of General and Basic-level Students**

Participants in Toronto also described the effects of labelling on General and Basic-level students and how this may lead to many of them dropping out. The same young man in Toronto illustrated how he was labelled by his teachers, the struggle which he went through to escape from Basic and General level studies and the difficulty which this caused in his relationship with his parents:

They labelled me as a basic student, so the teachers kind of tried to push me towards lower education, but, I strived, with my parents... I have the will and I got grade 13 math and grade 13 English. Now, I'm... ...not a good speaker... ...I'd go home every time and complain to my parents. My parents would say... 'stick with it, go ahead with it, just think of it... ...the more education you have, the better it's going to be for you', so I kept going, going, going... Every day, at home, we'd have a fight or something about... school, or whatever. I take it out on them ... ...I'm supposed to take it out on the teachers, but... I just try to do the best I can.

Another participant highlighted what he witnessed to be the condescending manner in which students are treated in Basic and General levels:

I remember taking a general interest, auto mechanics course, that was offered by Brockton, [a former Basic-level school] when Brockton used to be around. And [the teacher] used to tell us that, this is the material that they used for grade 10 or grade 11 auto mechanics. Some of the things that you noticed, just being used to advanced courses, is really the condescending way that they treat those students. Like, you'd get handouts, and... ...it would have multiple choice questions. It would say something like 'circle the answer in a **RED** pen', like highlighted, in capital letters. And what is that, 'In a **RED** pen'? I mean, it's just, little things like that, you notice. And, I can tell, even though I never took a course at those other levels, I could tell if you were taking something at basic and general, you know, that people do see you and do label you as not very smart. And, obviously, if people are doing that all throughout school, it's going to rub off on you and you're going to start seeing yourself like that.

### **The Teaching of E.S.L. is Conducted Through Inappropriate Teaching Styles**

One man described how monotonous teaching styles often drive many people from language classes:

Many times, an immigrant will stop learning a language, not because he is not able to learn, or because the teachers are not eager to teach, but simply because it becomes monotonous, and the teaching-style is unpleasant.

### **There is a Lack of Accessible Child-Care, for Those Luso-Canadians Who Would Like to Learn English**

The lack of child care was also cited as one reason why some Portuguese-Canadian parents have never learned English. One woman described the difficulties which many women had in leaving their children in daycare, in order to attend language classes:

...many women arrived in Canada with children.... They did not know anyone and they weren't going to let their children alone at home to go to school.

Participants in Hamilton, Osoyoos B.C. and the Maritimes also spoke about the need to create affordable daycare for the Luso-Canadian children in their regions. In Hamilton, and the Maritimes people mentioned how there is a need for a daycare, where children can have exposure to the Portuguese language and culture. One participant in Osoyoos, B.C. mentioned that, in his location, there was only one daycare, which was also very expensive. This participant cited how a couple with two children would be better off quitting their jobs to raise their children, as they would lose more money by continuing to work and placing their sons and daughters in the available daycare.

### **Some Schools Discourage the Maintenance of the Portuguese Language, Culture and Identity**

When asked whether their schools fostered, or discouraged, the development of a sense of their Portuguese identity, participants in the Winnipeg youth focus group stated that this depended upon the nature of the particular school and whether or not there is a large Portuguese student presence. The group felt that, the climate and practices of certain schools reinforced ethnic identity, while the environment in others actively dissuaded the expression of the ethnic differences between students. As one young woman explained:

I have friends who went to... how do I put it?... totally 'white' schools, with very few immigrants - in the south part of Winnipeg - who had to get

assimilated, where they could not bring out their own culture. It was just not the thing to do. Because no one really understood. If you tried, no one would understand what you were doing. So you would have to assimilate yourself. And, when you were asked 'what are you', [you would say] 'I'm Canadian'. 'Well, what are your parents?', 'Well, they're Portuguese. But, I'm Canadian.' But, if you went to a school like my sister and I... a multicultural school, all different races. We have our multicultural events, and we are encouraged to speak Portuguese.

Another young woman felt that her experiences in school definitely did not encourage the maintenance of her Portuguese identity.

[My] Elementary school... ..was half Ukrainian and half English. All the little things we had happening in the school was all Ukrainian and that was it, just English and Ukrainian. And, when I went into high-school, it was French and English, and that was it...

The people at this meeting were of the opinion that the maintenance of a strong cultural identity was important for the development of most Luso-Canadian youth. They described how those youth who have a strong and positive Portuguese-Canadian identity tend to do well in many of their endeavours. However, they also mentioned how it was very hard for young people who attended schools with very few Portuguese to assert their ethnic identity, since - as one participant explained - most young people "...are very vulnerable at that age. And they don't want to be the odd person out."

### **The Role of Government Policies**

While commenting on disadvantaging school policies and procedures, the participants in this study also attributed some of these practices to the presence of certain government policies, which impacted negatively upon the education of the community's children.

### **Current Child-Protection Laws and Practices Prevent Luso-Canadian Parents from Effectively Disciplining Their Children**

At the same time that participants complained of the lax discipline in their local schools, many of the participants, across various groups, also voiced a deep resentment that current Canadian child-protection laws and the procedures practised in school when confronted with cases of physical punishment disempowered parents from disciplining their children and often unfairly accused innocent individuals of being guilty of child-abuse. A participant in the July

Toronto meeting gave his view of the attitude towards the corporal punishment of children in Canada: "In this country, we can't touch them. And when we do, we always run into problems."<sup>7</sup> Another man in the November Toronto meeting said:

...teachers are a little - how should I say this? - hard on parents and not on children. In this country, a father has a son, sends him to school, the son, for whatever reason, is bad...he gets to school, tells the teacher that his father hit him, then they go and take that father to jail. Well this is a very wrong thing. The first thing above all is that the father should discipline the child at home, but the teacher should back what the father does. Instead, it is the opposite. The father who is trying to educate his son, if he gives him a little "nudge", the son gets to school and the teacher sends the police to pick up the father. This happened with a case that I know.... a child that was very rebellious, our neighbour.... one day he hit his leg and went to school and told the teacher that his father had hit him. And, the teacher.... they went to his home, asking questions of the father, and to the boys, if the father normally beat his children.... This is something which is not right... If the neighbours had not said 'no, no, the boy is bad. He does this and that', the poor man would have gone to jail. Is this right? No, it is not. In this respect, Canada is very backward... Very!

One man in Ottawa-Hull compared the Canadian and Portuguese styles of discipline and complained of what he believed was the general attitude in Canadian schools regarding corporal punishment:

...the European style of discipline is much better than the Canadian. If a mother grabs her child, or without wanting to, gives him a hard pinch, or pulls his ear... [the child]... says 'I'm going to call the police...' Why? Because... in terms of discipline they are extremely protected. In their own school... they tell them, 'if your mother happens to pull your ear, phone the police, or come to school and tell me.' So, a social system is created that is so geared towards the child that she feels protected by that system. And, what's happening today amongst Canadian youth? Robberies, murders, violence... because they have all the protection. Canadian society itself is saying 'How is it possible at this moment for Canadian youth to be in this state, to be doing such insane things?'

Another woman at this meeting stated:

If any of my children told me 'I'm going to call the police...' I would immediately pick up the telephone, dial the number and [say] 'Now, talk to the police and, when the police get here, take me in front of them, so that they can see for themselves.'

One group of participants lamented:

P1- How do you expect them to give [students] good direction if the School Boards will not permit this. They permit something which is totally different

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<sup>7</sup> It must be noted, however, that despite their criticisms of the manner in which schools regarded discipline and physical punishment by parents, the participants in both groups also acknowledged freely that there were some parents who abused their children and that this was very wrong.

than what we believe, than that which is our mentality?

P2 - In school the discipline ('educação) that they give them is to tell students 'If your father hits you...'

P1 - That's exactly it!

p2 - That's the education that they give students.

One individual in Montreal stated:

I do not agree very much with the education system.... with regards to discipline. I don't agree that one should be asked to enrol one's child in 'Religion and Morality' ... and what is the moral that is given to children? The first message on morality that they give to children is 'if your father should give you a slap in the face, come and tell us or call the police...'

...at home we give our children one kind of education [i.e.. in terms of discipline] and when they get to school, they receive exactly the opposite. So, it is not even worth enrolling our children in 'Religion and Morality'. That is not 'morality' that is an 'immorality'. So, they - instead of... teaching children, educating [in terms of discipline] - no... they are going back on the discipline that the parent is giving at home.

One person in the Ottawa-Hull meeting spoke at length of the need to explain current child-abuse laws and practices to Portuguese parents and to give them workable alternatives to physical punishment. According to this man, when a child is removed from the home, there is a shock between the Portuguese family and the justice system:

... [They say] 'But, what's this? Am I not the father of these children any more?' They don't understand... ..this is one of the biggest problems that I have encountered, in my experience, the lack of knowledge amongst parents about how to discipline their children, that there are alternative methods, not only [the one] of physically abusing their son or daughter, and that they have to know the laws of Canada well, that this is a criminal offence, that they may be sent to prison, as was the case with one Portuguese... If there was a [professional counsellor] who could not only help our people, giving them advice and therapy, but who could also be a mediator between these government bodies and Portuguese families, to explain, provide information and educate...

The participant suggested that seminars could be given at the beginning of the school year, to inform parents of these issues and to tell parents how to help their children in their academic achievement.

Participants in one group also engaged in a debate about possible solutions to the issues concerning the education of Portuguese youth. One possibility - which was suggested by one participant, specifically in relation to improving the contradiction between the permissiveness found in official schools and the more rigid authority demanded by Portuguese parents - was the maintenance of private schools for the community's children. Another alternative was for

the full government funding of Saturday morning Portuguese schools. This participant called upon the Congress to help local Portuguese schools secure such funding.

### **Portuguese Youth Are Excluded as Target Groups for “Affirmative-Action” and “Anti-Racist” Initiatives**

A particularly contentious issue with some of the younger participants in the Vancouver and Maritimes groups was that, while they felt that the community suffered under many of the same structural discrimination and problems of access to education as visible minorities, they were not covered by the same “anti-racist” and “affirmative action” programmes that are designed to address those issues. According to some in the Vancouver group, this discourages many Portuguese youth from continuing to post-secondary education. One young man described how the experience of seeing himself excluded from these programmes adversely influenced his decision to enter medical school:

Myself, I wanted to go to Medical School, two years ago. And, I started looking, and I see all these little things, if you're a visible minority. If you're coloured, this, or if you're handicapped, or if you're a native Indian. All these items are for a minority, you have better chances for a scholarship, you have better chances to get in. And I stopped. I wanted to go into medicine and I stopped. I wanted to go into medicine because, I think I'm a very people-person... ..And, because of that, I thought medicine would be my perfect job, or lifestyle. And I can't... I know because I'm going to be treated as just a white Canadian man, which not that they're prejudiced against, but, other people are given more chances.

Another participant in the Maritimes stated how Portuguese families are often amongst the lowest wage earners in this country and affirmed that, consequently, tuition fee increases would affect people in this community to a greater degree than those in the mainstream. On this basis, he made the following appeal for the Portuguese to be included in government programmes to assist educational equity:

...a lot of people - as in the Black association - may have certain scholarships... that help them along. I think that we should have something to help us.... the black students get all this help... we're not a visible minority, or anything, but, in some aspects, I think that we should be getting some help from someone.

Thus, these groups called upon educational institutions and government to regard Portuguese students as eligible minorities for those programmes.

They also raised a call for colleges and universities to facilitate the entrance of

Portuguese students who sought to serve within their community as professionals. Towards these aims, some of the participants urged the Congress to negotiate with post-secondary institutions for the adoption of guarantees of access to higher education for Portuguese youth. For example, universities entrance procedures should be altered to give credit to those applicants with unique linguistic abilities; ones which are needed to work in under serviced communities. Participants felt that this would be the best way to assure that there would be enough Portuguese-speaking professionals to service the aging community.

### **The Lack of Adequate Government Support for the Teaching and Promotion of the Portuguese Language and Culture**

One issue which was seen by a number of the groups as contributing to the problem of the loss of the Portuguese language and culture from their region was the lack of promotion of cultural activities in their area, and in particular the lack of government support for the teaching of the Portuguese language and for the promotion of local cultural activities. The largest single group of specific responses (27 answers) to the answer on educational issues in the questionnaire were those that cited the lack of structures and facilities for the teaching and promotion of Portuguese. People commented on the lack of teachers, classroom space, material support and the non-existence of activities for the promotion of the Portuguese language and culture.

This issue was also raised quite frequently in the focus groups, where people regarded this mostly as a cultural, rather than educational, issue. The participants in outlying regions such as Osoyoos, B.C., Sault Ste. Marie and Sudbury, Ontario, the Maritimes as well as Winnipeg, Manitoba decried the historic lack of assistance on the part of the Portuguese government for the creation of Portuguese schools in their areas and for the promotion of the Portuguese culture and language, in general. The participants in Osoyoos, B.C., Sault Ste. Marie and in the Maritimes specifically cited the need to bring to their regions a Portuguese teacher who could begin teaching the language to the community's children. They also mentioned the need to provide the necessary support, in the form of books and other school material in the Portuguese language. Participants in Osoyoos saw the introduction of a Portuguese school in the area as one small step which could help to stem the rapid

disappearance of the Portuguese culture in the region. Meanwhile, participants in the Maritimes specifically appealed to the communities in Montreal and Toronto, to help send qualified people to teach in this location. They mentioned that, while there is currently one woman who teaches Portuguese to community children, her services are too expensive and, because she is Brazilian, she is teaching their children Brazilian - rather than European - Portuguese.

Participants in Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie also commented how there is very little support for Portuguese cultural activities, in the Northern Portuguese communities. Those in Sault Ste. Marie complained that sports events are practically the only activities of any merit which are organized locally. People here cited how there should be more events which bring people together to celebrate and express their ethnic identity. Others lamented the general lack of "*Portuguese culture*", especially amongst the younger generations in this region. One man in Sault Ste. Marie pleaded for more assistance for the local community:

The help which we have had until now from the Portuguese government has been very little. We've had some help, but it's been very little. There is some help in Toronto, because there are many Portuguese there and more possibilities. I assume that we should have more help... or that we should have someone looking out for us. Just because we are far away, we should not be so far from our community... In this way, we're getting further from our own people. We're all alone... We need to have Portuguese culture. Our children need to learn our Portuguese language.

The group in Osoyoos called for the Portuguese and Canadian governments to support their local cultural activities (ex. sports events, ethnic festivals) with funds or even with other material aid.

One participant in Sault Ste. Marie attempted to account for this lack of cultural activity by referring to the fact that the Portuguese usually earn much less than those from other groups. As a result, they spend a lot of time working, taking care of the family and thus, don't have time to travel, to enjoy life and to have more diverse cultural experiences. As this participant stated: "Other cultures... have more money, more monetary resources, in which they don't have to worry as much as we do."

The group in Montreal also raised a concern about the declining support on the part of Canada's governments for the cultures and languages of this country's ethnic and racial minorities. As one participant stated: "There is a tendency to amalgamate all of the ethnic groups in a type of 'melting pot... They are not too interested that we continue to promote our

cultures of origin....“ The same participant went on to wax poetic on the situation of the increasingly scarce and unreliable government funding for these activities: ”The time passes between the falling of a few raindrops - when it rains at all - and we don’t even take notice...”

Related to this was the call of a few participants for Canadian government subsidies to be granted to Portuguese private schools; as one participant noted: “...to the same extent as the Jewish, Greek schools etc...” Participants urged the Congress to assist local schools in applying for these subsidies.

Despite calling for more funds for the promotion of the Portuguese cultural activities, participants in Sudbury were of differing opinions regarding where this money should originate. Some felt that the Portuguese government could distribute funds for such projects, while others thought that the Canadian government should play a part. One participant outlined her view of the responsibility of the Portuguese community itself, in this matter:

...there is a great lack of Portuguese culture, exactly because there are no funds. Despite this fact, I think that we should not impose [on the Canadian government], a government which is already hard-pressed to give us funds. We - as Portuguese who feel a lack of Portuguese theatres or movies, or of other cultural exhibitions - should make the effort to get these things ourselves. Because, every time that we ask the Canadian government to give us funds for a cultural activity, without us fundraising ourselves, we are also imposing on the government a lack of money for other educational projects....

This same participant also mentioned how Portuguese immigrants should apply their money in Canada, instead of sending it to Portugal, as one way of investing in their presence in Canada and of aiding the promotion of Portuguese culture in this country.

### **The Inadequacy of Portuguese-Government Support for the Teaching and Promotion of the Portuguese Language and Culture**

The people in various meetings across the country attributed some portion of the blame for the cultural conflict, the feelings of duality and “shame” on the part of young Portuguese-Canadians to the fact that the Portuguese government has traditionally provided very little cultural and linguistic support to the smaller and more remote Portuguese-Canadian communities. For example, participants in Ottawa-Hull lamented the fact that many Portuguese youth have never been made familiar with the Portuguese culture and language and cited this as one reason for the “confusion” of these young people. Another participant in Quebec City

attested to the fact that Portuguese youth "...don't have any notion of the richness of Portuguese history." People in a number of cities, such as Edmonton, also attributed the lack of involvement of youth in Portuguese cultural activities to the lack of promotion of the Portuguese language and culture amongst youth.

In fact, some evidence to support this point of view (and to illustrate the value of cultural and linguistic promotion) is provided by the fact that these issues of (i.e.. cultural duality, conflict and "shame") were much more often cited as problems by the groups in the smaller and outlying communities than by those in the major centres.

### **The Lack of Portuguese-Language Television, (ex. CFMT, RTP on cable), in the Remote Communities**

A related issue in some of the remote communities, such as Sudbury and Sault Ste. Marie, was the lack of Portuguese-language television, which could serve people in the region. One participant Sault Ste. Marie spoke of how other communities in the region, who are in even smaller numbers than the Portuguese, are served by their own programmes, while the Portuguese are not: "The Spanish have a television programme by way of Telelatino and they are in much fewer numbers than us... What is the reason that we couldn't also have one through the same television programme?"

### **Some E.S.L. Programmes are not Open to Canadian Citizens**

Another participant also described how the eligibility requirements of some E.S.L. programmes make these inaccessible to many of the Portuguese. In particular, this person mentioned how the rules of the local LINC Programme (Language Instruction for Newcomers to Canada, sponsored by Human Resources Development Canada), do not allow Canadian citizens to participate in the programme and thus effectively bar those Portuguese who have acquired citizenship from attending classes. According to this participant, many older immigrants did not have the opportunity when they arrived in this country to receive E.S.L. instruction, because of work or family commitments. However, now that they have the opportunity and the desire to learn, they find themselves ineligible for such classes:

There is an organization... ...which offers classes in the English language for people that are isolated. However, there is a problem: The person must be Portuguese and can't be Canadian. But, in our community we have people that

have been here for many years... ..and we can't place our Portuguese of forty or fifty years of age, who might now want [to learn English], who now have the opportunity, who have already raised their children, who have become independent... ..because access is not given to us. It is denied to us.

This individual went on to express his disappointment with the Congress and other Portuguese-Canadian organizations for never having raised issues such as this with the Canadian government.

### **Summary**

The issues described in the previous pages by the Luso-Canadians that are scattered throughout this country, served both to reinforce as well as highlight the impressions that were conveyed through the census statistics of the previous chapter. This was that, this community is isolated and marginalized from an active participation in Canadian society by its disproportionately low educational profile as well as by its mostly unskilled, working-class status. People described as their main problems such educational issues, as the lack of English and French proficiency, the academic underachievement of the community's youth and their social reproduction into the same economic roles as their parents. Economic problems that were cited included the high rate of unemployment, the community's concentration in low-status, low-paying jobs, lack of skills upgrading and financial difficulties. People also felt that many community members did not attempt to integrate themselves into Canadian society and that Luso-Canadian youth often experience conflict (or lack of communication with their parents). Sterotyping and discrimination was mentioned as a prevalent issue, but mainly in Quebec. Participants also lamented the community's lack of participation in the political process and its consequent problems, such as lack of appropriate services. Disunity and division amongst community members was another problem which was said not to allow people the ability to mobilize on important issues. People further lamented the lack of promotion of the Portuguese language and culture, and the subsequent isolation and imminent disappearance of the small Luso-Canadian communities.

Finally, the participants also discussed, at length, some of the roles and attitudes of the Portuguese community, parents, youth as well as those of schools, society and government, in perpetuating these problems. Many people attributed the presence of these marginalizing issues to certain attitudes and practices that were prevalent amongst community members, who did not

involve themselves in their children's education, politics, job retraining, or the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture. However, other also mentioned structural-societal causes, such as lack of discipline in schools, lack of proactive government policies at the promotion of the Portuguese language, etc.

Yet, most people also felt that the community's difficulties can only be resolved by the promotion within the community of more education, especially with regards to learning the official languages, the promotion of higher education amongst the community's youth and their parents and the seeking out of job-retraining programmes. Throughout their discussions, community members also described the links between the community's continued marginalization and the large numbers of the community's youth which are failing to achieve an adequate secondary and post-secondary education.

## **CHAPTER 10**

### **DISCUSSION**

#### **Introduction**

In beginning this dissertation with my personal experiences on the road to university, I attempted to illustrate the importance, which the personal and subjective interpretations of my existential situation had upon the educational choices that I encountered, as I was growing up in the Toronto of the 1970's. I also introduced the notion that these interpretations - and in particular the perceptions which I held regarding the identity and roles which I could occupy - were not so much influenced by the cultural incongruities which I had to negotiate, or by my own feelings of cultural duality, as they were by my interpretations of the conflicting expectations and assumptions of my home, school and society. Finally, I also speculated on how these expectations, assumptions and identity definitions were often generated by unequal relationships of social status and power between Luso-Canadian and mainstream society, as well as by the juxtaposition of these with ethnicity and social class.

Many of these same points were also raised in the preceding pages, by the Luso-Canadians who participated in this study. In identifying the most important concerns, attitudes and practices that are affecting their community, these individuals have illustrated how the juxtaposition of certain economic, educational, social and cultural factors within the Luso-Canadian community has created a set of conditions which perpetuate their ongoing problems.

Firstly, they have illustrated how a great many of the Portuguese throughout this country are living on the social, political, cultural, educational and economic fringes of Canadian life, with the result that a whole community is thus marginalized from the affairs of Canadian mainstream society.

Secondly, they have suggested that there exists an intimate and reciprocal relationship between this marginalization and the ongoing educational problems of Luso-Canadian children. In essence, the individuals who contributed to this project regarded the community's marginalized status as well as the youth underachievement problem as interrelated and interdependent realities, which are "feeding off" of each other in a self-perpetuating cycle of disadvantage. This relationship is strongly suggested through my story, in the sense that one of

the factors which most strongly influenced my - and my friends' - educational decisions in the 1970's and 1980's was the difficulty in conceptualizing, or identifying with, a place for ourselves as Portuguese-Canadians, outside of our community's marginalized social and occupational "niche."

Thirdly, these individuals have raised concerns that the community's educational deficit is directly leading to the wholesale "social reproduction" of an entirely new generation of young Luso-Canadians, who are beginning to occupy, en-masse, the same marginalized occupational and social roles which their parents currently inhabit. Many of these people focussed on the need to deal with this educational problem by combating the community's marginalization, through a greater educational, political and cultural promotion. It was exactly for this reason that many also lamented the fact that little, or nothing, is being accomplished, either by the various governments or the community, towards these ends.

Their concerns suggest that the way to tackle the issue of underachievement amongst the Luso-Canadian community - and possibly other minority groups - is to better understand and treat the issues that lay behind the marginalization of this group (as opposed to developing new school-based approaches). By understanding the role which the social, cultural and economic marginalization of the Portuguese in Canada plays in influencing their vision of themselves and their place in society, we may better comprehend the educational choices of their members.

Yet, one of the prevailing theories on minority underachievement, the Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance, postulated by John Ogbu (Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998) (also often referred to as "caste theory" or the "theory of castelike minorities") plays down the importance of the marginalization issue by asserting that immigrant groups, such as the Portuguese, who have come their new lands voluntarily, are able to overcome the effects of discrimination, isolation or cultural differences and to ultimately succeed in school. Ogbu's theory focusses mainly - and excessively - on the mechanisms by which minority groups have come to be marginalized, as well as on the communal attitudes of those minorities which have historically lived within, and been oppressed by, a dominant and hegemonic majority. In this fashion, it neglects to examine the mechanisms and the results of marginalization, in general, and in particular the power which

role and identity definitions have in determining the educational choices of minority members. For this reason, it fails to adequately explain, and account for, the situation of the Portuguese in Canada.

The following section will describe how the community's marginalized condition both gives rise to, and is itself perpetuated by, the underachievement of the community's youth. A subsequent section will describe how the case of the Portuguese in Canada does not fit neatly into Ogbu's voluntary/involuntary dichotomy and how their example points the way to focussing on the mechanisms of marginalization, (rather than the mechanisms, historical or otherwise, by which a group has come to be marginalized). In the last section, I will describe how the theories of Paulo Freire (1970, 1994) best explain the situation of the Portuguese in Canada, and how it describes a means of approaching the underachievement problem, by addressing the community's marginalization.

### **The Multifaceted Marginalization of Luso-Canadians**

The isolation, self-containment and segregation of immigrant communities is not a new phenomenon. Many groups who have entered this country have experienced some measure of marginalization from mainstream life, by virtue of the difficulties which they initially encountered with differences in language, customs, or inequalities of opportunities (Burnet & Palmer, 1988). Yet, over time, most of those immigrants who reached Canada before the late 1960's (when discriminatory immigration policies were abandoned) have managed to integrate into all but the highest echelons of Canadian economic and political power. In describing the growing influence in the 1960's of the "Third Force" of Canadians (i.e. those from neither English, nor French roots), Burnet and Palmer (1988) stated:

The fact that the government heeded the pressure of lobbyists for the other ethnic groups is an indication that those groups had already gained economic and political strength [...] Now they included senators, members of Parliament, prominent and wealthy business people, academics and public servants. (Burnet & Palmer, 1988, p. 224)

Many of these groups had been marginalized at the time of their arrival by virtue of one, or more, of such factors as: language (ex. Ukrainians); religion (ex. Jews); education (ex. Irish); or race (ex. Japanese). Yet, few of these groups who have entered this country voluntarily have experienced the same degree, confluence, or severity of marginalizing factors

as that which characterized the Portuguese community.

Firstly, the Portuguese in Canada have been marginalized by the high proportions of individuals in the community with low education levels. While most immigrant groups to this country had some measure of representation from the diverse economic and educational sectors of their societies of origin, the Portuguese who have traditionally emigrated from Portugal have originated disproportionately from amongst the poorest and least educated segments of Portuguese society, mostly from the ranks of agricultural and unskilled workers (Arroteia, 1983; Rocha Trindade, 1973; Serrão, 1972, pp. 127-145). Consequently the Luso-Canadian community is today comprised of exceedingly unusual proportions of individuals with no schooling, or with only a few years of primary education, even in comparison to other immigrant communities, which have large proportions of their populations from similar origins (ex. Italians) (See Chapter 8) (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, p. 69; Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 18-34). Anderson and Higgs argued this same point, in the late 70's:

...there has been little incentive for the most highly educated persons to emigrate. Therefore the Portuguese communities in Canada are heavily working class in orientation. (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 187)

More recently, one Board of Education official also described the Portuguese as “the most working-class community in Toronto” where parents setting an example for their children have little education and hold low-skilled jobs. “They can’t help their children in most subjects and often don’t have the English language” (Philp, 1995). Anderson and Higgs (1976, p. 136) further mention how the majority of Portuguese immigrants to Canada, between 1953 and 1973 had an average of 4 years of schooling. Evidence from the 1991 Canadian Census also illustrates that nearly half (48%) of all immigrants from Portugal who are living in this country had less than a grade 9 education, in comparison to 19% of all immigrants and 13% of the Canadian-born population, (Statistics Canada, 1996). Goldstein (1991, p. 24) compiled figures from the 1986 Census, to illustrate how the Portuguese had the highest proportion of individuals with less than a grade 9 education, (45.4%) of nine major ethnic groups, including Aboriginals (37.8%). Noivo (1997) also mentioned how the illiteracy of the respondents in her study was mentioned by these as their most crippling limitation and the major obstacle to their socio-economic mobility; a fact which, one of her respondents lamented, had “chained them to

arduous manual labour” (p. 44). In summary, the Luso-Canadian community is one of the few minority collectives in this country which can safely be defined predominantly as a group with little or no schooling, few jobs skills, and originating from rural origins.

In general terms, the Portuguese who immigrated to this country also arrived with very few economic or material resources, in comparison to other immigrants. Alpalhão and Da Rosa (1980, p. 69) cited an internal document of the Federal Manpower Department which showed that, in 1972, while the Portuguese immigrants in Quebec represented 7% of the total landed immigrants in that Province, they had brought into this country only 1% of the total currency in the possession of immigrants. In her book on three generations of Luso-Canadians, Noivo (1997) also mentions how most of her first-generation Portuguese subjects had arrived in this country with “a meagre suitcase and some debts.” (p. 54). She described how material resources amongst these individuals had been so scarce during their first years in Canada that they had been left with little choice but to focus their lives on accumulating assets, often through holding down multiple jobs, as well as by way of intergenerational and family pooling (p. 53). According to the author, during those years, most of these people were not able to count on the material support of extended family members. In fact, one of the prime reasons for the immigration of many Luso-Canadians was to earn enough money to eventually return to Portugal, with the start-up resources that they had previously lacked (Anderson, 1974; Giles, 1997). As I have illustrated in chapter 8, and as a number of sources have also noted, the Portuguese still today possess one of the lowest average salaries of any immigrant or minority group in this country (Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach and Reitz, 1990; Goldstein, 1991, pp. 28-31; Statistics Canada, 1996).

### **The Security and Sacrifices of Home Ownership**

Faced with the severe educational and occupational limitations which were inherent to their group, the Luso-Canadian first generation attempted to achieve economic security in this country by quickly focussing their lives around the purchase of a house; one part of what Noivo (1939, p. 67, 1997, pp. 71-72) termed a “family project.” The importance of the purchase of a home for the Portuguese in Canada has been described by numerous observers of the community (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, pp. 142-143; Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 44-

46; Ferguson, 1964, p. 35; Hamilton, 1970). As Alpalhão and Da Rosa remarked:

We cannot conceive of the Portuguese family without a house, because it holds so important a place in family life. For the Portuguese, the purchase of a house and its maintenance are traditional virtues. (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980, p. 142)

In a newspaper article, a community member also described the importance of home ownership to Luso-Canadians in the following way:

To understand the working habits of the Portuguese, one has to remember that they brought with them a family-centred work culture. While these men took pride in their role as the family's main breadwinner, they also feared that they might not be able to meet the challenge. And one of the signs that this challenge had been overcome was the possession of a house and property. (Marques, 1992)

Unfortunately, entering into such a large-scale financial obligation so soon after immigration - especially within the confines of the meagre, or non-existent, economies and lower-than-average salaries of most Luso-Canadians - soon took a heavy toll on these families. Noivo (1997) remarked on the irony that, while migration and the purchase of a home became for many Luso-Canadian families a way which was seen as providing a means for their continued family life and a future for its younger members, achieving this economic project led to an exclusive preoccupation with work and, consequently, to tremendous burdens being placed on the family and to compromising their children's future:

...most family members organize their everyday lives around their working schedules, which in many cases amount to fifty or sixty hours of work per week. Even now, several rely on constant overtime work to increase their paycheques. Others supplement their incomes by working under the table as carpenters, car mechanics, or tailors, on most evenings and weekends. All share Ana's motivation and claim that it enables them to meet mortgage payments, to maintain comfortable homes, to provide for children, and for some, to take summer trips to Portugal. Like Ana, most vaunt their economic achievements and possessions at great length, and their reports are constantly interspersed with personal testimonies of the tremendous costs - for self and family - such achievements have entailed. (Noivo, 1997, p. 58)

The focus on home ownership limited the participation of many Luso-Canadians to those activities related to working and family obligations. One social worker commented in the early 70's:

To Portuguese, home ownership is a symbol of security and they will sacrifice the privacy of their families in an effort to pay off their homes. (Serge, 1970)

Noivo (1993, 1997) described how these family and immigration "projects" were often so

ambitious, in comparison to the start-up funds and available incomes that they resulted in extraordinary life sacrifices on the part of family members:

Thus, whereas it is next to impossible to determine the extent to which “the immigrant project” has meant adding injuries to the already onerous conditions of this [working] class, it seems unlikely to me that many non-immigrants would put up with such living conditions. In other words, we must ask how the Portuguese in Canada, who have remained largely unskilled or semiskilled and earn incomes far below the national average, manage to improve their living standards and to acquire real estate. From their reports, it appears that their relative upward social mobility is achieved by the extraordinary human costs absorbed by the first and second generations [...] Unlike Vallières’ so called “white niggers” who are Canadian-born, mine are neither indigenous nor have they come to America as forced labour; their invisible chains are tied to a minority status and an immigrant project. (Noivo, 1997, p. 59)

Very often, the life sacrifices demanded of Portuguese parents to purchase a home and succeed economically, interfered significantly with the best interests of their children’s education. People in the present study chastized Luso-Canadian parents for “not caring” about the welfare of their children, for not devoting enough time to their schooling affairs and for placing economic concerns ahead of their children’s education. Dodick (1998) cited how one ex-principal of a predominantly Luso-Canadian high school described the manner in which Portuguese parents sacrificed the educational future of their children, for their economic dream:

Most Sydney Carton parents were recent immigrants who did not value education highly. However, they did have a zeal to pursue the “almighty dollar.” Their goal was to work hard enough to be able to purchase a house in Toronto, and in time, sell their house and move back to Portugal to live a better life than the one they had left. In order to achieve this, many of them worked two or three jobs at a time and would either take their children along at night to help, or leave them at home alone. As a result, many Portuguese-Canadian students were not being given the kind of support they needed to succeed in school. (Dodick, 1998, p. 100)

The “selective migration” of the poorest segments of Portuguese society, the community’s educational and economic handicaps, the subsequent attachment to the “family project” and the ghettoization of most Luso-Canadians within low-paying, low-status jobs has had its repercussions in the widescale marginalization of the community across all social, cultural and political fronts. Many of the respondents in the present study placed the origins of such problems as the community’s lack of political representation, social integration, its failure to attend English, French and job-skills upgrading classes, and their lack of preservation of the

Portuguese language and culture on the priority which many Luso-Canadians have placed on working and on home-ownership (See Chapter 9, “Roles of Community, Family & Society”). As one participant in Toronto put it:

People are not interested in learning... they are not interested in anything. Only working and fixing up [their house]...

Numerous reports and articles throughout the 1960's, 70's and early 80's have also described how, largely as a result of their lack of fluency in the official languages and their focus on paying off their homes, many Luso-Canadians found themselves socially and culturally isolated from the affairs of mainstream Canadian society (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1983b, 1980, pp. 173-187; Brazão, 1978, 1984; Hamilton, 1970, pp. 74-79; Webb-Proctor, 1985). Others, including more recent sources, also mentioned how the community displays a tendency towards “clannishness” (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 175-184) and how its members turn inwards towards the family (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, pp. 127-135; Noivo, 1997).

The Luso-Canadian community also became marginalized through the negative attitudes of mainstream society, regarding themselves and their way of life. This point was made by the participants in Quebec, who spoke at length about the stereotyping and subtle discrimination which the Portuguese experience in that province (Chapter 9 “Social Marginalization” and “Role of Peer and Societal Pressure”). This negative image, along with the isolation which has long marked the community, are also illustrated by an article in a University of Toronto, Luso-Canadian student magazine, which described the way in which Luso-Canadians are regarded by the dominant society:

I am going to give a description of the Portuguese in the eyes of the typical Canadian:

“The Portuguese are dark and short. They speak a strange language that only they understand. They live in neighbourhood in the City of Toronto - between Dundas and Bloor, Spadina and Dufferin. The Portuguese have a Portuguese market where [only] fish is sold, nothing more.

The Portuguese talk a lot and talk loudly, especially on the streetcars where they are very often seen. The Portuguese man is a labourer. He works in construction. One can see all of the Portuguese labourers going to work at six in the morning, before the rest of the world has arisen. The Portuguese woman works as a cleaning lady. She also gets up very early to go to work in the residential areas of Toronto. Oh yes, there are Portuguese women who work as cleaning ladies at night and those get up very late.

The Portuguese is not very sophisticated. [He] doesn't like to learn English.

[He] doesn't like to live outside the Portuguese neighbourhood in Toronto. [He] doesn't like to adapt to Canadian habits. [He] doesn't like to study. [He] prefers to work and to earn a lot of money."

I think that this is an exact description of the Portuguese in the eyes of the typical Canadian. It's sad, but it's true.

The Portuguese is an enigma. He lives in a closed world and he is little understood by Canadians. One can say that [his] image is one of the least exotic of all of the immigrant groups that live in Canada.

Maybe the image of the Portuguese in public opinion will change in the next generation when they will have time to better establish themselves. I hope so. At least the image which they now have could not be any worse. (Duckworth, 1986) (my translation)

In the same magazine another student wrote:

Many Portuguese don't want to know what is going on around them. They just want to get to the end of the week, receive their salary and send it to Portugal in order to build the "palace" that, perhaps, will never get to be used more than once a year (if they're lucky). (Coelho, 1986) (my translation)

Noivo (1997) also described how Luso-Canadians still today remain marginalized from mainstream Canadian life:

The empirical data provided above confirms that after twenty-five or more years in the "land of opportunity" the overall socioeconomic conditions of Portuguese immigrants remain well below the national average. Moreover, this longstanding situation does not appear to be changing, as this group is not represented in Canada's political, cultural, or economic platforms, and shows minimal participation in mainstream society. (Noivo, 1997, p. 33)

A number of reports on the mental health of community members have identified the consequences of this overriding focus on earning a living. These cited the issues of overwork, financial difficulties, isolation, lack of participation in community activities and an inclination to withdraw inward into the family as the most common stressors amongst the Portuguese in Toronto (Allodi, Fantini, & Cuming, 1984; City of Toronto, 1985; Pepplar & Lessa, N.d., 1993; Portuguese Interagency Network, 1987). Often, this marginalization, or its injuries, reveal themselves especially insidious, long-lasting or acute for women (Da Silva, 1987; Giles, 1997; Noivo, 1993, 1997; Nunes, 1986a, 1986b; Smith, 1980), young people (Bulger, 1987; Coelho, 1973, 1977; Nunes, 1989, 1991a, 1991b) and the elderly (Noivo, 1993, 1997). One report on the Luso-Canadian community concluded thus:

...at present, the quality of life for many Portuguese is far below what might be reasonably expected for Canadians in the 1980's. (City of Toronto, 1985, p. 43)

In summary, the Luso-Canadian community is characterized both by the severity of its educational marginalization and also by the occupational, economic, social, cultural and political marginalization which this deficit has engendered. This point was highlighted by the people throughout this study, who raised issues and attitudes that evidenced the isolation and marginalization of community members (Chapter 9). This community is also characterized by the importance which community members have traditionally placed on home-ownership, as a means of securing their vulnerable economic situation.

### **The Practices and Attitudes of First-Generation Parents**

People throughout this study placed much of the responsibility for the underachievement problem on Luso-Canadian parents. As Chapter 9 illustrates (“Role of Parents” “Role of Community”) these were accused of removing their children prematurely from school, in order to help pay off a family mortgage, of not instilling the value of education in their offspring, of failing to become involved in their children’s schooling and of not learning English or French. Others in Vancouver, Toronto, Winnipeg and Montreal also lamented about how Portuguese parents were not interested in their children entering into more responsible careers. As I have described above and in Chapter 4, these are common explanations, in the literature on Luso-Canadians, for the underachievement that is prevalent amongst the community’s youth.

People also attributed this problem to the prevalence of more general community attitudes which give priority to economic over educational pursuits. As one person in Toronto commented about those in his community and himself:

Azoreans do whatever they can so that they never go to school. They do whatever they can to go and work. They think that they get ahead this way but they only fall behind. When I came to this country, I went to apply to study. The school said that they would pay me \$75 a week. I didn’t want to go to school. I went to work for \$65.

However, some of the participants saw these attitudes as consequences of the marginalized educational and economic roles which first-generation community members have traditionally occupied, both in Portugal and in Canada. They described how parental attitudes and roles had been determined by such factors as their low education levels, low-status, low-

waged economic situation, and such marginalizing factors as the lack of political representation, the lack of recognition or promotion of the Portuguese language and culture and the lack of influence of Portuguese parents over the practices in local schools (ex. the problem of discipline mentioned in Chapter 9 “Role of Schools”). As one person in Sudbury asked:

[How could I arrive here, as I did, and go to school along with my wife [...] to learn English [...] if we don't have anyone who will help us to survive in this manner...?

Another young person in Sault Ste. Marie said:

[Your parents] want to do what's best for you. But [...] we don't have the extra money to put our kids through school. The thing is, we're not as affluent as some cultures and I think that should be recognized.

In describing the assumed low parental expectations of Luso-Canadian parents, Ilda Januario, a parent and President of the Toronto Portuguese Parents Association also described the feeling of disempowerment and marginalization which many Luso-Canadian fathers and mothers experience, when confronted with the education system:

...it is not that Portuguese parents do not value learning instruction; the problem is that they do not feel in control of their children and the system, and therefore are not persuaded that higher education is a must for their children's success. (Januario, 1994b, p. 2)

Januario (1994b) described many of the same issues which were raised in the present study (Chapter 9 “Role of Parents”) when she mentioned Portuguese parents' inability to deal with the education system because of language and educational deficits, the inability of these individuals to be role models of higher education to their children and their inadequate capacity to assist their children with homework (in terms of education, time and predisposition). According to Januario, those children who have the most problems are those whose parents are the most isolated and whose fathers or mothers never appear at school (p.3).

Dodick (1998, p. 165) also commented on how the lack of educational and occupational preparation of the Portuguese at his inner-city, heavily Luso-Canadian school of study were behind their lack of involvement in their children's school:

These inner city parents had a lack of familiarity with the Canadian education system. For example, not having strong English language skills was one reason why Sydney Carton parents did not come to the school and become more involved in their children's education. Because of their cultural background, they had adopted what Marisa called a “teacher knows best” attitude. In contrast, the mainstream, English-speaking parents at Charles Darnay had a

good facility with the English language and had gone through the Canadian education system. Hence, they were much more comfortable about becoming involved at the school level and in influencing the direction of their children's education.

The difference between the inner-city and middle class populations were also economic. The Sydney Carton parents' jobs were blue-collar and not highly remunerative [...] Most were so busy trying to establish themselves in a new country that they had little time to become involved in their children's education. (Dodick, 1998, p. 165)

Dodick (1998, p. 153) further noted how the dissimilar preparation of both group of parents led to differences in access to technology between his two schools (the middle-class one had a strong internet presence, the other did not). According to Dodick, the knowledge and "conscientious leadership" amongst parents at the mainstream school made the difference.

One important piece of evidence from the present study which highlights the influence of marginalization upon parental and community attitudes was in found in the priorities that were chose by the Luso-Canadian youth meetings for resolving the community's problems. These young people placed a much greater emphasis upon the promotion of unity and in developing a strong political participation amongst the community than did those in other focus groups. These youth felt that having a strong political voice would solve many of the community's problems - some of them not directly related to government issues - since it would also signal the end of their isolation within this society. In this respect, it is also significant that, the young people at these meetings were often much less critical of the actions and attitudes of first-generation parents than their older counterparts. These youth were often the first to explain and attribute the community's emphasis upon employment and the actions of some parents with regards to their children's education as resulting from the educational and economic limitations of the first generation.

Thus, the attitudes and reactions of many first-generation Luso-Canadian parents regarding the education of their children have arisen as a result of their marginalized status, both within Portugal and in this country and by the disempowerment which this brings them.

### **The Perpetuation of Marginalization, Through the Intergenerational Transmission of Family Projects, Occupational and Gender Roles**

While the first generation of Luso-Canadians had neither the educational resources, nor

the economic freedom, to be able to assert themselves amongst the various strata of Canadian society, subsequent generations have not been as limited. These individuals speak the official languages, have some measure of economic prosperity and are more culturally integrated than their predecessors. Yet, surprisingly, there is evidence that the economic, social and political marginalization which characterized the first generation of Luso-Canadians appears to have been reproduced in various - and proportional - forms, amongst those of the second and third generations.

The issues which were raised in the present study by people throughout this nation gave evidence that the second and third generations within this community are also seen to be marginalized from the social, political and economic affairs of Canadian society and are also regarded as becoming increasingly distanced from the Portuguese community (See Chapter 9, "Role of Youth", "Role of Community..."). People spoke about how both second and third generation Luso-Canadians are squandering the types of educational opportunities which were not available to their parents and, in the process, marginalizing themselves economically. As one person stated:

Even a tree knows better [than these young people] [...] The sun is 'over there', it goes 'there'. But, someone who doesn't know anything only thinks like this, 'ok, I'm going to make my ten dollars an hour because my father makes ten dollars an hour and I'm going to buy a house.' In reality, there's no way you're going to buy a house with that money. Not now. Your parents lived in another time. But, they [these young people] don't know...

People also mentioned how these youth are facing a disproportional unemployment and yet are also failing to enter into job training programmes. Others cited concerns about how the younger generations display a lack of political involvement in mainstream society, well as a lack of involvement and voice within the matters of the Portuguese community. The young people in certain regions, particularly Quebec, themselves identified how they are also marginalized by stereotyping and lack of acceptance by the dominant community, in their attempts to integrate more fully in Canadian society and mentioned how many of them feel a strong sense of cultural duality. Individuals throughout the present study also described how Luso-Canadian youth were failing to learn the Portuguese language and culture and, as a result, becoming increasingly alienated from their maternal roots. This was an especially poignant concern for those in the more isolated and remote communities, where the Portuguese language and culture

was not being transmitted to a new generation and where, consequently, young Luso-Canadians were culturally isolated. Finally, people raised the fact that government programmes that were designed to provide opportunities of education and employment to visible minorities were not being made available to lessen the educational problems of Luso-Canadian youth.

Other authors have raised similar alarms regarding the wholesale economic, cultural and social marginalization of the second and third generations. Bulger, (1987, p. 9) mentioned how the children of Portuguese immigrants yearned for “not only economic independence, but also social access and political participation”(my translation). Yet, she noted how their initial dual cultural and linguistic frame of reference “may become a disadvantage, or even marginalization, in particular if they belong to an economically and socially less privileged ethnicity” (my translation) (Bulger, pp. 10-11). She described how young (second-generation) Luso-Canadians have been marginalized by their Portuguese immigrant status:

Confronted, however, with customs which have been disappearing in their country of origin and by a new way of acting that is imposed upon them, without it being part of their experience; rich in options, but indecisive as to choices, even because they lack the motivation, that is the pride of their parents; marginalized within the very environment in which they grew up and insecure as to a past that they hardly know and that, many times, they wish to forget, the youth of this second generation have difficulties in reaffirming themselves as citizens of their new country. (my translation: author) (Bulger, pp. 19-20)

Bulger concludes by affirming how this exclusion of the second-generation has resulted in great suffering for these individuals:

There have begun to appear in Canada the first testimonies of this second generation, still reticent in revealing themselves and in making themselves heard. They are documents [of human feeling] which reveal great disturbance and suffering. (my translation: author) (Bulger, p. 20)

Noivo's (1993, 1997) analysis confirms this vision of the marginalized younger generations and illustrates how subsequent generations of Luso-Canadians have been co-opted into the family and migration projects of their parents, with the result that these have fallen into similar marginalized social and economic roles. She found that migration and family projects, were “intergenerationally transmitted” through the ethnic culture of her Luso-Canadian subjects (Noivo, 1993, p. 67). Subsequently, she concluded that the immigrant trajectories of the preceding generations ultimately determined the life course, family patterns (and continued marginalization: my phraseology) of the younger age groups.

According to Noivo (1993, p.69) the first generation was “unilingual, illiterate and socially isolated.” This generation endured the privations of their marginalized social niche, in order to fulfill their “family” and “immigration” projects, for their own and their children’s benefit. Yet, the author noted that “...the dreams of the ‘successful, happy family’ [were] relegated to the realm of fantasy, as the next generation replicated many aspects of the previous one’s life” (Noivo, 1997, p. 134). She particularly noted how many of the second-generation people that she interviewed reproduced the same gender-roles, resource-pooling and economic habits of the first. Noivo remarked:

As for the presumed value differences between the younger and older generations, as much as many ethnic families appear to display distinct values, they may in fact be exhibiting different cultural manifestations of the same values. (Noivo, 1997, p. 24)

In reproducing these economic habits and gender roles, the second generation also inherited the family and migration projects and all of the sacrifices which attaining these goals represented for their parents and their family:

...when, in addition [to projecting their contradictions] an economic project, whose attainment involves intergenerational cohesion and adherence to familial practices, is imposed on the family by immigrants, the repercussions and burdens become colossal. (Noivo, 1997, p. 30)

The author noted that the second generation, while not necessarily disadvantaged by virtue of language or functional illiteracy, nevertheless continued to be isolated by virtue of the economic and gender roles, and these family projects, which are transmitted to them intergenerationally, as well as by the low educational and occupational status which their adoption often produced. Only four of the ten individuals that she interviewed had pursued secondary-level studies (p. 56). She mentioned how, from the time the second generation of those in her study had begun to work, they had been obliged to submit their earnings to their fathers; a factor which had represented a “considerable contribution to the family economy” (Noivo, 1997, pp. 66-67). This requisitioning of their children’s paycheques by those of the first generation has been described by other sources (Bulger, 1987; Coelho, 1973; Da Cunha, 1977; Hamilton, 1970) This resource pooling was also cited by members in the present study as a common practice of the first generation, and one which was seen as leading directly to the lack of promotion of education by these parents. As one person in Toronto mentioned:

There are many people who are not interested in their children going to school. They would rather see their children come through the door with \$100 or \$200 a week...

Noivo also mentioned how some of the first-generation parents had even attempted to delay the marriage of their children, in an effort to not lose this extra income (pp. 67-68). She noted how the younger generations were well aware that this opposition to their marriage was economically motivated. In fact, some of the young people in her study began their married lives with very little financial support from their parents. In this type of situation, marriage was cited by many of her participants as a calculated economic partnership, although one which eventually placed many women in a financial dependency with their husbands that was similar to the one which they had encountered under their parents (pp. 70-72). The author concludes the following about marriage amongst the first and second generations:

For men and women in both [first and second generation] groups, marriage represents material protection and security without which home ownership and financial welfare would be impossible to achieve. (Noivo, 1997, p. 75)

Noivo concluded her examination of the second-generation by stating that “very few [of these] have actually fulfilled the [economic and educational] aspirations of the first generations” and that most continued to rely substantially on the financial resources of their elderly parents (Noivo, 1997, p. 134). The author also described this generation as suffering from “lack of self-worth, social respect and dignity,” mostly because of their self-admonishment regarding their and their children’s low educational and occupational levels (Noivo, 1997, p. 88). Noivo’s (1993, 1997) second-generation parents considered themselves to have failed in their lives, occupationally, and at not having been able to convince their children of the need for a good education.

Noivo described the third-generation as living in a situation of “indolence” (Noivo, 1997, p. 93); one which was characterized by an illusory material prosperity, which had been wrought from the overwhelming human privations of the first two generations. The author remarked on how thirteen of the fifteen, third-generation members which she interviewed were economically dependent on their parents and receiving weekly allowances, which provided them with social and material conditions that resembled middle-class patterns, (Noivo, 1997, p. 90). The majority were neither pursuing an education nor acquiring marketable job skills (p.

94) and were seen as “floating towards a rather uncertain economic future,” utterly oblivious to both their vulnerable educational as well as their economic position (Noivo, 1993, p. 71). Yet, many of these also resented their parents for sacrificing their lives in unsatisfying manual jobs and for placing - what they felt was an excessive - pressure on them to succeed in school. As a result, Noivo described how intergenerational strife was rampant amongst her study group, especially between those of the second and third generations (Noivo 1997, p. 23). The author summarized the situation of the third generation:

First, a great number of third-generation members are neither pursuing an education nor acquiring marketable skills. They remain oblivious to the current trends and demands in the labour market, namely to the fact that increasing automation will result in the elimination of the kinds of jobs working-class immigrants have generally held. Second, whereas these largely unskilled working-class youths expect to get personal fulfilment and gratification from their work, they are also used to a lot of leisure time and to relatively higher consumption than their class position allows for. Many appear fervently determined “to enjoy life instead of *just* working hard and saving” (their emphasis). Finally, I found it appalling that no one, not even their parents, seems to realize the seriousness of the situation, or seems troubled by the uncertain occupation/material future of the third generation. (Noivo, 1997, p. 95)

The author concluded that, due to the limited education and job-skills of the third-generation, a downward social mobility is foreseeable within the Luso-Canadian community (Noivo, 1997, p. 95) She continued:

The greatest irony is that intergenerational social mobility is exactly what immigrant families migrated for and what led them to make such remarkable social sacrifices. That the material privations and social hardships endured by two immigrant groups end up acting against their very objectives seems to me deplorably cruel. (Noivo, 1997, p. 96)

Thus, one of Noivo’s most important conclusions was that, in reproducing similar values, habits and roles, the Luso-Canadians in her study brought about the conditions which perpetuated, upon each subsequent generation, the injuries (or condition of marginalization: my phraseology) of previous generations. In fact, Noivo states that when parental attitudes regarding economic roles and ways of getting ahead are transmitted to the younger generation, the latter suffer even greater consequences than their parents:

“...the consolidation of the migrant and family projects and their intergenerational transmission does in fact translate into substantial added burdens for immigrant family life [...] They injure women, youth and the elderly much more profoundly and violently.” (Noivo, 1993, p. 69)

Many of these people who contributed to this study, remarked on the foolishness of young people who still believed that they would be able to buy property, or maintain their present standard of living, with their low education levels within the confines of the new global economy. Others, especially those in the larger urban centres, echoed Noivo's observations by warning that the lack of educational and economic advancement of the younger generations of Luso-Canadians was reproducing the marginalization of the community. One person alerted:

...we as a Portuguese community... will find ourselves in the future... with a population of underdeveloped individuals, who do not have the preparation to meet the challenges of the extremely advanced society in which we live [...] we will find, for example [...] that a certain percentage of youth of Portuguese origin will not have a place in society.

### **The Reciprocal Relationship Between the Marginalization of the Luso-Canadian Community and their Academic Underachievement**

As I have argued in the beginning of this discussion and in Chapter 8, the vast majority of the Portuguese who came to this country reached these shores with severe educational and economic limitations. The selective migration of the poorest and least schooled segments of the Portuguese population has produced a community which is characterized mainly by the disproportionate numbers of its people who originated from rural, working-class origins (even when compared to other groups from comparable geographic and cultural beginnings ex. Italians). In consequence, as Chapter 9 illustrates, the Luso-Canadian community has long been marginalized from the affairs of Canadian mainstream society in a myriad of social, political and cultural ways. Subsequent practices, such as home ownership and family resource-pooling, that were adopted by community members as a means of quickly ensuring the immediate security of the family, resulted in the intergenerational transmission of migration and family projects, gender and occupational roles (Noivo, 1993, 1997). As one person from Toronto lamented in the present study, "[Our] children today continue with this closed mentality. They don't know anything [...] they go and copy their parents." This transmission has also resulted in the social reproduction of the community, as subsequent generations of Luso-Canadians appear to be entering into comparable marginalized and isolated socio-

economic, political and cultural roles to those of their parents.

The people who participated in this study also recognized the link between the marginalized state of the community and the abandonment of education by its children, when they identified parental attitudes and practices - which I have argued arise as a response to marginalization - as the predominant reason behind the early-school-leaving of Luso-Canadian youth, (See Chapter 9, "Role of Parental Attitudes", "Role of Community Attitudes").

Yet, in her analysis of Luso-Canadian families, Noivo (1993, 1997) described how the second-generation parents which she interviewed - the age group which presumably now make up the majority of fathers and mothers in the Luso-Canadian community - had very high educational expectations for their children and placed a great deal of pressure on them to succeed academically. Despite this parental encouragement, their third-generation children were still seen to be dropping out, or were failing to acquire an adequate education, even though these were reported to be living in relative material prosperity and in stable family situations.<sup>1</sup>

This puzzling conundrum suggests that the essential elements in the underachievement issue within the Luso-Canadian community go beyond the influence of parental expectations, to involve issues of the marginalizing context in which youth are raised, their identity and role definitions, as well as the kinds of "folk theories of success" (Ogbu, 1987) which have developed amongst the Portuguese to overcome their marginalized status. In other words, the roots of underachievement in the Luso-Canadian community are to be found in *the marginalized, wider-world situation* of Luso-Canadians and what this state teaches these individuals about themselves and their place in Canadian society. They are also found in the transmission of *prevailing popular theories* which the Portuguese have developed about themselves, and about how to survive economically (Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

Ogbu (1974) talks about this transmission in his Stockton, California study, where he describes the seeming contradiction between the stated goals of his minority parents (i.e. higher education) and what they actually communicated to their children, regarding their real-world possibilities. However, Ogbu attributed this dissonance to the discrimination that was

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<sup>1</sup> There are also a number of other reports which contradict the prevailing opinions that Luso-Canadian parents have low educational expectations, (Pinto, 1970; Cummins, Lopes, & King, 1987, p. 39). These include the questionnaire portion of the present study, which was not included in this dissertation, but which was outlined in Nunes, (1998a). However, all of these reports have sampling limitations which need to be carefully considered.

perceived and experienced by these parents, rather than to the effects of their marginalized status.

### **The Effects of Marginalization on the Educational Choices of Luso-Canadian families**

Noivo (1997) remarked with surprise that one of the most curious questions about the people she had observed was how the older generations of individuals had been able to transmit to the younger the very ideals and convictions which had failed them, (ex. gender or occupational roles which had not served them well). Yet, the answer to this question lies in understanding the reciprocal relationship between a group's social situation, their marginalization and the choices that are eventually available to Luso-Canadian families and youth. This is that, their patterns of limited educational and occupational opportunities, their roles, identities, as well as the system of reciprocal rights and obligations that had been transmitted by parents to their children were themselves the very elements which had perpetuated the "conditions" and "injuries" (or marginalized state) that their own parents had suffered. In other words, these patterns were at once their way of coping within a marginalized situation, as well as, themselves, the reproducers of this same state. The economic, social, educational, cultural and political marginalization of the community gives rise to the types of responses to education issues which are evidenced amongst its members. In turn, these responses perpetuate this marginalization amongst the newer generations, by allowing the original disadvantaging social, cultural and political conditions to continue unchallenged. Ogbu, (1974) mentions this same point, when he stated that the ways which his involuntary minority parents had of "coping" with the discrimination which they encountered actually perpetuated their school failures and their continued problems (p. 81). These ways of coping are what formed the basis of the parental attitudes which I have previously discussed.

In looking at the situation of Luso-Canadian children, it is easy to see how their underachievement is produced by both the marginalized situation of their community, as well as by the ways in which their families have responded to this state of affairs.

Firstly, one point which is not often recognized in this debate is that young Luso-Canadians - although they have better language skills and more education - suffer under many

of the same structural social, cultural political and economic marginalizing limitations as their parents (see Chapter 9, "Roles.."). As the individuals in this study have illustrated, the entire community - and not only those in the first generation - are isolated culturally, politically and economically. This isolation leaves the Portuguese as a group with little influence amongst mainstream society, to alter the disadvantaging policies and practices of the school system. It also leaves them with little means through which to assert their presence within this society.

The Luso-Canadian family's weak economic situation also leaves many of these youth without many of the options which middle-class children take for granted. For example, they go through their education devoid of role models, without a sense of knowledge and experience of what is involved within the post-secondary system and without a practical knowledge of the range of alternative career paths. This is what was meant by Edgar, a third-generation participant in Noivo's (1997) study when he lamented how his parents never helped him with his school work or guided him in choosing a career (p. 9). In this regards, the inability of parents to assist, or sometimes even accompany, their children coupled with the tremendous pressure which some of these put on their sons or daughters to succeed academically may be what is behind the reports of widespread intergenerational conflicts within the Luso-Canadian families (See chapter 9) (Nunes, 1986b).

Luso-Canadian children also don't have access to the same occupational environments as those of the middle-class, which could allow them to experience different aspects of working life. This also leaves them without the necessary white-collar network of contacts to which to turn, when it comes time to seek out part-time or full-time employment. Luso-Canadian children also experience a great deal of pressure from their working-class peers to leave school.

In this respect, it often becomes much easier for a Luso-Canadian youth to secure an unskilled job through the readily available network of low-level job contacts of his parents - which have traditionally existed in the Portuguese-Canadian community (Anderson, 1974) - than it is for him or her to strike out on their own amongst environments that are alien to them and attempt to find a white-collar position. When this difficulty is coupled with the influences and temptations imposed upon young people by a consumption-inducing, capitalist society, the pull towards early-school-leaving becomes even greater. As one person in Winnipeg stated,

...it's much more pleasant for a boy - if he doesn't have a strong preparation and a source of very strong support - to go to work to have a car, than to continue studying, without having a car.

As my personal story illustrated, in a community whose ethnicity is predominantly defined by its rural, working-class origins, entering into post-secondary education also implies, for its children, entering into role and identity patterns which are unknown, or even hostile, to many Luso-Canadian youth (who have grown up without well-schooled role models). It is often very difficult for Luso-Canadian youth to "regard" themselves in occupational roles outside of those which their community has traditionally adopted. Furthermore, these roles may often represent for them a denial of their ethnic identity or working-class community. For example, amongst some Portuguese families, only manual work is perceived as "real" work, while studying may be perceived as a leisure activity (Da Cunha, 1977). McLaren remarked on how the roles which are promoted by middle-class teachers (his "student state") are often a negation of the working-class identity of his Azorean students:

...the student state was the path to apathy, passionless and emotional and spiritual emptiness. It was furthermore, a denigration of their identity as a social class. (McLaren, 1986, p. 144)

For many Luso-Canadian young people, escaping from their parents' working class status also implies the necessity of entering into social roles which may have been denigrated by either a young person or his family. Da Cunha has described how, for some in the Portuguese community, to study is sometimes regarded as an attempt to become better than one's peers (Da Cunha, 1977). In the same proceedings of the Portuguese experience in the United States, Grove (1977) relates the testimony of a Luso-American teenager, which display many of the same points:

What use could I be to my family sitting around in school? What's that? Don't I want to become a doctor, lawyer, or teacher? Pardon me for smiling, but I've heard that question so many times... Yet, each time, I've never quite known how to answer it. I feel lots of respect for professional people, of course, but... I guess I find it hard to see myself doing those kinds of jobs. No one in my family expects me to take that path. In fact, I'm pretty sure they wouldn't like it. (Grove, 1977, p. 18)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Grove (1977) does not make it clear whether this proceeding is a transcript of someone else's comments, or whether this dialogue was penned by him, in an attempt at profiling the attitudes of the "typical" Luso-American drop-out.

This young man went on to describe how his older brothers joked around with one of their cousins, who was a teacher, by saying that the latter did not really work. According to this man: “[my brothers] have to struggle for a living, see, and they just assume that being a student or a teacher is not a struggle” (Grove, 1977, p. 18).

In this respect, young Luso-Canadians must also deal with the stigma of belonging to a cultural group which is little recognized, or often denigrated, in mainstream society. For McLaren, the negation and denigration of his students’ ethnic identities was intimately linked to the twin imperatives of the school of creating “good Catholics” and “good Workers” (McLaren, 1986).

The popular notions of how to achieve success which have arisen amongst traditional Portuguese families, also often do not allow its children the conditions to prosper in school (which is their only true means of “liberation” both for themselves and from the economic and occupational marginalization of their family). For example, the people who participated in the present study described the predominant community attitudes of focussing on work - and the resulting social, political and cultural isolation - as ultimately damaging to the well-being of its members and as ultimately marginalizing from society. Furthermore, in discussing how the immigration and family projects are intergenerationally transmitted through ethnic culture, Noivo described how notions of how to succeed are also passed on from parents to children (Noivo, 1993, p. 67):

The second generation begins by participating in the projects of their parents, and thus is likely to internalize the first generation’s vision of what constitutes “a better (economic) life.” Later, as they forge their own individual family projects, those in the second generation are both prepared to undergo similar sacrifices and to reproduce comparable financial behaviour in order to buy a house and to accumulate some money. (Noivo, 1997, p. 57)

Yet, the seeds of educational failure lie within this very same transmission of these notions of success, since the abandonment of education, in favour of the “family project” leads to the future marginalization of these individuals and of their own children.

Da Cunha touches upon the main point of the preceding argument when he states that, in the North American environment, the customs of traditional Portuguese immigrants - their notions about how to succeed and how to better provide for their families - have to change, if the values that they are attempting to maintain through those customs are to be maintained:

In effect, in this new situation (the industrial society) parents don't provide for the future of their children through inheritance, but through education. Education has, therefore, survival value. [...] The problem here is to explain to the parents these new factors so that the custom that made so much sense for them in their country doesn't become exploitative and detrimental to their children's future. (Da Cunha, 1977, p. 7)

Luso-Canadian children are also often disadvantaged in scholarly pursuits by the intricate patterns of reciprocal roles and responsibilities within their families.

These work and family focussed values, habits and role patterns of first-generation Luso-Canadian immigrants arose over centuries in traditional rural Portugal as adaptations to a difficult social and economic environment. In particular, the conservative nature of family, social and economic relationships in that country were a stabilizing influence which protected individuals against poverty, disaster, exploitation and lack of opportunity. Much of this same conservative attitude is common to rural families throughout the world, who have learned to depend on family interdependency, and on tried-and-true methods to ensure their survival.

Yet, by their very nature, these adaptations of the Luso-Canadian family - and most particularly, the inability of many to adapt to new conditions - served to marginalize and limit the very people that they had been meant to protect. Da Cunha (1977) made this point in an analysis of the dropout problem amongst the Portuguese in the United States. He stated that, while behaviour - in the form of customs - is always inspired by values, many Portuguese immigrant parents did not always realize that their traditional customs had to change in their new environments, if their traditional values were to be maintained (Da Cunha, 1977, p. 4). Many of the traditions which had assured the survival and prosperity of Portuguese families within their rural areas - such as having children working alongside their parents - became exploitative and detrimental in the urban North American context (p. 5).

Noivo (1997) herself described the influence of this network of interdependencies, reciprocal rights and relationships within the Portuguese-Canadian families and how these served to perpetuate the educational limitations of its members. According to Noivo (1997), the relationship of obligations between the first and second generations co-opts each into fulfilling the others' plans for each other. In order to overcome their weak economic and educational position, the first generation bring their children into the "family project," at a young age and, in so-doing, often deny them the opportunity at a better education and long-term occupational

position. For their part, those in the second generation then are led in their own economically limited situation, and often depend on cash transfers from their elderly parents for a measure of the financial or material prosperity which they are not able to achieve (Noivo, 1997, p. 78-87).

Other similar relationships exist within the Luso-Canadian family. Da Cunha (1977) described how, in some Portuguese families, older children who did not have the chance to study may resent their younger brothers and sisters for doing so, as the latter are seen to be living off of the work of their elders.

Noivo's account of the situation of her third generation subjects was a similar extension of this same relationship of rights and obligations, albeit with some alterations. These young people were observed to be living quite comfortably on the avails of the arduous work of their parents, while constantly criticizing the latter for staying onward in unsatisfying jobs and for being obsessed with the accumulation of material resources (Noivo, 1997, pp. 91-96). Yet, these third-generation individuals were caught in their own marginalizing situation, of reciprocal rights and obligations, which they were hard-pressed to escape. As Noivo described it:

This generation's perspective has already been partially disclosed by Edgar... who contended that what parents regard as facilitating conditions are experienced as traps that are hard to break away from. [...] Edgar's discourse largely condemns his immigrant parents for failing to provide career guidance, and for providing him with the "opportunities" to become "a bum."

Edgar and his peers were bound to their families both by the economic assistance which the latter provided, as well as by the family's complex of reciprocal right and obligations, which their parents had inherited from the first-generation (such as their parents' tendency to live in function of them; a belief in the supremacy of the well-being of the family unit above that of the individual; the notion that children do not leave the family home before they are married, etc.). They could not reject either of these without rejecting some basic tenets of Portuguese family life and their parents.

In summary, in living within similar economic and social roles as those of their parents, in suffering many of the same marginalizing conditions as their parents and in responding to their marginalized situation by adopting similar strategies, subsequent generations of Luso-Canadians have - in essence - perpetuated this marginalized situation for themselves and their

families. Furthermore, it is difficult for many of these to escape this situation without first rejecting family ties of reciprocal obligation, ethnic self-identity patterns, as well as predetermined ideas about what constitutes work and patterns of success. Bulger (1987) described how it is often a number of simultaneously occurring marginalizing factors and considerations which influence the decision of Luso-Canadian parents towards removing their children from school:

And the young people that have not understood their status as "immigrant children," the children of immigrants, make a sign of assent. They are docile, sometimes, at others, rebellious, as all adolescents. But the school system is complicated. Those which have difficulties in English, those get left behind. They put them in schools where they learn a trade and soon they put them to work. It's a little bit more money to help in the purchase of the house. And in this fashion are the dreams of a better future undone. (Bulger, p. 18) (my translation)

. The effects of the educational problems amongst the community and the difficulty in overcoming this situation are evident in the attitudes of its members regarding their educational opportunities. In 1992, a survey conducted for the newspaper The Toronto Star, indicated that a higher proportion of Portuguese than other minorities felt that they had less opportunity than other Canadians to get a good education, (18% vs. 13% of other minorities) ("The Minority," 1992). Similarly, many Luso-Canadian students feel that they do not have the capacity to acquire a university education (Larter, Cheng, Capps, & Lee, 1982).

Some of the young people in the present study also spoke of the difficulties which many young Luso-Canadians are experiencing in coping with the academic pressures of school. Yet, as Noivo (1997), McLaren (1986) and Januario (1992) described them, the reactions of some Luso-Canadian parents to their children's difficulties - locking them in their room until they finished their homework, or imposing physical punishment - has made the school experience even more difficult for some of these students.

### **Education as a Means to End Marginalization**

The fact that people in the present study identified education issues as the most crucial community problems to be addressed, provides evidence that Luso-Canadians, themselves, perceive that the community's multifaceted problems (or its multiple levels of marginalization)

are rooted in, and perpetuated by, the lack of educational progress of its members. As one person commented on the necessity of making education the main priority, above all others:

A lot of those problems that exist, we're not going to solve - we have to stress the value of education and tell people what's coming. Because if people aren't prepared, its going to be a painful situation.

In many of the focus groups, people regarded the community's lack of formal education, and the unwillingness of people to enter into further training, as being behind the lack of progress on economic, political, social and cultural fronts. People also saw this issue as being behind such seemingly unrelated topics as the lack of valuing of the Portuguese culture and language, the lack of social services, the unwillingness of community members to participate in the political process and the lack of community unity. These they believed arose from an overall incapacity on the part of Luso-Canadians to assert themselves economically and politically in the life and progress of Canadian society. This lack of education was also said to lead to the generalized "closed mentality," which one person said existed, amongst many Luso-Canadians, and which was behind most of the community's problems.

However, this same person also commented on the need to overcome this mentality, before the education issue, itself, or any of the community's other problems could be addressed:

The first thing we need to do is admit we have problems, instead of hiding, (like with this education thing).

In this fashion, many of the people in this study described the reciprocal relationship which existed between the community's marginalized condition and its continuing low education levels.

Participants particularly identified the underachievement problem, as one of the primary contributors to the community's marginalization. They decried the lack of advancement of young Luso-Canadians into the different sectors of Canadian society as one of the leading reasons for the community's lack of political representation, social isolation and cultural progress. They also cited as a grave cause for concern the widespread entrance of the community's youth into the same socioeconomic roles as their parents. In this fashion, they clearly identified the underachievement problem as a major reason behind the perpetuation of the community's marginalized status as well as the biggest threat the future survival of the

community. As early as the 1970's one community member was already complaining of the inability of Luso-Canadian youth to project themselves into the affairs of Canadian society:

They are not doing anything wrong, but they are not doing anything right, either. (Slinger, 1971)

Amongst those in the present study, one person in Toronto stated:

If our children do not complete high-school... do not go to university, we are going to continue to have a Portuguese community that is the mirror image of ...the first generation. This is my biggest worry, it is seeing that the second generation is following in the footsteps of the first [...] I think that, if we do not pay attention to this, [this will turn into] a great calamity for the Portuguese community. This is the key issue that we have to discuss.

In summary, the marginalized situation of Luso-Canadians has given rise to a social and economic context where Luso-Canadian youth are provided with neither the economic or social context, nor the role and identity referents, to be able to easily visualize themselves in middle-class occupations. Furthermore, both the prevailing notions in the community about how to succeed economically, as well as the pattern of reciprocal rights and obligations of the Luso-Canadian family - both of which have arisen as a response to this marginalized status - mitigate against the adoption of strategies which go outside of established traditional boundaries of what constitutes "work" and of who is a typical Portuguese-Canadian. Finally, the fact that the Luso-Canadians throughout this study regarded the promotion of education as being fundamental to solving the marginalized condition of the community provides a clue both to the origins of academic underachievement amongst Luso-Canadians and similarly marginalized ethnic and racial minorities. It also points to the need to understand and deal with the aspects of this marginalization - of which education is just one part - as a means of reversing the school failure of these students.

### **The Limitations of John Ogbu's Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance, in Light of the Case of Luso-Canadians**

It is clear from the results of this study, as well as from previous work on the Portuguese in Canada, that the community's marginalized state - and particularly the attitudes on the part of both parents and youth which this engenders - are intimately associated with the underachievement of the community's children. As I have discussed in Chapter 5, much of the

leading work on minority underachievement has also begun to focus a greater attention upon understanding the ways in which a minority group's context within a dominant society contributes to their educational failure. In particular, one of the leading theories on minority academic underachievement, the "Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance," developed by the Anthropologist John Ogbu (also sometimes called "Caste Theory") has managed to fuse elements of previous micro-ethnographic and macro-ethnographic approaches into an easily understandable and coherent argument for the importance of understanding this context (Foley, 1991; Ogbu, 1974, 1978; Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

Yet, Ogbu's theory has generally failed to account for the lowered academic achievement of the Portuguese in Canada. Under this model, Luso-Canadians - who are a voluntary minority - should not be experiencing school failure across various generations. As I will argue in the following section, Luso-Canadians display some of the same achievement patterns, attitudes and role definitions as those described by Ogbu for involuntary minorities. As I will also illustrate, this inability of Ogbu's theory to account for the situation of the Portuguese occurs largely because his model has attached an excessive and unwarranted importance upon the mechanisms by which a minority group has come to be marginalized within the dominant society (i.e.. the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy) while simultaneously minimizing the importance of the factor of marginalization, as a determinant of "community forces" (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) and hence academic underachievement.

Thus, when we examine this theory in light of the examples provided in this project, and in light of the existing knowledge of the Portuguese in Canada, we find that the important precursor to academic underachievement is not how, or why, a group has come to be marginalized, but rather whether a group exists within a marginalized context and, most importantly, whether the popular conceptions which have developed amongst group members regarding how to succeed within this marginality include notions of education as a viable alternative (i.e. Ogbu's "Folk Theories of Making it").

### **The Voluntary/Involuntary Dichotomy and the Case of the Portuguese-Canadians**

The first limitation of Ogbu's theory is that it places an undue emphasis on the manner

in which a group has come to be marginalized, (rather than upon the marginalization itself). According to Ogbu, those minorities which have moved to this country willingly, such as immigrants - whom Ogbu terms “voluntary” or “Castelike” minorities - do not experience extensive academic problems (Ogbu, 1978, 1983, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998):

...immigrant minorities do not experience long-lasting school performance difficulty and long-lasting cultural and language problems (Ogbu & Simons, 1998, p. 164).

This is because, in regarding themselves as visitors in their new countries, as well as in looking back upon the normally less favourable economic conditions from which most have emigrated, these groups are thus more willing to struggle to overcome the existing cultural differences, structural barriers and discrimination which afflict most minorities within a dominant context. On the other hand, those minorities who have been conquered, colonized or enslaved, such as African-Americans and American Indians - whom Ogbu calls “involuntary” or (previously) “castelike minorities” (Ogbu, 1978, 1983, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998) - regard the dominant society and many of its institutions as inherently discriminatory and often hostile to their group identity. They often perceive their schools to be inferior to mainstream schools and regard with suspicion the attempts of these institutions to inculcate elements of the dominant culture within their children. They further transmit to their children the belief that the discriminatory practices of the dominant society will not allow them upward social or occupational mobility. In this fashion, involuntary minority students fail to strive for academic success, since they do not perceive an ultimate benefit to their school work. These groups also develop “folk-theories” of success, and ethnic group identities, which are often in opposition to those of the mainstream (Foley, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998).

Yet, despite the explanation which Ogbu has given, if we examine the case of the Portuguese in Canada and in the U. S. who - under Ogbu’s classification would fall into the voluntary minority category - suffer from many of the same academic problems as the black and Aboriginal communities in Canada, both of which are involuntary groups (See Chapter 3, The Literature on Luso-Canadian Underachievement). Luso-Canadians have been dropping out in disproportionate numbers, studying at lower levels, filling the ranks of Special Education classes and having reading and language problems for almost 30 years.

Furthermore, as Chapter 3 and 9 of the present study have illustrated, not only are Luso-Canadians underachieving in disproportionate numbers, but this underachievement also appears to be occurring in subsequent generations; with the consequence that, the community is now experiencing a “social reproduction” of its working-class, low-waged, low-status position in Canadian society. This fact was made evident through people’s comments throughout the focus groups (Chapter 9 “Educational Marginalization”), as well as in Noivo’s (1993, 1997) study of three generations of Luso-Canadians. This author concluded that social reproduction and, in fact, downward mobility, was occurring in the Luso-Canadian community:

...a decline in the socio-economic standing of the third generation looks imminent. As much as it is generally presumed that Portuguese-Canadian youth will move up the social ladder, my findings suggest the contrary. Despite the material resources parents make available, or the so-called facilitating conditions, and contrary to the aspirations and dreams parents hold for their offspring, except for official language fluency, most interviewed third-generation members are not acquiring more skills or qualifications than the older generations have.. Based on this, it is questionable whether these youth will even achieve an economic situation as satisfactory as that of the two older groups. (Noivo, 1997, p. 95)

Not only are children of Portuguese descent underachieving in Canada, but they are also reported to be experiencing patterns of low achievement in such countries as the United States (Becker, 1990; Da Cunha, 1977, 1986; Miller, 1977; Pereira, 1985), France (Neto, 1985; Bottani, 1987) and Luxembourg (Bottani, 1987). In fact, in Becker’s (1990) study of one New England school, the Portuguese had the highest drop-out rate in her school of study and were held in lower esteem than the black students, by both teachers and students alike.

### **Community Forces**

Ogbu also states that the key to differential school performance between minorities lies in understanding the differences in the community forces which shape the responses of these groups to discrimination (Ogbu, 1998, p. 161). Yet, if we examine some of these factors constituting these community forces, then we can also see that the Portuguese in Canada display many of the same attributes, opinions and role definitions which Ogbu has attributed to involuntary minorities and, thus, that their underachievement is not explained by the model which Ogbu has described for voluntary minorities. I will illustrate this through an analysis of some of the attitudes and practices which Ogbu observed in his Stockton California study,

upon which most of his work is based (Ogbu, 1974).

In Ogbu's analysis, the fact of being a voluntary minority often predisposes voluntary groups (immigrants) towards a positive attitude regarding education, while involuntary minority parents are said not to place such a high value on the benefits of schooling (Ogbu, 1974, 1987). In Ogbu's (1974) study, in the working-class, ethnic-minority Burgherside community in California, those who lived outside this neighbourhood felt that Burgherside parents did not value education (p. 71). Ogbu further mentioned how, for some Mexican households in Burgherside, it was more important to put their children to work instead of allowing them to stay in school (Ogbu, 1974, p. 60).

As we have seen in the results of the focus groups, as well as through the literature review on Portuguese-Canadian underachievement, these similar observations have been made both inside and outside the Portuguese community. A common belief amongst community members and observers has been that many Luso-Canadian parents do not place a high priority on education and that many have used their children to supplement the family income (See Chapter 4, Ch. 9 "Role of the Community", "Role of Parents").

Ogbu (1974) also mentioned that his Burgherside second-generation parents - who suffered the educational consequences of their parents low education levels - also considered themselves a "lost generation," primarily because they had not been able to take advantage of the educational opportunities which had been made available to them (Ogbu, 1974, p. 62).

Many of the second-generation parents in the present study lamented their own lost opportunities, as well as those of others in the community. One person in Winnipeg remarked on "those mothers who dedicated themselves to the factory... their children today are doing what their mothers did." Still other people have severely criticized younger members of the community for failing to take advantage of the opportunities which their parents never had. For example, one person in Toronto lamented the fact that many Luso-Canadian children still continue with their parents' "closed mentality."

Noivo (1997) also described how the second-generation parents in her study have failed to fulfil the aspirations of their parents, (p. 134) and how they blame themselves for their own, as well as their children's, low educational and occupational levels (p. 88).

Despite the attitudes of those in the second generation and their lost educational

opportunities, Ogbu noted that for the third generation a “good education was generally seen as indispensable” (Ogbu, 1974, p. 59).

In the present study, this view was continually reinforced by people who felt that the community’s youth was heading towards an uncertain and difficult future, without an adequate education. As one person in Toronto mentioned, these youth “will not have a place in society.” Noivo (1997) also mentioned how the second-generation individuals in her study had high educational expectations for their children, how they treated them like “super-pets” (p. 90), in an effort to instil in them the value of the education which they had failed to achieve and how they showered them with gifts, in exchange for their devotion to school (Noivo, 1997, p. 90). As one of Noivo’s subjects remarked:

“If our children concentrate all their efforts on studying, we are ready to give them all that they want. I’m glad to give my daughter expensive clothes and all that she wants so that she won’t work part time... I don’t even want her to wash a single dish. We [parents] are working for her, all she has to do is to become somebody; that will make us happy.” (Noivo, 1997, p. 90)

Concerning the attitudes of involuntary minority children, Ogbu describes how students in his Burgherside community failed in school, not because they were less capable, but because they did not even try to succeed:

Burghersiders do not fail in school because, although they try, they cannot do the work; that is, they do not fail because they do not have the ability. Rather, Burghersiders fail in school because they do not even try to do the work. They are not serious about their schoolwork, and therefore make no serious effort to try to succeed in school. (Ogbu, 1974, p. 97)

The evidence from the present study is contradictory regarding this point. The young people in across most of the focus groups emphasised the importance of education. Many of these even described their own struggles in maintaining good grades or in attempting to move to higher academic levels. However, people also made it clear that there were many others - mainly from amongst those who did not participate in the focus groups - who had little or no interest in furthering their education.<sup>3</sup> One young person from Brampton Ontario described the prevailing attitude amongst the Luso-Canadians in her school:

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<sup>3</sup> This highlights one important limitation of the focus group method used in this study and of having conducted these meetings with local volunteers. Many of these individuals had difficulty in securing participation from amongst those young Luso-Canadians who had little interest in school-related matters. The exercise of attending a focus group was often too close to that of being in a classroom, so that these youth were not easily recruited to these meetings.

...you either drop out within high-school, or you drop out after high-school  
[...] Everyone is too worried about... buying a car [...] a full-time job [...] So  
no one really thinks about school.

Noivo (1997) gives evidence of the wide extent of this attitude amongst many Luso-Canadian youth by describing the third generation's lack of interest in school and in their future. The author mentioned how nine of the fifteen, third-generation individuals whom she interviewed were either:

...“living in a torpid state of indolence, confusion, and boredom or occasionally taking up temporary manual jobs in order ‘to increase their pocket money or to buy something more costly.’” (Noivo, 1997, p. 93)

Yet, Ogbu (1974) mentions how his students did not try because, although they had high educational goals, they also did not feel like they would be able to attain them (pp. 77-79).

In the present study, dropping out amongst some Luso-Canadians was also seen as a reaction to the difficult demands and “pressures” of school (Ch. 9 “Role of Peer and Societal Pressure”). According to one young man Luso-Canadian students “.. just get sick of it [...] they get sick of it and so, the easy way out is just to drop out.” Previous Toronto Board of Education Reports have also described how Luso-Canadian students were one of the two groups that were least likely to feel that they had the ability to succeed in University (Larter, Cheng, Capps & Lee, 1982).

Ogbu's Burgherside students further mentioned that they did not want to grow up to have the same unskilled jobs and status as their parents (P. 72).

In Noivo's (1993, 1997) study, some of her third-generation informants also complained bitterly about their parents' restricted occupations or lifestyle. These mentioned how despite their lack of education and marketable skills, many felt that they would not have to endure these kinds of limitations themselves, in order to maintain their present standard of living (pp. 90-95). Noivo remarked how these young people had little appreciation of the barriers which their parents had overcome and how they also had no conception of the future consequences of their own lack of education and job skills:

That people like Edgar cannot understand their parents' early life conditions and the structural factors explaining their limited education, language, occupational, and social skills is appalling and disturbing. (Noivo, 1997, p. 91)

Finally, Ogbu described how the Burgherside parents did not like for their children to

have kinship and marriage arrangements with people outside their group (Ogbu, 1974, p. 53). In the present study, people in the youth focus groups also complained about how some Luso-Canadian parents don't like for their children to have romantic involvements with those outside the community (Ch. 9 "Roles of Parents"). Noivo (1993, 1997) also described how the second-generation individuals in her study often enforced ethnic endogamy on their children

### **Folk Theories of "Making It"**

Ogbu also writes about the importance of "folk" theories of "making it" to the creation of alternative patterns of success amongst involuntary minorities (Ogbu, 1974, p. 16; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). For some involuntary minorities, their collective experiences with the opportunity structure of the dominant society has convinced them that they will not be able to overcome racism and discrimination and achieve a higher socioeconomic status. Thus, they develop alternative paths to economic success, some of which may be destructive to either family life, or the community (ex. selling drugs).

As was evident in Chapter 9, one of the predominant reason which participants cited for the underachievement in the community was that Luso-Canadians were removing their children from school, or dropping-out themselves, in disproportionate numbers in order to realize their own folk theories of success, in the form of home ownership and - sometimes - owning a small business. For the Portuguese with origins in the rural areas without any available educational options, these goals were not only a means of financial stability, they were traditionally regarded as the path of economic and social mobility and a way out of their marginalized status. Goldstein (1991) describes how home ownership amongst Portuguese immigrants is a means of attaining not only economic security, but also the social positioning that these individuals have been denied through their lack of educational and occupational status:

While adult immigrants with little previous education and financial responsibilities to their families may not be able to change their social status by obtaining a university education, they can, however, change it through economic mobility. Material success, most conspicuously symbolized by home ownership, is the means by which people can achieve social status. And in the pursuit of social status, the cultural practice of enlisting the assistance of family members has been directly transplanted from Portugal. (Goldstein, 1991, p. 176).

One Luso-Canadian student illustrated the importance which the accumulation of material wealth, and particularly a home, holds for many people in the community:

...what I see is a community with values that are very different than those which I would like. I see a community that is very concerned with money and material things. I see a community which has strength to work to have "a big car", "a big house" and "a big picnic" in the park on Saturday. (Marques, 1986) (my translation)

Another student related the life story of a man from São Miguel, Açores, whose lifelong dream was to be a property owner and businessman. The latter emigrated to Brazil, in 1949, where he worked in a hotel, then moved to Canada in 1961, where he purchased a "pool hall" (where his wife and daughter were put to work) and a mini-market (which he and his son ran). Finally, after working "without rest," he opened the Hotel Canadiano in his homeland of Ponta Delgada:

As always, this is a family business. The son is the manager of the hotel, the daughter the receptionist and he and his wife do everything so that things run smoothly. Today, my uncle is a happy man, with his dream realized. (Costa, 1986, p. 7)

One Luso-Canadian explained how home ownership became a symbol of social status largely because of the traditional inequality in land distribution in Portugal.

Coming from a society in which wealth was established on land and where their own poverty had resulted from the inequalities of the landholding system, the Portuguese always manifested a very strong desire for home ownership. All family members pursued this goal with stubborn determination and the costs included the initial segregation as well as their children's education. (Marques, 1992)

According to Noivo (1997, p. 47), for Portuguese males, migration (and its ultimate trappings of success) also symbolized a risky competition through which their personal character and abilities were proven:

In attaining the aimed economic success of their forefathers, they would gain social prestige and demonstrate their manly integrity as family providers from afar. (Noivo, 1997, p. 47)

As I have argued in one of the previous sections, for many of the Luso-Canadian young people who contributed to the present study, abandoning their parents' folk theories of success often represents entering into an unknown territory, where the patterns of conduct, roles and identity definitions are completely unknown to them. For this reason, many young Luso-Canadians have adopted their parent's economic and life goals. As one young person in Vancouver stated

in the present study:

My dream is to have a house, to provide for my children and, that's it... to be secure [...] I can't say... "look at Mister H," because I don't know what he does... I can't say "look at the Consul" [a community role model] because I've never seen him...

### **Marginalization**

The similarities between the experiences, attitudes and practices of Ogbu's Burgherside parents and Luso-Canadians are apparent. Yet, under Ogbu's theory, Portuguese-Canadians should neither think nor act in the way they do. Nor should they be failing to succeed in school. Despite this inconsistency, the discrepancies in Ogbu's theory do not invalidate most of his idea. They merely point the way to examining the importance of Ogbu's "community forces" from a different perspective.

Firstly, Ogbu's theory places an overly excessive degree of emphasis on the notion of race-based discrimination, as the sole factor generating the kinds of community attitudes which he identifies as being disadvantageous to academic achievement. This is apparent even *despite* the fact that much of his work was based upon the comparison of involuntary communities, such as the Black- and Hispanic-Americans, to the Chinese, (Ogbu, 1974, 1983).<sup>4</sup> In Ogbu's

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<sup>4</sup> In citing the example of the Chinese in the United States, Ogbu (1983) actually reinforces this notion that the essential element to school success is the factor of marginalization and the collective responses of minorities. Ogbu related that Chinese immigrants to that country in the beginning of this century, were an example of a voluntary minority that succeeded, despite facing similar discrimination to that of Blacks. Yet, he also stated that the Chinese initially desired American education as a means of achieving self-advancement back in China, or to make enough money to buy land and return to live in the landed gentry class (Ogbu, 1983, p. 187). Thus, they would be willing to endure the barriers and sacrifices of their lives, in order to achieve this goal for themselves and for their children. In essence, Ogbu is saying that the Chinese did not feel themselves, psychologically, to be residents of their marginalized situations, but were simply passing through, to an envisioned better future. Furthermore, as Ogbu himself stated, these individuals would be returning to a country where education was traditionally seen as a path to enlightenment and social mobility.

In contrast, the Portuguese, immigrated from a country where, traditionally, opportunities for advancement through schooling were virtually non-existent and where the rich and educated were often regarded with suspicion and contempt (Bradford, 1973, p. 135). As a result, Portuguese immigrants in Canada could not envision the same opportunity as Ogbu's Chinese, nor could many realistically conceive coming to North America simply to get an education which they would then take back to an empty, impoverished land.. Thus, although many Portuguese also came to this country with the equivalent "tourist mentality," which Ogbu described of voluntary immigrants, most of those who came with this attitude intended to return to Portugal to build a house. Few or none came to this country with the intention of getting an education, which would then be taken back with them to Portugal. Thus, Ogbu's Chinese did not feel themselves within the same marginalized situation as the Portuguese.

explanations, such factors as job ceilings and patterns of forced residential segregation are the main factors determining the type of community responses which are going to affect schooling. This is especially apparent in his explanations of the differences and relationships between minority groups and mainstream society. In these explanations, “white” is always synonymous with “mainstream” and minorities are always non-white.<sup>5</sup> For example, in only one of many instances where Ogbu & Simons (1998) describe Ogbu’s theory, the authors provide ample evidence of this dichotomizing,

To explain the minorities’ perceptions of and responses to education, the theory explores the impact of the white treatment of the minorities. (Ogbu, & Simons, 1998, pp. 158)

This is not to deny that racism is an insidious barrier to the active participation of many minority groups in mainstream North American life. Rather, it means that Ogbu has allowed this dichotomy, as well as the involuntary/voluntary categorization to obscure the most important part of his theory: This is that the same kind of marginalization from mainstream society, which affects involuntary minorities, such as the Black- and Mexican-Americans in his Stockton study, as well as a similar set of community responses which send young people outside of the schools to seek success, affects the Portuguese in Canada and throughout the world. The situation of social, cultural, political and economic marginalization in which the parents in Ogbu’s Stockton study were living, was the essential element within the underachievement problem which he examined, within which the issue of discrimination formed only one part. Once again, we can find many similarities between Ogbu’s involuntary minorities and the Portuguese, to illustrate how this marginalization occurred.

Firstly, many of Ogbu’s minority families had very similar beginnings to the Portuguese in Canada. Ogbu mentioned how the social and economic environment where Burgherside grandparents had been raised had not included recourse to education as a life alternative and even how formal education had not been regarded as an asset:

Burgherside grandparents grew up in communities where formal education was not considered necessary for social status or for the operation of the local economy. That many Burgherside grandparents did not finish high school or go to college was not because they lacked the motivation or the intellectual ability.

<sup>5</sup> For example, in his Stockton California study, Ogbu (1974) had problems dealing with the “other whites” category of residents of his low-income community. These included Spanish-descended and Mexican white Americans, as well as Portuguese, (p. 38-42). Ogbu never mentioned how he dealt with this group in his study.

They grew up in communities where neither the cultural values nor the social system included formal education. They grew up expecting to carry on the same rural economic activities as had their own parents, who were not educated: farm labour, sharecropping, domestic service and homemaking (Ogbu, 1974, p. 61)

This was very similar to the description of the limited opportunity structure which characterized much of Portuguese rural life, before the 1970's and 1980's (Bradford, 1973). The attitudes and practices of Luso-Canadian parents and grandparents were shaped by the vulnerable economic, political and educational environment which most Portuguese immigrants of the 50's, 60's and 70' had experienced in Portugal, as children. Traditionally, in rural areas, there were no avenues to which to turn, for those who desired to be anything other than a peasant farmer, or a merchant. There were no academic streams, no role models and few other options, except emigration or the priesthood, (Durães, 1987). Thus, the "folk theories of success" which resulted from these limitations then reflect these traditional patterns of economic and social mobility.

Secondly, Ogbu mentioned how the educational levels of Burgherside parents were very low. Some had never had any formal education, while others had only a few years (Ogbu, 1974, p. 60).

In the case of the Portuguese in Toronto, within the 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey, over one-third of Portuguese students reported that their parents had elementary school as their highest education (61%), the highest percentage of any group, and double the number reported for Greeks, (34%) and Italian students (34%). Adversely, Portuguese students had the lowest percentage of university educated parents (5%) (Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993). The case of the exceedingly low education levels amongst the Portuguese in Canada has already been mentioned in this study (Chapter 8). In this respect, it is also important to note that Arruda's (1993) study which was conducted in Vancouver with an unusually large proportion of Luso-Canadians from middle-class origins, found that many of these people had not had the same difficult problems of adjustment or family conflicts which have been widely reported in the rest of the literature on Luso-Canadian family life. This would seem to indicate that the factors of higher education and economic levels mitigate against some of the marginalizing and injurious elements which afflict other working-class, Luso-Canadian families.

Ogbu also described the occupational stratification of the Stockton community. For

example, the Mexican-Americans in his study were rarely found in managerial or supervisory positions (Ogbu, 1974, p. 46-49). These along with Black residents were also found most frequently amongst the unemployed. The present study has also illustrated how the Luso-Canadian community have one of the lowest rates of individuals in managerial positions, (Ch. 8), as well as how the disproportional unemployment of community members is regarded as a serious problem (Ch. 9 "Economic Marginalization").

Ogbu mentioned the job ceilings and discrimination which his minority parents experienced as one of the prime factors which affected students' perceptions towards the value of schooling.

Yet, this same job ceiling has also been reported by some Luso-Canadians. In a 1985 Goldfarb survey of ethnoracial groups, commissioned by a Toronto newspaper, Luso-Canadians were the least inclined to sense any prejudice or discrimination towards them as a group. However, they nonetheless felt that most of the prejudice against them was in getting skilled jobs, obtaining executive positions, management positions in government, obtaining government jobs, the wage rates they were paid and being considered for promotion (Toronto Star, 1985). Furthermore, in the 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey, Portuguese students with university-educated parents were considerably *less* likely than African blacks, *just as* likely as Canadian Blacks, and *the least* likely of any white group to have their parents employed in occupations which matched their educational qualifications (Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993, p. 36). In fact, these Luso-Canadian students were second only to Black students from the Caribbean in the proportions of their group which indicated that their parents worked in the "skilled" category, which is well below their level of university training (33% of the Portuguese vs. 36% of Caribbean Blacks and 26% overall).

The 1991 Every Secondary Student Survey also clearly illustrates the link between parental occupations and education levels and student success. In this report, over 90% of students from high socioeconomic background were found to be taking Advanced-level courses, while their counterparts whose parents were employed in unskilled jobs were over represented in the Basic and General levels of study (Cheng, Yau, & Ziegler, 1993; Yau, Cheng, & Ziegler, 1993). Students with parents who were skilled or semi-skilled were the largest single categories of students in General (41%) and Basic-levels (37%) of studies. Half

of those students in Advanced level had university-educated parents, while approximately 40% of those students in General and Basic levels had parents with secondary schooling and 25% had parents with elementary school. Portuguese students had the highest percentage of parents (61%) in skilled/semi-skilled jobs, These students worked the longest average hours (18) of part-time work, of any group.

In a similar fashion, parental education and income levels were also seen to influence students' academic objectives. While 77% of students from higher socioeconomic categories cited university as their post-secondary goal, only about 40% of those in lower socio-economic groups indicated this option. More alarmingly, however, a surprising number of students in the Basic and General levels did not seem to understand that their streams will not allow them to pursue university studies. Amongst those taking General level courses 15% aspire to enter university, while 36% of those taking Basic level studies also look towards this option (Yau, et. al., 1993, p. 10).

Besides describing how his minority parents were limited by their social and economic environment, Ogbu (1974) listed ways in which these individuals were also consequently disenfranchised from their children's schooling process. For example, he mentioned how Burgherside parents were unsatisfied with their children's academic achievement and how they also did not know enough about their children's progress. He further stated how they also felt powerless to help them or to change its direction (p. 89).

In the present study, Luso-Canadian parents also complained that their local schools were unresponsive to their demands and how these were unprepared to serve working-class students (Chapter 9, "Role of Schools and Government"). Yet, they also recognized that they had neither the education nor experience to help their children (Chapter 9, "Role of Parents"). These parents tended to focus upon a perceived lack of discipline within the classroom and to blame this tendency for the fact that students were not progressing in the manner which they should. People also complained that their local schools would not allow them to take the academic action which they deemed necessary, to help their children (ex. transfer to other schools). Finally, they complained about how the curriculum in local schools ignored the contributions of the Portuguese and of other ethnic groups.

The disenfranchisement of Ogbu's parents was not only limited to the schools. Ogbu

(1974, p. 51) described how this community was marginalized from the affairs of the surrounding society, by their lack of economic and political clout. The “taxpayers” (those from the wealthier and more influential part of town) were normally the ones who were considered the final arbiters of public policies, regarded as the ones who represent “citizens,” appointed to public boards, whose opinions are given importance, more widely covered in the local media (with the exception of coverage of violations of the law).

In the present study, Luso-Canadians also complained about how their community is not represented on public boards, how their wishes are ignored by local schools and governments and how the Portuguese language and culture is non-existent for the media and the education system (Ch. 9 “Role of Schools and Government”)

### **Summary**

In this section, I have attempted to point out some of the limitations of John Ogbu’s “Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance” (or Caste Theory) (Ogbu, 1978; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). I have illustrated that this theory does not account for the underachievement of the Portuguese in Canada who, under Ogbu’s model are a voluntary minority and therefore should not be failing in disproportionate numbers. I have also suggested that this has occurred because the model places an inordinate amount of importance on the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy and on the factor of discrimination as a marginalizing factor. Consequently, it fails to look at the fact of marginalization itself which underachieving minorities endure. In this fashion, I attempted to illustrate how the Portuguese in Canada display many of the same attributes, opinions, and role definitions which Ogbu has attributed to involuntary minorities. They also incorporate popular theories of success, which do not include reference to formal education. Finally, I have attempted to illustrate how the limitations of Ogbu’s theory point the way to examining the factor of marginalization as the important element in underachievement. I will now discuss how the ideas of Paulo Freire (1970) provide a model which can better explain the underachievement of the Portuguese in Canada, and which can lead to strategies that are designed to combat the community disempowerment which is at the root of underachievement.

## **The Approach of Paulo Freire**

As I have attempted to argue in the preceding pages, the prevailing theory on minority academic underachievement, the “Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance” postulated by the Anthropologist John Ogbu, (Ogbu & Simons, 1998) fails to account for the school failure of Luso-Canadian children within the Toronto school system. According to Ogbu’s theory, voluntary (or immigrant) minority groups, such as the Portuguese should not be experiencing ongoing academic problems. The difficulty which Ogbu’s model has displayed in accounting for the poor school performance of the Portuguese-Canadian community lies in the overarching importance which it places upon the manner in which a group has come to be marginalized within a dominant society (i.e. the voluntary/involuntary dichotomy) as well as on discrimination as a marginalizing factor, rather than upon examining the state of marginalization itself.

As I have further argued in the beginning of this discussion and in Chapter 9, the Luso-Canadian community is characterized both by the degree and the severity of its educational, economic, social, cultural and political marginalization. Therefore, I also contend that it is the fact of this isolation from mainstream society, along with the strategies which community members have developed to live within its boundaries - and not their voluntary or involuntary status - which defines the Luso-Canadian community and which has given rise to their children’s educational problems.

Thus, approaching the problem of underachievement from this perspective, necessitates recourse to a theoretical framework which describes the mechanisms of marginalization. Such a framework was provided by Paulo Freire (1970). In the following section, I will illustrate how the ideas of Paulo Freire, espoused mainly in his book Pedagogy of the Oppressed best explain the underachievement of the Portuguese in Canada. I will also elaborate upon how they provide a basis for collective community analysis and action, which may begin to deal with this problem. Throughout this discussion, I will adopt the premise that the term “oppression” is synonymous with “marginalization.”

Freire’s model describes a process of education for poor and illiterate adults, which guides them towards a critical awareness of their existential situation as dominated beings, within a dominant society. However, Freire’s theory is also a philosophical analysis of the

relationships between human beings and the parts which learning, knowledge and power play within these relationships. Freire's theory is useful to the situation of the Portuguese in Canada because it describes not only the mechanisms which are used by a dominant social group (the oppressors) to maintain control over dominated ones (the oppressed), but it also explains how and why a subordinate minority such as the Portuguese acquiesces to remain within its marginalized state.

According to Paulo Freire (1970) man's vocation is to humanize. Freire states that, human beings are involved in the continual struggle to humanize, or, as he also puts it, to "name the world" and the "word" (Freire, 1970, pp. 75-76). Also according to Freire, the process of humanizing others, or of naming them as "people," as distinct from "objects," is also one of humanizing oneself. For Freire, the basic issue underlying the relationship between a dominant and a dominated group is then of seeing others as authentic human beings.

Freire chose this issue of humanization as the starting point for his treatise. Yet, he went one step further and stated that humanization is also the "constant vocation" of man (Freire, 1970, p. 28). Freire felt that, what is necessary for this humanization, or as he also termed it a "naming of the world" is a true dialogue between people. He further affirmed that love is the essential foundation to this dialogue (p. 75-118).

Thus, if one accepts Freire's ideas, one may conceive that, the fact of identifying with a particular ethnic, family or social group, seeing oneself as one of them and extending the love of brotherhood or kinship to its members, is in essence, a playing out of one's vocation to humanize both the people of that group, as well as oneself. This capacity to humanize those who are culturally and immediately closest to us constitutes an example of one of our most basic forms of humanization, that is, of seeing others as people, as distinct from objects.

Yet, it is also in identifying with one group or another that people often encounter dehumanization. If we accept that membership in a distinct ethnic class or social group provides security, as sense of belonging and an opportunity for humanization, then, the devaluation, discrimination or persecution of that group constitutes dehumanization. These may be regarded as a distortion of this need to humanize oneself. This is because, these attitudes are attempts to depersonalize others - in essence, to regard those who are different as non-human, as objects. As Freire states,

Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality.(Freire, 1970, p. 27)

These attitudes arise essentially in an attempt to perceive oneself as, somehow by comparison, more human. In fact, once one accepts Freire's premise that man's vocation is to humanize, one must then also acknowledge that humanization is possible only because its corollary, dehumanization is also possible.

In much the same fashion, when one extends this idea to the level of communities or societal groups, one can see how a dominant society needs a subordinate society, for the perpetuation of its position as a dominant group. The idea, or existence, of a dominant group is inherently founded on the existence of groups which are socially subordinate. Furthermore a dominant society - since it is composed of individuals who, themselves, are exercising their vocation to humanize and to be more human - will act in the same fashion as an individual. In fact, throughout his book, Freire does not indicate whether he is describing the individual or the collective: The "oppressor" and the "oppressed" are never identified as either one or a group of people.

Thus, for those within a dominant society to keep alive their view of themselves as human beings, it is often necessary to develop and perpetuate "dehumanizing" practices, policies and attitudes, which promote the inferiorization of subordinate groups and their cultures and which serve to maintain those of economically, racially, ethnically or socially different groups in a subordinate position.

Within the relationship between "oppressors" and "oppressed," education is often an effective means, or mechanism, of assuring this continued domination. It is a means through which the masses within a minority population may be taught a cultural and philosophical "norm" which is acceptable to the dominant group. As Freire stated,

The educated man is the adapted man, because he is a better 'fit' for the world. Translated into practice, this concept is well suited to the purposes of the oppressors, whose tranquillity rests on how well men fit the world the oppressors have created, and how little they question it. (Freire, 1970, p. 63)

Freire's idea's were echoed by a priest with whom McLaren (1986) spoke, who stated that the school system saw a danger in their Luso-Canadian students and what they

represented:

I don't think the schools are threatening the Portuguese kids, I think the schools are threatened by the Portuguese. I think the teachers are threatened. (McLaren, 1986, p. 77)

What lies, then, at the heart of the discrimination or persecution of one group by another, or even at the heart of an education system which seeks to mold its minority groups into a procrustean norm is, in essence, a process of dehumanization. For example, the education of working-class minority children, within a school system that is controlled, administered and staffed by individuals from a dominant mainstream culture is - throughout all areas of the world - inherently a process of "dehumanization" (such as Freire (1970) has described it). This is because, the attempt to assimilate these students into a middle-class cultural and behavioural pattern is, quintessentially, the struggle to negate that which renders another human being, or group, as unique; that is, his or her culture, language, historical experiences and the particular way in which he or she views the world. A number of educators have provided evidence of this reality. Richard Rodriguez stated of his schooling experiences:

What I am about to say to you has taken me more than twenty years to admit: *A primary reason for my success in the classroom was that I couldn't forget that schooling was changing me and separating me from the life I enjoyed before becoming a student, [italics in original].* (Rodriguez, 1982, p. 45)

Similarly, Peter McLaren described the school which he studied as a "concrete and formica womb" where Azorean working-class students "were processed," through a culture of pain (McLaren, 1986, p. 162), where they were stripped of their mystery, where teachers attempted to eradicate their dangerous "primal condition" (their culture) and where the imposition of the "student state" was a denigration of their identity as a social class (p. 35). The main mission of the teachers in his school was to produce "good Catholics and good workers." (p. 175). McLaren also made the point that their strategy for doing this was essentially by and by instilling middle-class culture within these students.

The strategies and tactics chosen by the teachers to enforce the symbolic order of the school were those that corresponded most closely to middle-class mores. (McLaren, 1986, p. 221)

and,

...to be a Catholic student meant to acquire the ideology of the professional (educational) ruling class - an ideology "trapped" in the symbolic traffic of the

ritual structures. (McLaren, 1986, p. 209)

Ivan Illitch called schools the equivalent of powerful churches that were the repository of society's myth, the institution of that myth's contradiction's and the locus of the ritual which reproduces and veils the disparities between myth and reality (Illitch, 1970, p. 54). He continued:

The totally destructive and constantly progressive nature of obligatory instruction will fulfil its ultimate logic unless we begin to liberate ourselves right now from our pedagogical hubris, our belief that man can do what God cannot, namely, manipulate others for their own salvation. (Illitch, 1970, p. 73)

One of McLaren's students described the pain and self-loathing which this process inflicts upon students:

I wouldn't mind learning so much if we could just feel good about living."  
(McLaren, 1986, p. 154).

Freire recognized that the attempt to assimilate, or to negate uniqueness, is an act of what he terms, the "oppressor" and is an act whereby other human beings are turned into objects:

Any situation in which "A" objectively exploits "B" or hinders his pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression. Such a situation in itself constitutes violence, even when sweetened by false generosity, because it interferes with man's ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human. (Freire, 1970, p. 40).

Referring to the case of minority children in Britain, Madan Sarup makes a declaration in the book The Politics of Multiracial Education which explains the point above "If you ignore the background, race and culture of black and Indian children, you are rejecting them and their identity" (Sarup, 1986, p. 10).

In the face of inferiorization by a dominant social group, a minority consciousness is reaffirmed, in a parallel manner to the way in which the vocation for humanization is constantly affirmed by the negation of dehumanization. As man struggles to affirm his humanity in the face of oppression, so does the group also seek to affirm its culture – the expressed manifestations of the humanity of its members – as a means of protecting its people from dehumanization. This same message, that one's humanity is intrinsically tied to a sense of cultural identity, was communicated by a young participant in Feuerverger's (1991) study on heritage language and ethnic identity:

I feel that learning your ethnic language at school makes you feel like a whole

person. You don't have to feel ashamed of your culture, on the contrary, you can feel that you are as good as anyone else.(Feuerverger, 1991, p. 14)

Similarly, one individual in the present study from Ottawa-Hull also commented on the essential link between the cultural affirmation of the Portuguese in Canada and the asserting of their humanity:

There is a very great need to really assert our presence; or, in other words, to say 'we are living, we are here, there is much which has to be done.'

### **Marginalizing Factors**

As scholars like Cummins, (1988, 1989, 1996), McLaren (1986), Becker (1990) and Januario (1992) have illustrated, the processes at work in the attempt at the "dehumanization" of members of minority groups who live within dominant societies are often subtle and insidious and they often operate simultaneously at the level of the wider society, as well as within the policy and practices of our education system. I will now present some of the factors which Freire has identified as being either markers or tools of oppression (marginalization), in order to illustrate the manner in which this model accurately describes the forces that are at work in perpetuating the marginalization of the Luso-Canadian students.

Firstly, Freire mentions how "oppression" is perpetuated amongst subordinated minorities by an educational practice which he called "banking education" (Freire, 1970, p. 57) and what Cummins (1989, p. 59) has termed "transmission." This is the simple transmission of knowledge, from teacher to student without critical dialogue or consideration of reality. "Banking education" is made possible by an attitude of cultural and social superiority over the dominated group, amongst the members of the dominant class. Freire describes this,

The one who is doing the decreeing defines himself and the class to which he belongs as those who know or were born to know; he thereby defines others as alien entities. The words of his own class come to be the "true" words, which he imposes or attempts to impose on the others: the (sic) oppressed, whose words have been stolen from them." (Freire, 1970, p. 129)

McLaren (1986) provided a description of the type of "banking" education which was occurring in his school of study. He observed how his Azorean student were "like prisoners in iron cages" (p. 112) and how they were "reduced to mere spectators" (p. 117) by the type of teaching instruction which was being delivered. He mentioned how his students did not want

to recite texts, but rather wanted to create them (p. 170). According to McLaren, this was not the result of mishandled teaching techniques but, rather, a system of instruction where the implicit message was much more important than what was being taught. Portuguese students were being conditioned for the complacency and servitude of the factory floor. According to McLaren (1986, p. 35), rituals were the “distilled meanings, embodied in rhythms and gestures.” to accept these rituals would be to accept their meaning. Similarly, Cummins has affirmed:

The microinteractions between educators and students not only reflect the relations of culture and power in the society, they *constitute* these relations and thereby embody a transformative potential. (Cummins, 1994, p. 13)

Even many of the so-called “progressive” educators fall prey to the underlying assumptions of cultural superiority, which gives rise to “Banking education.” For example, Mortimer Adler of the *Paiadeia* Proposal, puts forth his belief that schools should compensate for the “inequality of nurturing” which some children receive as a result of the “cultural inequality” of their homes and environments (Adler, 1982, pp. 37-39).

This type of attitude reflects one of the dominant beliefs within the literature on Luso-Canadian underachievement and was especially apparent amongst some of the teachers in McLaren’s (1986) study, as well as in much of the anecdotal material pertaining to the education of Portuguese children. Luso-Canadian youth were often regarded, even by progressive educators, as “culturally deprived” and needing to be lifted out of the negative influence of their parent’s culture.

However, while this attitude concerning the Portuguese is often held by teachers and other individuals in the mainstream, many community members often feel the same way. For example, a great number of the Luso-Canadian participants in the present study were, themselves, very critical of the attitudes and practices of those in their own community, regarding their role in the underachievement issue (Chapter 9, “Role of the Community”, “Role of Parents”). Some of these participants went as far as to state that many Portuguese parents don’t care at all about their children, or that they cared more about the paycheques which these could earn for the family.

This type of attitude amongst marginalized or oppressed minorities is well described in

Freire's mode. Freire (1970) states that the "oppressed" have a tendency towards self-depreciation since they have adopted the "oppressor" as their "model of manhood" and of humanity (pp. 29-30). According to Freire, the dominant classes set the "model of manhood" (pp.30-31), for those that are dominated: "...to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor..." (p. 33). The oppressed also hold a strong belief in the invulnerability of the dominant group (Freire, 1970, pp. 49-50).

It is clear from the results of this study, that many people in the Portuguese community have strongly internalized varying degrees of deprecating beliefs about their own group. Throughout this study, not only did the participants accuse Portuguese parents and other community members of allowing - and even encouraging - the widespread early-school-leaving of Luso-Canadian youth, but they also admonished these members for their lack of interest and participation in politics, the unwillingness of many people to learn English, their lack of integration in Canadian society and their "closed-minded" mentality. People also berated Luso-Canadian youth, for having a sense of shame and inferiority about their Portuguese identity, and for rejecting their parent's language and culture.<sup>6</sup> This sense of shame is described by Bulger (1987) who recognized it as a result of "social conditioning":

The adolescent begins to perceive this social conditioning and hides himself, humiliated, behind a strange comportment, which manifests itself in various ways, either through an excessive timidity or through the presentation of a forced "canadianism," refusing to "be" Portuguese or to speak Portuguese. It is from this whence arises the adaptation of the name, changed over to the English phonetics and, in extreme cases, a rejection of the family and of his origins. (Bulger, 1987, p. 11)

In her study, Noivo (1977) also remarked on how the second-generation individuals in her study have internalized a sense of inadequacy of themselves and of their limited places within Canadian society:

I found that, like most parents, the second generation wants their children to acquire "cultural capital" in the form of a higher education and marketable skills, perceived as enabling them to eventually get those "good" jobs that bring economic security and social respectability. But unlike most middle-class

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<sup>6</sup> Most of these reports concerning shame and inferiority amongst youth came from the smaller and more isolated communities, as well as those in the Province of Quebec, where participants reported a certain degree of stereotyping and denigration of the Portuguese. It would be interesting to see what the results would be of a study comparing the ethnic identity attitudes and patterns of Luso-Canadian youth living in large Portuguese communities, with those living in smaller and more isolated ones, or a similar investigation between youth in areas where different degrees of prejudice against the Portuguese was occurring.

Canadian parents, the second generation suffers the type of class injuries discussed in chapter one, namely, lack of self-worth, social respect, and dignity. These parents tend to blame themselves both for their own and for their children's low educational and occupational levels. Because the majority see Canada as an open and mobile society based on merit and equal opportunity, many parents also feel personally responsible for and embarrassed of their children's poor academic achievement. Like other working-class members, they interpret "their" failure to move up the social ladder as individual inadequacy and not as a structural problem. Accordingly, these parents ordinarily voice strong regrets for "having made nothing" of themselves, for "not having gone to night school," and for "not having been given the opportunity to continue studying." (Noivo, 1997, pp. 88-89)

These internalizations of negative beliefs about themselves within marginalized communities ultimately result in a duality of being amongst the oppressed. Freire states that this occurs because, in internalizing the "oppressor" as their model of manhood, the oppressed become "at one and the same time the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized":

The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in their innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. Yet, although they desire authentic existence, they fear it. They are at one and the same time themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. (Freire, 1970, p. 32)

This part of Freire's theory accurately describes the cultural duality of Luso-Canadian young people, which has been widely reported in the literature on Luso-Canadians and which was also reported in this study. In this respect, it is also interesting to note that these reports surfaced mainly in the focus groups in Quebec, where a certain degree of denigration of the Portuguese was reported, as well as in smaller and more remote areas, where young people are isolated from contact with other Luso-Canadians.

Freire (1970) also described how marginalization is one important tool of "oppression." This occurs in order to prevent the dominated group from critically examining their position in their society.

Within Ontario schools, marginalization is epitomized by the process of streaming weaker students into basic and general-level programmes of study, a factor which has negatively affected Luso-Canadian youth for years. This is the factor of the school system that has been the most contested by the Toronto Portuguese Parents' Association over the years, as well as by other Luso-Canadians (Royal Commission on Learning, 1995; Toronto Portuguese Parents Association. n.d.). In a report on Ontario's education system, George Radwanski

argues that streaming is a social injustice, in that it places lower-class children into streams where the content and expectations of their education are greatly reduced, thereby perpetuating socioeconomic differences (Radwanski, 1987, pp. 153).

Another form of marginalization of Luso-Canadian children and their parents is stereotyping. Stereotyping imposes limits on those individuals, or collectives, which are feared, disliked or which pose a threat to a comfortable status-quo. It is dehumanizing, in that, it negates people their full range of human attributes and their affinities to those who are doing the stereotyping. Freire recognizes stereotyping as one mark of the oppressors;

Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognize others as persons – not by those who are oppressed, exploited and unrecognized... For the oppressors, however, it is always the oppressed (whom they obviously never call 'the oppressed' but – depending on whether they are fellow countrymen or not – 'those people' or 'the blind and envious masses' or 'savages' or 'natives' or 'subversives') who are disaffected, who are 'violent'." 'barbaric', 'wicked', or 'ferocious' when they react to the violence of the oppressors. (Freire, 1970, p. 41)

The individuals in this study, especially those in the province of Quebec, mentioned stereotyping as an issue within their community, which lessened their capacity to participate in society, especially in such things as public office.

One of stereotyping's most subtle manifestation is the categorizing of children as "minorities", "immigrants" or as children with "special needs." Freire addresses himself to this type of benevolent stereotyping and identifies it as an attempt to deflect attention from the injustices inherent in a system,

Indeed, the interests of the oppressors lie in "changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them," for the more the oppressed can be led to adapt to that situation, the more easily they can be dominated. To achieve this end, the oppressors use the banking concept of education in conjunction with a paternalistic social action apparatus, within which the oppressed receive the euphemistic title of "welfare recipients." They are treated as individual cases, as marginal men who deviate from the general configuration of a 'good, organized, and just' society. The oppressed are regarded as the pathology of the healthy society, which must therefore adjust these 'incompetent and lazy' folk to its own patterns by changing their mentality. These marginals need to be 'integrated', 'incorporated' into the healthy society that they have 'forsaken'(Freire, 1970, pp. 60-61)

Much of the information within the literature on Luso-Canadian educational issues repeatedly transmits this belief (ex. Coelho, 1976; Ferguson, 1964) Sarup, in an examination of the

failure of the British education system to adequately serve black youth, gives a description which is eerily similar to that which has been transmitted through the literature about Luso-Canadian youth and rebuts this manner of viewing the educational problem:

To put it bluntly, 'social pathology' was the justification for compensatory programmes. This view assumed that black pupils in British schools were 'problems': that [sic] they suffered from culture shock, negative self-images and identity crises, and that their language structures were inadequate and inhibited learning. Blame was thus placed on the students, but educational theorists went further – they traced the causes of these problems to the black families. This racist 'common sense' justified educational practices which were remedial, compensatory or coercive. It is probable that the narrow emphasis on Black Studies... merely solidified racial stereotypes. (Sarup, 1986 p. 16).

Seeing students as the problems often result in predetermined expectations, on the part of those working for the benefit of a minority population. This leads to a lack of faith in the resources of the latter, and to a self-fulfilling prophecy which perpetuates the failure of reforms. Freire describes this tendency amongst individuals of the dominant group who would help those who are dominated,

They almost always bring with them the marks of their origin; their (sic) prejudices and their deformations, which include a lack of confidence in the people's ability to think, to want, and to know. (Freire, 1970, p. 46)

Those in the educational system often expect minority children to do poorly in school, and therefore, often allow them to do so. Radwanski laments the relegation of children of low socioeconomic backgrounds to inferior tiers of education, characterized by low expectations and ill-defined outcomes (Radwanski, 1987, p. 78) Radwanski also states,

There is strikingly clear evidence... that a sense of having been rejected or ignored by the education system is a key characteristic of dropouts. (Radwanski, 1987, p. 89)

The stereotyping and portrayal of Luso-Canadian children as problems occurs even amongst those who purport to study ways to lessen the community's problems. As I described in Chapter 4, Peter McLaren's (1986) analysis of the ritual system in a mainly-Portuguese inner city school is interspersed with graphic vignettes of violent or disgusting behaviour on the part of Luso-Canadian students. In a similar fashion, Dodick (1998) offered the following incident as an introduction to the cultures of Sydney Carton (a fictitious name for an inner city school with a high Luso-Canadian student population) and Charles Darnay (a school in a

middle-class, English-speaking, Canadian-born neighbourhood):

One of my first impressions of the school came during my first visit there. Upon leaving the building, I saw a fight breaking out between two boys on the playground. When I tried to intervene, I was confronted by one of the boys who yelled, "Hey, who are you, a cop? Where do you come from, 52 division?" For me, this incident seemed to bring to light the harsh nature of attending school in the inner-city. This was in direct contrast to the pristine playground atmosphere at Charles Darnay where the children seemed well monitored and protected. (Dodick, 1998, p. 97)

The implicit message - either consciously drawn or not - that was communicated by the above text set the tone for the remainder of the study: This was that, there is an association between Luso-Canadian youth, their environment and violent behaviour.

Cultural negation is another device which results in the marginalization of a minority society. Freire describes this as a tendency of an oppressed class to negate the knowledge of the oppressed, in order for "banking education" to better succeed. One's culture, is summarily deemed "irrelevant."

In Toronto schools, this is accomplished by a lack of valuing of the language and culture of Portuguese students. This was a factor that was often raised in the focus groups (Chapter 9 "Role of Schools"). Dodick (1998) mentioned how some of the Luso-Canadian students in one of his target schools had little interest in learning about their own culture and using the Portuguese language (p. 87).

Cultural negation and a belief in the superiority of the oppressor is important in assuring the effectiveness of "cultural invasion." Freire describes this type of action as the imposition of the oppressor's view of the world upon those they invade (Freire, 1970, p. 150). Cultural invasion is often evident in North American schools in the teaching of history, for example, the history of North American Indians. This issue was raised across a number of focus groups, where people deplored the fact that the Portuguese language and culture are not recognized, and not promoted. Most troubling to people was how the contributions of the Portuguese to world history are rarely mentioned in schools.

Cultural invasion is also accompanied by manipulation; which is another instrument for the preservation of domination. Freire proclaims, 'Through manipulation, the dominant elites can lead the people into an unauthentic type of 'organization' and can thus avoid the threatening

alternative” (Freire, 1970, p. 145).

Manipulation is also accompanied by attempts to divide and rule a dominated population. Freire describes this “divide and rule” as another tactic of the oppressor,

It is in the interest of the oppressor to weaken the oppressed still further, to isolate them, to create and deepen rifts among them. This is done by varied means, from the repressive methods of the government bureaucracy to the forms of cultural action with which they manipulate the people by giving them the impression that they are being helped. (Freire, 1970, p. 137)

The disunity amongst Luso-Canadians is one example of this factor at work. The seeds of disunity were sewn in Portugal by political and intellectual elites whose interests lay in the perpetuation of poverty and in preventing popular uprisings. Within the Luso-Canadian community, many people complained in the focus groups about local leaders who intrigued and fought amongst each other and who did not serve the community, except when their best interests were involved. Bulger, (1987, p. 19) also talks about how school system in Canada sometimes tries to integrate Luso-Canadian children into society, but how there is a great fear of “convivência.” Each maintains themselves isolated, defending the rituals of the clan, in a manner that is similar to Northrop Frye’s “garrison mentality.”

Tokenism and paternalism are described by Freire as another mark of an oppressor. He cautions the individual who would help the people through these means,

Rationalizing his guilt through paternalistic treatment of the oppressed, all the while holding them fast in a position of dependence, will not do. Solidarity requires that one enter into the situation of those with whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture. (Freire, 1970, p. 34)

The confusing policy of Multiculturalism, the piecemeal approach to the support of the cultures of specific ethnic groups, the promotion of “community leaders” who are neither representative of the people, nor who work in the group’s best interest, are also divisive and paternalistic gestures by the host society aimed at deflecting attention from the lack of progress on important issues amongst ethnic groups. This “zoological view of ethnicity” (the valuing of ethnic identities only within the confines of their marginalized niche in society) is recognized by Sarup when he states,

Within this model cultural diversity is tolerable so long as it neither impedes progress to “integration” nor explicitly challenges the cultural assumptions of Anglo centric white society (Sarup, p. 1986, 17)

A similar complaint was voiced by the activist parents in Dehli & Januario's (1994) study, when they described how the gains which they had made within their local schools after years of mobilizing had been only superficial.

### **A Freireian Approach**

With the preceding argument, I am not suggesting that the case of the underachievement of Luso-Canadians has arisen from the same types, or degree, of political and economic oppression that afflicted the Brazilian peasants about which Freire was writing. Freire (1988) wrote that "oppression" and "dehumanization" exist as phenomena in their own right (apart from whatever political situation might exist) In other words, people are constantly finding ways - in whatever context - to objectify others, despite the fact of this being a distortion of the struggle to be more fully human,

Concern for humanization leads at once to the recognition of dehumanization, not only as an ontological possibility but as an historical reality. (p. 27)

I have simply attempted to illustrate how Paulo Freire's model is applicable to the mechanics of marginalization within which the Luso-Canadian community is situated. In particular, his ideas seem to account for the very self-perpetuation of social problems, such as illiteracy, violence, poverty and academic underachievement. For Freire, the existence of the ontological possibilities of "oppression" and "dehumanization" are what gives rise to certain dominating social factors, which then become the very means towards this continuing domination. In order to perpetuate domination (i.e. in order to give charity), "...the oppressors must perpetuate injustice.." (p. 29).

This is a similar point to that which I have attempted to present in this discussion. The marginalized state of Luso-Canadian families generates the very conditions and responses that perpetuate their isolation and exclusion from mainstream society. Thus, in order to address the underachievement problem, it is thus necessary to address the community's marginalized state.

In this respect, the work of Paulo Freire (1970) also provides a blueprint for action to addresses this very issue. Freire's models of community reflection and action, investigation of generative themes, and the awakening of critical consciousness amongst oppressed communities (Freire, 1970, pp. 75-118) is the type of empowering approach which is

necessary to awaken a community whose sense of disempowerment is rooted in a myriad of traditional and present-day limit-situations.

The present project has merely provided a voice for a mostly voiceless community. However, this voice - in itself - will not constitute, nor bring about the necessary change to alter the community's pattern of underachievement. Neither will an education programme designed - according to a "banking education" approach - to bring "enlightenment" to previously "unenlightened" parents. This project did not constitute the *praxis* (the marriage of reflection and action) which Freire deemed essential to a truly transformative and reality-changing exercise (Freire, 1970, p. 91). However, a follow-up project based on Freire's methodology and designed along the lines of the Participatory Research Approach could bring the themes and transcripts collected by this project back to the community, for just such an exercise and community action. The only process which will be able to generate alternative solutions for the issues raised in this study will be one which directly involves community members in reflecting and acting upon their perceptions of the realities which limit their lives.

This kind of project will have direct implications within the newly restructured education system in this province. It could conceivably bring about a greater participation on the part of Luso-Canadian parents within the School Advisory Councils, of local schools.

Secondly, recent years have seen the Provincial government taking a greater share of the power to make educational decisions away from local communities. In this respect, the role of parents in helping their children and their local schools to mitigate the inequities which are already present between schools in working-class and middle-class neighbourhoods becomes even more crucial.

Finally, a project designed to empower community members will inevitably benefit Luso-Canadian children and youth, who have been clamouring for a greater community unity and a greater voice in the affairs of mainstream society.

### **Implications**

With regards to the implications of the present study: These will be felt more greatly and more immediately within the ranks of government, schools and the social services. Educators now have tangible evidence that Luso-Canadians are very concerned with the

education of their children. Secondly, they will need to better understand and work with the community around the issues concerning the inability of schools to respond to parent's concerns.

This report will also serve as to clarify the work of community leaders - particularly the Directors of the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress - who must now work with their own community around education and empowerment.

Lastly, this was the first time that the community had taken stock of its issues and problems, on a national scale. Governments now have at their disposal a testimonial to the concerns and wishes of a sizable portion of the nation's population. They will also have to take stock of the real concerns and of this community.

## **CHAPTER 11**

### **CONCLUSION**

Within this dissertation, I have attempted to illustrate the reciprocal relationship which exists between the social, economic and political marginalization of the Portuguese in Canada and the eventual underachievement of Luso-Canadian children in our schools.

I began this thesis with a recounting of some of the personal and existential considerations which affected my decision to enter university. In this respect, I attempted to show how these choices were often influenced by the expectations, demands, role and identity definitions that were held by myself, my family, community and mainstream society. I also hinted at how these definitions were often moulded by the social and economic conditions under which my parents and my community existed, both prior to, and after immigrating to this country.

The issues which I described also affected the majority of Luso-Canadian children in our Public and Separate Schools. In fact, as I went on to illustrate, many failed to function at appropriate academic levels. For a number of decades, disproportionate number of Luso-Canadian children and youth have been leaving school earlier, studying at significantly lower levels and have been over represented in Special Education programmes.

Yet, despite the longstanding call of Portuguese parents and educators for answers, most researchers and scholars of the Portuguese in Canada have ignored this problem. Until the present study, the few works which had been completed on the education of the Luso-Canadian community had either been centred on school practices (in the case of primary research studies conducted in the schools), or on detailing the cultural failings and maladaptation of Luso-Canadian children and their families (in the case of the general and anecdotal literature, which described the issue through personal conjecture or limited interviews). This body of work ignored both the role of community attitudes and practices on the educational decisions of young people, as well as how these responses have themselves been influenced by the vulnerable social, economic and political situation of community members.

Furthermore, previous research studies had further been limited in that they had also

not been grounded in the literature on minority underachievement. Nor had these research projects ever been directed and undertaken by community members. This is despite the fact that the theoretical literature on minority academic underachievement has pointed to the fact that the way in which minority members perceive and respond to the larger-world social and economic context in which they live will often determine how they will respond to the academic barriers which they encounter in school.

For these reasons, the present study has attempted to examine the issue of academic underachievement in the Luso-Canadian community from a participatory-research, community-development perspective. As such, this study was entirely conceived, designed and realized by members of the Luso-Canadian community.

The use of participatory methods to examine this problem was a novel strategy in two respects: Firstly, this approach had not yet been attempted in the study of the Portuguese in Canada. While participatory research has been successfully undertaken for many years in so-called Third-World, or “developing,” countries, it has only been applied with difficulty, and limited success, in Canada and the United States. The second aspect was its novel application, within this context, to the issue of academic underachievement.

In the process of describing what they felt to be the major issues which their communities were facing, the Luso-Canadians who participated in this study identified educational issues, and particularly the lack of fluency in English and French, the academic underachievement of the community’s young people, the lack of participation in job retraining programmes, and the lack of promotion of the Portuguese language and culture as the problems that were most pressing for the community’s future. The economic, social, cultural political and social issues raised by these individuals portrayed a community which was marginalized educationally, economically, socially, politically and culturally. These participants also commented on the roles which they felt to be played by Portuguese-Canadian parents and youth, the community, government and the schools in the perpetuation of these problems. People often described how the marginalized roles which were adopted by some community members were both a direct result of the marginalized educational and economic situation and also, themselves, perpetuated this same situation for the community’s children. For example, people commented on how the lack of integration of many Luso-Canadians in the affairs of

mainstream society was directly related to the lack of English (or French) fluency and the lack of education and social status of these individuals. Yet, this lack of integration was also regarded as one of the factors which itself perpetuated the marginalization of the community's children and which led to an abandonment of educational goals.

This study has also pointed out the limitations of John Ogbu's "Cultural-Ecological Theory of School Performance" (Ogbu, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1987, 1991; Ogbu & Simons, 1998). Ogbu's contribution was in highlighting the importance within academic achievement, of understanding the way in which minority members perceive their social and economic context. His theory also clearly shows how the combination of a marginalized state and the presence of folk-theories of success which perpetuate these conditions will result in the underachievement and further marginalization of these groups.

However, Ogbu's theory places an inordinate amount of importance upon the manner in which a group has come to be marginalized, rather than on the fact of marginalization itself. The present study clearly shows that the Portuguese, who are a "voluntary" minority under Ogbu's classification, are nonetheless underachieving, on a long-lasting basis, in much the same fashion as the "involuntary" minorities which he has described. This study also suggests that - much like the Mexican- and African-American subjects in Ogbu's (1974) Stockton California study - Portuguese-Canadians are similarly marginalized economically, politically and socially. They have developed similarly disadvantaging folk-theories of success and disparaging attitudes regarding their scholastic capacities, economic roles and social standing. Many young Luso-Canadians are reacting to educational barriers in much the same fatalistic fashion as Ogbu's minority children. Thus, they are feeling themselves incapable of - or uninterested in - succeeding in school and are dropping out.

In one important respect, the Luso-Canadians in this study hold attitudes which are different from the "involuntary" minorities described by Ogbu: Although in Toronto they are underachieving at rates that are comparable to those of "involuntary" minorities in this city, they generally do not attribute the lack of success of their children to discrimination or lack of opportunity, but rather focus upon disadvantaging attitudes which are prevalent in their community, which favour work over education. In other words, despite having recognized the presence of underlying economic and historical reasons for underachievement (ex. the

community's low education levels, their lower incomes, etc.) the participants in this study nonetheless were most critical about the role of parents and other community members in perpetuating this problem.

This "blaming" of their own community, on the part of Luso-Canadians, cannot be ignored or dismissed outrightly, as some studies have done in the past, since this negates the very agency which people feel over their own affairs, and serves only to further disempower these community members. As Ogbu and Simons (1998, p. 158) have stated: "Minority members are not helpless victims." Consequently, no researcher should consider them as such; for to do so is to negate their accumulated knowledge and to further negate their power to solve their own problems.

However, it is often difficult, in a study such as this, to communicate that a problem has been essentially attributed to community practices and attitudes, without further stereotyping and marginalizing the very community that the study was meant to assist. Noivo, (1997) has described the pitfall which many an author or researcher has fallen into, when studying the difficulties of minorities, such as the Portuguese in Canada:

There is a societal tendency to categorize minority families as "problems" instead of realizing how those families cope with problems. (Noivo, 1997, p. 137)

Thus, understanding how to navigate the fine line between these two concepts is the key to a fuller understanding of these problems.

It is within this context that the work of Paulo Freire (1970) is the most valuable. Freire's ideas explain the mechanisms of marginalization and domination. In this sense, they aptly explain the difficulty which many Portuguese-Canadian families are encountering in overcoming their marginalized status and in struggling against the social reproduction of their children. Yet they also do so without placing blame on these individuals, or denying the popular sense amongst community members that community practices and attitudes are often behind the perpetuation of this problem. The Freirian approach does not attempt to negate the fact that Luso-Canadians are responsible for their own affairs and that they possess free-will. However, it places the knowledge of people's agency within the context of a limiting and marginalizing social situation. Luso-Canadian children in Canada are underachieving because

their parents have made decisions in the past which were based on an intuitive understanding of their marginalized, economic and cultural status, both in Portugal as well as in Canada. Their children, meanwhile, are reproducing this marginalized community status, exactly because their lower education levels lead to a concomitant lack of economic and political power. These - in turn - foster a continuing reliance on the interdependencies, reciprocal rights and obligations which comprise the tightly-knit, yet isolated, Luso-Canadian family. This was one of the important points stressed by Noivo (1997), when she described the “indolence” of much of the third generation. This was also an issue that was brought up repeatedly by the people in the focus groups, who complained that young people were failing to take their rightful place amongst the different echelons of Canadian society.

More importantly the ideas of Paulo Freire offer a way for these community members to overcome their “limit-situations,” through their own powers of communal action. This project, itself, and especially the formal study which resulted from it (Nunes, 1998a, 1998b) has been as much an affirmation of this community power, as it has been an exercise in creating a dissertation. The wide number of people who contributed to its development and realization, and the themes which eventually emerged, have set the stage for the progression of a second-stage of this Participatory Research project, into a multi-faceted popular community movement; one that is designed to address the underlying economic, social and cultural isolation of the community and not merely the educational manifestations of this marginalization.

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**Assumptions Regarding Portuguese Youth in  
the Historical, Sociological and Non-Scholarly Sources**

In placing their focus on Luso-Canadian children, their families and their "adaptation problems," most authors who have written on the academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth in the general scholarly literature on Portuguese immigrants and in the non-scholarly anecdotal sources have advanced the premise that aspects related to these children's Portuguese cultural background play the major role in their "cultural conflict." Consequently this explanation is also often unwittingly promoted as the reason for the academic underachievement of these children; in particular when reference is made to the lack of promotion of education by Luso-Canadian parents.

For this reason, it becomes imperative to firstly examine, and then refute, the conclusions and assumptions which have entered into the analysis of the general adaptation of Portuguese children, in the available literature; assumptions that contain cultural biases, which indirectly portray Portuguese culture as a negative legacy which these children are trying to "cast off" and which set the scene for the eventual attribution of blame on these children and on their cultural background for their academic failure.

One assumption that has been frequently presented in the literature is the view that Portuguese children easily assimilate to Canadian culture. For example, in a report conducted for the International Institute of Metropolitan Toronto studying the relation between rural immigrants and Toronto's community services, the comment was made,

If (the immigrants) are married their children grow up as Canadians and have little interest in the old country. (Ferguson, 1964, p. 34)

Two factors have usually been cited as evidence of this easy assimilation. The first is that, the children of Portuguese immigrants learn the host language fairly quickly, (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 133; Da Silva & De Oliveira, 1987). David Higgs, (1982), remarks,

The second generation of children brought up in Canada have acculturated more quickly for they speak without an accent. (Higgs, 1982, p. 14)

The second is that, in adopting the values and attitudes of the host society, Portuguese children have chosen to deliberately reject those of traditional Portuguese culture, (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 131; Gameiro, 1984; p. 84; McNenly, 1981; Nunes, 1986b, pp. 30-31; Slinger, 1971, August 30).

Disregarding the complex nature of ethnic identity, many of these authors have considered this substitution of values as evidence of another, more complex process at work: They have regarded the attempt to replace parental values as, in essence, an attempt to reject a Portuguese identity, and, to substitute in its place, a Canadian identity and values. Anderson & Higgs, (1976) state ,

As in many other ethnic groups, members of the second generation emphasize that they will not bring up their children by their parent's traditions – they will be Canadian. (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 134)

Anderson also comments,

It has been observed that children of immigrant parents frequently reject the ethnic cultural heritage of their parents in favour of attempting to identify with the native-born Canadian community. (Anderson, 1974, p. 169)

Observers have also used this apparent rejection of traditional values to make another assumption regarding Portuguese immigrant youth: This is the assertion that these lack pride in their heritage. Anderson implies this when she states,

By the time the third generation arrives and becomes of age, they will no doubt go back to their ethnic roots and become proud of their Portuguese heritage.  
(Anderson, 1974, p. 172)

Portuguese-Canadian youth have also been perceived to be lacking in initiative, (Luso-Canadian Youth, 1986). One member of the Portuguese community remarked in an article to a Toronto newspaper:

They are not doing anything wrong, but they are not doing anything right, either. (Slinger, 1971, August 27)

This perception of a lack of initiative ultimately has its roots in the view that Portuguese immigrant children suffer from a collective inferiority complex, (Luso-Canadian Youth, 1986; Neto, 1985; Nunes, 1986b).

### **Critique of these assumptions**

Upon close examination, most of the observations made in the historical and sociological sources may be either disproved or seriously questioned:

Firstly, one may question the use of a perceived facility in language acquisition as evidence of the wholesale accommodation to "Canadian culture". Research has indicated that immigrant children tend to acquire surface skills in their adopted tongue more rapidly than they develop second-language conceptual and literacy skills. It takes at least 5 years of residency in a host country for children to develop native norms in the second language, in these two areas, (Cummins, 1980; McLaren, 1988). Since, as we have already seen, many Portuguese children are seen to never fully acquire a true mastery of both verbal and written language skills, this variable cannot be used as a criteria to measure a successful acculturation.

On the issue of values, there have as yet been no studies completed which determine the extent of value differences between adult Portuguese immigrants in Canada and their children. Furthermore, the references to value changes in the historical, sociological and non-scholarly material have normally been based on interviews conducted with students in college or university, or in the final grades of high school. The fact that a disproportionate number of young Luso-Canadians do not continue to post-secondary education or even complete secondary school, (Brown, et. al., 1992; Larter & Eason, 1978; Matas, 1984; University of Toronto, 1992) would seem to throw some doubts on the validity of attempting to generalize their attitudes from observations made on those in attendance in University and College. In fact, one of Noivo's (1993; 1997) conclusions was that the group which she studied did not appear to differ much in values from the first to the second generation, especially with regards to adopting pre-existing family economic projects and sex roles. As the author stated:

As for the presumed value differences between the younger and the older generations, as much as many ethnic families appear to display distinct values, they may in fact be exhibiting different cultural manifestations of the same values. (Noivo, 1997, p. 24)

If we go on to examine the conclusion that Luso-Canadian youth reject their

Portuguese identity, we will find that it is based on two other assumptions: The first is that it is, specifically, "Portuguese culture" which these children are attempting to replace; the second is that these youth deliberately opt for a viable alternative cultural value pattern and identity, which is defined by the label "Canadian culture."

Both of these assumptions are suspect. The first is suspect, when one considers that the observed value change amongst young people occurs mostly in adolescence, when the apparent rejection of parental values is observed at this age amongst all adolescents, including those of the mainstream. In this light, those Portuguese who are interviewed for their opinion on their home life often fall into the trap of labelling generational conflicts as ethnocultural conflicts, simply because, in the areas of high immigrant settlement where most Toronto Portuguese children have lived, their main medium of comparison with family life in the mainstream has mostly been through the "silky screen" of television.

The rejection of parental values may also be interpreted in another light. Since the vast majority of Portuguese immigrants to Canada have originated from impoverished rural environments, (Alpalhão & Da Rosa, 1980; Anderson & Higgs, 1976; Arroiteia, 1983; Hamilton, 1970), the replacement of parental values is often nothing more than the substitution of rural for urban mores and beliefs; a fact which, of itself, does not imply a general rejection of Portuguese culture.

In fact, Arruda (1993), who conducted a study of 17 Luso-Canadian adults in the Vancouver area for their adolescent experiences, found that many of his subjects' had maintained - and in some cases rekindled - a personal affinity for the Portuguese culture. This was despite the fact that many of these had had limited dealings with the Portuguese community.

The scant evidence from the Portuguese in other countries and from studies on other ethnic groups in Toronto also provides tentative, albeit imprecise, suggestions that many Portuguese and other immigrant youth do not reject their ethnic identity, in the wholesale sense that authors have described, (Akoodie, 1980; Althoff, 1985; Colalillo, 1974; 1981; Da Silva & De Oliveira, 1987). For example, in a study conducted in one New England High School, Becker (1990) discovered that while Luso-American (Azorean) students who had lived in the United States for many years appeared to reject their identity in the school environment (where being Portuguese took on a negative connotation), they fully adopted it in the home. Becker stated,

At home, by contrast, the early arrivals not only spoke Portuguese almost exclusively, but pointed with pride to their Portuguese heritage. They showed pictures of their homeland, told stories about their villages, and kept embroidery, special costumes for feast days, unique musical instruments, and even recipes on display. Although most of the early arrivals could speak English and Portuguese with equal ease, they used Portuguese with me at home and English in school, regardless of the language I used with them. (Becker, 1990, p. 53)

Evidence also indicates that these often feel the need for a continuity of many of their parents' values. Amongst the Portuguese in Toronto, this conclusion was supported by a 1992 minority survey conducted for the Toronto Star by Golfarb consultants, which found that of all the groups polled, the Portuguese felt the strongest about retaining their language and culture and passing them down to their children, (The Minority Report: The Portuguese, 1992). The unpublished report of the Luso-Canadian Youth National Conference, held in 1986, also offered this comment:

The retention of the Portuguese identity of ancestral values and cultural roots is important to Luso-Canadian youth today. They do not want to shed their roots,

but they feel they are in a cultural tug-of-war.(Luso-Canadian, 1986)

The second assumption – that Portuguese youth opt for a "Canadian" culture – is also dubious in nature, when one considers that "Canadian" culture, and its presumed inherent customs, habits and value structures, is an amorphous concept that has so-far defied definition, (especially in the large cities which have traditionally experienced an influx of people from other cultures). Ferguson (1964, p. 90) mentioned that members of Toronto's Portuguese community during those years had "little conception of what Canadians are expecting of them." A 25 year old Canadian of Portuguese descent who immigrated to Canada from Mozambique wrote of Canadian society,

I think that Toronto, more than a multicultural mosaic, as some call it, is an immense checkerboard of squares, well-defined, each with its own colour and perfectly individualized. I can go to China, Arabia, Greece, Italy, or to Portugal without leaving Toronto; this is very colourful and very practical! But, if I want to go to Canada, (and I refer now to the cultural and not the Geographic Canada), I will be able to do so with great difficulty. As much as I try, I can't find Canadian culture. If it exists, I would that someone show it to me! And, if in order to discover it, I would have to read a ton of books about what it could be, I would be left, nevertheless, always in doubt about what it (truly) is.  
(Fernandes, 1985), (My translation: Author)

With regards to the assertions that Portuguese-Canadian youth lack pride in their heritage, to our knowledge, there have yet been no studies completed which have examined this issue. Observations such as these, which in the past have also frequently been voiced by Luso-Canadian community spokespeople, must therefore remain unvalidated.

Finally, the assertion of a low self-esteem has also never been tested empirically in a Canadian context. Yet, at least one study conducted on 158 Portuguese-, Mexican- and Anglo-American 5th to 8th grade students in a rural agricultural community in Southern California found that Portuguese boys had significantly higher self-esteem than the other students sampled, while the self-esteem of Portuguese girls was similar to that of other groups, (Calhoun, Jr., Sheldon, Serrano & Cooke, 1978).

**Caro(a) Luso-Canadiano(a):**

**Os Portugueses têm contribuído consideravelmente no desenvolvimento do Canadá. Apesar disto, ainda enfrentam grandes necessidades.**

- **Quais são estas necessidades?**
- **Como serão elas resolvidas ou ultrapassadas?**
- **O que há ainda a fazer para que possamos alcançar uma melhor qualidade de vida e uma maior participação a nível político, neste país?**

**Ninguém, melhor do que você, sabe as respostas a estas perguntas, porque vive diariamente com tais assuntos no seu trabalho, na sua família e na sua comunidade.**

**Este questionário foi criado pelo Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano para melhor sondar a sua opinião sobre estes assuntos, e trazer a sua voz aos nossos governos. Ele faz parte de um estudo nacional que irá colher informação sobre lacunas existentes na nossa comunidade.**

- **As suas respostas a este questionário são extremamente importantes para o sucesso deste estudo. Por isso, pedimos que preencha o questionário e o devolva dentro do envelope que o acompanha antes do dia 25 de Novembro.**
- **Não é necessário colocar o seu nome e ninguém que responde será identificado, pois este questionário é estritamente confidencial. O número que está afixado a cada questionário serve simplesmente para efeitos de codificação.**

**Sómente através de estudos como este poderemos ter uma voz activa na resolução dos nossos problemas. As suas respostas, irão ajudar o Congresso a melhor identificar os problemas da nossa comunidade, e a estabelecer um plano de acção.**

**Wish to receive questionnaire in English? Check here and return in the enclosed envelope, with name and address.  
Préférez-vous recevoir ce questionnaire en français? Marquez ici, et retourner dans l'enveloppe avec nom et adresse.**

**Este estudo é financiado pelo governo Federal Canadiano, (A Secretaria de Estado do Canadá, Multiculturalismo e Cidadania, <<Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada >>).**

# CONGRESSO NACIONAL LUSO-CANADIANO

## QUESTIONÁRIO

Por favor marque um círculo á volta da sua resposta.  
por exemplo

1. Sexo?

1. Homem

2. Mulher

**Parte I.** AS SEGUINTE PERGUNTAS VISAM OBTENIR UM PERFIL GERAL DE QUEM RESPONDE.

1. Sexo?

1. Homem

2. Mulher

2. Quantos anos tem?

1. 14 ou menos

4. 35 - 44

8. 65 - 74

2. 15 - 24

5. 45 - 54

9. 75 ou

3. 25 - 34

6. 55 - 64

mais

3. Em qual província, (ou território), habita?

01. Ontario

07. British Columbia

02. Quebec

08. New Brunswick

03. Manitoba

09. Prince Edward Island

04. Alberta

10. Newfoundland

05. Nova Scotia

11. Saskatchewan

06. Yukon

12. Northwest Territories

4. Qual é a cidade, vila ou centro populacional que habita, ou que lhe fica mais perto?

\_\_\_\_\_  
(por favor escreva)

5. É sócio do Congresso Luso-Canadiano?

1. Sim

2. Não

6. É sócio de algum clube ou associação Luso-Canadiana?

1. Sim

2. Não

7. Em que país, ou região, é que nasceu?

1. Portugal Continental

2. Açores

5. Outro

3. Madeira

4. Canadá

(por favor indique)

8. Em que ano é que imigrou para o Canadá?

1. Antes de 1950

4. 1970-79

2. 1950-59

5. 1980-89

3. 1960-69

6. 1990 a presente

9. Qual é a sua cidadania?

1. Só portuguesa

2. Só Canadiana

3. Dupla (Portuguesa e Canadiana)

4. Outra (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

10. Qual é o seu estado civil?

1. Solteiro(a) e nunca casado(a)

2. Casado(a)

3. Divorciado(a)

4. Separado(a)

5. Viúvo(a)

6. Vivendo juntos (common-law/en comun)

11. Quantos filhos(as) tem, que moram consigo?

1. Nenhum(a)

4. Três

2. Um(a)

5. Quatro

3. Dois/duas

6. Cinco ou mais

12. Além dos seus filhos, tem mais alguém da sua família a morar consigo e dependente de si? (ex. mãe ou pai, sogros, etc).

1. Sim \_\_\_\_\_  
(Por favor especifique quem)
2. Não

13. Em termos de emprego, qual é a sua situação actual?

01. Empregado(a) por entidade patronal
02. Empregado(a) por conta própria
03. Tomo conta da casa/Dona de casa
04. Estudante a tempo inteiro
04. Menor de idade e não trabalho
05. Desempregado(a) por falta de trabalho (laid-off/ em Quebec: mise-à-pied)
06. Temporariamente doente, não por acidente de trabalho.
07. Temporariamente incapacitado por acidente de trabalho
08. Reformado(a) por idade
09. Reformado(a) por invalidez (resultando de acidente de trabalho)
10. Reformado(a) por invalidez, (não por acidente de trabalho)
11. Incapacitado(a) e sem reforma
12. Outra(indique) \_\_\_\_\_

14. Qual é (ou era) a sua profissão, ou seja, que tipo de actividade ou trabalho é que normalmente exerce, (ou exercia)?

\_\_\_\_\_

15. Por favor indique aproximadamente o rendimento anual para a sua família, antes de impostos ou deduções:

01. Menos do que \$10,000
02. \$10,000 - \$19,000
03. \$20,000 - \$29,000
04. \$30,000 - \$39,000
05. \$40,000 - \$49,000
06. \$50,000 - \$59,000
07. \$60,000 - \$69,000
08. \$70,000 - \$79,000
09. \$80,000 ou mais

16. Por favor indique o maior grau de escolaridade que já atingiu.

01. Nunca estudei
02. Alguns anos de escola primária
03. Escola primária completa (4ª classe)
04. Ciclo preparatório incompleto
05. Ciclo preparatório completo
06. Alguns anos de escola secundaria (liceu/high school/école secondaire)
07. Escola secundaria completa (11º ano)
08. Curso vocacional ou de aprendizagem
09. Alguns anos de universidade ou instituto superior ou C.E.G.E.P.
10. Universidade ou instituto superior ou C.E.G.E.P. completo

COMO DESCREVERIA A SUA CAPACIDADE DE ENTENDER E FALAR O PORTUGUÊS?

17. Numa conversa do dia-à-dia, em português, eu entendo...

1. Tudo o que ouço
2. A maior parte daquilo que ouço
3. Metade daquilo que ouço
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que ouço
5. Nada daquilo que ouço

18. Quando preciso de falar em português, consigo dizer...

1. Tudo o que quero
2. A maior parte daquilo que quero
3. Metade daquilo que quero
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que quero
5. Nada daquilo que quero

19. Ao tentar ler um jornal português, eu entendo...

1. Tudo o que leio
2. A maior parte daquilo que leio
3. Metade daquilo que leio
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que leio
5. Nada daquilo que leio

**Parte II. AS SEGUINTE PERGUNTAS VISAM OBTER INFORMAÇÕES SOBRE O GRAU DE INTEGRAÇÃO DE AQUELES QUE RESPONDEM.**

**COMO DESCREVERIA A SUA CAPACIDADE DE ENTENDER E FALAR O INGLÊS?**

**20. Numa conversa do dia-à-dia, em inglês, eu entendo...**

1. Tudo o que ouço
2. A maior parte daquilo que ouço
3. Metade daquilo que ouço
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que ouço
5. Nada daquilo que ouço

**21. Quando preciso de falar em inglês, eu consigo dizer...**

1. Tudo o que quero
2. A maior parte daquilo que quero
3. Metade daquilo que quero
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que quero
5. Nada daquilo que quero

**22. Ao tentar ler um jornal inglês, eu entendo...**

1. Tudo o que leio
2. A maior parte daquilo que leio
3. Metade daquilo que leio
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que leio
5. Nada daquilo que leio

**COMO DESCREVERIA A SUA CAPACIDADE DE ENTENDER E FALAR O FRANCÊS?**

**23. Numa conversa do dia-à-dia, em francês, eu entendo...**

1. Tudo o que ouço
2. A maior parte daquilo que ouço
3. Metade daquilo que ouço
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que ouço
5. Nada daquilo que ouço

**24. Quando preciso de falar em francês eu consigo dizer...**

1. Tudo o que quero
2. A maior parte daquilo que quero
3. Metade daquilo que quero
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que quero
5. Nada daquilo que quero

**25. Ao tentar ler um jornal francês, eu entendo...**

1. Tudo o que leio
2. A maior parte daquilo que leio
3. Metade daquilo que leio
4. Só pequenas partes daquilo que leio
5. Nada daquilo que leio

**POR FAVOR TERMINE AS SEGUINTE FRASES:**

**26. "Eu sinto-me..."**

1. Só português(a)
2. Mais português(a) do que canadiano(a)
3. Igualmente português(a) e canadiano(a)
4. Mais canadiano(a) do que português(a)
5. Só Canadiano(a)
6. Outro(a) (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**27. Tenciona algum dia regressar definitivamente a Portugal?**

1. Sim
2. Não

**28. "Manter a cultura portuguesa é, para mim..."**

1. Muito importante
2. Importante
3. De média importância
4. Pouco importante
5. Nada importante

**29. Participa regularmente (ex. todos os meses) em alguma actividade religiosa (ex. a Missa)?**

1. Sim
2. Não

30. Votou nas últimas eleições federais, provinciais ou municipais?

1. Sim

**Não:** Por favor indique a principal razão

2. Não sou cidadão Canadano(a)
3. Não estava no país
4. Não sabia quais os candidatos, ou as diferenças entre os candidatos
5. Não achei necessário ou importante
6. Outra (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

31. É membro de algum partido político Canadano?

1. Sim

2. Não

32. O que é que considera um nível suficiente de escolaridade para os seus filhos e filhas? (por favor responda, mesmo se não tem filhos, ou se os seus filhos já não estudam)

1. Escola primária
2. Escola secundária incompleta (liceu ou <<high-school>>)
3. Escola secundária completa (liceu ou <<high-school>)
4. Curso vocacional ou de aprendizagem (ex. um ofício)
5. Colégio comunitário/ instituto superior
6. Universidade (ou C.E.G.E.P.)

**Parte III. AS SEGUINTE PERGUNTAS VISAM RETRATAR A MANEIRA COMO AQUELES QUE RESPONDEM RESOLVEM OS SEUS ASSUNTOS, E COMO SÃO SERVIDOS.**

**A) POR FAVOR INDIQUE A QUEM RECORRE PRIMEIRO QUANDO NECESSITA DE AJUDA PARA TRATAR DOS SEGUINTE ASSUNTOS:** (Por favor responda a todas as perguntas, mesmo até sem ter tido o problema indicado)

33. Para entender uma carta oficial escrita em inglês (ou francês, se habita em áreas francófonas) geralmente recorro primeiro a: (indique só uma)

01. Ninguém, (consigo entender cartas oficiais)
02. Meu marido/minha mulher
03. Filho ou filha
04. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)
05. Padre ou outro religioso
06. Médico

07. Assistente Social
08. Agência de viagens
09. Clube ou associação portuguesa
10. Ninguém: Simplesmente a ignoro
11. Outra (indique qual) \_\_\_\_\_

34. Para resolver um problema ou assunto no trabalho, tal como direitos laborais, assuntos sindicais (da <<união>>), do <<Worker's Compensation>>, ou em Quebec a <<C.S.T. Commission Santé Sécurité Travail>>), ou de saúde e segurança no trabalho, normalmente dirijo-me primeiro a: (indique só uma)

01. Não aplicável a mim (ex. não estou empregado/a)
02. Ninguém: Geralmente consigo resolvê-lo sozinho
03. Sindicato (<<União>>)
04. Meu marido/minha mulher
05. Filho ou filha
06. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)
07. Padre ou outro religioso

08. Médico
09. Assistente Social
10. Agência de viagens
11. Clube ou associação portuguesa
12. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro
13. Outra (indique qual) \_\_\_\_\_

**35. Para resolver um problema com entidades Canadianas, (ex. o governo, as escolas), normalmente dirijo-me primeiro a:** (indique só uma)

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 01. Não aplicável a mim, (ex. sou menor de idade)  | 07. Médico                         |
| 02. Ninguém: Geralmente consigo resolvê-lo sozinho | 08. Assistente Social              |
| 03. Meu marido/minha mulher                        | 09. Agência de viagens             |
| 04. Filho ou filha                                 | 10. Clube ou associação portuguesa |
| 05. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)            | 11. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro |
| 06. Padre ou outro religioso                       | 12. Outra (indique quem) _____     |

**36. Para resolver um problema legal, (ex. venda de uma casa, problema com um inquilino ou o senhorio, um divórcio, problemas com a polícia, etc.) normalmente dirijo-me primeiro a:** (indique só uma)

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 01. Não aplicável a mim, (ex. sou menor de idade)  | 07. Padre ou outro religioso       |
| 02. Ninguém: Geralmente consigo resolvê-lo sozinho | 08. Médico                         |
| 03. Um advogado                                    | 09. Assistente Social              |
| 04. Meu marido/minha mulher                        | 10. Agência de viagens             |
| 05. Filho ou filha                                 | 11. Clube ou associação portuguesa |
| 06. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)            | 12. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro |
|  | 13. Outra (indique quem) _____     |

**37. Para resolver um problema conjugal, que não consigo resolver com o meu marido/com a minha mulher, normalmente dirijo-me primeiro a:** (indique só uma)

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 01. Não aplicável a mim, (ex. Não sou casado(a)) | 06. Assistente social              |
| 02. Filho ou filha                               | 07. Agência de viagens             |
| 03. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)          | 08. Clube ou associação portuguesa |
| 04. Padre ou outro religioso                     | 09. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro |
| 05. Médico                                       | 10. Outra (indique quem) _____     |

**38. Para resolver um problema com os meus filhos, normalmente dirijo-me primeiro a:** (indique só uma)

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 01. Não aplicável a mim, (ex. não tenho filhos(as)) | 06. Médico                         |
| 02. Meu marido/minha mulher                         | 07. Assistente social              |
| 03. Um outro filho ou filha                         | 08. Agência de viagens             |
| 04. Outra pessoa de família ou amigo(a)             | 10. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro |
| 09. Clube ou associação portuguesa                  | 11. Outra (indique quem) _____     |
| 05. Padre ou outro religioso                        |                                    |

**B) PARA A SEGUINTE PERGUNTA, INDIQUE A QUEM RECORRE COM MAIOR FREQUÊNCIA:**

**39. Para tratar de um problema de saúde eu recorro com maior frequência a:** (indique só uma)

- |  |                                    |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 01. Médico de família  | 05. Curandeiros religiosos         |
| 02. Clínica de saúde ou centro comunitário   | 06. Pessoa de família ou amigo(a)  |
| 03. <<Chiropractor>>   | 07. Ninguém: Simplesmente o ignoro |
| 04. Tratamentos não convencionais, (ex. ervanário, reflexologista, um <<endireita>>, etc.) | 08. Outra (indique quem) _____     |

**C) OS CENTROS DE ASSISTÊNCIA SOCIAL, CENTROS DE SERVIÇO COMUNITÁRIO E CENTROS COMUNITÁRIOS DE SAÚDE SÃO CENTROS COMUNITÁRIOS QUE OFERECEM, A TODA A GENTE ALGUNS (OU MAIS) DOS SEGUINTE SERVIÇOS:**

Ajuda para ler e entender cartas oficiais.  
 Cursos de inglês ou francês  
 Serviços para famílias e crianças  
 Serviços de saúde (ex. clínica comunitária)  
 Serviços de formação profissional (ex. cursos)  
 Serviços legais gratuitos  
 Abrigo para vítimas de violência familiar

Serviços de informação sobre imigração  
 Apoio para familiares de falecidos  
 Grupos de convívio social para a família  
 Grupos de convívio para idosos  
 Tratamento de problemas de alcoolismo  
 Aconselhamento psicológico  
 etc.

**40. Já alguma vez utilizou os serviços de algum centro de assistência social, centro de serviço comunitário, ou centro comunitário de saúde?**

1. **Sim:** (passe para número 41)

**Não:** Se nunca utilizou, por favor indique a razão principal.

2. Não aplicável á minha situação (ex. sou menor de idade)
3. Nunca tive ocasião de precisar tais serviços
4. Nenhum destes centros existe na minha área
5. Nenhum centro oferece serviço em português.
6. O centro serve em português mas o serviço não é bom
7. Não tenho conhecimento dos centros que existem
8. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**41. Já alguma vez utilizou algum dos serviços acima indicados, em língua portuguesa, na sua região?**

1. **Sim:** (passe para número 42)

**Não:** Nunca utilizei nenhum destes serviços em língua portuguesa na minha região porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Falo bem inglês (ou francês), portanto não preciso
3. Nenhum desses serviços existe aqui em português
4. Nunca tive ocasião de precisar tais serviços
5. Os serviços existem mas não são ao meu gosto
6. Não tenho conhecimento de aquilo que existe
7. Outra (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**42. Alguma vez utilizou os serviços do Departamento da Imigração?**

1. **Sim:** (passe para número 43)

**Não:** Nunca utilizei porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Não aplicável, (ex. sou menor de idade)
3. Nunca precisei
4. Nunca utilizei por falta de inglês/francês
5. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

43. Nas últimas vezes que utilizou os serviços do Departamento da Imigração:

Houve fácil comunicação entre si e os funcionários?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

44. A informação escrita e verbal que recebeu foi adequada e suficiente?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

45. Explicaram-lhe todas as suas opções, direitos e responsabilidades?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

46. Alguma vez utilizou os serviços do Seguro de Desemprego, <<Unemployment Insurance>>, (ou Chômage, em Quebec)?

1. Sim: (passe para número 47)

Não: Nunca utilizei porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Nunca fui empregado(a), (ex. sou menor de idade, dona de casa)

3. Nunca estive desempregado(a), nunca precisei

4. Não desconto, portanto não posso receber (ex. trabalho por conta própria)

5. Nunca utilizei por falta de inglês/francês

6. Não tenho fácil acesso a um escritório do Seguro de Desemprego, (Unemployment/Chômage)

7. Não sei como, ou onde, posso fazer a requisição

8. Não conheço o que é Seguro de Desemprego, (Unemployment/Chômage)-

9. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

47. Nas últimas vezes que utilizou os serviços do Seguro de Desemprego (Unemployment/Chômage):

Houve fácil comunicação entre si e os funcionários?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

48. A informação escrita e verbal que recebeu foi adequada e suficiente?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

49. Explicaram-lhe todas as suas opções, direitos e responsabilidades?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

50. Alguma vez utilizou os serviços do <<Worker's Compensation>> ou seja, algum serviço provincial de Compensação a Trabalhadores Sinistrados (em Quebec a <<C.S.S.T.-Commission Santé Sécurité Travail>>)?

1. Sim: (passe para número 51)

Não: Nunca utilizei porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Não aplicável/nunca estive empregado(a), (ex. sou menor de idade, dona de casa)

3. Nunca precisei/nunca tive um acidente no trabalho

4. Nunca utilizei por falta de inglês/francês

5. Não sei como, ou onde, posso fazer a requisição

6. Não conheço o que é <<Worker's Compensation>> (ou <<C.S.S.T.>> se reside em Quebec)

7. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

51. Nas últimas vezes que utilizou os serviços de Compensação a Trabalhadores Sinistrados (ex. em Ontario <<Worker's Compensation>>, em Quebec a <<C.S.S.T.-Commission Santé Sécurité Travail>>):

Houve fácil comunicação entre si e os funcionários?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

52. A informação escrita e verbal que recebeu foi adequada e suficiente?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

53. Explicaram-lhe todas as suas opções, direitos e responsabilidades?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**54. Alguma vez utilizou os serviços de Assistência Social, (Welfare/Bien-être Social em Quebec)?**

1. **Sim**: (passe para número 55)

**Não**: Nunca utilizei porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Não aplicável (ex. sou menor de idade)
3. Nunca precisei
4. Nunca utilizei por falta de inglês/francês
5. Não sei como, ou onde, posso fazer a requisição
6. Não sei como se tem direito a receber
7. Não conheço o que é Assistência Social (Welfare)(Bien-être Social em Quebec)
8. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**55. Nas últimas vezes que utilizou os serviços da Assistência Social, (Welfare/Bien-être Social em Quebec):**

Houve **fácil comunicação** entre si e os funcionários?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**56. A informação escrita e verbal que recebeu foi adequada e suficiente?**

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**57. Explicaram-lhe todas as suas opções, direitos e responsabilidades?**

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**58. Alguma vez utilizou serviços legais gratuitos, (ex. clínicas legais, <<Legal Aid >>, <<Aide Juridique>>)?**

1. **Sim**: (passe para número 59)

**Não**: Nunca utilizei porque: (por favor indique a razão principal)

2. Não aplicável (ex. sou menor de idade)
3. Nunca precisei/tenho meios para pagar um advogado
4. Tal centro não existe na minha área
5. Nunca utilizei por falta de inglês/francês
6. Não sei como se tem direito a utilizar tais serviços, ou como utilizá-los.
7. Não conheço o que são serviços legais gratuitos, <<Legal Aid >>, <<Aide Juridique >>
8. Outro (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**59. Nas últimas vezes que utilizou serviços legais gratuitos, (ex. clínicas legais/Legal Aid/Aide Juridique):**

Houve **fácil comunicação** entre si e os funcionários?

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**60. A informação escrita e verbal que recebeu foi adequada e suficiente?**

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**61. Explicaram-lhe todas as suas opções, direitos e responsabilidades?**

1. Sim 2. Não 3. Nunca utilizei

**62. Já alguma vez utilizou os serviços de algum consulado português, no Canadá?**

**Sim**: Qual a qualidade de serviço que recebeu?

1. Excelente
2. Bom
3. Razoável
4. Mau
5. Péssimo

6. **Não**: (passe para número 64)

63. Se respondeu <<sim>> tem alguma opinião sobre como o serviço que recebeu poderá ser melhorado?

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64. Em geral, tem fácil acesso a um consulado português?

1. Sim                      2. Não

65. Alguma vez frequentou um curso de inglês ou francês como segunda língua, no Canada?

**Sim:** Indique qual a eventual utilidade do curso que frequentou: (Por favor note: Aqui tencionamos colher informação sobre a qualidade/utilidade desse mesmo curso que frequentou, e não sobre o valor de aprender inglês ou francês em geral)

01. Muito útil  
02. Útil  
03. Útil metade do tempo  
04. Pouco útil  
05. De nenhuma utilidade

**Não:** Se nunca frequentou, por favor indique a principal razão?

06. Já sabia falar bem inglês (ou francês) quando imigrei, (ou desde infância).  
07. Não preciso do inglês (ou francês) no meu dia-a-dia  
08. Não existem aulas na minha região  
09. Não sei onde posso procurar aulas  
10. O ensino não é de boa qualidade  
11. Aulas são oferecidas a horas/épocas inconvenientes  
12. Não acho que iria tirar proveito  
13. Outra (indique) \_\_\_\_\_

**OS SERVIÇOS QUE SÃO MENCIONADOS NA PRÓXIMA LISTA OFERECEM PROGRAMAS DE EDUCAÇÃO PARA ADULTOS, (EX. AULAS DE INGLÊS OU FRANCÊS), OU SERVIÇOS DE FORMAÇÃO VOCACIONAL E PROFISSIONAL (EX. CURSOS PARA VIR A SER COZINHEIRO(A), SOLDADOR, PROGRAMADOR DE COMPUTADORES, ETC).**

**No caso de ter procurado ou utilizado algum destes cursos, os seguintes serviços deram-lhe informação satisfatória sobre a variedade de programas que ofereciam, e sobre os requisitos de cada curso?**

(por favor responda a todas)

- |   |        |        |                      |
|---|--------|--------|----------------------|
| 66. Escolas Secundárias   | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |
| 67. Colégios ou institutos superiores   | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |
| 68. Centros comunitários  | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |
| 69. Sindicatos (<<união>>)  | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |
| 70. Escritório do <<Unemployment/Chômage>>  | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |
| 71. <<Worker's Compensation>>, ou <<C.S.S.T.>><br>(ex. reabilitação a novo emprego, após um acidente) | 1. Sim | 2. Não | 3. Nunca lá procurei |

**Parte IV. AS SEGUINTE PERGUNTAS VISAM IDENTIFICAR AS NECESSIDADES NACIONAIS E REGIONAIS DAS NOSSAS COMUNIDADES E AS PRIORIDADES PARA O CONGRESSO.**

**72. Por favor escreva, na sua opinião, quais as maiores carências ou problemas da comunidade portuguesa:**

**NA SUA COMUNIDADE LOCAL**  
(Por favor cite exemplos específicos)

**Económicos:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Sociais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Políticos:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Educacionais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Culturais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Outro (indique):** \_\_\_\_\_

**NO CANADÁ**

(Por favor cite exemplos específicos)

**Económicos:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Sociais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Políticos:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Educacionais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Culturais:** \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Outro (indique):** \_\_\_\_\_

**73. Qual destes assuntos é que considera o mais importante?**

\_\_\_\_\_

**74. Quais destes problemas é que acha que o Congresso deveria tentar resolver?**

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**CONSIDERE COM CUIDADO AS SEGUINTE LISTAS.**

**Coloque os assuntos em cada lista por ordem de importância, na seguinte forma:**

**Ao lado de cada assunto coloque um número de 1 a 6 onde:**

**1 = O assunto mais importante**

**2 = O segundo mais importante**

**etc....**

**6 = O assunto que tem a menor importância**

**POR FAVOR NÃO UTILIZE O MESMO NÚMERO MAIS DO QUE UMA VEZ, EM CADA LISTA.**

**75. Coloque a seguinte lista por ordem de importância, indicando quais os assuntos que são os mais e os menos importantes para A SUA COMUNIDADE PORTUGUESA LOCAL:**

- \_\_\_\_\_ A actual situação económica e profissional dos portugueses, por ex. o desemprego, acesso a programas de formação, (ex. treino vocacional ou profissional), etc.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A falta de serviços sociais que são acessíveis às nossas comunidades.
- \_\_\_\_\_ O baixo número de jovens portugueses a completarem os ensinos secundário e superior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A perda da nossa língua e cultura nas novas gerações.
- \_\_\_\_\_ A falta de representação dos portugueses nos diversos níveis de governos canadianos.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Problemas relacionados com o bem-estar, a saúde e a auto-estima.

**76. Coloque a lista por ordem de importância, baseada no esforço, grau de atenção e importância que, na sua opinião, o Congresso deveria proporcionar a cada assunto,**

**(Ao lado de cada coloque um número de 1 a 5):**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Trabalhar para melhorar a situação económica e profissional dos portugueses no Canadá, ex. o desemprego, acesso a formação profissional, etc.(ex. treino vocacional ou profissional)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Promover a criação de serviços sociais que servem as nossas comunidades.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Aumentar o número de jovens portugueses a completarem os ensinos secundário e superior.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Assegurar a transmissão da língua e cultura portuguesa para as novas gerações.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Criar representação dos portugueses nos diversos níveis de governos canadianos.

**77. Falando exclusivamente da situação económica e profissional dos portugueses no Canadá, na sua opinião, em quais actividades é que o Congresso deveria de colocar os maiores esforços, para melhorar esta situação económica e profissional? Coloque a lista por ordem de importância, baseada no esforço, grau de atenção e prioridade que, na sua opinião, o Congresso deveria proporcionar a cada assunto,**

**(Ao lado de cada coloque um número de 1 a 5)**

- \_\_\_\_\_ Promover a criação de postos de emprego em sectores onde tradicionalmente é costume haver muitos portugueses, (ex. a construção).
- \_\_\_\_\_ Promover acesso a programas de formação, (ex. treino vocacional ou profissional)
- \_\_\_\_\_ Promover a frequência e o acesso a cursos de inglês (ou francês em Quebec) para adultos.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Providenciar informação sobre como iniciar e manter um negócio próprio.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Promover a instrução pós-secundária (colégio comunitário e universidade) entre os jovens Luso-Canadianos, (as "segunda" e "terceira" gerações)

78. Acha que uma organização nacional Luso-Canadiana, (tal como o Congresso), terá a possibilidade de ajudar as comunidades portuguesas no Canadá a atingirem melhor as suas verdadeiras aspirações e a lidarem melhor com os seus problemas regionais e nacionais?

1. Sim (explique porquê) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Não (explique porquê) \_\_\_\_\_

**Parte V. NAS SEQUENTES PERGUNTAS O CONGRESSO NECESSITA DAS SUAS OPINIÕES SOBRE O FUNCIONAMENTO E ESTRUTURA DA ORGANIZAÇÃO. POR FAVOR NOTE: AS RESPOSTAS SERVIRÃO SIMPLEMENTE COMO GUIA, E NÃO CONSTITUEM UMA VOTAÇÃO. DECISÕES SOBRE ESTRUTURA SÓ PODEM SER TOMADAS NUMA REUNIÃO GERAL DOS MEMBROS.**

79. Na sua opinião, quais os melhores métodos que o Congresso poderá utilizar para conseguir:

A) Melhor comunicação entre Directores e membros? (por favor cite só métodos)

\_\_\_\_\_

B) Colher a sua opinião, e a dos Luso-Canadianos, sobre os assuntos que lhe dizem respeito?

\_\_\_\_\_

80. Como é que acha que o Congresso poderá assegurar a representatividade de todos os Luso-Canadianos? (Ex. Como é que todas as comunidades podem ser representadas? Como é que a voz de todos os Luso-Canadianos pode ser ouvida?)

\_\_\_\_\_

*O Congresso tem como sócios, ambos indivíduos e organizações, (ex. clubes, associações, etc.). Consoante o espírito e consenso geral das pessoas que participaram na conferência de formação do Congresso, (Otava, Março de 1993), concordou-se que ninguém seria excluído do Congresso, dando a oportunidade tanto a indivíduos como organizações a participarem.*

81. Dado que as organizações-membros representam os seus associados, acha que deveria de haver uma diferença entre o número de votos autorizados a membros individuais e às organizações-membros?

1. Sim

2. Não

3. Não tenho opinião

82. Na sua opinião, qual o sistema de votação que seria mais justo?

1. Um voto por cada membro individual, e um voto por cada organização-membro
2. Um voto por cada membro individual, e um número fixo de votos por cada organização, ex. 5 votos
3. Um voto por cada membro individual, e um número proporcional de votos por cada organização, (ex. um voto por cada 50 ou 100 membros dessa dita organização).
4. Um voto por qualquer Luso-Canadiano, sócio ou não-sócio do Congresso, presente na reunião geral.
5. Nenhuma destas opções: A minha alternativa é \_\_\_\_\_

*Através de consultas já estabelecidas com alguns dos nossos sócios, foram elaboradas as seguintes propostas sobre a questão de como hão-de ser eleitos os Directores do Executivo (ex. O Presidente, e os Vice-Presidentes):*

- 1) Um voto directo pelos membros do Congresso presentes numa reunião, (ou pelo correio).
- 2) Um Executivo votado por todos os Directores regionais.

**1) Votação por membros**

**Vantagem**

*Providencia uma voz directa a todos que têm facilidade de se deslocar para a reunião.*

**Desvantagem**

*Devido às grandes distâncias, será impossível para muitos dos membros deslocarem-se para as reuniões gerais. Por isso, a área aonde se realizará cada reunião terá sempre um maior peso naquela dita votação. Boletins de votos enviados pelo correio geralmente têm pouca resposta.*

**2) Votação por Directores regionais**

**Vantagem**

*Providencia representação igual a todas as regiões que enviam um Director para a votação.*

**Desvantagem**

*Um sócio não tem garantia que o seu Director vai votar conforme a sua vontade. É sempre impossível um Director representar toda a variedade de opiniões na sua área.*

83. Consciente das vantagens e desvantagens de cada opção, qual o sistema de votação que prefere na escolha do Executivo Nacional do Congresso, (O Presidente, e os Vice-Presidentes)?

1. Votação pelos membros do Congresso presentes numa reunião geral.
2. Votação pelos membros do Congresso, através de boletins de correio.
3. Votação pelos Directores de cada província ou região?
4. Votação por qualquer Luso-Canadiano, sócio ou não-sócio do Congresso, presente na reunião geral.
5. Nenhuma destas opções: A minha alternativa é \_\_\_\_\_

**Muito obrigado pelas suas respostas.**

**Por favor coloque este questionário dentro do envelope que o acompanha, e envie-o por correio antes do 25 de Novembro.**

**Agradecemos o tempo que nos dispensou.  
As suas respostas irão contribuir para um  
melhor conhecimento das necessidades das  
nossas comunidades Luso-Canadianas.**

---

**Por favor coloque este questionário dentro  
do envelope que o acompanha, e envie-o  
hoje-mesmo pelo correio.**

**A última data de envio é o dia 25 de  
Novembro.**

---

**O envelope não precisa de selo; mas se colar um selo  
ajudará o Congresso a minimizar os custos deste estudo.**

**Os resultados serão divulgados  
no princípio de 1995, através de um relatório.**

---

**No caso de ter perdido o envelope,  
por favor envie para:**

**Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano  
85 Glendale Ave., 2nd floor  
Toronto, Ontario  
M6R 2S8**

**Appendix 3.**

**FOCUS GROUP KIT**



**CONGRESSO NACIONAL LUSO-CANADIANO**  
**PORTUGUESE-CANADIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS**  
**CONGRÈS NATIONAL LUSO-CANADIEN**

85 GLENDALE AVE., 2nd FLOOR

TORONTO, ONT. M6R 2S8

TEL.: (416) 530-6608

FAX: (416) 530-6612

Dr. Tomás Ferreira  
*President*

Conceição do Rosário  
*Vice-President*

Agostinho Bairos  
*Vice-President (West)*

Idalina De Jesus  
*Vice-President (Central)*

Norberto Aguiar  
*Vice-President (East)*

Tony Tavares  
*Director (Man.)*

Regina Calado  
*Director (B.C.)*

M. Nazaré Lindsay  
*Director (Alb.)*

Maria Zalasek  
*Director (Sas.)*

Manuel Barros  
*Director (Central North)*

Alvaro Ventura  
*Director (Central West)*

José Carlos A. Rodrigues  
*Director (Central East)*

Daniel Ribeiro  
*Director (Central Centre)*

Fernando Reis  
*Director (Central Toronto)*

Paula Pires  
*Director (Central Youth)*

Carlos Batista  
*Director (Maritimes)*

José Soares  
*Director (Full)*

Valentina Barbosa  
*Director (Montreal)*

Toronto, 19 de Outubro, 1994

Exmo Senhor(a)

Gostaria, através desta carta, de o(a) convidar para **uma reunião** de duração de aproximadamente **duas horas**, que está a ser organizada pelo Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano, aonde se irá falar sobre as lacunas e necessidades da sua comunidade. Solicitamos a sua participação porque achamos que representa uma faixa importante da sua comunidade, e terá opiniões valiosas para contribuir para este processo.

O Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano é uma organização que teve início numa conferência em Otava em 1993. Esta organização foi fundada para proporcionar uma voz nacional às comunidades Luso-Canadianas no que respeita a matérias de carácter social, económico e cultural, e para defender os interesses de Portugueses e Canadianos de origem Portuguesa.

O Congresso iniciou recentemente um estudo a nível nacional sobre as necessidades e lacunas das nossas comunidades. Este estudo utilizará diversos métodos, incluindo reuniões locais (<<focus groups>>), um questionário, e a recolha de estatísticas.

Estamos a solicitar a sua participação numa destas reuniões porque precisamos das suas opiniões, ideias e ponto de vista sobre os problemas que afecta a sua comunidade e sobre a melhor maneira de o Congresso vos servir na resolução dos mesmos.

Ao aceitar este convite, será contactado com os detalhes sobre o lugar e a hora da reunião.

Crente que teremos o seu apoio, subscrevo-me com consideração,

Fernando Nunes  
Coordenador da pesquisa

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## **PERGUNTAS PARA REUNIÕES**

d:\congress\focus\questions

1) **Qual é o assunto, ou assuntos, que mais afectam os Luso-Canadianos a nível nacional?**  
-E os assuntos que afectam especificamente os Jovens? Idosos? Mulheres? etc.

2) **Qual é o assunto, ou assuntos, que mais afectam os Luso-Canadianos nas vossas regiões?**

Procure saber especificamente sobre algumas categorias:

a) **Económico** (ex. trabalho, economia, etc.)

b) **Social** (ex. saúde, bem-estar, serviços sociais, etc.)

c) **Político** (ex. actividade política, relação com governos, etc.)

d) **Educacional** (ex. escolaridade dos jovens, aulas de inglês/francês, formação profissional, etc.)

e) **Cultural** (ex. língua, vida social, etc.)

3) **O que percebem que deveria ser a função do Congresso na resolução desses problemas? O que é que o Congresso deveria de fazer especificamente?**

4) **Como é que acha que o Congresso deveria ser estruturado para melhor representar as opiniões dos seus membros? (Explique primeiro um pouco sobre a presente estrutura do Congresso).**

Perguntas secundárias a esta:

a) Como é que o Congresso pode **melhor comunicar** com os seus membros?

b) Como é que o Congresso pode **assegurar a participação de pessoas que não são presentemente membros** desta organização?

5) **Na sua opinião, qual o sistema de votação para posições do Congresso que seria mais justo?**

Mencione algumas alternativas: ex.

a) Um voto por cada membro individual ou organização.

b) Um voto por cada membro individual e um voto fixo por cada organização..

c) Um voto por cada membro individual e um voto proporcional por cada organização, ex. um voto por cada 50 membros dessa dita organização).

6) **Como é que deveria de ser eleito o executivo do Congresso, (ex. o Presidente, Vice-Presidente)?**

Mencione algumas alternativas:

Um voto por cada membro?

Votação por Directores?

- Todas as seis perguntas têm de ser abordadas.

- As primeiras três perguntas são as mais importantes, para as quais deverá proporcionar mais tempo.

**COMPOSIÇÃO DAS REUNIÕES DE DIALOGO LOCAIS**  
**<<FOCUS GROUPS>>**

Necessitamos da seguinte composição para as reuniões de dialogo, <<Focus Groups>>:

<b><u>Características</u></b>	<b><u>Número de participantes</u></b>
Homens	5
Mulheres	5
Açoreanos(as)	6* (ver nota)
Do Continente e outras origens	4* (ver nota)
Jovens (até aos 25 anos)	3
Terceira-idade (65 anos ou mais)	2
Trabalhadores (ex. construção, fábricas, trabalho do campo, etc.)	7
Empresários ou pequenos-comerciantes, etc.	2
Profissionais, (ex. médico, advogado, técnico, etc.)	1

**\* Estas proporções podem ser alteradas, naquelas regiões onde há relativamente poucos indivíduos de um ou outro grupo.**

- 1) **Estes números servem simplesmente como um guia.** Em certas regiões poderá não ser possível preencher todas estas categorias. Nesse caso, um esforço deverá ser feito para haver a **melhor possível aproximação a estes números**. Em regiões onde estas proporções não darão uma boa representação da comunidade, (Por exemplo, onde há poucas concentrações de Açoreanos, ou de empresários, etc.) o organizador da reunião **pode alterar a composição do grupo escolhido** para melhor apresentar um verdadeiro perfil da sua comunidade local.
- 2) Cada grupo terá **no máximo 12 pessoas, e no mínimo 5**. Onde houver mais do que 12 pessoas, formar-se-ão dois grupos, e cada um terá a sua própria reunião.
- 3) Os participantes de cada reunião **não podem ser familiares ou amigos íntimos um dos outros**. Só uma pessoa em cada família pode participar numa reunião. **É extremamente importante não falhar a esta regra!** No entanto, os participantes podem ser conhecidos.
- 4) Utilize a tabela no verso desta página para ajudar na escolha das pessoas para a reunião.
- 5) Esta lista, assim como a tabela no verso, são para o uso exclusivo do recrutador e, por razões de confidencialidade dos participantes, **não deverá ser apresentada aos membros do grupo**.
- 6) Para mais informações, telefonem para Fernando Nunes, (416) 530-6608 enviem fax (416) 530-6612 ou escrevam para 85 Glendale Ave. Toronto. M6R 2S8

**VER TABELA NO VERSO**

Para que serve esta tabela? Esta tabela é um guia para ajudar no recrutamento de pessoas para as reuniões locais <<Focus Groups>>.

Como utilizar esta tabela:

- 1) Coloque as primeiras letras do primeiro e o último nome de cada participante na linha por cima de uma das colunas.
  - 2) Coloque um X debaixo de cada característica que essa pessoa exibe.
- Um exemplo: (ver tabela) O Senhor J. Barbosa (J. B.) aceitou participar numa reunião.
- Ele é homem, do Continente, e empresário, então coloca-se um X nas linhas que correspondem a essas características.
- 3) Para completar o grupo, escolha mais pessoas com as características indicadas ao lado esquerdo da tabela.
  - 4) Continue a recrutar indivíduos até preencher, o melhor possível, o número necessário de cada tipo de pessoa procurada. Não se preocupe se exceder, por um ou dois, o número recomendado nas categorias. O importante é atingir o mínimo número necessário de cada qualidade de pessoa.
  - 5) Uma reunião não pode ter mais do que 12 participantes ou menos do que 5.

IMPORTANTE: OS PARTICIPANTES NÃO PODEM SER DA MESMA FAMÍLIA, OU AMIGOS PRÓXIMOS UM DO OUTRO.  
NO ENTANTO, PODEM SER CONHECIDOS.

**PARTICIPANTES**

PESSOAS PROCURADAS	Quantos precisa	Exemplo <u>J. B.</u>	1.	2.	3.	4.	5. mínimo	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12. máximo	Total
Homens	5	X													
Mulheres	5														
Dos Açores* (ver nota)	6*														
Do Continente ou outro lugar*	4*	X													
Jovens (25 anos ou menos)	3														
Terceira-Idade (65 anos ou mais)	2														
Trabalhadores, (ex. na construção, fábrica, campo, etc.)	7														
Empresários e comerciantes	2	X													
Profissionais, (ex. Médico, advogado, técnico de computadores, etc.)	1														

\*Estas proporções podem ser alteradas, naquelas regiões onde há relativamente poucos indivíduos de um ou outro grupo.

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## **O QUE HÁ PARA FAZER NA ORGANIZAÇÃO DAS REUNIÕES**

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### **Duas semanas, ou mais, antes da Reunião:**

- ☐ Contacte os **participantes**: procure nome e telefone, para contactá-los outra vez.
- ☐ Preencha a **tabela de participantes**, conforme está a recrutar as pessoas.
- ☐ Explique a todos que a sessão **será gravada**. É importante que saibam isto.
- ☐ Recrute mais 3 pessoas além do necessário (há sempre quem desiste ao último).
- ☐ Envie **carta de convite**.
- ☐ Procure **alguém para tirar apontamentos** na reunião, e para lidar com o gravador.
- ☐ Adquire um **gravador de cassettes**, com **microfone capaz de captar uma reunião**.
- ☐ Adquire **uma extensão eléctrica**, se o gravador não fôr a pilhas.
- ☐ Procure **alguém para tomar conta de crianças** durante a reunião.
- ☐ Procure o uso de uma sala por **duas horas**. Verifique se:
  - ☐ A sala é livre de barulho? Irá lá haver actividades barulhentas **nesse dia**?
  - ☐ É acessível a todos?
  - ☐ Tem outra sala ou lugar para quem estará a tomar conta de crianças.
  - ☐ O lugar não está comprometido ou envolvido com conflictos políticos, etc.?
  - ☐ Irão haver cadeiras suficientes?
  - ☐ Irão haver uma mesa grande para reunir, e outra para colocar café, comida?
  - ☐ A sala será **exclusivamente** sua durante essas **2 horas**?
  - ☐ A pessoa com quem falou combinou para lhe irem abrir a porta, nesse dia?

### **Três dias antes da Reunião:**

- ☐ Telefone a cada participante para lembrá-los da reunião.
- ☐ Telefone a(o) secretário(a), e á pessoa que toma conta de crianças.
- ☐ Telefone ao lugar da reunião, para confirmar.
- ☐ Verifique se o gravador funciona e se as pilhas estão **fracas** e têm de ser trocadas.

### **Um dia antes da reunião:**

**Se decidir oferecer comida, compre, (se necessário):**

- ☐ A comida, o café, etc. e guarde em casa.
- ☐ Pratos de papel.
- ☐ Talheres de plástico.
- ☐ Copos plástico.
- ☐ Guardanapos, etc... (por favor peça recibos para reembolso)

**Junte o seguinte material para levar para a reunião:**

- ☐ Gravador.
- ☐ Uma extensão, **ou** pilhas subseletentes para o gravador.
- ☐ O material do estojo da reunião: Cassettes, canetas, bloco de papel, etc.

**continua no verso...**

## **O Que Há para fazer.....(continuação)**

### **No dia da reunião:**

- ☐ Há algum problema com a sala nesse dia, ex. barulho?
- ☐ Há cadeiras suficientes, mesa?
- ☐ Arrume o café ou(e) a comida.
- ☐ Arrume as cadeiras
- ☐ Coloque o gravador, ou o microfone, no seu lugar, ex. centro da mesa de reunião.

### **Durante a reunião:**

- ☐ Ao entrarem, fale com todos. **Não entre dentro dos assuntos da reunião.**
- ☐ Incentive as pessoas a comerem **antes** da reunião.
- ☐ Determine quem fala mais, e sente-os ao seu lado, (assim pode virar-lhes ligeiramente as suas costas para melhor dar sinal para outros falarem)
- ☐ Sente pessoas que falam pouco, á sua frente, (para incentivá-las a falar)
  
- ☐ Grave uns segundos do dialogo inicial, para ver se o gravador capta todos bem.
- ☐ Comece a sessão com a introdução.
- ☐ Dirigida a primeira pergunta a cada um, por sua vez, para obrigar todos a falarem.

### **Imediatamente após a reunião, assente-se com o(a) secretário(a) para**

- ☐ Escrever um **Sumário** das principais pontos que foram abordados.
- ☐ Tirar quaisquer dúvidas sobre as anotações que este/esta tomou.

### **No dia seguinte**

- ☐ Coloque no correio:
  - ☐ Todas as Cassettes.
  - ☐ Todas as anotações e apontamentos da reunião, incluindo o sumário.
  - ☐ Os recibos originais para despesas que teve, (por favor guarde fotocópias).
  - ☐ A tabela de recrutamento, devidamente preenchida.

## O Que Há para fazer.....(continuação)

### Conselhos

Utilize perguntas:

— **Que aprofundem os temas:**

ex. Pode-me dar exemplos do que está a dizer?

Pode explicar isso um bocadinho mais?

Seja mais específico. O que é que quer dizer exactamente com isso?

Como é que diria isso noutras palavras?, etc.

— **Que obrigue as pessoas a pensar em situações da própria vida delas.**

ex. Diga-nos o que aconteceu naquelas épocas em que teve de utilizar esse serviço.

Como é que resolveu esse problema? etc...

Que tipo de dificuldades, relacionadas com este assunto, já teve?

### TIPO DE PERGUNTAS, GESTOS, ACCÕES, QUE NÃO DEVE UTILIZAR

— **A palavra "Porquê?"**

ex. Porque é que fez isso?

Porque é que não fez isso?, etc...

— **Gestos ou palavras que possam indicar se concorda, ou não, com comentários.**

ex. Não assane a cabeça quando alguém está a falar.

Não responda a comentários dizendo "sim" ou "aha!".

— **As suas opiniões pessoais, sobre os assuntos.**

### TIPO DE ACCÕES, OU CONFLICTOS QUE NÃO PODE AUTORIZAR

— **Não deixe o grupo ser dominado por quem fala muito, mesmo se falarem bem.**

— **Não deixe o grupo entrar em discussões conflictuosas (políticas, religiosas, etc.) que não têm de haver com os temas em discussão.**

— **Não autorize, de maneira alguma, que um participante insulte outro, ou ofereça comentários pessoais sobre outros participantes. Se tal acontecer, seja **FIRME!** Dê um aviso que a reunião não é para lidar com esse tipo de problemas e que irá parar a reunião, se isso se repetir. Se tal abuso continuar, pare a reunião imediatamente, e continue outro dia, sem aquelas pessoas que estavam a ofender as regras.**

# **DESPESAS MÁXIMAS RECOMENDADAS PARA CADA REUNIÃO**

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## **DESPESAS QUE RECOMENDAMOS QUE PAGUEM EM TODOS OS CASOS:**

Comida, (ex. jantar) e refrescos para os reunidos:	\$ 100.
Alguém para tomar conta de crianças durante a reunião:	\$ 20.

## **DESPESAS QUE RECOMENDAMOS QUE PAGUEM SÓ QUANDO NECESSÁRIO:**

(No caso de ter de contratar uma pessoa para organizar e dirigir a reunião, e outra para tomar apontamentos durante a sessão)	
<<Honorarium>> para moderador:	\$ 50.
<<Honorarium>> para secretário	\$ 20.
(No caso de ter de alugar uma sala ou equipamento).	
Aluguer de uma sala para a reunião:	\$ 50.
Aluguer de equipamento:	<u>+ \$ 10.</u>

**Orçamento total para cada reunião \$ 250.**

**Não poderá gastar mais do que \$250 em cada reunião.**

Se gastar mais do que o recomendado em algum destes pormenores, terá de economizar essa mesma quantia nos outros.

**Appendix 4.**

**NEWSLETTERS #1 - #3**



Dr. Tomás Ferreira  
*President*

Conceição do Rosário  
*Vice-President*

Agostinho Bairos  
*Vice-President (West)*

Idalina De Jesus  
*Vice-President (Central)*

Norberto Aguiar  
*Vice-President (East)*

Tony Tavares  
*Director (Man.)*

Regina Calado  
*Director (B.C.)*

M. Nazaré Lindsay  
*Director (Alb.)*

Maria Zalasek  
*Director (Sas.)*

Manuel Barros  
*Director (Central North)*

Alvaro Ventura  
*Director (Central West)*

José Carlos A. Rodrigues  
*Director (Central East)*

Daniel Ribeiro  
*Director (Central Centre)*

Fernando Reis  
*Director (Central Toronto)*

Paula Pires  
*Director (Central Youth)*

Carlos Batista  
*Director (Maritimes)*

José Soares  
*Director (Hull)*

## MENSAGEM DO PRESIDENTE

**C**aros compatriotas:  
Conforme tínhamos indicados no nosso boletim de inscrição, iria demorar algum tempo primeiro que tivéssemos a possibilidade de contactar todos os associados, pela razão simples que a cota de cinco dólares não dava para cobrir as despesas inerentes a um serviço de administração de tal magnitude. Estou hoje a escrever-lhe afim de, finalmente, contactar com todos os sócios, mais de um ano depois da fundação do Congresso. Tem sido um ano de grande actividade, e também de algumas dificuldades, como era de esperar para uma organização jovem como a nossa, que está espalhada por um país da vastidão do Canadá! Junto segue uma pequena resenha de algumas das actividades em que o Congresso tem estado envolvido, assim como o cartão de sócio. Como é do conhecimento geral, temos participado activamente na campanha para a permanência das ligações aéreas da TAP com o Canadá. Também estamos no processo de fazer, com o financiamento do Governo Federal, um estudo das necessidades da comunidade portuguesa, (needs assessment), para o qual necessitaríamos da sua colaboração.

(continua na p. 2. Ver MENSAGEM...)

**Renovação das cotas: Agradecemos que nos enviasse o seu cheque, na quantia bastante acessível de 5 dólares, o mais breve possível. É nossa intenção fazer com a data de renovação o dia 10 de Junho de cada ano.**

## UM ANO DO CONGRESSO NACIONAL LUSO-CANADIANO: O que se fez, o que não se fez..

### ...e o que irá fazer-se!

**H**á um ano que cerca de 300 portugueses, vindos desde Kitimat, na British Columbia, até Sackville, na Nova Escócia se juntaram em Otava e se lançaram à tarefa de criar um Congresso Luso-Canadiano que fosse uma voz dos portugueses, desde o Atlântico ao Pacífico. Este grupo de idealistas, nos quais os jovens eram talvez entre 10 a 20%, deram vida a um sonho que existia na nossa comunidade há mais de um quarto de século. Eles foram capazes de colocar a nossa comunidade ao nível das outras 40 comunidades étnicas que têm um organismo nacional.

Embora não quisesse citar-me a mim próprio, não resisto à tentação de chamar essa força que uniu essas centenas de portugueses num fim de semana, na capital do país, como **o espírito de Otava**.

Será que esse espírito ainda está vivo?

(continua na p. 2. Ver RESUMO...)

## MENSAGEM...

(continuado da p. 1)

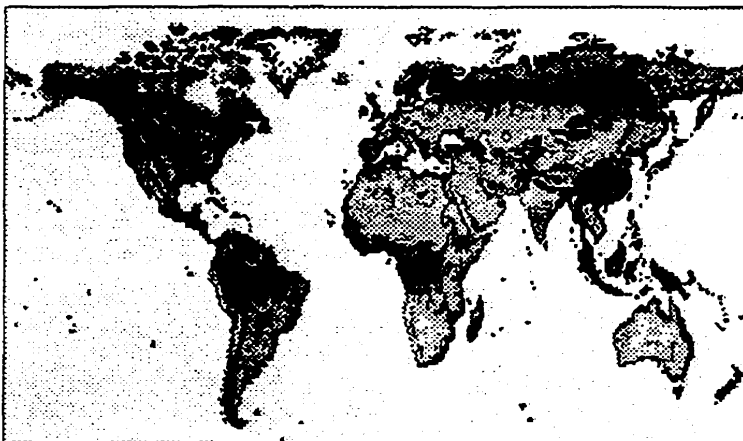
Também tencionamos em breve, apesar das dificuldades que se deparam neste momento, fazer o sorteio de viagens a Portugal oferecidas pela TAP.

Finalmente, queria informar que a próxima convenção do Congresso realizar-se-á em Montreal em Março de 1995.


Sem mais, queira aceitar os meus mais cordiais cumprimentos.

*Dr. Tomás Ferreira,*  
*Presidente*

Toronto, 10 de Maio de 1994



## T.A.P.

**C**omo é do conhecimento geral, a TAP decidiu abandonar as carreiras para o Canadá. E, como não podia de ser, o Congresso tem estado activo nos movimentos que se formaram em Toronto e Montreal, para defender os interesses da nossa comunidade e assegurar que as linhas aéreas com Portugal não sejam interrompidas. Em Montreal, é parte da <<Comissão de Apoio à Permanência da TAP no Canadá>>, constituída pelo Vice Presidente Maria Conceição Rosário, Manuel Rodrigues, Administrador da <<Confederação dos Organismos Portugueses do Québec>>, e Armando Barqueiro, Director do Jornal <<Voz de Portugal>>. Em Toronto, formou-se o <<Movimento de Apoio para a Permanência da TAP no Canadá>>, constituída pelo Congresso, a <<Federação dos Comerciantes e Profissionais>> a <<Aliança dos Clubes e Associações>>, a <<Camara de Comércio>>, e uma comissão de Portugueses. Várias cartas têm sido enviadas às entidades oficiais, há um abaixo-assinado a circular e foram pedidas entrevistas com o Presidente da Republica Portuguesa, o Primeiro Ministro, e vários outros ministros, entre eles, os das Obras Públicas e Transportes e Comunicações. 

## RESUMO DE UM ANO (Continuado da p.1)

Tentaremos dar um resumo do que foi um ano de vida do recém-formado Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano.

### • O QUE SOMOS

Em primeiro lugar, antes de abordar as perguntas que envolvem o verbo **fazer**, tais como o **que fazemos**, começarei pelo que somos e também pelo que não somos.

O Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano é, à semelhança dos seus congéneres mais conhecidos e famosos, como os Congressos Judeu, Italiano e Polaco, uma organização nacional que procura zelar pelos interesses da nossa comunidade. Será aquilo a que hoje, até já em Português, se designa como um "lobby" e também uma voz da comunidade. Eventualmente, quando estiver completamente organizado, e este processo durará, (ao que nos diz a experiência de outras organizações congéneres, como a italiana), uns quatro a cinco anos, será um órgão de intercâmbio entre as diversas organizações luso-canadianas do Canadá.

Claro que não somos uma organização para promover acontecimentos culturais, recreativos ou de beneficência. Essa será uma função das organizações já existentes. De maneira nenhuma isto prescinde o envolvimento do Congresso numa situação de emergência como seria uma tragédia em Portugal ou afectando outra comunidade portuguesa, tal como um tremor de terra, uma guerra, uma epidemia, etc.

### • O QUE NÃO FIZEMOS

Devido à falta de meios não tem sido possível contactar os membros, quer individuais, quer colectivos. Só agora é que vamos começar a enviar os cartões de sócio para todo o país. Os números envolvidos e as despesas de correio ou telefone tornam o contacto com as diversas organizações e membros individuais bastante difícil neste estado de desenvolvimento do Congresso.

### • O QUE FIZEMOS

Assim que o Congresso foi formado, começámos o processo bastante demorado de obter apoio financeiro das entidades oficiais, uma vez que uma organização jovem como a nossa não podia subsistir sem ajuda governamental. O processo demorou mais do que

(continua na pagina 3. Ver MAIS RESUMO)

# MAIS RESUMO

(Continuado da p. 2)

esperávamos, não só devido à lentidão da burocracia, mas também às eleições federais e mudança de governo. Em resumo, depois de mais de meia dúzia de entrevistas em Toronto e Otava, várias Cartas, telefonemas e "faxes", conseguimos uma verba bastante razoável há poucas semanas.

O processo durou cerca de onze meses.

Felizmente que não ficámos à espera das verbas e que deitámos mãos à obra na semana seguinte às eleições para a primeira direcção do Congresso. Iniciámos uma campanha de angariação de membros que se alargou por todo o Canadá, com o patrocínio da TAP. Também com a colaboração do Banco Sottomayor lançámos uma campanha nacional para escolhermos um logotipo para o Congresso.

Entretanto, começaram a surgir vários assuntos que ocuparam

a nossa atenção e nos obrigaram a actuar como lobby. O primeiro, já hoje bastante conhecido, foi o problema da lei proposta por alguns vereadores que iria banir o hastear de bandeiras na "City Hall" de Toronto, o que incluiria obviamente a tradicional cerimónia do 10 de Junho, na Câmara Municipal desta cidade. Logo a seguir, envolvemo-nos em mais duas "lutas", a nomeação dum português para o comité que iria estudar

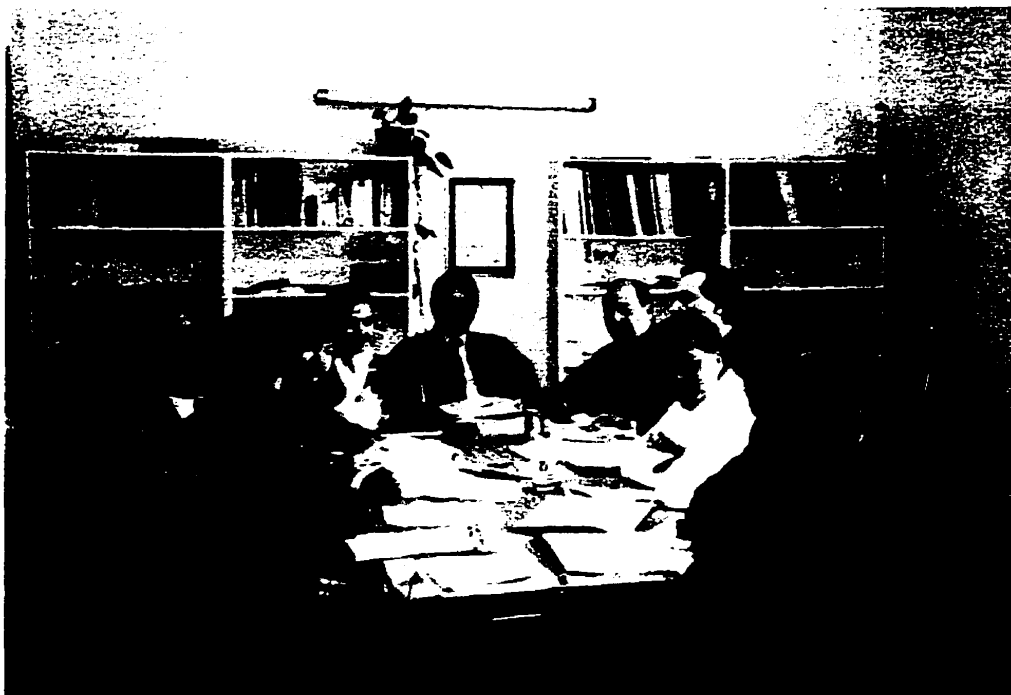
o novo Doctor's Hospital, um hospital em Toronto cuja maioria dos doentes são portugueses. Embora eu próprio fizesse parte do comité como representante do corpo clínico, não havia um português a defender os interesses da comunidade.

Finalmente surgiu o problema do programa dos empregos de verão do Governo do Ontario para jovens que num estudo preliminar pareciam ser dedicados apenas para certas minorias étnicas excluindo os portugueses.

Felizmente, nestes três assuntos, em dois deles com a colaboração de outros dois congressos, conseguimos a vitória.

Em seguida, conseguimos uma coisa inédita na nossa comunidade, que foi uma reunião com o primeiro-ministro do Ontario, três ministros do seu Gabinete, vários deputados e funcionários públicos. Essa reunião serviu, não só para expormos vários problemas da comunidade, como para criar uma comissão destinada a nomear luso-canadianos para os diversos conselhos de gestão e outras organizações do Governo do Ontario.

Entretanto, fomos envolvendo em vários assuntos relacionados com a nossa comunidade. A lista seria bastante longa, mas mencionaria alguns, como a participação no caso do Colégio de La Salle, que perdemos; num artigo ofensivo para os portugueses num jornal étnico, que ganhamos; o envolvimento no campo para a juventude



*Segunda reunião do Executivo com alguns Directores e o Coordenador de Pesquisa, nos dias 9 e 10 de Abril, em Toronto.*

*Da esquerda á direita: Conceição do Rosário, Vice-Presidente; Daniel Ribeiro, Director (Centro Centro); Idalina De Jesus, Vice-Presidente (Centro); Fernando Nunes, Coordenador de Pesquisa; Paula Pires, Directora (Centro, Jovens); Agostinho Bairos, Vice-Presidente (Oeste); Norberto Aguiar, Vice-Presidente (Leste); José Carlos A. Rodrigues, Director (Central Leste); Fernando Reis, Director (Centro Toronto); José Soares, Director (Hull); Dr. Tomás Ferreira, Presidente.*

(continua na pagina 4. Ver O QUE VAMOS FAZER)

## O QUE VAMOS FAZER *(continuado da p. 3)*

no sul do Ontario; o movimento contra os impostos urbanos em Montreal, etc.

Também apoiámos, juntos da CRTC, organização reguladora do Governo Federal, a exposição das estações emissoras CIRV e CFMT Canal 47, que servem as comunidades portuguesas do Ontario.

Outra áreas onde estivemos envolvidos foi nas actividades do Ethno-Cultural Council, organização que engloba cerca de 40 congressos e organizações étnicas semelhantes ao nível nacional. Participámos em reuniões desta organização em Toronto e Otava e participámos em estudos sobre a imigração e cultura a ser apresentados ao Governo Federal.

Também ao nível do Ethno-Cultural Council, participámos numa reunião com os partidos políticos nacionais, antes das eleições federais de Outubro de 1993. Aliás, o Congresso divulgou em todas as comunidades portuguesas do Canadá um comunicado sobre as eleições. Também aproveitámos a oportunidade para, antes das eleições, enviarmos a todos os candidatos uma carta referente a um assunto que muito nos preocupa, o do visto exigido aos portugueses para entrarem no Canadá. Porque achamos que esta é uma medida injusta, temos feito os máximos esforços para ela se abolida, tendo até tido uma entrevista com a vice-primeira ministra, Sheila Copps, a quem apresentámos uma exposição sobre o assunto.

Ao nível da juventude, participamos na Royal Commission on Learning. O nosso Director para a Juventude, com a ajuda de alguns voluntários, apresentou um trabalho a esta comissão.


Também temos estado envolvidos numa luta, infelizmente sem sucesso, contra a lei 79, o chamado Employment Equity, o qual irá prejudicar a comunidade portuguesa. Apesar de entrevistas com dois ministros, um deputado assistente de ministro, vários funcionários e até o líder da oposição, não conseguimos mudar a lei.

Temos tido encontros regionais em London, Hamilton, Bradford, Montreal e Otava, mas, devido à falta de meios financeiros, não fomos mais longe.

## • O QUE VAMOS FAZER

Acabámos de receber financiamento do Governo Federal para um "needs assessment", estudo das necessidades da comunidade, ao nível económico, social, cultural, educacional e outros. Esperamos com este estudo envolver o maior número de comunidades portuguesas no Canadá e apresentar às autoridades federais aquilo que até agora não existe: uma visão panorâmica das necessidades dos luso-canadianos no Canadá. O Governo Federal está muito interessado nesse documento.

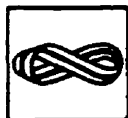
Durante o próximo ano, queremos aumentar o número de membros, quer individuais, quer ao nível de organizações. Também gostaríamos de ver uma maior participação regional no Congresso.

Finalmente, gostaríamos de agradecer aos meios de comunicação social e às entidades comerciais que nos têm ajudado. 

O Congresso está vivo e a funcionar. Porém, só será grande com a ajuda de todos os portugueses. Agradecia que nos enviassem as vossas sugestões e críticas. Com a vossa colaboração, poderemos ter um Congresso melhor e mais eficiente.

## Como contactar os seus Directores

Dr. Tomás Ferreira - (416) 531-4601 (Presidente)  
Conceição do Rosário - (514) 596-6078 (Vice-Pres.)  
Agostinho Bairos - (204) 945-8052 (V.P. Oeste)  
Idalina de Jesus - (905) 385-7850 (V.P. Central)  
Norberto Aguiar - (514) 844-0388 (V.P. Leste)  
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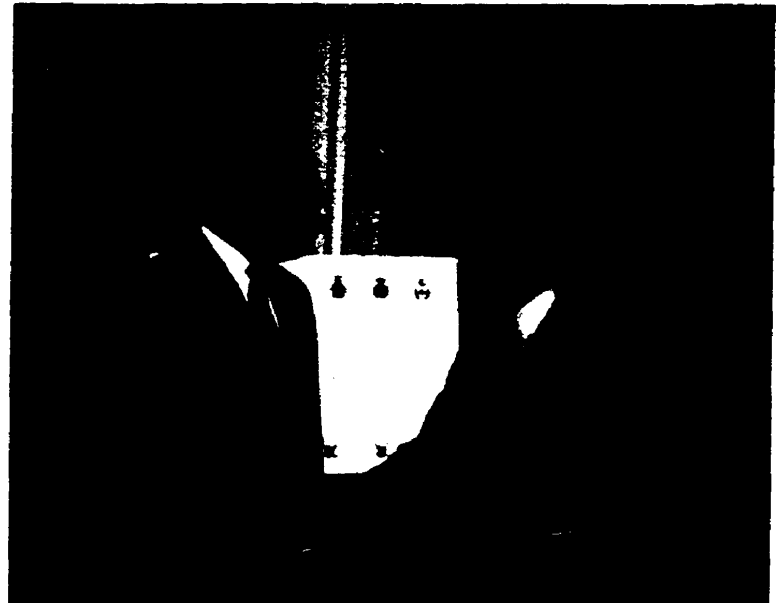
José Figueiredo  
*Director-Adjunto (Sudoeste Ontario)*

**MONTREAL, 26, 27 e 28 de MAIO:**

## A NOSSA PRÓXIMA CONVENÇÃO

*Por Norberto Aguiar, Montreal*  
*Vice-Presidente da Região Leste*

A Comissão responsável pela realização da Segunda Convenção do Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano, que vem actuando desde sensivelmente Agosto passado, já decidiu quando e onde se realizará o seu segundo encontro da sua curta história. Desta forma, estamos em condições de informar que a **Segunda Convenção do Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano** que, como damos conta noutra local deste boletim, se realiza aqui, em **Montreal**, será levada a efeito nos dias **26, 27 e 28 de Maio** próximos e terá como local de reunião o prestigiado **Hotel du Parc**, uma unidade hoteleira de cinco estrelas, em pleno centro da cidade e a dois passos do "coração" da Comunidade  
(*Continua na p. 8. Ver Convenção*)



*O então Governador-Geral do Canadá, o Sr. Ray Hnatyshyn, cumprimenta o Dr. Tomás Ferreira, Presidente do Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano, na sua residência oficial, Rideau Hall, na ocasião da entrega aos presidentes dos congressos étnicos do novo Braço do Ethno-Cultural Council (a organização que reúne os Congressos Étnicos no Canadá).*

## RUMO A MONTREAL RUMO AO FUTURO

*Por Dr. Tomás Ferreira, Toronto*  
*Presidente Nacional*

O primeiro boletim do Congresso (Maio 1993) foi produzido quase todo pela direcção central. Este número será o resultado da colaboração dos directores e um futuro número, o produto dos membros do Congresso, quer individuais, quer colectivos.

Durante estes dois primeiros anos de actividade, estivemos envolvidos em muitas actividades, conforme foi escrito no boletim anterior. São exemplos da nossa actividade as diversas ocasiões em que reivindicámos em favor da nossa comunidade, quer junto das autoridades municipais (como o caso da bandeira da **Câmara Municipal de Toronto**), as provinciais (como a criação da **Comissão Para Atribuição de Postos Políticos e Administrativos** para os Luso-Canadianos na  
(*Continua na p. 3. Ver ACTIVIDADES*)

## ESTUDO NACIONAL ENTRA FASE FINAL

*Por Fernando Nunes, Toronto*  
*Coordenador da Pesquisa*

Estamos a entrar na fase final de um estudo nacional, ("Needs Assessment"), iniciado em Abril de 94, sobre as necessidades sociais, económicas, políticas, educacionais e culturais das nossas comunidades. O estudo inclui um **questionário**, **reuniões locais**, e a **recolha de estatísticas**.

Já recebemos aproximadamente 200 dos 1,000 questionários que enviámos em Outubro para os sócios do Congresso e as associações Luso-Canadianas no Canadá, (uma resposta aceitável para este género de estudo). **Apelamos àqueles que ainda não o fizeram, que preencham o seu questionário, e o enviem para o Congresso.** Estão também a serem realizadas neste mês as 24 reuniões locais, ("focus groups"), em localidades desde **Halifax**, **Nova Scotia**, a **Kitimat**, **British Columbia**. Nestes encontros, o Congresso reúne pequenos  
(*Continua na p. 8. Ver REUNIÕES*)

## O QUE É O CONGRESSO?

O Congresso é uma organização de indivíduos e associações Luso-Canadianas que trabalha a nível nacional e local, com assuntos que afectam a qualidade de vida e direitos da nossa comunidade. Envolvermo-nos em problemas, tais como desemprego, acesso ao ensino superior, problemas de imigração, o problema do visto para os portugueses entrarem no Canadá, ou qualquer outro assunto que seja abrangido pelos nossos objectivos. Estes são:

- Proporcionar aos seus membros uma voz nacional em matérias de carácter social e económico.
- Ajudar à promoção, desenvolvimento, manutenção e enriquecimento da cultura das comunidades Luso-Canadianas.
- Defender os interesses dos Canadianos de origem portuguesa em todos os assuntos que tenham impacto sobre a sua qualidade de vida, a fim de assegurar igualdade de oportunidades e justiça.
- Actuar como corpo consultivo, perante governos, comunidades e instituições em matérias de interesse dos Luso-Canadianos(as) e da sociedade em geral.
- Estimular e ajudar Luso-Canadianos à participação plena em todos os aspectos da sociedade Canadiana.
- Facilitar a comunicação, colaboração e cooperação entre comunidades.
- Inculcar no espírito de todos os canadianos uma maior compreensão e apreciação do papel que a diversidade humana tem no desenvolvimento social e económico do Canadá.
- Promover o espírito humanitário e os direitos humanos tanto a nível nacional como internacional.
- Promover um bom relacionamento social e económico entre os povos do Canadá e de Portugal.

A experiência passada tem demonstrado que, neste país, as autoridades tendem a dar mais atenção a uma organização do tipo dum Congresso Nacional, do que a Associações isoladas ou a indivíduos. Congressos, ou organizações semelhantes de outras comunidades existem há muitos anos e, alguns deles como o Judeu e o Italiano têm hoje grande estatura a nível nacional. É nossa intenção funcionar à semelhança destas organizações congéneres.

O Congresso será aquilo que nós o fizemos. Precisamos de ajuda de todos. Colaborem connosco, fazendo-se membros, enviando-nos sugestões e críticas, e ajudando os directores do Congresso assinalados à vossa região

### **O Congresso Precisa de Todos!**

## O QUE FAZ O CONGRESSO?

### EM CURSO

- Organização para a convenção Montreal, 26-28 Maio.
- Estudo das necessidades "Needs Assessment".
- Reunião com Sergio Marchi, sobre Vistos para Portugueses a entrarem no Canadá e iniciativas planeadas em colaboração com organizações como a Federação de Empresários de Toronto e a Aliança de Clubes e Associações do Ontario.
- Estamos em negociações sobre uma futura conferência nacional de Jovens.
- Pedimos fundos ao Governo do Ontario para continuação do "Needs Assessment".
- Estamos em conversações com o Governo do Ontário sobre a inclusão dos portugueses na nova lei "employment equity".
- Participamos regularmente em reuniões do conselho de congressos étnicos (Ethno-cultural council).
- Estamos em campanha de angariação de novos sócios.
- A nossa lista de sócios está a ser colocada num "data-base" computarizado.

### TERMINADOS

- Criámos uma Comissão de Nomeações de Luso-Canadianos para Cargos Públicos. (Ontario).
- Reunimos com Bob Rae, Premier do Ontario, e vários Ministros.
- Fizemos apresentação sobre Timor-Leste ao "Foreign Policy Review Committee". (Comissão do Governo Federal que reviu a política externa Canadiana).
- Fizemos apresentação ao "Royal Commission on Learning". (Comissão Provincial a reformar o sistema de educação).
- Defendemos o direito de hastear a bandeira portuguesa na Câmara Municipal de Toronto.
- Fizemos um "lobby", em conjunto com outros grupos da comunidade, para tentarmos convencer a TAP a não cancelar os seus voos para o Canadá.
- Apoiamos o pedido de expansão das estações portuguesas de Toronto, o CIRV e CFMT-Canal 47, junto da CRTC, (a qual governa meios de comunicação).
- Organizámos encontros com a comunidade em London.

(continua na página 8, ver TERMINADOS)

## LINHA DIRECTA AOS SÓCIOS



### PAGAMENTO DE COTAS

O Congresso precisa de si! Para quem ainda não o fez, tem agora a oportunidade de pagar as suas cotas, pondo um cheque de \$5 dentro do envelope anexo e enviar-nos. Cinco dólares não é muito dinheiro. Mande o seu cheque já!

### QUESTIONÁRIO

Se quiser, poderá ainda enviar o questionário que recebeu em Novembro. Nós agradecemos.

## Nossos Sócios Escrevem

Um erro nosso, no copiar do nome de uma sócia para as nossas fichas, deu origem à seguinte carta. (Embora peçamos desculpas a esta senhora pelo engano, achamos que, mesmo assim, valeu a pena pela sua resposta simpática e criativa):

*Amigas, amigos do Congresso,*

*No nosso Congresso,  
Eu acredito ainda,  
Por isso lhes peço,  
Que me tratem por 'Arminda'.*

*O meu nome não é 'Alzinda',  
Nem tão pouco 'Adezinda',  
'Ermelinda', 'Carminda', 'Lucinda',  
'Almerinda', 'Diolinda' ou 'Clarinda'.*

*Nem pensar em 'Nacionalinda',*

*Muito menos em 'Gracinda',  
'Florinda' ou 'Laurinda',  
E, p'ra mal dos meus pecados,  
Também não sou 'Linda'...*

*Por favor tomem nota,  
O meu nome é 'Arminda'.*

*Muito Obrigado e, Viva o Congresso!*

*Arminda da Conceição Pereira dos Santos,  
Sudbury.*

## Actividades do Congresso (continuado da p. 1)

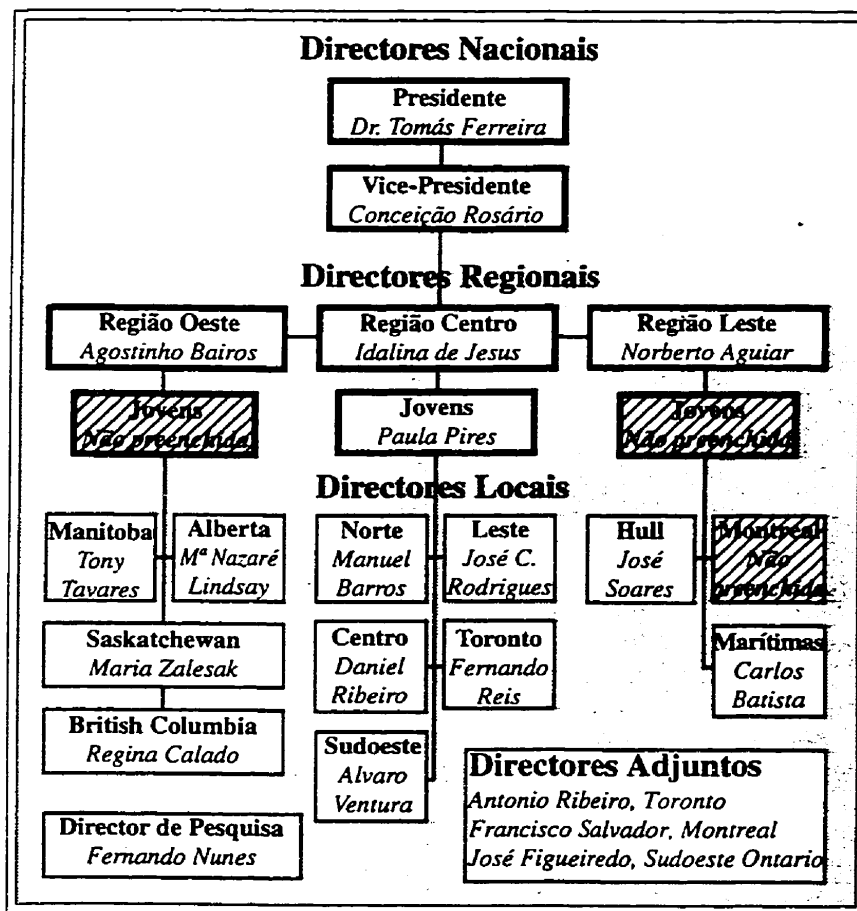
provincia de Ontario), ou ao nível nacional Canadano, (como a **Conferência de juventude**, que estamos a organizar com o apoio do Governo Canadano). Também estivemos activos ao nível nacional actuando como membros do **Canadian Ethno-Cultural Council**, em vários assuntos que vão desde as propostas de leis referentes aos serviços sociais, imigração, multiculturalismo, direitos das minorias e tantos outros. Essa nossa participação na política nacional tomou também a forma de apresentação de intervenções junto da "Royal Commission Reviewing Canadian Foreign Policy" (a comissão que está a rever a política externa do Canadá), e a participação nas modificações do Código Penal iniciadas pelo **Ministro da Justiça, Alan Rock**. Procuramos desempenhar as nossas funções como uma organização representativa da comunidade e, mesmo em casos em que não conseguimos os nossos objectivos, mostramos às entidades oficiais que existíamos e qual era a posição dos luso-canadianos; como aconteceu no caso da visita a Portugal e o contacto com as entidades

portuguesas, em relação ao assunto da TAP ou as entrevistas com o **Vice-Primeiro Ministro Sheila Copps** e o **Ministro Sergio Marchi**, com referência ao visto para portugueses que aqui visitam.

O **Estudo das Necessidades da Comunidade**, o "Needs Assessment", que tem estado a decorrer é fundamental para o desenvolvimento dos luso-canadianos, e para estabelecer o nosso prestígio e presença junto das autoridades canadianas.

Não há dúvida que muito há a fazer e que, ao nível de organização local, precisamos de envolver o maior número de organizações e luso-canadianos. O Congresso precisa de ser organizado da base para a cúpula, isto é, deverão ser as organizações e os membros ao nível local e regional que fazem funcionar o

Congresso e elegem a sua direcção. A presente estrutura tem funcionado razoavelmente, mas terá de ser ultrapassada a fim de se criar uma organização mais activa e ligada aos luso-canadianos. A nossa principal tarefa até à convenção em Maio deverá ser o envolvimento do maior número possível de luso-canadianos, quer como participantes na reunião em Montréal, quer como outras formas de participação ao nível regional. O Congresso precisa de funcionar de baixo para cima e não de cima para baixo. É necessário que o maior número possível de portugueses participe activamente na vida da organização. Os dois primeiros anos demonstraram a vitalidade do Congresso e a necessidade da sua existência; vamos agora preparar o



futuro. Passada a primeira fase da nossa existência, devemos agora todos colaborar para que se forme um Congresso melhor, mais eficiente e mais envolvido com as organizações e membros individuais. Vencida a primeira fase, mais um passo em frente nos espera:

**Rumo a Montreal. Rumo a um futuro melhor para os luso-canadianos.\***

## MENSAGEM DA VICE-PRESIDENTE

Por Conceição Rosário, Montreal

Vice-Presidente Nacional, Tesoureira/Secretária

Nos últimos meses, estive envolvida no problema da T.A.P., a nível do Québec e do Canadá. Em Maio 1994 fui a Portugal com a **Comitiva Para o Apoio à Permanência da T.A.P. Air Portugal no Canadá** (uma coligação de grupos e associações comunitárias). Encontrei-me também sobre esse assunto com o **Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros do Québec**, (dessa altura), o **Sr. John Ciaccia**. Também encontrei-me com o **Ministro das Finanças Paul Martin** e remeti-lhe pessoalmente uma carta do Congresso com o nosso pedido de abolição do Visto para os portugueses.

Aproveitei a reunião com o **Sr. Ciaccia** para lhe falar do

Congresso. Desse encontro resultou \$10.000, para realizarmos a conferência nacional de 1995, em Montreal. Desde essa altura, estou envolvida no comité de organização da conferência, e concentro-me sobre a problemática de subsídios. Tenho representado o Congresso através de contactos a nível do **Governo do Québec** e em vários acontecimentos em Montreal.

Estou à disposição de todos os sócios e Directores para facilitar a comunicação e os trabalhos de organização do Congresso. Apesar de mais poder ter sido feito, sinto-me limitada pelo problema da distância e pela falta de participação da comunidade portuguesa. Esperemos que num futuro próximo os portugueses realizem que só unidos poderemos ter a força e o poder que nos é devido. ✽

# Reuniões Com Ministros do Ontário

*Por Idalina de Jesus, Hamilton*

*Vice-Presidente da Região Centro*

Feliz e próspero Ano Novo para o Congresso e para os seus membros.

Nos últimos dois anos o Congresso foi reconhecido pelos governos Federal e do Ontário. Participámos activamente no "**Canadian Ethno-Cultural Council**" (o Conselho Etno-Cultural Canadiano). Fizemos uma apresentação sobre **Timor-Leste** á "**Foreign Policy Review Committee**" (uma comissão do governo Federal que reviu a política externa Canadiana). Fizemos também apresentações aos **Ministros da Imigração e da Justiça**.

No Ontário, o Congresso teve reuniões com o **Gabinete Provincial**, fez apresentações ao **Ministro de Serviços Sociais e Comunitários** ("**Community and Social Services**") e ao **Ministro da Cidadania** ("**Citizenship**"). Tanto eu como o **Presidente** recebemos homenagens do **Governo do Ontário**, pela nossa contribuição para a Província. Também, o Presidente recebeu o **Grau de Comendador da Ordem de Mérito pelo Governo Português**. Através destas homenagens, o

Governo do Ontário está a reconhecer a importância do Congresso, assim como o trabalho e a contribuição dos Luso-Canadianos e das suas organizações.

É hora da comunidade reconhecer a contribuição que o Congresso pode prestar, e também dos Luso-Canadianos começarem a envolver-se activamente no trabalho e desenvolvimento estrutural do Congresso. O estudo nacional das nossas necessidades e lacunas (O "**Needs Assessment**") é um exemplo de como a comunidade pode contribuir com as suas opiniões e como estas podem ser utilizada por diversas organizações e pelo governo para o melhoramento da nossa situação.

O Ontário é a província que apresenta o maior desafio, em termos do desenvolvimento estrutural do Congresso, devido ao grande número de organizações e indivíduos nesta comunidade. Temos de desenvolver uma estrutura que permita às organizações exercerem um papel activo no processo de decisões, que incentive o progresso da comunidade e influencie as decisões do governo. A conferência do

Congresso, destinada para Maio em Montreal, apresentará a perfeita oportunidade para aquelas organizações e membros do Congresso contribuirem directamente para o processo de desenvolvimento estrutural da Secção do Ontário. A sobrevivência do Congresso depende da vossa participação activa na conferência. **Peço a todos vós que incentivem os vossos conhecidos e família para se tornarem membros, participarem na conferência, e contribuirem ideias para a estrutura do Congresso.** O Congresso só será representativo se os seus membros o tornem representativo.

O Congresso ainda está na sua infância, mas já deu os seus primeiros passos. Precisamos de assegurar que este poderá caminhar e correr nos anos seguintes. Nas palavras de John F. Kennedy: *Não pergunte "o que é que o Congresso pode fazer para mim?" mas sim "o que posso eu fazer para o Congresso?"*. A construção de uma comunidade depende de cada um de nós. Vamos construir uma comunidade de que nos possamos orgulhar. ✽

## ONTARIO YOUTH:

# A Time For Reflection\*

*By Paula Pires, Toronto*

*Youth Vice-President, Central Region.*

As we near the end of the mandate of the first elected Board of Directors for the Portuguese National Congress, and prepare for a second conference which will bring with it a new board with new ideas, I have found myself reflecting more and more on the events of the last two years.

It has been a somewhat difficult two years, nonetheless a time in which many valuable experiences have been learned by all of us, but particularly in the area of youth. Often, throughout the last two years I have heard many of you complain that nothing was being done for youth, and that our causes are always pushed under the rug and disregarded as unimportant, and perhaps at one time I would have agreed. Today, however, I'm happy to say that the youth component of the Congress is truly an important and vital element of the National Congress. This fact has been recognized and confirmed

by various organizations both within our community as well as at the provincial and federal government levels.

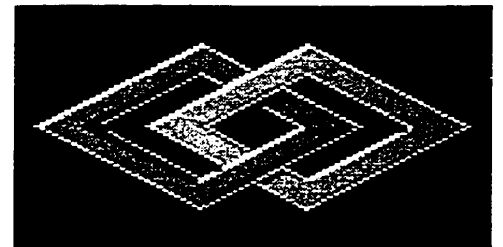
In this edition of the Congress bulletin, I would like to draw attention to four new projects in which the youth sector is currently involved:

- As part of the **Needs Assessment Project** being headed by **Fernando Nunes**, various youth focus groups are being planned for several areas across Canada. This opportunity works as well with our goal to have more of a voice in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

The poor academic portfolios of our youth have been the main focus of the youth sector and, as such, it has prompted the following involvements:

- In the **Toronto Board of Education**, policies - resolutions being offered to the Board.

- In actively seeking a grant, in order



that a **National Conference for Youth** can be planned.

- In conjunction with the **Portuguese Interagency Network, (P.I.N.)**, we are also drawing up a three year project to address this concern.

These new projects present an excellent opportunity for us as youth to voice our concerns and to work vigorously towards promoting solutions to some very serious problems, which are having very consequential effects on our community as a whole. ✽

*\* Este artigo foi escrito em inglês devido ao pedido por parte de alguns dos nossos jovens, que têm dificuldade em ler o português.*

## Sudoeste do Ontario: Precisam-se Empregos Para Jovens

por Alvaro Ventura, London

Director para o Sudoeste do Ontario

Muito já se fez nesta região. Mas muito mais se poderá e deverá fazer, e para tal é necessário uma grande ajuda de todos, tanto do Executivo como da comunidade local. Depois de varias reuniões, foi conseguida a escolha de um **Director Local dos Jovens, José Figueiredo**. Subsídios e postos de trabalho é uma das grandes preocupações dos mesmos. Poderá o Congresso trabalhar para conseguir alguma ajuda que lhes possa ser útil? A comunidade de **Woodstock** encontra-se à espera de uma resposta sobre o problema da sua nova sede. Setenta mil Portugueses residentes no sudoeste do Ontário estão à procura da reabertura do posto consular em **London**, visto estar o mesmo desenhado nesta cidade pelo **Ministro da Emigração** do governo Português. O Congresso continua com as petições que foram lançadas para enviar para **Lisboa**, para o **Ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros** e para o **Secretário de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas**. ✱

## Toronto: Nomeações Para Cargos Públicos

por Fernando Reis, Toronto

Director para Toronto

Nesta região o <<**Portuguese-Canadian Committee for Public Appointments**>>, um sub-comité do Congresso tem realizado várias reuniões a fim de estabelecer um processo para assegurar nomeações de luso-canadianos para cargos públicos. Este comité é composto por vários voluntários que trazem a sua própria experiência para a tarefa a ser desenvolvida. O responsável pelo comité é o Director pela área de Toronto, **Fernando Reis**.

Pode-se afirmar que alguns luso-canadianos já foram colocados em posições chave e o Governo do Ontário encontra-se à disposição para auxiliar o comité naquilo que for necessário. Um relatório mais pormenorizado acerca das actividades do comité será publicado em breve. Isto representa uma excelente oportunidade para a comunidade luso-canadiana conseguir uma maior participação e influência no desenrolar de decisões públicas. ✱

## Leste do Ontario: Congresso Em Movimento

por José Carlos Rodrigues, Otava

Director para o Leste do Ontario

Em **Otava** informei todas as organizações sobre o Congresso, e apelei para colaborarem na sua divulgação e angariação de membros.

Tive reuniões com o **Conselho Etnocultural**, aonde falei com os chefes dos partidos políticos federais sobre necessidades comunitárias, como o subsídio que foi cortado às escolas Portuguesas, a eliminação do visto e a defesa da nossa cultura. Falei também com o **Premier do Ontario** e o **Maire da cidade de Vanier**, sobre as necessidades da nossa terceira idade na Capital, (existe uma simpatia por este problema, por parte dos governos, a qual nos pode vir a trazer algumas verbas). Também abordei a criação de empregos para jovens. Por final, falei com o **Governador Geral do Canadá**, quanto ao **Jardim Histórico Contemporâneo** a ser construído no **Rideau Hall Estates**, o qual incluirá uma placa e uma secção dedicada aos Portugueses.

Organizei um encontro com a comunidade portuguesa, no **White Fathers**, que teve a presença do **Ex. Srs. Embaixadores de Portugal e do Brasil**, representantes do **Maire de Hull e Vanier**, o **Presidente, Vice-Presidente, e Directores do Congresso**. Tenho dialogado com entidades comunitárias consideradas pessoas-chaves e movimentadoras da comunidade: **Sr. Padre Octavio, Sr. Emilio Gonçalves, Sr. Manuel Leal, Sr. Mario Rodrigues, Sr. Gabriel de Sousa, Sr. Padre José Avelino, Sr. Padre Pinheiro (Kingston)**, etc.

No presente e futuro, estamos a participar num grupo de trabalho de pesquisa social. Vamos também pedir a todas as organizações em **Otava e Kingston** que elejam um delegado para trabalhar com o Director local para o Congresso. Por fim, estamos a pensar a fazer uma festa comunitaria para angariação de fundos e de membros. Espero a colaboração de toda a comunidade. ✱



## Centro do Ontario: Longa Vida Para O Congresso!

por Daniel Ribeiro, Hamilton

Director para o Centro do Ontario

Com esta singela introdução, apraz-me relatar o facto de que, por si só, a criação do Congresso marcou um enorme passo em frente para a aceitação da "Nossa Gente", na panorâmica político-social canadense.

Pouco a pouco, algo mais haverá que acrescentar aos adjectivos que auferimos no Canadá, tais como: "**simples**", "**modestos**", "**trabalhadores**", etc. Existem no nosso meio muitos e bons elementos, altamente qualificados e bem inseridos neste mosaico multicultural, que é a sociedade canadiana. Ora, a partir desta premissa, e com o apoio conscientemente esclarecido de todos nós, a uma organização representativa e, em simultâneo, centralizadora como o Congresso Nacional, que poderemos ansiar fazer ouvir a nossa voz e as necessidades mais prementes da

(Continua na p. 8, Ver **LONGA**)

## Norte do Ontario: Falta de Noticias

por Manuel Barros, Sault Ste. Marie

Director para o Norte do Ontario

**Sault Ste. Marie**, cidade situada a 700 km noreoeste de **Toronto**, com uma população de 84,000 habitantes, aonde 0.5% são luso-canadianos lutando para manter a lingua e cultura da Patria Mãe, mas lutando com imensas dificuldades por falta de informação dos outros centros mais populacionais aonde se encontra radicada a imprensa, radio, televisão, etc. Muito se tem tentado fazer para que essa distância seja encurtada. Penso que já consegui dar o primeiro passo nesse sentido, com a preciosa colaboração do Senhor **José Soares**, director do **Jornal Nacional**. Faço um apelo a todas os órgãos de comunicação social que tentem informar este punhado de luso-canadianos, nestas longínquas terras do Ontario, não só **Sault Ste. Marie**, mas também **Sudbury, North Bay, Thunder Bay, Elliot Lake e Manitowaning**. ✱

# Filial do Congresso Planeada Para Manitoba

*Por Agostinho Bairos, Winnipeg, Vice-Presidente da Região Leste*

*Colaboração de António Tavares, Winnipeg, Director para Manitoba*

Ao terminar um ano e ao principiar outro é tradição dar balanço às actividades ao longo do ano transato e elaborar um **Plano de Acção** para o Ano Novo.

Devido às vastas distâncias que separam as comunidades lusas do oeste canadiano, serão os próprios directores provinciais a relatar o ocorrido em **Saskatchewan, Alberta e Colômbia Britânica**. A nossa acção como director regional tem-se limitado a contactos periódicos com os directores provinciais e a um trabalho em conjunto com o **Director de Manitoba, Antonio Tavares**.

A visita do **Presidente Nacional a Winnipeg** em princípios de Junho foi, sem dúvida, o maior acontecimento comunitário relacionado com o Congresso. O **Dr. Tomás Ferreira** foi o orador numa conferência,

sobre a família, organizada em nome do Congresso e com a participação das organizações na comunidade. Foi realizada também uma sessão de informação com representantes das várias organizações e outros indivíduos durante a qual foi decidido organizar uma conferência para criar em **Manitoba** uma filial do Congresso e estabelecer um **Plano de Acção**.

A visita do **Dr. Mota Amaral a Winnipeg** no fim de Junho proporcionou à comunidade portuguesa mais uma oportunidade de trabalhar de mãos dadas por uma causa comum.

A construção de um lar para idosos pela organização "**The Portuguese Non-Profit Housing Corporation**" foi, de longe, o maior testemunho do que uma comunidade unida consegue realizar. O **Lar de Santa**

**Isabel**, embora ainda não tenha sido oficialmente inaugurado, principiou a funcionar no dia 15 de Dezembro. Quatro organizações comunitárias formaram uma corporação para tornar realidade este projecto: a **Associação dos Empresários Portugueses**, a **Associação Portuguesa de Manitoba**, a **Paróquia da Imaculada Conceição** e o **Centro Português Casa do Minho**.

Este verão, a **Associação Portuguesa de Manitoba** comprou um terreno em **St. Laurent** onde tenciona realizar actividades desportivas, recreativas e culturais.

Uma das prioridades do Congresso local para 1995 será a angariação de fundos para podermos realizar, em **Winnipeg**, um **Encontro de Jovens**, possivelmente com a presença de representantes da juventude de outras comunidades lusas das províncias do oeste. ✽

## British Columbia:

### Aumentar o Congresso

*por Regina Calado, Vancouver*

*Directora para British Columbia*

É com grande prazer que eu estou a tentar aumentar o movimento em prol do Congresso, como fiz com o "**Portuguese-Canadian Seniors' Foundation**". Recrutei como meu "braço direito" **Antonio Palma**, um Engenheiro Marítimo e um grande apoiante dos direitos humanos e do meio ambiente, e **Paul Neves**, ambos do **East Timor Alert Network (ETAN)**. Paul irá contribuir com a sua experiência de contabilidade e tomará a seu cargo o recrutamento de jovens nesta província.

Para atrair mais sócios, estamos neste momento a criar novos folhetos para o Congresso, os quais terão um formato geral o que permitirá serem usados em qualquer altura e por outras secções do Congresso.

No dia 10 de Outubro, indivíduos das comunidades portuguesas e italianas juntaram-se em frente da estação de rádio multicultural **CHMB**, para protestar a redução no tempo de programação para as suas comunidades. Os proprietários do **CHMB** reduziram o período de transmissão italiano de 25 horas para 10 e o português de 7 horas para 2, para abrir mais espaço



para as crescentes comunidades asiáticas. O **CRTC** não pode fazer nada sobre isso, porque nenhum espaço de tempo foi formalmente designado para cada grupo. O **Congresso Nacional Italiano** esteve presente mas, o **Congresso Luso-Canadiano** estava ainda na sua infância, e não foi entrevistado pela imprensa. ✽

## Alberta:

### Angariação de membros

*por Mª Nazaré Lindsay, Edmonton*

*Directora para Alberta*

Com o objectivo de angariar novos membros para o Congresso Luso-Canadiano, temos publicado vários artigos no **Boletim da Escola Gil Vicente** (o qual é distribuído mensalmente pelos comercios portugueses). Também temos feito reuniões com várias pessoas da comunidade portuguesa e trocado impressões acerca da finalidade do Congresso Luso-Canadiano. Estamos a tentar envolver vários jovens. ✽

## Saskatchewan:

### Comunidade Isolada

*por Maria Zalesak, Saskatoon*

*Directora para Saskatchewan*

Em **Saskatoon**, existe uma pequena comunidade portuguesa, de aproximadamente 300 pessoas, que teve início em 1957. É composta por Açorianos (predominantemente da **Santa Maria, São Miguel e Faial**) e indivíduos do Continente. É uma comunidade isolada que não tem uma igreja ou um centro português onde as pessoas se possam reunir.

Em 1988 um grupo de pessoas organizou várias reuniões numa casa particular para formarem a **Associação Luso-Canadiana de Saskatoon**, ("**Saskatoon Portuguese-Canadian Association**"). A **Associação Luso-Canadiana de Saskatoon** é membro do Congresso, e, nesta comunidade há poucos membros individuais. É uma espécie de clube social e, através deste, são organizados três ou quatro actividades sociais por ano. Em 1991 uma comissão ou sub-comissão iniciou a tradição de uma Missa e procissão em honra da **Nossa Senhora de Fátima**, em Maio e uma Missa em outubro. As Missas têm sido celebradas por padres Canadianos que trabalharam no Brasil e que falam algum português. ✽

## NOVIDADES DA REGIÃO LESTE:

# Montreal Tem Novo Director Adjunto

Por Norberto Aguiar, Montreal  
Vice-Presidente da Região Leste

Com o posto vago desde Fevereiro passado, por via do pedido de demissão de **Valentina Barbosa**, Montreal passou a ter um Director Local, muito embora sem poderes executivos. A partir da sua nomeação pelo presidente do Congresso, sob proposta de **Norberto Aguiar**, vice-presidente de Leste, o sr. **Francisco Salvador**, que participou na Convenção de Otava, tem participado em todas as actividades do Congresso, desde as atribuições de ordem local à vida da actual **Comissão de Organização da Convenção 1995**.

Convenção Montreal 1995: A comissão responsável pela organização da

**Convenção Montreal 1995**, formada na sequência da reunião do Executivo realizada em Abril passado, em Toronto, começou a trabalhar ainda no Verão tendo, até este momento, realizado diversas reuniões. A comissão é formada por **Valentina Barbosa** e **Anne-Marie Rodrigues** (Centro Português de Referência e Promoção Social), **Tadeu Rocha**, **Arcanja Fernandes**, e **Francisco Salvador**, **Conceição Rosário** e **Norberto Aguiar**, dirigentes do Congresso. Em breve, haverá algumas novidades interessantes a divulgar sobre o trabalho desta comissão.

A estação de rádio multilingue **Radio Centre-Ville, de Montreal**, secção portuguesa, propôs ao vice-presidente de

Leste a feitura de um programa sobre o Congresso no âmbito da **Semana Intercultural Nacional**. Este programa, com a duração de meia hora, foi para o ar no dia 3 de Novembro. Escusado será dizer que os  
(Continua na p. 8, Ver MONTREAL)

## Províncias Marítimas: Difícil Situação Económica

por Carlos Batista,  
Director para as Marítimas

A colónia portuguesa aqui nesta região é pequena. As actividades nas províncias marítimas são muito difíceis de se realizarem, por motivo da população portuguesa ser dispersa e não estar ligada a quaisquer colectividades ou aderirem a uma união de Portugueses através do Canadá, (o **Clube Social Português** é o unico que existe nas Marítimas). Com certeza isto é fruto da difícil situação económica nesta região a qual obriga os luso-canadianos a concentrarem-se sobre a situação imediata de cada um.

São os ideais do Congresso Português, e os meus também, como director desta região que fosse possível organizar um contacto mais próximo entre as pessoas interessadas nesta região. ✽

### Hull:

## Monumento Aos Portugueses

por José Soares,  
Director para Hull

Nesta parte do Canadá, o Congresso continuou a demonstrar o seu interesse pelo projecto do **Monumento aos Portugueses** que a **Câmara Municipal de Hull** quer subsidiar em grande parte.

Depois da desistência do **Centro Comunitário Amigos Unidos de Hull**, o



Congresso Nacional, através do seu director regional **José Soares**, enviou uma carta ao Presidente da Câmara (maire) de Hull, na qual o Congresso expressa a sua firme vontade de levar por diante este projecto, que consideramos de extrema importância cultural, como presença portuguesa no Canadá. Neste momento esperamos a decisão. ✽



-----por favor corte ou fotocopie-----

-----Deseja ser sócio do Congresso? Por favor preencha este talão, corte e envie-o com \$5 (cheque ou "money order") para a morada indicada.

### CONGRESSO NACIONAL LUSO-CANADIANO

• PORTUGUESE-CANADIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS • CONGRÈS NATIONAL LUSO-CANADIEN •

85 Glendale Ave., 2nd Floor, Toronto, Ontario, M6R 2S8 • Tel: (416) 530-6608 • Fax (416) 530-6612

### INSCRIÇÃO / REGISTRATION / INSCRIPTION

NOME (Name/Nom) \_\_\_\_\_

MORADA (Address/Adresse) \_\_\_\_\_

Nº Rua (Street/Rue) \_\_\_\_\_

Cidade (City/Ville) \_\_\_\_\_

Província (Prov./Prov.) \_\_\_\_\_

Código Postal (Postal Code/Code Postal) \_\_\_\_\_

TEL \_\_\_\_\_

FAX \_\_\_\_\_

DATA DE NASCIMENTO (Date of birth/Date de naissance) \_\_\_\_\_

LUGAR DE NASCIMENTO (Place of birth/Lieu de naissance) \_\_\_\_\_

PROFISSÃO (Profession/Profession) \_\_\_\_\_

Poderá ajudar a divulgar o Congresso aos seus amigos e parentes?  
Por favor indique aqui se deseja receber mais alguns  
• **Talões de inscrição:** Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_  
• **Boletins:** Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_

## Reuniões locais

(continuado da p.1)

grupos de pessoas, escolhidas por serem representativas das diversas camadas das suas comunidades. (ex. homens, mulheres, jovens, empresários etc.), para abordarem os assuntos que são de importância para estas. Os resultados do estudo serão divulgados na próxima convenção.

O estudo está a ser subsidiado pelo Governo Federal Canadano, (o "Department of the Secretary of State, Multiculturalism and Citizenship Canada"), e servirá para esclarecer decisões relativas à comunidade (ex. reformas escolares, mudanças nos serviços de desemprego, imigração etc.) Embora estudos semelhantes tenham sido feitos pela maioria das comunidades étnicas, até agora, não existia ainda um para os Luso-Canadanos. É agora a altura propícia para nós portugueses dizermos o que queremos. ✽

## Montreal

(continuado da p.7)

directores da zona de Montreal foram consultados pelo vice-presidente sobre as vantagens do Congresso tomar parte neste projecto. O presidente **Tomás Ferreira** também foi abordado sobre este projecto, tendo opinado do seu interesse. No programa, tanto quanto possível, foi dado ênfase à angariação de membros, à realização da Convenção de 1995 em Montreal e ao trabalho a desenvolver pelos delegados sectoriais (regionais). ✽

## Longa vida

(continuado da p.5)

comunidade se preciso fôr, até às mais altas esferas governamentais.

Bem hajam, todos aqueles que, pelo seu trabalho voluntário e de pecúnia desinteressados, procuram na sua modéstia algo melhorar, no dia à dia, dos seus compatriotas e, para uns tantos quantos maldizentes, além da vossa critica contínua, a maior ajuda à nossa prole seria o de procurarem, ou melhor ainda, exigirem o vosso envolvimento afim de remediar o que, de verdade acreditam que esteja errado. A obra é imensa e os obreiros jamais serão em demasia!

Finalizo, com o desejo veemente que a Família Portuguesa, através de uma maior participação no processo político deste País, possa alcançar o lugar de destaque a que tanto aspiramos e porque não afirmá-lo, a que já temos algum direito! ✽

## ACÇÃO COMUNITÁRIA: O VISTO

Continuamos a lutar pela abolição do Visto que é exigido aos portugueses que visitam o Canadá. Já falamos com Sheila Copps e Sergio Marchi, apresentamos um documento sobre o assunto, e estamos a planear outra entrevista com o Ministro da Imigração. **Apelamos a todos os membros individuais ou colectivos e a todas as organizações portuguesas que escrevam ao Ministro da Imigração e ao seu membro do parlamento a protestarem contra esta medida discriminatória.** A morada é: **Hon. Sergio Marchi, M.P., Place du Portage, Phase n° 1, Floor 23, 50 Victoria St., Hull, Quebec, K1A 1L1** Não é preciso colocar selo, quando escrever para o Ministro ou deputados.

## Convenção

(continuado da p.1)

Portuguesa.

Depois que a **Secção Leste do Congresso** - que é liderada pelo **Vice-Presidente Regional Norberto Aguiar** - assumiu a responsabilidade de pôr de pé esta importante realização, a Comissão que foi formada não se tem poupado a esforços no sentido de que tudo esteja "au point" a tempo e horas. É nesse sentido, aliás, que o grupo em questão está ultimando pequenos pormenores com vista a entrar em contacto com todas as secções do Congresso para distribuição de toda a documentação relacionada com esta Convenção.

Entretanto, e enquanto a documentação não chega, para todas as pessoas interessadas em inscreverem-se na Convenção e/ou obterem informações diversas sobre ela, aqui fica o contacto: **Centro Português de Referência e Promoção Social, 4050, ST. Urbain, Montréal, Québec, H2W 1V3, telef: (514) 842-8045, fax: (514) 363-404. ✽**

## Como contactar os seus Directores

**Dr. Tomás Ferreira** - (416) 531-4601 (Presidente)  
**Conceição do Rosário** - (514) 596-6078 (Vice-Presidente)  
**Agostinho Bairos** - (204) 945-8052 (Vice-Presidente Oeste)  
**Idalina de Jesus** - (905) 385-7850 (Vice-Presidente Central)  
**Norberto Aguiar** - (514) 844-0388 (Vice-Presidente Leste)  
**Paula Pires** - (905) 458-1757 (V. P. Central/Ontario, Jovens)  
**Tony Tavares** - (204) 489-5342 (Manitoba)  
**Regina Calado** - (604) 325-7547 (British Columbia)  
**M. Nazaré Lindsay** - (403) 474-9391 (Alberta)  
**Maria Zalesak** - (306) 382-0971 (Saskatchewan)  
**Manuel Barros** - (705) 942-1962 (Central/Ontario, Norte.)  
**Alvaro Ventura** - (519) 473-2403 (Central/Ontario, Oeste)  
**José C. A. Rodrigues** - (613) 749-4877 (Central/Ont., Leste)  
**Daniel Ribeiro** - (905) 524-2272 (Central/Ontario, Centro)  
**Fernando Reis** - (416) 968-7703 (Toronto)  
**Carlos Batista** - (902) 865-0188 (Marítimas)  
**José Soares** - (819) 777-2091 (Hull)

### TERMINADOS (Cont'd da p. 1)

- Hamilton, Bradford, Montreal, Otava, Bradford e Hull.
- 9) Participamos na consulta da reforma do Código Penal do Canadá.
  - 10) Participamos no projecto do Jardim Histórico Contemporâneo, a ser construído no Rideau Hall.
  - 11) Reunimos com o Embaixador de Portugal e do Brasil e representantes dos Presidentes da Câmara de Hull e Vanier.
  - 12) Escolhemos o logotipo, através de concurso nacional.
  - 13) Mobilamos o escritório.

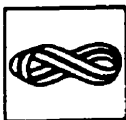
## Vencedores dos Concursos

### Criação do Logotipo:

**Sr. António Gomes, Toronto**

### Sorteio da Angariação de Sócios:

**Anabela Almeida, Hamilton, João Isidro Nunes, Alberta,** vencedores do sorteio, que teve lugar no dia de 24 julho, 1994, para viagens da TAP.



**BANCO TOTTA & AÇORES**

**TORONTO REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE**

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Dr. Tomás Ferreira  
*President*

Conceição do Rosário  
*Vice-President*

Agostinho Bairos  
*Vice-President (West)*

Idalina De Jesus  
*Vice-President (Central)*

Norberto Aguiar  
*Vice-President (East)*

Tony Tavares  
*Director (Man.)*

Regina Calado  
*Director (B.C.)*

M. Nazaré Lindsay  
*Director (Alb.)*

Maria Zalasek  
*Director (Sas.)*

Manuel Barros  
*Director (Central North)*

Alvaro Ventura  
*Director (Central West)*

José Carlos A. Rodrigues  
*Director (Central East)*

Daniel Ribeiro  
*Director (Central Centre)*

Fernando Reis  
*Director (Central Toronto)*

Paula Pires  
*Director (Central Youth)*

Carlos Batista  
*Director (Maritimes)*

José Soares  
*Director (Hull)*

António Ribeiro  
*Director-Adjunto  
(Toronto)*

Francisco Salvador  
*Director-Adjunto  
(Montreal)*

José Figueiredo  
*Director-Adjunto  
(Sudoeste Ontario)*

## Edição Especial: **Convenção '95**



*Uma cena da segunda Convenção do Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano, realizada nos dias 26, 27 e 28 de Maio em Montreal, onde os participantes votaram por mudanças nos estatutos, de forma a assegurar a participação de todos os luso-canadianos no Congresso e uma maior representatividade.*

## **Um Passo Em Frente**

*Por Dr. Tomás Ferreira, Presidente*

Com a realização da sua **Convenção** em 26, 27, e 28 de Maio em Montreal deu o nosso Congresso mais um passo em frente. A organização duma convenção nacional, com representantes de quase todas as províncias com comunidades luso-canadianas, e o reconhecimento que ele recebeu da parte das autoridades canadianas e portuguesas são um sinal da vitalidade e energia do nosso Congresso. Dois anos e meio depois da sua formação, ele foi capaz de demonstrar que o "**espírito de Otava**" continua vivo na nossa comunidade.

A **Convenção de Montreal** não foi apenas uma oportunidade de reavivar o nosso entusiasmo e fazer uma revisão crítica de dois anos e meio de actividade, mas também uma oportunidade de, aprendendo com a experiência obtida, tentar superar as dificuldades encontradas e rasgar novos horizontes.

*(Continua na p. 2, Ver ELEIÇÕES...)*

*Boletim do Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano, V.II, n. 1, Outubro de 1995.*

## **Um Apelo à Comunidade**

*Por Antonio Ribeiro,  
Director-Adjunto, Toronto*

Todos nós somos unânimes em reconhecer que o **Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano** é, sem dúvida, o elemento básico que pode unir uma comunidade que sempre andou, e continua, dispersa. Esta união, que é bem precisa, fará com que nós possamos saber uns dos outros, e fará também com que todos os Luso-Canadianos, moradores nos grandes centros ou nos pontos mais longínquos desta longínqua terra, possam mais facilmente ter acesso a quem poderá defender junto dos governos provinciais e o Governo Federal os problemas ou interesses da nossa comunidade em geral, tanto a nível local, provincial, ou ainda nacional.

Dando sequência ao "**Espírito de Otava**", quando da fundação do Congresso em Março de 1993, a **Convenção de Montreal de Maio de 1995** trouxe-nos a resolução de nos aproximar mais, pois que, agora **todo o Luso-Canadiano é automaticamente membro do Congresso**. Muito embora nos agrade

*(Continua na p.4, Ver UM APELO)*

# Eleições Locais Previstas *(continuado da p. 1)*

Ainda antes da **Convenção de Otava** tinha-se pensado que uma estrutura que fosse eleita a partir das populações locais seria mais eficiente e representativa. Eu próprio, no jornal de Toronto "**A Voz**" tinha defendido esta tese. Era, porém, necessário começar de qualquer forma, e os fundadores do nosso Congresso tomaram a decisão

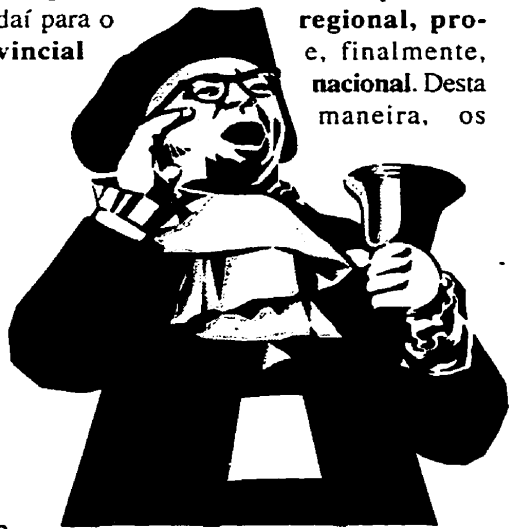
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*"... decidiu a Convenção efectuar eleições 'de baixo para cima', isto é, começando por eleger delegados ao nível local, partindo daí para o regional, provincial e, finalmente, nacional. Desta maneira, os delegados duma região serão escolhidos por todos os luso-canadianos da área onde vivem..."*

---

sensata de eleger na **Convenção de Otava** a primeira direcção da organização. Este tipo de eleição, feita numa reunião nacional, em vez de ao nível local, serviu-nos razoavelmente durante dois anos e meio da nossa existência.

A experiência adquirida e a opinião dos luso-canadianos de costa a costa do Canadá levaram-nos a tomar, em **Montreal**, resoluções que irão modificar profundamente a organização do nosso Congresso. Respondendo ao desejo da maioria dos portugueses, decidiu a Convenção efectuar eleições "**de baixo para cima**", isto é, começando por eleger delegados ao nível local, partindo daí para o regional, provincial, e, finalmente, nacional. Desta maneira, os



delegados duma região serão escolhidos por todos os luso-canadianos da área onde vivem e não apenas pelas pessoas que se deslocaram ao local da convenção nacional. Assim todos os luso-canadianos duma região terão oportunidade de participarem nas actividades do Congresso e de elegerem ou serem eleitos para a direcção da organização. Será criado um sistema de eleições locais de delegados que se juntarão para eleger os directores regionais. Qualquer área do país que tenha pelo menos 25 votantes poderá eleger um delegado. Esses delegados irão escolher o director da região. Esses directores irão, por

---

*"Será criado um sistema de eleições locais de delegados que se juntarão para eleger os directores regionais.*

*Qualquer área do país que tenha pelo menos 25 votantes poderá eleger um delegado."*

---

sua vez, escolher os vice-presidentes que continuarão a representar as várias áreas do país.

Para dar acesso à votação, para os delegados que não tenham possibilidades de se deslocar, foi criado um sistema de votação por procuração.

O Presidente e o Vice-Presidente nacionais continuarão a ser eleitos por delegados de todo o país, usando um sistema

---

*Para dar acesso à votação, para os delegados que não tenham possibilidades de se deslocar, foi criado um sistema de votação por procuração."*

---

cujos detalhes ainda terão de ser estudados e implementados. Também foram tomadas decisões no sentido de abrir o Congresso a todos os luso-canadianos, acabando com o requerimento de pagar uma quota para votar nas eleições. Continuarão a existir sócios contribuintes com a regalia de receberem correspondência do Congresso, terem um cartão, e usufruir de outros privilégios que venham a existir. O

pagamento das cotas terá o fim custear o preço desses serviços e não o de excluir nenhum luso-canadiano. **Todo o Português é considerado membro do Congresso.**

Outra decisão de grande importância foi a criação duma organização paralela

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*"Outra decisão de grande importância foi a criação duma organização paralela de jovens."*

---

de jovens, até ao nível de Presidente e Vice-Presidente nacionais. Isto não excluirá de modo algum os jovens de concorrerem às outras posições nos corpos gerentes, incluindo as de Presidente ou Vice-Presidente nacionais.

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*"Também foram tomadas decisões no sentido de abrir o Congresso a todos os luso-canadianos, acabando com o requerimento de pagar uma quota para votar nas eleições."*

---

A eleição de novos corpos gerentes de acordo com a nova estrutura levará algum tempo mas, a **Convenção de Montreal** marcou como prazo limite o fim do ano de 1995. O processo de eleição de delegados locais e regionais irá levar algum tempo, requererá grande esforço de organização e necessitará da cooperação de todos os membros do Congresso. Infelizmente, como é costume neste país, o período do Verão, com muita gente em férias, não é propício a qualquer tipo de actividade comunitária, aparte os piqueniques e actividades semelhantes. Esperamos que, entre o "**Labour Day**" e o fim do ano, a nova estrutura seja construída e que as decisões de Montreal sejam implementadas de forma a que o Congresso possa dar mais um passo em frente. ✱

## **O Que Deve Fazer Na Sua Região ?**

- Contacte com o seu Director local para voluntariar os seus serviços.
- Organize uma reunião no seu clube, associação ou região, para eleger um delegado local e um delegado para os jovens.

# Agradecimentos de Montreal

Por Francisco Salvador  
Director-Adjunto, Montreal

Queria agradecer sinceramente a presença nesta cidade dos delegados à **Convenção 95**, onde se passou da **transição para a acção**, com a votação da mudança dos estatutos, a fim de **permitir a todos os Luso-Canadianos serem membros do Congresso**. A nova estrutura que **permite uma simples inscrição sem alguma cotização**, facilita arranjar novos membros. Para aqueles que quiserem ser informados das actividades a tradicional cota de \$5 anual manteve-se. Este facto, para mim, foi o mais importante, uma vez que, deste modo, poderemos arranjar um grande número de membros e assim fazer ouvir a nossa voz juntos das entidades canadianas e portuguesas. **Todos devemos ser membros, e trazer novos membros**. Também a nova organização prevê grupos de membros representando os municípios onde vivem que, por sua vez, **elegerão em assembleia os seus** (Continua na p. 4, Ver NOVA ACÇÃO)

## Impressões da B.C.

Por Maria Regina Calado, Vancouver  
Directora para British Columbia

Olá Congressistas! A todos, os desejos de um bom verão e de férias repousantes.

A **Conferência de Maio de 1995**, em **Montreal**, veio elucidar os incrédulos à cerca da sólida estrutura do **Congresso Luso-Canadiano** e, portanto, da continuidade do sonho de Março de 1993. O Congresso está robusto, bem organizado e, pensamos que os organizadores actuais estão à altura do projecto, sabem o que é preciso fazer e conhecem os meios para atingir os almejados fins. Ficámos impressionados com os temas apresentados e de que maneira debatidos. Estamos trabalhando para vos impressionar também. Como calculam, as grandes distâncias são o grande obstáculo, mas **não vacilaremos, prometemos!**

A **abolição do Visto** seria a grande prova a convencer meio mundo português - é que devemos ser descendentes de **São Tomé...** Mas, com o que já se fez, cremos poder pensar positivo.

Prometemos manter forte a chama que nos moveu até aqui; recuar agora seria errado. Um abraço a cada um que "sente" o Congresso... **Viva o Congresso! Tudo pelo Congresso! Todos pelo Congresso Nacional Luso-Canadiano!** ✽



Alguns congressistas reunidos numa das várias sessões de trabalho da Convenção; sessões onde foram debatidos assuntos sociais, políticos, economicos, educacionais e culturais.

## Nossos Sócios Escrevem

Reservamos o direito de seleccionar as cartas a serem publicadas, assim como o de editá-las conforme necessário

Estive presente na recente Convenção de Montreal. Foi uma experiência interessante e uma oportunidade para aprender sobre assuntos da comunidade portuguesa. A presença de vários níveis governamentais canadianos e portugueses indica que o Congresso já é reconhecido como um importante representante da comunidade. Fiquei surpreendido com a pouca assistência à Convenção, mas creio que o "processo de remodelação" que foi começado - com a mudança nas condições para a admissão de membros e a descentralização das eleições para a Direcção - irá contribuir substancialmente para o aumento da participação dos luso-canadianos. Embora eu não esteja muito familiarizado com o Congresso gostaria de fazer alguns comentários e sugestões sobre alguns assuntos que acho serem importantes para o seu sucesso:

a) A capacidade e nível de dedicação dos Directores. Para reduzir as dificuldades que resultam da falta de actividade da parte de alguns directores, seria útil descrever claramente as responsabilidades e funções destas posições, (tal como se faz para os empregos), assim como o mandato e os objectivos imediatos do Congresso. Estas informações ajudarão os candidatos a compreender o que se espera deles e as comunidades a escolherem o melhor representante.

b) O baixo nível de visibilidade que o Congresso tem na comunidade. Existe a

necessidade de criar uma estratégia para manter a comunidade informada e interessada nas suas actividades. Por exemplo, o Congresso pode envolver-se na promoção dos benefícios económicos associados com a escolaridade. Ao fazê-lo, contribuirá para uma menor desistência escolar dos luso-canadianos, (um assunto em foco em Toronto) e prestará uma contribuição valiosa e visível à comunidade, o que resultará num maior interesse nas actividades do Congresso. Aqui, o apoio dos meios de comunicação social é essencial.

c) As fontes de financiamento. O Congresso precisa de diversificar as suas fontes de receita. Os governos que o têm subsidiado estão a ficar sem verbas. Com uma comunidade de quase 300,000 luso-canadianos, estou convencido que o Congresso pode conseguir angariar fundos suficientes para montar uma estrutura administrativa adequada, que lhe permita servir a comunidade eficazmente.

Estas sugestões são baseadas na minha experiência de gestão e a minha intenção é simplesmente apresentar algumas ideias que poderão, ou não, achar úteis. Estou disposto a prestar alguma ajuda voluntária para contribuir para o sucesso do Congresso. Para terminar, gostaria de agradecer os esforços de todos que têm trabalhado em prol da comunidade portuguesa.

(resumo de uma carta)

Vitor Fonseca,  
Toronto.

## Um Apelo *(continuado da p. 1)*

saber que o nosso Congresso vai ser muito maior e bastante significativo nesta sociedade que escolhemos para viver, também não é menos certo que esta tarefa de localizar todas as famílias Luso-Canadianas num território como este irá ser bastante difícil. Para o conseguir, formou-se já uma **Comissão** que voluntariamente se esforçará para ajudar os Directores a levar a cabo este projecto.

Bem, agora que temos dois grupos, (Direcção e Comissão) a trabalhar em estreita cooperação, falta-nos agora a vossa **interessada colaboração**.

(De agora em diante, tratar-te-ei por "tu". Desculpa, pois eu acho que, desta forma, estaremos mais perto uns dos outros e compreenderemos melhor a importância deste apêlo). Então, em que é que tu podes ajudar?

**1- Informa-te junto do teu director regional ou delegado** sobre o que é que poderás fazer neste nosso grande projecto.

**2- Quando receberes correspondência, ou qualquer outra forma de informação a pedir-te para informares os nomes, moradas e idades responde o mais depressa possível, preferivelmente dentro de uma semana. Responde, e não tenhas receio de**

**nada**, pois o que interessa é **estarmos organizados** e termos mais força para resolvermos os nossos problemas. Todas as outras comunidades, como por exemplo, a italiana, chinesa e grega tem os seus Congressos a trabalhar bem e, a terem uma voz muito activa junto das entidades Governamentais. **Tenhamos pois o nosso Congresso a trabalhar da mesma forma.** Se assim não for, ficaremos atrás.

**3- Incentiva os teus amigos** a tomarem também a iniciativa de entrarem em contacto com o delegado, o Director regional, ou, a nossa sede em Toronto.

**4- Para se ser membro do Congresso não é preciso pagar.** Basta só preencher, e nos enviar, o registo de inscrição anexo.

**5- Embora já ficaremos felizes se colaborares nesta campanha, se tu quiseres, podes ser sócio contribuinte, pagando uma cota de \$5 (cinco dólares) por ano.** Informo-te que esta cota já existia antes da Convenção de Montreal. Vamos mantê-la, porém, é **facultativa ou voluntária**. Se não quiseres contribuir, não faz mal. O que interessa é estares connosco.

**Colabora e ajuda a pôr o nosso Congresso no seu devido lugar. Esforça-te** um pouquinho para conseguirmos o que merecemos. ✱

## Nova Acção *(continuado da p. 3)*

**delegados e directores regionais**, dando assim uma força vinda dos membros e não da Direcção. Um exemplo bem democratico.

Os temas dos **seminários e conferências** sobre problemas sociais, políticos, educacionais, culturais, económicos e assuntos dos jovens, assim como as informações apresentadas pelo **Fernando Nunes** (estudo nacional das necessidades dos Luso-Canadianos), pela **Silvia de Sousa**, de Winnipeg (implicação dos Jovens), pela **Ilda Januario**, (educação) pelo **Arlindo Vieira**, (actualidade política) e pelo **Humberto Santos** (défice nacional), mostraram a necessidade de ter um Congresso forte e unido, com um grupo dirigente activo e á escuta dos membros e dos seus problemas. A visita do nosso **Presidente, o Dr. Tomás Ferreira á Câmara Municipal de Montreal**, a assinatura no **Livro D'Ouro Da Cidade**, o "cocktail" de boas vindas e o **Jantar de Gala** foram pontos tradicionais nestas convenções. Para terminar, quero salientar a colaboração do **Hotel do Park** e da maneira como recebeu os delegados.

Uma vez mais, agradeço o terem vindo a Montreal. Em nome da **Comissão e Sub-Comissão Organizadoras da Convenção 95**, peço desculpa se algo se passou menos bem. Nós fizemos tudo para que todos se sentissem no bom ambiente tradicional Português. Agora, mãos á obra! **Novos membros e directores! Nova acção!**

Por favor preencha este talão e envie-o para a morada indicada.-----✂-----

-----por favor corte ou fotocopie-----

### CONGRESSO NACIONAL LUSO-CANADIANO

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MORADA (Address/Adresse) \_\_\_\_\_

Nº \_\_\_\_\_ Rua (Street/Rue) \_\_\_\_\_ Cidade(City/Ville) \_\_\_\_\_

Poderá ajudar a divulgar o Congresso aos seus amigos e familiares?

Por favor indique aqui se deseja receber mais alguns

• **Talões de inscrição:** Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_  
• **Boletins:** Quantos? \_\_\_\_\_

Província(Prov./Prov.) \_\_\_\_\_ Código Postal (Postal Code/Code Postal) \_\_\_\_\_

TEL. \_\_\_\_\_ FAX \_\_\_\_\_

DATA DE NASCIMENTO (Date of birth/Date de naissance) \_\_\_\_\_

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