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ISBN 0-315-54872-X

THE CHILDREN OF TWO CULTURAL WORLDS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN WINNIPEG

BY

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SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

APRIL, 1989

THE CHILDREN OF TWO CULTURAL WORLDS:
A CASE STUDY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN WINNIPEG

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FATIMA FERNANDES

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

During the period of the initial phase of Portuguese migration to Canada, Portugal was undergoing a slow rate of development in comparison to the rest of Europe. The long dictatorship of Dr. Oliveira Salazar (1928-68) had ignored to a certain extent the economic infrastructure, education, and communication in order to place priority in the military. The country's efforts were channeled into avoiding the independence on the part of its African colonies. As a consequence, a lack of wealth existed during these decades and it was particularly visible in the country-side as opposed to the urban centers. The inhabitants of small towns and villages sensed their limitations in opportunities and shared a general pessimism about the future. Consequently, their life-long aspirations for economic security led many working class citizens to emigrate.

Thus, the 1950s and 1960s witnessed a period of heavy migration from Portugal to Canada. Initially, the first settlers were contracted by Immigration officers to replace the Canadian agricultural workers who were more attracted to urban employment. They were men from the working class of Portuguese society, unskilled, agriculturally inclined, and non-English or French speakers. The migrations that followed responded to family reunification and open Canadian immigration policies. These and most of the subsequent migrations were engulfed by a sense of isolation and unfamiliarity, torn by the unexplainable 'saudade da minha terra' (nostalgia of my hometown) and the immediate need to survive in an impersonal, lonely,

II

and hostile environment. The hidden force which enabled these settlers to confront the unknown Canadian world serves as a point of departure to a study of not only the emigration phenomenon which brought the Portuguese to the city of Winnipeg, but more specifically, their personal impact on the future of their children.

Their young immigrant children and those born in Canada shortly after arrival were raised under the influence of two distinct cultural worlds. The school, a very powerful socializing agent, encouraged assimilation, while the home, an extremely protective environment, encouraged cultural preservation. The consequences of the different pressures exerted on the children led to frustration, to temporary rejection of the family, or at times to complete abandonment of the ethnic culture.

This study focussed on Winnipeg, found that most of the children, especially during their formative years, experienced to a certain degree the consequences cited above, but only a few were led to the extreme actions of family rejection and cultural abandonment.

III

Acknowledgements

A word of sincere appreciation is extended to the several people who directly or indirectly contributed to the completion of this study.

I am deeply grateful to my advisor, Dr. Neil McDonald, for his guidance, support, and academic dialogue, and to my thesis committee members, Dr. Jon Young and Dr. Pat Mathews, whose advice and suggestions gave depth to the study.

My utmost respect and gratitude are directed to the group of Portuguese immigrants and descendants who shared with me their personal experiences of the complex phenomenon of immigration and brought this thesis to fruition.

I sincerely appreciate the friendship expressed by my typist and colleague, Anne McLeod, and all my friends at school and in the Portuguese community whose continuous encouragement and persistence provided the inspirational lift to teach fulltime and undertake this research.

Finally, my gratitude to the three very special people in my life is almost inexpressible: to my mom, for her life long advice to work at full potential; to my husband, Carlos, for his love, patience, and tolerance; and, to my four-year old daughter, Natalie, for her frequent hugs during my writing sessions which became an inspiration rather than an interruption.

It is to Natalie that I dedicate this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

Rationale

The period of approximately thirty years since the first Portuguese settled in Winnipeg has gone almost unrecorded. The community has undergone numerical, social, and economic growth. Thus, the periods of the uprooting, the cultural transplantation, the adjustment, and the growth deserve a comprehensive analysis. Second, the community is presently in a state of flux. During the last thirty years, the early immigrants have experienced the challenge of parenthood in a foreign environment. As a consequence, not only should their experiences be utilized, but of utmost significance is the influence they imposed on their Luso-Canadian children. Those, who accompanied their parents or who were born shortly upon arrival, have become a product of two cultures. They acquired the Portuguese culture from the home environment and the mainstream culture from school and exposure to Canadian society.

The children of Portuguese immigrants to Canada have been chosen as the target for this study because of their unique experiences in living through the conflict of two cultures. Most of these individuals are now the parents and elders of our young Luso-Canadians. Therefore, they have the responsibility of educating the youth, guiding the life of the community, and making decisions

about the future. The writer saw a need to research and analyse how Canadian society, especially the schools, has prepared this group to cope with their present responsibilities.

Significance of the Study

This study is important as a phase of unresearched educational and social history. The experiences, feelings, thoughts, and behaviour of the Portuguese immigrants in Winnipeg remain relatively unknown to the larger community. Furthermore, there is also a need to research how the host society, at times unaware of these people's presence, attempted to provide for their economic and educational needs.

The benefactors of the study would be the community itself, and the many researchers who seek information in this area. It would also serve as an awareness vehicle to educators, especially teachers of students whose parents are from a Portuguese background.

The Problem Statement

The purpose of this study is to analyse the educational and cultural experiences of students of Portuguese descent enrolled in inner-city Winnipeg schools during the sixties and the seventies. Specifically, it attempts to study how these children experienced the two powerful but conflicting forces of influence: home life and school environment. The findings were analysed in the light of the

current issues of acculturation, language acquisition, aspirations, and value conflicts.

In order to contextualize this study, several factors required detailed elaboration. Therefore, an attempt was made to record the reasons for Portuguese migration to Canada since the 1950's, the settlers' uprooting and cultural experiences, and their continuous efforts to maintain a tie of nostalgia and affection with Portugal while struggling to respond to the many challenges of the social, political, educational, and economic life in Canada.

Methodology

The study of ethnic minorities, ethnic relations, or ethnic identity is considered by Anderson and Frideres (1981) as interdisciplinary due to the immense contributions made by sociology, anthropology, history, geography, economics, political science, psychology, education, and religion. All of these fields, however, utilize unique approaches and methodological differences when researching the area of ethnic studies as political scientists will focus on policies, psychologists on attitudinal surveys, while historians will use oral histories to a greater extent. The present study, having primarily an historical base, relies heavily on oral history acquired through numerous interviews which the researcher, an active member of the Portuguese community (Appendix G), affirms to be common consensus and representing a composite portrayal of the community. Due to the broad nature of the study, the data were

collected and organized strategically into the different areas of the research with the main focus being the educational and cultural experiences of the target group and the two peripheral sections being the conflicting forces of home life and school environment.

In order to provide a background to Portuguese migration and consequently an understanding of the home culture, the researcher reviewed different historical selections of 20th century Portugal and supplemented this literature by interviewing nine individuals from rural Portugal (three from the Northern region, three from the south, three from the Archipelago of Azores). Statistics and other information were also acquired at the immigration offices of Lisbon and Ponta Delgada, Azores. In addition interviews were conducted with seven pioneers who arrived in Canada between 1955 and 1959 and twenty other individuals who emigrated with school age children in the 1960s and the 1970s to gather information on their cultural transplantation and their efforts to maintain a language and a culture while living in the host society. They were asked to comment on their home environment, their occupations, and their general expectations placed on the children.

The other peripheral section involved the environment of the school. The following schools were selected on the basis of being the ones with the highest concentration of students of Portuguese descent during the time frame of this study: Pinkham, Dufferin, Victoria-Albert, Montcalm, Wellington, John M. King, Hugh John Macdonald, General Wolfe, Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, and Technical Vocational High School. Statistics and records from these schools

were gathered, with the junior and senior high school yearbooks as the major source for enrollment figures and student identification. Seven teachers and three teacher aides who had been part of one or more of the schools during the sixties and seventies were also interviewed. The researcher inquired about the type of language classes available, the pedagogical approaches, the school's expectations, the materials used, the teachers' attitudes towards Portuguese students, the socialization process, and the integration into mainstream instruction.

The subjects for the focus of this study were identified from the 1960-79 yearbooks of the two junior high schools, Hugh John Macdonald and General Wolfe. The rationale for the selection of the above schools centers around the fact that they received the greatest numbers of students both from the elementary feeder schools and from the continuous migratory flow. Every twentieth name was identified, twenty being an arbitrary number to allow for a random selection. In instances where the identified individual was unable to be located or was identified twice, the twenty-first, the twenty-second, or the twenty-third name was contacted. In the years when the enrollment was less than twenty students, the first or the last appearing in the yearbook was selected. Excluding these individuals who were randomly selected, eleven others who attended one of the other target schools were identified by peers and when contacted showed interest in being interviewed.

The interview with the individuals from the target group had a two-fold purpose. First, it dealt with factual information such as

date of arrival in Canada, residential area, parents' occupations, circle of friends, schools attended, instructional approaches, school atmosphere, and teachers' attitudes. Second, it concentrated on their perceptions on how the home culture and school environment affected their general development.

All the subjects of this study were given the option of being interviewed in Portuguese or in English, and once the data were collected common occurrences or themes were developed and supported by the literature.

Limitations of the Study

i) Location:

This study was conducted in the Portuguese Community of Winnipeg. Consequently, although the vast majority of experiences might be applied to other Portuguese communities in Canada, the information is based directly on the settlement in Winnipeg.

ii) Target Group:

General information is provided on the 'life before emigration' throughout Portugal. Furthermore, through interviews knowledge was gained of the immigrants' experiences and struggles in order to survive in a foreign environment. The focus of the study, however, is on the educational and cultural development of the target group. This incorporates students of Portuguese descent who have been in Canada longer than twelve years and have at some point in their lives

attended the target schools and those who were born in Canada shortly after the parents' arrival.

iii) Interviews:

The research consists of an analysis of the literature indicated in the bibliography and data gathered through primary accounts of immigrants and their children acquired through questionnaires and interviews. These include Portuguese immigration officers, Portuguese citizens who lived through the conditions of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s and chose not to emigrate, and Portuguese immigrants in Winnipeg from different age levels and walks of life. Although over a hundred interviews from different perspectives were considered, there exists the possibility of bias in the selection. Also, privacy and personal discretion may have limited the disclosures of those being interviewed. Furthermore, time and continuous contact with the Canadian culture may have distorted or erased the original experiences.

Definitions of Terms

Acculturation: The process of change in artifacts, customs, and beliefs that result from the contact of societies with different cultural traditions. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 1985)

Azorean: A term used to refer to a Portuguese person from the

Archipelago of Azores.

Continental: A term used to refer to a Portuguese person from mainland Portugal.

Culture: "Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Levitas, Gloria. (ed).

Culture and Consciousness: Perspectives in the Social Sciences. New York: George Braziller, 1967.)

Emigrate: To leave the native country and to settle in another.

Immigrate: To move into a foreign country for the purpose of permanent residence.

Luso-Canadian: A Canadian of Portuguese descent.

Minority: A group that is subject to a more powerful controlling group.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION TO
WINNIPEG FROM THE 1950S TO THE 1970SGeographical Aspects

Mainland Portugal is located on the extreme southwestern coast of Europe, occupying approximately a sixth of the Iberian Peninsula and comprising a rectangular area of 89,000 km². Portugal also includes the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira in the Atlantic. Its population of 10,185,100 in 1986 is irregularly distributed with higher concentrations in the northern and coastal regions of the country and 252,200 in the Azores and 267,400 in Madeira, respectively (Higgs, 1982).

Portugal's relatively small area is a misleading indicator of its immense physical, cultural, and climatic diversity. The geographical contrasts range from the green fields in the North, to the mountains and valleys of the silver coast in the central range, to the open plains of the South. Similarly, the climate differs from region to region but can be characterized as "mediterranean".

Its location, a key stretch of Europe's Atlantic coastline, is a determining factor not only of its climate, hydrography, cultivation, and vegetation, but also of the rural demographic patterns and shelters, the gastronomy, and the way of life in general.

The Political System

The political system in Portugal during the Canadian emigration phase from the 1950s to the 1970s was a product of continuous struggles since its colonial past. Portugal was the first country in Europe to achieve its national unity, to settle territorial limits, to experience a revolution of the bourgeoisie in the XIV century, and to venture the unknown oceans and establish a colonial empire (Bourdon, 1970). Portugal, in spite of its accomplishments, has had to face several consequences. Thus, the glory of flying the Portuguese flag in distant sites stretching from the coast of Brazil to the coast of China is paralleled by the great loss of life, excellent administrators, and experienced warriors. The dividends from the monopolized spice trade with the Orient, after Vasco da Gama's historical discovery of a sea route to India in 1498, permitting Portugal to become one of the wealthiest countries in Europe, often obscure the fact that most of the profits and a great deal of manpower went directly into the guarding of this sea route of some 15,000 miles between Lisbon and Goa. The implications of defense affected agriculture and the industry which suffered a noticeable decay. A portuguese historian who feels that imperialism has been a great illusion for the Portuguese claims that "it brought us the lowest per capita income in Western Europe and the highest rate of illiteracy In the 450 years since the discoveries, our principal export has been men - so much so that far more people of Portuguese descent live

outside the country than in it" (La Fay, 1965:456).

The 18th century once again provided Portugal with the opportunity to surface as a European power (Alves, 1983). The discovery of diamonds as well as the mass cultivation of sugar cane, coffee, and rice in the colony of Brazil allowed for large amounts of money to enter the country. These funds, however, were utilized mainly to erect churches and palaces for royalty as well as to rebuild the capital city after the devastating earthquake of 1755, in which more than 30,000 people were killed.

The 19th century witnessed a series of civil wars and revolutions culminating with the abdication and subsequent exile of Manuel II, Portugal's last king, in 1910. During the next two decades, the Republican government that succeeded the monarchy was faced with turmoil. Throughout this period, strife among the members, public riots and violence, and one financial crisis after another resulted in a total of 43 different administrations. In 1932, Dr. Antonio Oliveira Salazar, whose influence had been felt since he became Minister of Finance in 1928, became Portugal's Prime Minister and within a year was able to subdue the country's general disturbances (Gordon, 1961). His immediate and positive accomplishments led to the approval of a new constitution that made Salazar and his colleagues absolute rulers.

The dictatorship of Salazar had two distinct phases. The first phase was characterized by success, the second by stagnation. Once in power, Salazar was able to end fiscal chaos, decrease or almost eliminate violence, and embark on widespread programs related to

education, health facilities, housing, communication systems, and urban and rural electrification.

During the second phase of his government, the fear of the opposition derailed his initial approach to the development of the country. Salazar claimed that "in Portugal the opposition does not fight an election on a number of issues, but threatens to destroy the government and our whole way of life" (Gordon, 1961:32). To safeguard his government, he created a police state apparatus of 100,000 men and a few thousand volunteers who anonymously gathered information from people in all walks of life throughout the country. This police force referred to as PIDE (Portuguese International State Defense Police) did not hesitate to exercise its power in all realms of life. During this period many authors were imprisoned and their works were confiscated. Censorship was exercised in magazines and newspapers so that any allusion to corruption in the government, the reality of the harsh daily lives of the people, colonial wars, or any kind of political opposition was excluded (Gordon, 1961).

In addition, tremendous amounts of money were also being used to fight guerrilla war movements, that arose in Angola in 1961 and later in Portuguese Guinea and Mozambique. Also in 1961, the pressure that had been building up in India during the previous years led the Indian Union to invade the Portuguese territories (La Fay, 1965). Through the years Portugal's efforts were channeled into resisting the wave of anticolonialism that prevailed, and consequently the general state of the country worsened to the point where the government could no longer permit a further drop in the standard of living.

On April 25, 1974, the Armed Forces Movement finally brought this half century era of oppression to an end by overthrowing the government of Marcelo Caetano who had succeeded Salazar in 1968. The year 1974 also marked the peak of Portuguese immigration with 16,333 people entering Canada. This figure decreased to 8,547 in the following year and to a low of 3,086 by 1978.

The Economy

To parallel Salazar's successful years in power, the economy also showed signs of improvement as the period following the Second World War presented conditions conducive for development. In comparison to the rest of Europe, however, Portugal's economy in the 1940s and 1950s was still relatively poor due to underdevelopment and lack of modernized equipment. Although the 1960s experienced noticeable changes as the government allowed greater amounts of foreign capital, the expenses caused by the government security system and by the military to halt independence movements in the colonies affected and hindered the necessary infrastructure to ameliorate the country's economy.

Table I explains Portugal's situation in relation to other European countries. The low standard of living was more acutely sensed in the country-side where a general pessimism predominated as the people sensed limited opportunities for self improvement.

TABLE I

AVERAGE INDUSTRIAL SALARIES PER HOUR IN "ESCUDOS" (Portuguese Currency) IN 1963

COUNTRY	SALARY
Sweden	37\$12
Norway	30\$22
United Kingdom	25\$61
Switzerland	24\$61
Austria	15\$54
Portugal	5\$38

Source: Carlos Rodrigues, et. al. 9º Ano Historia. Porto: Contraponto edicoes, 1984), p. 227.

The 1974 revolution however, brought freedom and optimism to the people. The economy has undergone drastic modifications since then with the most influential factor being the recent membership in the E.F.T.A. (European Free Trade Association). However, for the purpose of this study we are more concerned with the economic aspects of the 1950s, the 1960s, and the early 1970s as these decades correspond to the most important years of Portuguese immigration to Canada.

During the period of large scale migration to Canada, the economic situation was fragile in Portugal which remained mostly an agricultural country. In the northern part of the country only a certain percentage of land could be utilized for agriculture. Furthermore, this small portion was fragmented into numerous small farms which, plus the lack of economic power, impeded the use of machinery. Consequently, this reinforced the use of simple and traditional ways which yielded low productivity.

The south, on the contrary, presented a deep contrast to this situation. Here, the large estates known as 'latifundia' predominated. These huge family estates were a product of the feudal

tradition where the 'latifundiarios' had been for centuries the supreme rulers, the workers were little more than slaves with meager wages. In this part of the country, often referred to as the 'granary of Portugal', monoculture was practised with extensive dry farming of wheat. The land itself did not permit the use of new seeds due to lack of irrigation, and the large landowners remained disinterested in development as they usually lived away from the land. In spite of this, some form of mechanization did take place as a consequence of a shortage of labour caused by emigration. Similarly, in the Azores most of the farmland belonged to rich landowners who for the past 550 years had been exploiting the peasants. These peasant workers generally had large families and worked from sunrise to sunset for low salaries. The rest of the land was subdivided to the point of being almost impossible for small farms to survive.

Agriculture throughout the country suffered as a result of a variety of forces in the sixties that at times created a state of disequilibrium. Firstly, there was a noticeable desertion of cultivated land as a consequence of several factors: the colonial war recruited prospective young workers to the army; the growth in industry attracted small landowners and rural workers into the urban centers; and neighbouring European countries and those of North America recruited Portuguese labourers who were eager to seek better conditions. Secondly, although this was not sufficient to free agriculture from a state of stagnation, there was a marked increase in the production of potatoes, rice, and tomatoes. Thirdly, the immigrants who initially deserted the land sent their savings back

home which enabled relatives to increase their buying power and thereby purchase modernized mechanical equipment and in general increased the standard of living.

In the sixties there was also a rural-urban drift of population especially to the major industrial sectors: textiles in the Douro-Lima region, refineries in the Setubal area, fisheries on the coast, small industries of leather goods in the major urban centers. In commerce, the structure remained underdeveloped. There was little circulation of money and low consumption of goods.

Portugal had a scarcity of revenue from industry and commerce, and, thus, remained mostly an agricultural country during the emigration period of this study. Several modifications took place after the revolution which affected the economy. Suddenly, the country faced half a million refugees from the former colonies and thousands of soldiers who returned and broke the equilibrium of jobs, housing, consumption, and made lasting marks in Portuguese society.

The Educational System

The educational system before 1972 in Portugal which catered to the majority of the Portuguese emigrants to Canada consisted of four years of compulsory free elementary instruction and seven years of paid secondary schooling referred to as the lyceum. There existed a tight bottleneck between these two levels due to the fact that secondary education was expensive and inaccessible in rural areas. In 1960, approximately 170,000 students completed primary education and

less than 15 percent matriculated to continue in the lyceum (Free Portugal, 1976:44). These figures and the several factors previously alluded to suggest that Portugal has constantly faced high illiteracy rates. Table II shows the related percentages of illiteracy rates for the recent decades, which tend to reflect the fact that only a small number of the 'elite' has had access to education, leaving a large number of the population lacking the basic skills of reading and writing.

TABLE II

ILLITERACY RATES		
~~~~~		
~	% of illiteracy	~
~ Date	%	~
~ 1940	55	~
~ 1950	45	~
~ 1960	38	~
~ 1970	25.8	~
~ 1981	20.6	~
~~~~~		

Source: Carlos Rodrigues, et. al. 2º Ano Historia. Porto: Contraponto edicoes, 1984), p. 227.

The attempts made by the government to reduce illiteracy throughout Salazar's dictatorship showed improvements but these were still inadequate in meeting the real needs of the population, as some attempts were at times hindered by political considerations and economic limitations (Rodrigues, 1984). For example, the decision to use only one book for each grade level throughout the country, a decision that lasted for decades, was not based on pedagogical assessment but on a form of censorship and control of teaching material. Similarly, the appointment of principals and recruitment of teachers were often based on political criteria.

The result of improved conditions in industrialized areas during the sixties coupled with the fact that rural families were also benefiting from the revenues of their immigrant relatives, the student population increased at all levels of instruction. However, there was no corresponding increase of teaching staff or establishments. The result was a serious shortage of materials, equipment, and qualified teachers. "The requirements stipulated that elementary school teachers complete five years of lyceum and two years of teacher training, but many were teaching with credentials slightly above the level of their students."¹ This developed a tendency to facilitate things for students in order to obscure the deficiencies of the system.

Although elementary schools were distributed in rural areas, the lyceums were located only in the larger towns and cities. Transportation was poor; accommodation in the cities was expensive; and tuition fees were charged which eliminated a large portion of the population from continuing. Furthermore, large families needed the older children to work in the fields and could not allow them to complete their schooling. This led the peasants to perpetuate the cycle of their lifestyles. However, those who were able to complete the four primary years, received a solid grounding in the basics, even though the methods were outdated and based on memory and cognitive facts as the curriculum focused in narrative and factorial content, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, History, and Geography.

In 1969, the Minister of Education, Veiga Simao attempted to implement some reforms into the system, including an increasing number

of teachers, new schools, and foreign pedagogical ideas. Later in 1972, the structure of the educational system was further altered to include six years of primary compulsory school. This was followed by many other changes that have taken place in the recent years to reflect the advanced pedagogy of European and North American countries.

Social Life

Portugal's political structure, unstable economic system, and high illiteracy rates have created a great inequality of opportunities which in turn have led to a social economic unbalance. A Portuguese History Professor of the 1980s uses the analogy of an equilateral triangle to represent the class structure of the Portuguese society with the very narrow tip comprising the extremely wealthy, the middle section representing the middle class composed of business people and entrepreneurs; and the whole bottom half of the triangle accounting for the blue collar workers and peasants.² Consequently, it was the majority of the population that mostly sensed the deficiencies and injustices of the social policies adopted by Salazar and Caetano's government. Thus, the economic evolution of the 1960s incorporating the increase in penetration of foreign capital and the growth in industry were vital factors in altering, to a certain extent, the Portuguese society in the third quarter of the 20th century.

These factors modified the bourgeoisie who lost the traditional characteristics of being linked to commerce and instead attached

itself to investments and international monopoly. Consequently, this led the bourgeoisie to govern the whole economic scene concentrating on the large international commerce and large industry. While the rich were getting richer, the poor were getting poorer and becoming depressed, sad, unsatisfied and to a certain extent resentful of the wealthy. They saw little opportunity to upgrade themselves as generation after generation repeatedly lived the same lifestyle as a result of their socioeconomic trap. Sons would live in the same houses as the parents and farm the same small fields. The son would follow the father's footsteps in being the provider of the family, the authoritarian, and the educator. The girl would learn the mother's role as a peacemaker, housewife, and religious educator who perpetuated values as she prepared herself for marriage. The children assisted, respected, and shared the parents' values. Although life in the big cities was different, the majority of the population continued to be viewed as illiterates who were faced with a high mortality rate, continuous diseases, and chronic unemployment. This situation, augmented by political limitations and the four year obligatory participation in the African wars, contributed to the desire of 45,000 persons, approximately half of the natural increase, to emigrate each year in hope of future prosperity (Gordon, 1961).

Historical Background of Portuguese Emigration

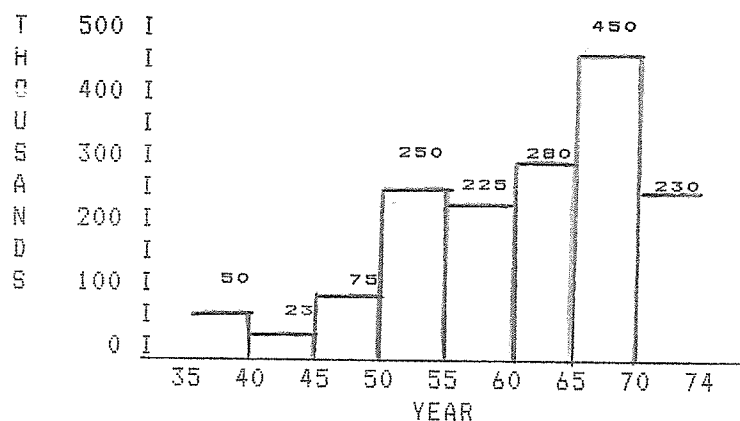
The stagnation in rural Portugal in contrast to the wide economic development that flourished throughout much of Europe after the Second

World War and the tremendous difference in salaries between Portugal and the rest of Europe stimulated a large wave of immigrants to other countries on the continent. It was a response to the push and pull theory that occurs more frequently in poor regions where economic and social inequalities prevail and lead people to seek better life styles. Portuguese migration was not a consequence of any specific government policy at any given period in time but a phenomenon in national life since the age of the Discoveries that has responded to the theory mentioned above and is well expressed by the words of the Jesuit missionary, Antonio Vieira: "God gave the Portuguese a small country for a cradle, but the whole world for a grave" (La Fay, 1965:462).

Excluding brief periods of prosperity due especially to colonial expansion, Portugal has remained an impoverished nation. This has led its people to travel the world, searching for what the homeland has been unable to provide. The negation of many needs initiated the Portuguese diaspora which can be traced to the conquest of the city of Ceuta in Africa in 1415. The colonies, especially Brazil, absorbed a great percentage of Portuguese emigration until the 1950s and 1960s, when the emigrants were attracted by industrial Europe in need of labour force for its economic expansion. Thus, France and Germany quickly and progressively substituted Brazil as major destinies, and

TABLE III

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION 1936-74



Sources: Carlos Rodrigues, et. al. 9º Ano Historia. (Porto: Contraponto edicoes, 1984), p. 227.

TABLE IV

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION: COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION 1950-69

Destination	1950 - 1959		1960 - 1969	
	Total	%	Total	%
Germany	0	0	45 474	7.0
Argentina	8 549	2.5	2 828	0.4
Brazil	237 327	69.5	73 269	11.3
Canada	11 350	3.3	50 405	7.7
United States	16 193	4.7	66 674	10.5
France	14 924	4.3	329 050	50.8
Holland	0	0	2 085	
South Africa	6 193	1.8	15 793	2.4
Venezuela	35 236	10.3	37 318	5.7
Others	11 356	3.3	24 068	4.0

Sources: Carlos Rodrigues, et. al. 9º Ano Historia. Porto: Contraponto edicoes, (1984), p. 241.

a growing number now also focused in North America.

The significant number of emigrants came to play an important role in the Portuguese society. The intention of most of those who left their homeland was to acquire sufficient funds to return to

Portugal and purchase land, a house, and other material goods. Their savings were regularly sent to families in Portugal and contributing to the general economy and to a higher standard of living. A different and visible environment was immediately created as new and improved housing flourished in rural areas. However, the large proportion of emigration also had negative effects as it drastically decreased the population and created stagnation and neglect in small towns. Furthermore, the decline in population between 1960 and 1970 (Table V) withdrew approximately 1,500,000 people of whom 60 percent were males and 90 percent of whom were younger than 45 years of age, further accounting for the agricultural stagnation.

TABLE V
POPULATION OF PORTUGAL

Year	Population
1940	7,755,423
1950	8,510,240
1960	8,889,392
1970	8,611,110

Source: *"Free Portugal - Year III"*, Department of Mass Communication, 1976.

In the seventies, there was a sharp decline of approximately 40% on the migratory flow due to the restrictive measures on importation of labour imposed by the industrialized European countries. This action not only had an impact on the total numbers of emigrants but also on the countries of destination. Table VI shows the increase of emigrants to Canada. Between 1950 and 1959 Canada received 3.3 percent of Portugal's total emigration, 7.7 percent between 1960-69 and 17.7 percent in 1984.

TABLE VI
PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION TO CANADA

<u>Years</u>	<u>No. of emigrants</u>
1940-51	325 (estimate)
1951-60	21,914
1961-70	64,474
1971-80	76,602
Total	163,514

Source: David Higgs, *The Portuguese in Canada: Canada's Ethnic Groups*, (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1982), p.4.

Emigration to Canada

The different regions of Portugal have favoured different destinations for their emigrants. While mainland Portugal provided emigrants mostly to the European countries as well as to Brazil, the Archipelagos of Azores and Madeira sent most of their people to North America, to Venezuela, and to South Africa. Through the passage of time, these preferences have strengthened even more as the emigrants responded to individual and family ties.

In the early 1950s, Canada was undergoing an urban orientation which created a shortage of agricultural and rural labour. Simultaneously, Portugal was facing an excess in population, especially in the Archipelago of Azores. Conveniently, these two situations occurred simultaneously, and Portugal's population excess became an answer to Canada's search for labour. As Freda Hawkins has pointed out, Portuguese immigration to Canada "must be studied in the light of the then current shortage of heavy manual labour in Canada, and the persistent pressure from railway construction companies and

agricultural groups for immigrant workers, coupled with the decline in immigration from our traditional source countries in 1955-56"

(Anderson, 1976:29). These conditions encouraged family reunification which quickly increased immigration to Canada. One man from Madeira claimed that during a period of 25 years he sponsored approximately two hundred relatives and neighbours.³ Another person from the Azores added that there was no one in his town who did not have relatives in Canada or the U.S.A.⁴

Although the largest source of Portuguese immigration can be due to the response to the 1952 Immigration Act which allowed for the nomination and the sponsoring of relatives, a significant percentage is accounted by the large numbers of visitors to Canada in the early 1960s who were later allowed to remain here legally. This was a period of large scale illegal immigration encouraged at times by Portuguese and Canadian travel agents who charged large sums of money to prepare prospective immigrants for questioning from immigration officers. The number of illegal entries decreased when the Canadian government imposed new regulations on November 3, 1972 which did not allow visitors to apply for landed immigrant status from within the country. Other less influential factors center around military reasons stemmed by the fact that the war in the Portuguese colonies in the 1960s led many young men, especially from affluent families, to escape from joining the army. Years later, in the late seventies when these colonies gained independence, many refugees who had been expelled also emigrated.

The majority of the Portuguese in Canada came from the

Archipelago of Azores with the largest concentration from Sao Miguel Island, followed by Terceira. Sao Miguel alone sent approximately 80 percent of the total Azorean immigration between 1960 and 1975. The third largest source was mainland Portugal, with the district of Lisbon as the most significant contingent, followed closely by the region north of Aveiro and then Minho.

In summary, the majority of Portuguese citizens who emigrated to Canada came from the working class in small rural towns. Some owned some land and their own houses, but many did not. Still others, especially in the Azores, had managed to build a small home on land belonging to rich landowners and then were paying property rent. In the initial period of immigration, few people came from urban centers because even if these people were financially deprived, they still had more access to education and city employment. Moreover, they did not meet the criterion as agricultural or construction workers which Canada had stipulated.

CHAPTER III

A SKETCH OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION
TO CANADAThe Age of the Pioneers

The decades following the Second World War became a distinguishable phase of Canadian immigration which as Anderson and Frideres (1981) point out involved approximately 100,000 immigrants a year. At this time Canada opened her arms to large waves of homeless and displaced refugees who were fortunate to fulfill Canada's entry criteria, which according to Riddoch (1979:362) quoting Mackenzie King "Canadians do not wish to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our people." Despite this fear of change, the ever increasing numbers of immigrants during this period had a great effect on industry and business. The influx required the expansion of housebuilding, construction, trucking, schools, and universities, which in turn, demanded development in all other sectors creating the necessity for yet more immigrants. Britain and other northern European countries responded with skilled immigrants while new source countries supplied the unskilled labourers (Riddoch, 1979).

Countries such as Portugal and Italy took advantage of Canada's opportunistic objectives and engaged in the process of encouraging their citizens to emigrate. These countries were not only facing

problems of overpopulation and land shortages, but they were also undergoing a rural-urban change and could not meet the demands of all those who sought employment in the cities. The majority of immigrants from these new source countries were initially labourers in both the agricultural and the industrial sectors. They can be categorized in accordance with the three different selection processes: independent, sponsored, and nominated. The ones in the independent category applied for landed immigrant status on their own and were required to have the assurance of employment. These, in turn, developed the second category of sponsored immigrants, usually relatives, and assumed responsibility for them. The third category followed different standards for acceptance and once allowed to immigrate, they were expected to find employment within a certain period of time.

Although the 1952 Immigration Act embodied mostly economic considerations, the new policy was also a product of new attitudes on the part of Canadians. It further reflected this attitude change by increasing entry allowances for immigrants from India and Pakistan. The percentage of immigrants from these countries increased from 1.8 in 1965 to 7 in 1974 (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:162). These modifications in policy making and implementation and the general attitude change of Canadians are evidence that the fifties and subsequent decades marked a change from the previous racial prejudice towards the Chinese and the Japanese to a more tolerant environment for immigrants to Canada. This progressive movement led to the implementation of new immigration regulations adopted in 1967 which no longer discriminated on ethnic or racial origin and rather depended on

new criteria based on a point system rewarding education, occupation, and knowledge of one of the official languages (Riddoch, 1979; Anderson and Frideres, 1981). This new policy encouraged a 'brain drain' of professionals from countries in need. Further debates about the objectives of the policy led to a series of documents known as the Green Paper in 1975 which stimulated discussion in the light of the issues of birth rate, the Canadian output of educated labour, and the continuous need for unskilled workers. These issues were reflected in the new immigration Act of 1978 which attempted to meet the needs of the Canadian labour force in a long-range plan (Riddoch, 1979). Anderson and Frideres (1981:177) quote Hawkins claiming that "this was not really a change in immigration policy but an improvement on the mechanisms for managing immigration to meet both compassionate aims and national goals."

Since the early fifties, two out of the total three million people who immigrated to Canada remained in this country. It is to be expected that migrations of this magnitude would have a significant impact on Canadian society. The presence of these recent Canadians demanded expansion in employment opportunities, housing, transport, education, and other social services. In turn, they encouraged an ethnic dimension as an integral part of Canadian attitudes which began to expand and incorporate tolerance towards people from different parts of the world who held different beliefs, customs, traditions, knowledge, and unique skills. This visible trend was officially proclaimed with the adoption of the policy on Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework in 1971 which in lay terms legalized the fact

that 'it was fine to be ethnically different' and constitutionally "recognizes and promotes the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage." (Multicultural Policy of Canada, 1988).

The Portuguese were incorporated in this prosperous Canadian immigratory post-war scene, for they too contributed to Canada's growth through the building of dams, the opening of mines, and the construction of the Canadian National Railway. The Portuguese immigrants did not face the same experiences as those of the turn of the century or the overt discrimination and prejudice towards the Chinese, Japanese, and Sikhs. Nevertheless, the Portuguese faced severe problems in the adjustment to Canadian society. They were exposed to extreme loneliness, lack of expression, severe climatic differences, and an absence of the traditional support system consisting of family and friends.

The adjustment was initiated with the psychological preparation even prior to their departure. Their relative calm routine lives were shaken by radio announcements, advertisements on local newspapers and church bulletins, and other propaganda highlighting the numerous Canadian opportunities in the agricultural field. An immigrant from the province of Tras-os-Montes, literally translated 'Beyond the Mountains' immediately responded to the call:

I heard the announcement in church on Sunday and I went right away on Monday morning to pick up an application. When I took it back home to my little town, I couldn't find

a soul who knew how to fill it out. I went back to the city and asked a guy at the local pharmacy to help me out. He tried but after a few mistakes ruined my application. It took months before I was given another one.⁵

Another immigrant from Ribatejo commented on this phase of anxiety during the regular procedures of paper work for admittance:

I had never heard about Canada but once people began talking about it, I didn't waste any time in filling out the application. When I got accepted everyone, including myself, thought that I was going to paradise. I had to keep this image in my head when I was going through the embarrassing experience of collecting enough money for my trip not really knowing what to expect.⁶

Most of the pioneers who were interviewed commented on the mixed emotions they experienced in dealing with the hope of arriving in Canada and the sorrow in leaving their patriotic land. The women and the family members were crucial supporters as they constantly encouraged and assured the men of a brighter future.

If it weren't for my wife and sisters I wouldn't have come. First, I was called to write an exam and have a physical. I passed both and I thought that was it. Then I was called for a second time and this time I had to talk to Canadian officials. I took the train from my little town in Minho to go to Porto for the interview. After this, I thought I had wasted all my time and the little money that I had. My family was always by my side and I managed to make it here.⁷

The immigrants from the mainland were very fortunate in comparison to those from the islands. During the first few years of Canadian emigration, the latter had to travel to Lisbon to get the necessary immigration papers. One Azorean commented:

I had to go to Lisbon from S. Miguel for the physical. There was a large group of us. Unfortunately not all passed and those who did not make it had to return home and face the family and neighbors after being rejected.⁸

In spite of the distance, expenses, and many other inconveniences

faced by the islanders, Anderson (1983) found that they accounted for the largest number of Portuguese immigrants with a percentage of 59.8 between 1953 to 1964. This high Azorean percentage can be explained by the fact that the islands were overpopulated and had a surplus of lesser-educated unskilled workers who conveniently appeared to fill the positions left vacant by young urban oriented Canadians.

As Table VII shows, the number of Portuguese immigrants prior to 1953 was insignificant as this year marked the initiation of legal immigration to Canada. Thus, the first contingent arrived in 1953,

TABLE VII

CANADA: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION 1946-1962			
1946	-	38	1955 - 1,427
1947	-	25	1956 - 1,971
1948	-	51	1957 - 4,748
1949	-	66	1958 - 2,177
1950	-	87	1959 - 4,354
1951	-	157	1960 - 5,258
1952	-	256	1961 - 2,979
1953	-	555	1962 - 2,928
1954	-	1,324	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1988.

with 555 men. In the subsequent years, there was a gradual increase of entries due to two main causes. First, in Canada, the results were extremely positive and the Department of Immigration increased the quotas. Second, Portugal was keen in sensing the Canadian need and immediately acted in distributing information about Canada to its citizens. The consequence was a recruitment of young, preferably unmarried men drawn from the working rural areas with low educational attainments and little or no knowledge of Canadian life in general.

The Cultural Transplantation

The cultural transplantation of Portuguese citizens to Canadian soil must be analysed in two distinct phases: the pioneer era pertaining to the workers who came under the contract with Immigration Canada and the period of family reunification dealing with the sponsored family members. This section deals with the pioneers in the fifties who responded to Canada's promotion, both to secure the agricultural field and to increase her population. These immigrants, selected under the categories stipulated by Immigration Canada, were initially housed in Immigration buildings upon arrival and placed under the responsibility of the Department of Labour for employment.

The first few contingents came by boat and disembarked in the Halifax harbour. Later, the men made transatlantic flights and usually landed in Montreal. By sea or by air the system used to receive these new eager workers was basically the same. They arrived in groups but were immediately separated and transported to the different locations where their employers were expecting them. A 1955 pioneer recalled the moment of arrival and claimed that the Portuguese "stuck together like a herd of animals because of our insecurity" (Anderson, 1976:37). The lack of knowledge of the official languages impeded communication, and to avoid major confusion the immigration officers asked the immigrants to wear a colour coded label on their coats. Each color represented a different location in Canada: blue was for Vancouver, pink was for Edmonton, red was for Toronto, beige was for Ottawa, and orange was for Quebec. The majority of the

pioneers who were interviewed in Winnipeg recalled this situation with great emotion. One commented with tears rolling down his cheeks:

It was plain misery - - to be able to hear and not understand - - to stoop so low as to need labels so grown men would not get lost.⁹

The employment stipulated by the Department of Labour concentrated in agriculture and the construction of the Canadian National Railway. Comments from the pioneers revealed some different experiences from these placements although similar adaptation trends prevailed. Those who were placed in farms worked for long hours and were poorly fed. They were isolated from their Portuguese speaking friends and unaware of their location. They were not informed that after the contract time was expired, they were free to move on.

I was sent to a farm in Quebec. The first few months were O.K. I was lonely and did not know the whereabouts of my friends. There was less and less work to do and the farmer was feeding me less and less too. Then I got smart and I started drinking the milk right from the cow.¹⁰

Another person placed in an Ontario farm added:

I was getting so skinny that I had to eat raw eggs. When the farmer found out he fired me. But he was kind enough to drive me to Toronto. I had the address of a friend that my wife had sent me and I joined him. He almost didn't recognize me. I was skinny and I hadn't shaved in two months because I had run out of razors.¹¹

Even though the men were separated upon arrival without knowing their destinations the interviews revealed that an interesting network quickly evolved. Their relatives and friends in Portugal exchanged their addresses and sent them back to the immigrants. This quickly developed into a correspondence network from coast to coast which led the pioneers to discuss and plan employment matters. As soon as they

became aware that they were free to leave their employers, they began to relocate in other areas of the country in search of better opportunities and usually settled in the railway construction sites where salaries were greater despite the heavier labour. The pioneers did not face major problems in finding work because the Canadian economic sectors, mainly the agricultural and the railways, employed a large number of the recent immigrants and also because the Portuguese created a good reputation as trustworthy and hard working. Thus, these people with an average Grade Four education, ignorant about Canadian life, overwhelmed by the advanced technology, unprepared for the climatic shock, and non-English speaking moved from coast to coast as if Canada were their homeland. Without family members and nothing more than a suitcase, the Portuguese travelled with the greatest flexibility.

We helped each other and moved from one job to another. I guess we were like our ancestors, the discoverers of the XV and XVI centuries venturing into unknown lands. We, too, travelled blindly across Canada, from one ocean to the other in search of new and better opportunities.¹²

The pioneers, however, did not see themselves as great courageous people opening channels for their successors, but rather as humble lonely people joining their efforts to survive. The unfamiliarity with the language complicated the easiest daily transactions. This was coupled with the fact that most were rural residents and had never seen a cheque book, a phone bill, or a map. Rodrigues (1985:35) quotes an immigrant who initially settled in Montreal: "We were a small group of two or three dozens of young Portuguese immigrants, without commodities, without assistance, without facilities, without

acquaintances, without family, and without friends. We were a handful of abandoned people disorganized because no one understood us and nobody cared to help us."

Their experiences were unique and challenging. There were no support systems in place for them because they themselves did not establish settlement patterns and their visibility both in numbers and in political power was almost nil. Some interviewees reported that in a few employment places some English language lessons were attempted but with little success due to the reasons previously stated. In general, the pioneers were very withdrawn due to their lack of skills to communicate and their constant movement from one isolated area to another. This resulted in little interaction with the rest of the Canadian society, with almost no intermarriages, and no acculturation. The Canadian lifestyle was foreign to them and the Canadian women appeared to be independent and licentious in comparison to the subordinate and humble ones back home. Thus, the pioneers lived with an internal frustration in coping with an unknown and strange culture. Scott Young described a human picture of the Portuguese in his article on The Globe and Mail in 1957:

I sat on a rock in the sun a few days ago in the empty country between Chapleau and White River and watched a sight that has been part of the country ever since we really began to grow -- an immigrant gang, a few weeks off the boat, laboring in our wilderness.
 . . . In the forest walls enclosing the railroad (a CPR project) the poplars were in leaf, white birches almost so and showing rich dark brown at their tips. And on the rock ballast and gravel and steel of the line for 200 yards machines clattered and stuttered and foremen stood watching the rising and falling backs of 150 Portuguese, gritty and strong and sweaty, with eloquent eyes and dark skins and no English performing the harsh duties of the steel gang.

. . . These Portuguese are strangers here, so they seldom make the first advance. But if you catch one's eye and smile or nod, his smile is quick and flashing. In other ways are like any man away from home (Hamilton, 1970:66).

This displacement probably explains their tenuous loyalty to Canada and their strong allegiance to their birth place as previous studies (Anderson, 1983, and Higgs, 1982) and the interviews undertaken in Winnipeg appear to suggest. Most often, their intentions were to acquire sufficient money to return home and purchase a house or a piece of land. However, something in Canadian life immediately captivated them: "One of the nicest things at the beginning was the difference we noticed in the standard of living. We could afford the same as a rich man back home in the old country. There, regardless of how much you worked, you could never get these things ..." (Anderson, 1976:35). The material wealth of Canadian society overpowered the human warmth of the homeland and the pioneers remained in Canada to become the pillars of the several Portuguese communities throughout the country.

The Urban Movement

The number of Portuguese immigrants during the fifties according to the statistics presented in Table VII augmented rapidly but the host society appeared not even to notice their presence. The sixties, however, witnessed a different aspect of Portuguese migration highlighted by an urban movement which coincided with the reunion of

TABLE VIII

CANADA: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION 1963-1979			
1963	-	4,000	1972 - 8,737
1964	-	5,309	1973 - 13,483
1965	-	5,734	1974 - 16,333
1966	-	9,525	1975 - 8,547
1967	-	9,500	1976 - 5,344
1968	-	7,738	1977 - 3,579
1969	-	7,182	1978 - 3,086
1970	-	7,902	1979 - 3,723
1971	-	9,157	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1988.

wives, children, and other family members. (Table VIII and IX). The movable nature of the first migrants led them to diverse parts of Canada, and within a few years of the initial wave many were attracted to the large urban centers and small pockets of Portuguese began to emerge in Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, and Winnipeg. Their savings were used to purchase older homes in the downtown areas of the cities where there was availability of inexpensive housing, access to employment, schools, and public transportation which led to the process of family reunification. This originated patterns of settlement which in some cities developed into ethnic enclaves. According to Kovacs (1980) this type of segregation tends to occur as a result of what is generally referred to a 'chain migration' where individual A sponsors individual B, and in turn, B sponsors C, and so on.

In the Portuguese case, the pioneers advertised the Canadian opportunities and became active participants in accommodating and supporting the newcomers who found employment in the larger centers. The urban settlements, however, were somewhat unexpected. To a certain extent, Canada anticipated that the Portuguese agricultural

TABLE IX
IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY AGE, GROUP, AND SEX OF IMMIGRANTS

AGE	1969		1979	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
0 - 4	451	403	109	112
5 - 9	426	390	129	119
10 - 14	337	306	119	141
15 - 19	250	313	210	262
20 - 24	119	589	367	293
25 - 29	614	528	324	174
30 - 34	378	343	113	95
35 - 39	264	249	75	59
40 - 44	98	161	38	55
45 - 49	51	91	28	68
50 - 54	33	79	58	114
55 - 59	36	140	87	128
60 - 64	129	169	114	86
65 - 69	56	70	41	73
70 & over	33	76	56	76
All ages	3,275	3,907	1868	1855
Total	(7,182)		(3,723)	

Source: Statistics Canada, 1988.

workers would settle in farms and consequently fill the gap created by the Canadians who were abandoning the rural environment.

Paradoxically, in a very brief period of time, the men placed on the farms quickly moved to the railroads and then to the cities. Serge (1970) explains that their displacement on the farms was due to the high degree of Canadian technology and to the high cost of farm land which prevented them from purchasing it and settling there. Anderson and Higgs (1976:15) in their research about Portuguese immigrants claim that "thousands of Portuguese immigrants were misled by Canadian authorities . . . when they found Canadian farm machinery and techniques too sophisticated for their skills, they rushed to the cities after factory and construction work." Interviews with

Winnipeggers also suggested that the men felt that Canada had many varied opportunities they could explore instead of limiting themselves to the land. Along the same lines they had witnessed generations of farmers in Portugal without much success and they were not totally convinced of the advantages of Canadian farming. "To work with clods I would have stayed in Portugal"¹³ was one man's expression.

Naturally, almost from the initial times, the men made use of large centers for brief periods of residence while waiting for employment and for banking services which often involved sending savings to the relatives back home. Many remained in the cities exploiting the employment available in construction, garment manufacturing, and cleaning services. The numbers increased and stabilized with the arrival of family members which initiated the second phase of Portuguese immigration and the development of community life. This development is characterized by three coincidental occurrences: the steady stream of relatives; the acceptance of homeless victims from the volcanic eruptions in the Portuguese islands; and a great wave of visitors to Canada applying for legal status.

The experiences faced by the immigrants of the second phase differed from those of the pioneers even from the initial stage. In Hamilton's study (1970:78), one pioneer revealed that: "the man of today goes by air, not in the crowded dormitories of old emigrant boats." Nonetheless, the fact that these immigrants joined the other semi-established members did little to ease the process of acculturation. The frightened women would arrive in unfamiliar busy airports, holding tightly to their children, hoping to find their

husband's face in the crowds. The reunion with their husbands was often brief as the men would periodically leave the city for employment on northern hydroelectric projects and mines, thereby leaving the wives in the same situation as they, themselves, had experienced upon arrival in Canada.

I came in 1963 and I would estimate that there were approximately 100 Portuguese women in Winnipeg at that time. I was young, just married, and unexperienced in life. I found myself in a strange land with strange people. In my small island I had never seen people who looked so different, from the various countries in the world. During my first year in Canada, I was depressed and isolated. I often wonder what inner strength was responsible for my survival and that of many other women like myself.¹⁴

A sense of isolation engulfed these people who were accustomed to the tightly-knit and supportive environment of Portuguese small town life in contrast to the impersonal and foreign life of Canadian cities. In general, these people did not only arrive in a new country but also in a new city life environment. Their rural background and low educational attainment increased the difficulty to interpret and learn the language and accept the city milieu. Simple things like traffic lights, public transportation, shopping centers, and even Canadian currency were all difficult to comprehend and deal with. Consequently, the unfamiliarity of this foreign environment coupled with the lack of linguistic competence in English led to little integration in the political, economic, and social sectors of Canadian life during the sixties. Little interest was shown in political life since the Portuguese came from a politically oppressed country where there was no opportunity to become active. A Toronto survey revealed

that the Portuguese make few demands and contacts with the Government (Ethnic Communities Survey, 1983). There was also lack of understanding of the Canadian political system with the diverse municipal, provincial and federal bureaucracies. Similarly, there was also little social integration due to the lack of communicative skills and the difference in customs and lifestyles. The economic field showed more integration as most men and women found employment among other Canadians. However, the work force too, created little ethnic ghettos as friends and relatives would bring other friends and relatives to the same workplace and create a social circle on their own. This attitude decreased not only the opportunities for interaction with Canadian workers but also the exposure to the language. A garment factory worker summarized this phenomenon:

I had never sewed in my life but when a friend found me a job in a sewing factory, I quickly adapted to the position. There were several Portuguese ladies there and we all got together during the coffee and lunch breaks. Our conversations always centered around the type of work we were doing and the money we were earning. In this environment, I was never able to speak English except for a few mispronounced and scattered words related to work. Outside the factory I relied on my children to assist when necessary. I resent not having gone to night school but my intentions were to earn enough and then return to Portugal. I also had children to raise and they were my first priority.¹⁵

Considering the isolation they experienced, it is not surprising that the newcomers clustered together for warmth and support both in the employment sites and in the residential areas. The latter developed into demographic patterns of settlement as friends and relatives purchased homes nearby and then rented suites and provided accommodation to men without families. An Ethnic Community Survey

(1983) reports that in 1971, 82 percent of the Portuguese immigrants chose Toronto as their residential area because of friends and relatives. In Winnipeg, an ethnic enclave was not created probably due to a lower number of immigrants in comparison to Toronto, for example. There was, however, a concentration in the downtown area where they quickly proceeded in applying their skills to renovate and upgrade their homes. They worked in groups, friend helping friend, to give a new characteristic appearance to their homes. This phenomenon which appeared in various other urban centers is referred to by Kovacs (1980) as 'the freelance slum clearance movement.'

Approximately a dozen Portuguese families resided in Winnipeg in 1960 around York Street and Edmonton with a few between Broadway and Assinaboine Avenue but the majority began arriving in the early sixties and established a community roughly bounded by Logan Avenue, Ellen Street, Ellice Avenue, and Arlington Street. This concentration, like in other cities, resulted from relatives and friends wishing to remain together. The greatest growth period was between the years 1966 and 1974 when many families arrived. As a consequence of a group effort, they gave their residential community a colorful facelift which transformed what was almost a slum to brightly painted homes, many displaying ceramic portraits depicting religious figures.

The City of Winnipeg absorbed most of the immigrants coming to Manitoba. Several reasons account for this selection of residential settlement,

TABLE X

PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION TO MANITOBA
1953 - 1983

Phase I		Phase II			
Year	Total	Year	Total	Year	Total
1953	3	1966	355	1977	214
1954	2	1967	381	1978	167
1955	18	1968	295	1979	217
1956	10	1969	301	1980	125
1957	104	1970	498	1981	135
1958	20	1971	657	1982	68
1959	115	1972	509	1983	43
1960	223	1973	623	1984	22
1961	122	1974	637	1985	29
1962	143	1975	318	1986	42
1963	227	1976	219	1987	94
1964	244				
1965	223				

Sources: Canada. Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Directorate of Technical Services.

such as low income housing, the accessibility of garment factories, janitorial services, transportation, Portuguese establishments, and especially other Portuguese families. This demographic pattern extended itself to the western tip of the West End district of the city during the early sixties and underwent a drastic modification in the late seventies as large numbers purchased homes in the suburbs. This was deeply felt in the enrolment of students in the inner-city schools and a shift to schools in the new developments of the Maples, Garden Grove, and Tyndall Park. This movement to the suburbs represents two major aspects of growth that indicate the maturity of the community: its affluence and its degree of acculturation.

The concepts of acculturation and assimilation have been constantly defined and redefined throughout the recent decades. Anderson and Frideres (1981:271-285) focus on this fact by referring to

numerous definitions by various sociologists. They point out M. M. Gordon's (1964) very complete definition which outlines seven different types of assimilation: cultural or behavioural, structural, marital, identification, attitude receptional, behavior receptional, and civic assimilation. They also refer to Davis' (1978) and Kinlock's (1979) idea that presents assimilation as "a loss of a minority's identity through merging with the dominant community" (273). Anderson and Frideres conclude that "assimilation refers to the dominant groups's attempt to absorb a minority ethnic group on its own terms without regard to the minority's desires" (273). The term acculturation, on the other hand, has been either differentiated from assimilation, used interchangeably, or considered by Gordon and other sociologists as the first stage of assimilation. Anderson and Frideres quote Shibutani's and Kwan's (1965) definition that "the concept of acculturation refers to the process of acquiring the culture of another ethnic group. This is the initial step in the breakdown of ethnocentrism . . . acculturation may take place without assimilation; minority groups may alter their culture but still retain consciousness of kind. Assimilation refers to both the acquisition of the perspective of the dominant group and the attempt to identify it" (284). Applying these definitions of acculturation and assimilation to the Portuguese community one would conclude that it is undergoing the process of acculturation. The community has achieved a certain affluence in economic terms visible not only in the housing and district resettlement but also in education and upward mobility of its members. Although the greatest majority of its members are still

employed in menial jobs there has been an increasing number attaining higher levels of education. Throughout the years, many of the unskilled labourers have acquired new skills in real estate, food imports, construction, and other business related services. A small number has pursued professional fields with the number of teachers outnumbering all other professionals.

The interviews conducted appear to suggest that the greatest educational attainment took place in the second generation and in those who immigrated at younger ages. The first generation settled for acquiring sufficient English to meet the survival needs of the immediate future. Most people learned 'broken English' on their own or from interaction with Canadian peer workers.

I taught myself the English language. I conditioned myself to learn thirty new words a day. I reinforced my ambition by listening to the radio and reading children's books from the library.¹⁴

Other immigrants, for diverse reasons ranging from lack of skills and time to the intention of returning to Portugal, neglected language learning. They found jobs where verbal communication was not a great necessity and relied on their children and other interpreters for certain situations like doctor's appointments, job seeking and immigration queries. Another important factor which hindered the acquisition of the language was the ambition to achieve economic security. Owning a home, a car, and a television set in many cases led father, mother, and older children to hold more than one job. Naturally, exhaustion and lack of time did not permit language learning.

I worked in a leather factory from 8:00 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. I came home and put supper on the table, did the dishes and the laundry and then left at 8:00 p.m. to 10:00 or sometimes 12:00 midnight to help my husband in a cleaning job because he was collecting unemployment insurance in the winter time since there was no construction work. My 14 year old would babysit the youngest kids.¹⁷

Still another reason, perhaps cultural, was the belief that they were 'too old to learn'. They came from a culture where adult education was not very much encouraged and where formal learning did not usually take place after school was completed. A few would work during the day and then attend English as a Second Language classes at the International Center, at Red River Community College, or at local schools sponsored by the Winnipeg School Division Number 1. In all these places, interest appeared to be low on the part of the students and the majority of the classes would collapse as soon as construction season began. It is estimated that in 1971 approximately 5,500 out of 8,000 Portuguese in Manitoba used Portuguese as the primary language in the home (Information booklet on the Teaching of Heritage Languages in Manitoba, 1983) and in his article, "The Portuguese Community in Winnipeg", Peters (1972) estimated that in 1972 approximately 75 percent of the adult population had no knowledge of English. Today, this percentage is much lower, as almost all of the young adults acquired the language and many of the earlier immigrants acquired sufficient English to make themselves understood.

Community Organizations

This linguistic growth influenced gradual interaction and consequently social maturity. Anderson and Frideres (1981:109) refer to Breton's concept of institutional completeness to discuss the complexities of integration. Breton is quoted to say that "the extent to which institutional completeness of the ethnic community is related to its capacity to attract the immigrant within its social boundaries." In cases where the ethnic group has geographical proximity within a certain region, undergoes few demographic changes, and is concentrated in large numbers there exists more possibilities for institutional completeness where several services can be performed in the minority language. The few families of the 1960s were very isolated and lonely because institutional completeness did not exist to any degree. They experienced a different environment from the openness of Portuguese life. There was no structured social life, and the young people were the ones mostly suffering from lack of contact. They were not allowed to participate in activities outside the Portuguese community as parents feared the unknown, and there was no establishment within the community for them. The adults also needed to maintain contacts and socialize in their language. The increase in the number of immigrants entering Manitoba and the concentration in the downtown area of Winnipeg led to the initiation of the process of institutional completeness, and a few of the more vocal and active members met and organized a social place for gatherings.

On March 3, 1966 a few of us decided to rent a small

building on Langside to make it the nest of our small community. Although membership was established, everyone was welcomed.¹⁸

Throughout the years, this small nest became a cultural organization, and in 1971 a building on the corner of Ellice and Sherbrook became the next home of the Portuguese Association of Manitoba. More recently the large membership has ventured into a modernized 1.3 million dollar building on Notre Dame Avenue and Young Street. During the past twenty-two years, the Portuguese Association has catered to the community and attempted to meet its diverse social needs. According to the By-Laws of the Portuguese Association of Manitoba Inc. (1984), the major objectives have centered around "the preservation and promotion of the Portuguese language and culture, the coordination of social, recreational and sports activities, and the facilitation of contacts between different cultures".

In the light of these objectives, a school was initiated in 1971 to teach the Portuguese language to children. At first, a few volunteers taught at the Association Hall but the great demand led to the expansion of three classrooms at Victoria-Albert School where grades one to four were taught from 5:30 to 7:30 p.m., Monday to Thursday. The student enrolment increased rapidly and the classes had to relocate to Hugh John Macdonald catering to grades one through six. The instruction continues to concentrate on the Portuguese language, history, and culture. It is coordinated by a committee comprising parental representation, teaching staff, and representatives of the Portuguese Association.

This evening school has been an unobtrusive way of preserving

the language and the culture of Portugal. It is mostly parental pressure that assures the existence of the school as many of the students feel this is an extra burden imposed on their already busy day. A staff member comments:

It is difficult to teach in the evening school because parents expect old pedagogical approaches as in their school days in Portugal and the students are discouraged by these and their outdated methods. A second issue that we are presently facing is the level of language that the students hold. In the first few years of the school, the students spoke Portuguese as a first language and we could continue teaching as in Portugal. Now, the majority of the students are Canadian-born and Portuguese is like a second language to them. Yet, we are expected to teach with a Portuguese curriculum as there is direct equivalence within grades.¹⁹

A further urge to pursue the quest of preserving the heritage language was realized in 1982 with the introduction of the Portuguese language in public schools as an option subject instructed by several Manitoba qualified teachers of Portuguese background. The schools which initially introduced the program were the ones with the highest numbers of Portuguese students, namely Pinkham, Victoria-Albert, Wellington, and John M. King at the elementary level, Hugh John Macdonald and General Wolfe at the junior high level, and Tec Voc and Daniel McIntyre at the senior high level.

Religious education has been another vehicle that has promoted the Catholic faith through the Portuguese language. The community has perpetuated the Roman Catholic faith since its arrival. Even the pioneers living in isolated regions would always attempt to find a church to attend the celebration of mass on Sundays. In Winnipeg, the families appeared to favour French churches, probably because both the culture and the language had some aspects of familiarity. The one

most centrally located was the Eglise du Sacre Coeur situated on Juno and Bannatyne, the heart of the community. The parish priests received the Portuguese newcomers kindly and attempted to meet their religious needs even attempting to learn the Portuguese language.

In 1966 the first Portuguese priest arrived in Winnipeg and for a number of years continued to celebrate mass at Sacre Coeur. With the passing of time, there arose the need for larger facilities and the Portuguese community undertook the challenge of a 3.3 million dollar edifice on Austin Street, the Immaculate Conception Church. The church, through the work of the clergy and lay volunteers, has played a vital role in encouraging the most profound cultural values of the Portuguese people.

Portuguese people who were accustomed to a homogeneity of Catholicism, became disoriented with the pluralistic religious system of Canada. There was a great loss in the social and religious traditions. In Portugal, there were many religious ceremonies. However, here, that number is very limited. Even in the regular Sunday mass ceremonies there exists an emptiness. Back home, after mass everyone would stay around and socialize with friends and neighbours. Here, this social interaction has almost disappeared due to the cold weather and the fact that it is not a Canadian custom.²⁰

Despite the scarcity of many religious customs and ceremonies, the community has continued to celebrate those with the highest moral values like the special day to worship Our Lady of Fatima, and through organizations affiliated with the church, other annual festivities are held to honor the 'Santissima Trindade' (Holy Trinity), the 'Espirito Santo' (Holy Spirit), and S. Pedro (Saint Peter). Other organizations with religious character are the Imperio das Crianças and Irmandade da Sra do Carmo. At the present time two priests are serving the

religious needs of the large community which include weekly catechism classes to over eight hundred children.

Other organizations in the community have also contributed to the growth and promotion of Portuguese Culture. They unfolded with specific objectives in the fields of sports, folklore and music. The Casa do Minho Folk Dancers, now an incorporated organization with its own building, was organized in 1974 to satisfy the needs of a regional group. However, it began to attract members from all over Portugal and through time expanded its objectives to incorporate the general interests of the membership. Other smaller organizations such as the Luso-Canadian and Micaelense promote sports, primarily soccer. The Band Lira de Fatima and the recent choir formed at the Cultural Center develop the musical talents of the Portuguese people.

Contrary to many other Portuguese communities in Canada, the community in Winnipeg enjoys a high degree of homogeneity. Some of the several organizations have broad objectives and some have more specific ones, but they all share a common goal which is to preserve the Portuguese culture either a part or as a whole. Simultaneously, they also present a diversity of ways for the Portuguese immigrants in Winnipeg to enjoy their culture in a foreign land.

Another visible way of a living culture is the emergence of local businesses. In Winnipeg, these range from grocery, fish, and hardware stores to restaurants, barber shops, and boutiques. The growth is numerically significant from 13 establishments in 1971 to 96 in 1986 (Lopes, 1986). Although families do shop in other stores, they remain faithful to these ethnic outlets which provide them with the

traditional foods such as olive oil, sardines, squid, octopus, cod, and pepper sauce to prepare their cuisine. Some of these establishments also sell books and other reading material, but the demand is insignificant. It was felt that the younger members of the first generation showed interest in reading novels and magazines. Recently, however, even this interest has almost disappeared. This is also seen by the low circulation of the public library material and by the several unsuccessful attempts to maintain the circulation of the Portuguese newspaper, the Winnipeg Reporter. Anderson and Frideres (1981:110) claim that when radio broadcast time is available, ethnic minorities rely less on newspapers. They also mention that sociologists see the extent and nature of ethnic involvement in the media as indicators of ethnic identification.

Considering that there are only approximately ten hours of radio broadcast and one hour of television time a week in the Portuguese language, several interpretations can be drawn from these facts. First, this lack of interest in reading Portuguese materials could indicate a degree of acculturation and knowledge of the English language. The greater variety and better accessibility of English materials obscures the Portuguese ones and subsequently decreases their demand and use. Second, one could also interpret this by assuming that the community does not value Portuguese literature. However, this would contradict the many efforts to maintain the culture. Third, one could advance the idea that the members of this community are not part of a 'reading generation'. Tentatively, one could agree with this notion because many interviews indicated that

even in Portugal reading was not considered a favorite pastime.

This chapter brings into focus the various ways that have fostered the survival of Portuguese culture in the Portuguese community of Winnipeg. From the initial stages, the immigrants have remained together to encourage the preservation of their language, values, and customs. They established different businesses, cultural organizations, language schools, and a church. The growth of businesses throughout the years and the pride of spending millions of dollars on the erection of cultural and religious buildings suggest that the Portuguese in Winnipeg continue to value their cultural heritage and intend to transmit it to their children. This belief is in accord with a survey conducted in Toronto which found that 71 percent agreed that the language and customs should be maintained (Ethnic Communities Survey, 1983).

CHAPTER IV

THE CHILD AND THE LIVING CULTURE OF
HOMESocio-Economic Background

The previous chapters have highlighted the fact that the Portuguese immigrants generally came from a low socio-economic background with low educational standards. This reality has been the central factor that has shaped their unique experiences in the integration process with Canadian society. The majority were drawn from rural environments with basic experience in the agricultural field. In Canada, they were placed in parallel environments, but the sophistication of the new machinery and the low wages encouraged them to seek other employment that required little previous experience and a minimum of oral communication.

Although they all shared similar backgrounds, regional differences began to surface when they all united in Canada. In Winnipeg the small numbers did not allow for fine distinctions, but in larger centers like Toronto, there appeared to exist noticeable differences between those who emigrated from the Azores and those from the mainland. Anderson (1983), for example, found that a high percentage of Azorean men were mostly involved in janitorial services while the ones from the mainland dominated the construction industry.

In Winnipeg large numbers from both geographical regions were involved in construction, but there was a general feeling that the mainlanders were more 'go getters'. They overtly displayed their leadership skills which led them to undertake roles as 'bosses' in construction sites. However, here the distinctions were not as noticeable in their socio-economic status. In general, the socio-economic background of the Portuguese residents can best be described by its correlation to the two main developmental phases of the community: the initial urban settlement and the suburban relocation.

The pioneers used the savings acquired from their hard work, dedication, and limited extravagances to send for their families and to purchase a home, a move which would mark a change in their status from rootless members to homeowners. To liquidate the house payments, they took advantage of double shifts, overtime, and often more than one job. Many were able to amortize their mortgages and open savings accounts within a short period of time. Still, as residents of a city area classified as deprived they felt that they were perceived by the host society as poor people who worked hard to survive. They suffered from an overwhelming feeling of inferiority as they regarded themselves as second class citizens, uneducated, and ignorant about their surroundings.

During the first few years of my life in Canada I felt like a nobody. Everything was so different! I could have been a great artist in Portugal but I would still feel out of place here. Not understanding what was going on around me I felt like a child. Living without full participation in life!²¹

This realization strenghtened a conscious attempt to be honest and

hard workers and make an upward movement on the social scale by financial stability as opposed to educational prestige. During this phase of the 1960s and early 1970s the construction, railroad, and garment industries absorbed the largest majority of the Portuguese immigrants in Winnipeg.

The second major phase of the immigrants' socio-economic background is characterized by several occurrences. First, this period of approximately ten to fifteen years following the family reunification time witnessed the output of the first generation's children who had taken advantage of some years of schooling. Even though most children were encouraged to leave school at the completion of their sixteenth birthday to join the work force, they were able to gain some knowledge of the English language which automatically opened new channels of employment. This provided an influx of Portuguese speaking banktellers, cashiers, and secretaries. Moreover, the younger adult members of the community also acquired some English communication skills and ventured into higher positions in the construction and garment industries, and in real estate; some opened their own business like travel agencies, grocery stores, driving schools, fisheries, and private clubs. Furthermore, the families who strived in the first fifteen years were more financially secure and their new acquired wealth instigated the desire for more comfortable and modern homes in the suburbs.

When we arrived in Winnipeg we rented a suite on a three-story house belonging to a Portuguese family. After two years we purchased a small house on Agnes Street. The children attended Hugh John MacDonald and Daniel MacIntyre. By the time our oldest daughter entered university we moved

to a bigger house on a nice street near Polo Park. Five years later we moved again to yet a bigger house in the Maples. The children have also bought homes in this area and we all live close to each other.²²

The two phases alluded to in this section show a gradual increase in prestige. In spite of this, however, the position of the Portuguese on the social scale is somewhat questionable as it depends on the different ways of measuring social prestige. If an occupation scale ranging from unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, white collar, to managerial and professional is applied, the Portuguese would score quite low as most occupy the semi-skilled category. On the other hand, if acquired wealth were considered, their status would increase drastically as many owned property and lived very comfortably compared to life in Portugal.

Social Mobility

Approximately twenty-five to thirty years have elapsed since a significant number of Portuguese settled in Winnipeg and coalesced to form a community. As in many other communities, the Portuguese in Winnipeg have not projected themselves extensively to the life of the larger community. Nunes (1986) attempts to justify this occurrence, also present in other Portuguese immigrant reception countries, to the 'low horizons' attitude associated with their past life and to the common ideal of acquiring money to 'triumph in life.'

To a certain extent this trend is also applicable to the community in Winnipeg even though its settlement history does not

suffice to provide solid judgements on the matter. Furthermore, the community is presently undergoing a unique stage characterized by the aging first generation parents, the maturity of their children, and the birth of the Canadian born. Initially, the lower number of immigrants did not lend itself to the creation of a great ethnic concentration, and the fact that Winnipeg is also a large city in area for its population, allowed people to disperse throughout. It has been suspected that the larger the number of services in any specific language, the greater the degree of segregation and the lower the degree of integration. In Winnipeg the Portuguese speaking establishments were not sufficient in number or demographically well located to allow for full function in the Portuguese language. The community had to survive up to 1982 with only one priest, up to 1985 with only two Portuguese speaking physicians, up to 1982 with no lawyers, and up to the present with no representative at any level of government. The lack of a complete support system in the Portuguese language fostered some cultural changes and the more changes each individual undergoes the more acculturation that takes place. Thus, although they did not experience any strong pressure to assimilate, because they had the option to maintain and cultivate their language, practice their religion, and socialize through the organizations, some acculturation has taken place. The future is somewhat obscure because of the unique features of this Winnipeg community and the time span of the settlement's existence. There has not been sufficient time for the community to have undergone full assimilation, and this will probably not occur during the next few decades as the immigrants have

the support of the Policy on Multiculturalism as well as a long history of cultural preservation wherever Portuguese communities have been established.

The young pioneers of the fifties and the families of the early sixties are now grandparents and reaching the age of retirement. They have survived the cultural shock, have semi-adjusted to Canadian life, planted the seeds of their own culture through organizations, and contributed to the general society through their work. As other research (Ethnic Communities Survey, 1983) and the interviews have shown, their life-long struggles have moved them from rootless young men with only the bare essentials to financially secure citizens and moderately satisfied with life in Canada.

Life at the beginning was tough! Most of us came with the intention of returning after a few years, but we slowly accustomed ourselves to this life. Today, like most of my friends, I find myself close to retirement. I take life easy and think back. I thank God and Canada for giving me all the opportunities. My children have good jobs, I have a good house, and I built one in Portugal, too. We go back there once in a while but I really miss the grandchildren.²³

The young parents who followed in the seventies also faced a most difficult task. They had to adjust to a new way of life, raise their children in the ambience of two different cultures, and work to secure their financial existence. These priorities generally took most of their energies and since education was not in their path, their weapon for any social movement was through the acquisition of goods such as a house, a car, and monetary savings; they have proven most successful as seen by the suburban settlement. The children of the sixties and the seventies have had the opportunity of a Canadian education which

has placed them on a higher educational level compared to their parents. This has facilitated the attainment of wider and better economic occupations.

Values, Customs, and Traditions

In the 1960s and the 1970s, the values, the customs, and the traditions of the Portuguese immigrants in Winnipeg came into focus as the children and the parents experienced and interpreted their new surroundings differently. In order to analyse the difference in interpretations it is necessary to consider the heart of Portuguese culture - the family. The concept of family is a close-knit web reflecting unity, pride, love, and psychological, moral, and economic support. Its role, responsibilities, and obligations were transplanted to Canada but within a short period of time suffered adjustment from the impact of the new society.

At any given time of the immigration period, the family was exposed to the different North American norms and values which shook the standards in Portugal where the family was oriented to rural agricultural life with division of labour and roles in keeping with traditional agrarian societies. These affected the father's authoritarian role, the mother's submissive nature, and the children's expected obedience. The impact resulted in a change in attitudes by each member of the family, in a partial rejection of the culture, especially by the children, and, in extreme cases, in complete abandonment of traditional values. Anderson and Higgs (1976) state

that this phenomenon is supportive of Marcus Lee Hansen's law which states that immigrant children tend to reject the parents' values directly linked to the family unit and the ethnic identity.

The traditional family exerted tremendous pressure not only on the children but also on each member. The family was an entity in itself with each individual as an integral part with all the stipulated responsibilities and obligations and without the freedom to deviate from the established norms. In Portugal, this pattern was easier to establish and perpetuate as the opposing forces were not as intensive or as varied in nature. The family was mostly affected only by the general social change which tended to be gradual and affecting all the people. In Canada, however, the situation differed as the family was suddenly confronted with a different social environment which the immigrants judged as being more permissive than theirs. In their attempt to resist the foreign influence, the first generation parents increased their efforts to hold on to their children and their ways. The parents' fear of losing them encouraged integration in as many Portuguese activities as possible such as Sunday School, folk dancing, and Portuguese language classes. In spite of all the efforts, the children's role in the family quickly changed as they were asked and given the responsibility to interpret and translate for the parents. The children unintentionally were given more control than the traditional family allowed, and the parents in desperation would often blame the government for providing support to enhance their children's independence.

The new society modified the values, customs, and traditions of

every family member's individual role. The father's established authoritarian position was immediately placed in jeopardy. In many instances, the father arrived first, established himself, reunited his family, and provided it with the initial security to face the new life. His role as the head figure was, thus, further emphasized and glorified with these actions. This uplift, however, had a short duration as the contact with the Canadian culture led to questioning of his role. His wife and children began to exhibit attitudes of independence which interfered with his authority, and to safeguard his role and maintain discipline in the family he faced several challenges. He tended to become deeply attached to a set of values reflecting his loyalty to Portugal, his customs, and his traditions which in turn highlighted his stubbornness and his rigid disciplinarian methods and alienated himself from his children even further. In his research, Nunes (1986) found that upon realization of his loss, he suffered a silent pain of low self-esteem, apathy, and depression. At this point it is interesting to note that the three known suicidal cases throughout the decades years of the existence of the Portuguese community, were by males.

In this new environment the wife and children appeared to be gaining from the new society while the man was losing what had been taken for granted through generations. Moreover, he lacked the support of his extended family and was forced to rely on his children to assist in conducting the family's affairs. Lack of control of his surroundings augmented by his communication problem created a new role for him as he undertook the responsibility of shopping at the

Portuguese grocery stores and conducting other business through Portuguese-speaking services.

The mother, too, arrived in Canada with the traditional responsibility of caring for the home and the family. However, unlike in Portugal, the family's financial situation required her to seek employment immediately. Her absence from the home during the prime years of child rearing forced a tremendous adjustment in her role as a mother and a wife.

I had been in Canada for two years and my seven year old was attending school. I worked in a leather factory and was satisfied with the job and the earnings. Then I had my second baby. I was told I could only take a limited time off work or I would lose my position. We had just bought a home and we needed the money. I was torn between following a mother's instincts to raise my baby at home or give her up to a babysitter and go back to work. I did go back to work and to this day I have not forgiven myself for giving priority to our selfish needs and breaking a mother's bond with my child at three months of age.²⁴

The woman not only had to face a change in values but also a drastic increase in her workload in the process. She was forced to go out into the workplace, in most cases for the first time in her life, and to work with strange machinery as well as people who did not even understand her. After a whole day's work outside the home, she was still expected to do the domestic duties traditionally associated with the wife's role. Men were not too keen in assisting with housekeeping items. They would come home, have dinner, and go out to the local club where men gathered. The woman would stay home continuing with her duties and making preparations for the same routine the following day. The situation further fostered loneliness, silence, and isolation.

During the winter months, many men would collect unemployment insurance due to lack of work in the construction industry, and a gradual involvement in the household was noticed as parents working on split shifts tended to divide responsibilities more evenly. As women, through their employment, upgraded their financial contribution to the family, they gradually acquired a sense of independence, authority, and freedom which came into conflict with the traditional expectations of the husbands. Still, through this gradual process to some independence, the woman remained very dependent on the husband. Her social activities were, for the most part, guided through his, as very seldom would she venture anywhere on her own except for an occasional doctor's appointment or other extremely necessary outing. Thus, she was restricted to sit in front of the television set, call her friends on the telephone, or participate in the family's visits to relatives, friends, and the park (Nunes, 1986).

Moreover, the mother, like the children who had to face the two different worlds of home and school, was also the middle person between her children's new ways and her husband's traditional expectations. The husband who was more authoritarian usually came into conflict with the children more frequently. The mother whom the children considered more lenient and understanding would tend to protect them and consequently get caught in arguments between the children and her husband.

My two sons were two years apart. When we came the oldest was sixteen and he went to work right away. They told us that the other one had to go to school because of his age. He went to Hugh John School and when he turned sixteen he decided to join his brother. They were good

friends and good sons. They turned their earnings to us and we would give them a very small allowance. I suggested to my husband to increase it because they were young and they liked to buy their own things. My husband was furious and accused me of trying to destroy our children by giving them more money to waste on cigarettes and other things. ... on the weekend they would ask me to go out with their friends and I would have to go and ask my husband. Many times he would not agree and we would have a long argument. To avoid this the boys would leave and return through the window. One Saturday night they were coming in late and probably because they were nervous and tired they broke the window. My husband got up and when he discovered what was going on he got his belt to hit the kids. When I tried to stop him I was the one who got stricken across my legs. My sons were very upset and threatened to leave home and take me along if he ever attempted that again. He learned his lesson from this incident and realized how strict he had been. Although he never apologized, communication with him became easier.²⁵

The length of time that the parents took to realize that they were living in a different culture and should act accordingly came into conflict with the rapid semi-acculturation on the part of the children. The lack of adaptation to the new society had two strong consequences: the parents held tightly to values, idealized customs, and the memory of old traditions which during a time span of ten to fifteen years became outdated even in Portugal; they expected the children to respect these values, customs, and traditions and become actively involved in maintaining and perpetuating them (Kovacs, 1980). In their world of isolation they failed to realize that the children were being exposed to new ways, new friends, and new values as a natural way of interaction. They believed, rather, that the Canadian culture was pulling their children away.

The children reacted differently to the problems that they were facing. The majority attempted to be like their peers at school and

then became Portuguese in the evenings and weekends either out of fear or respect of the parents. There were very few cases reported where children rebelled and abandoned the parents and the culture totally as most acquired ideas on how to cope with the demands of both the home and the rest of society.

Expectations Placed on the Children

The first generation parents demanded certain expectations of their children in the 1960s and 1970s that force these to undergo unique experiences as their life unfolded from day to day in Canada exposing them to various sources of learning: the parents, peers, teachers, and the overwhelming images on television and media of the 'perfect Canadian' being the white Anglo-Saxon protestant person. These sources of learning faced by the Portuguese children of the first generation were not always in harmony. The learning that took place both in the home and at school not only lacked harmony, but conflicted as the two types appeared to be in competition with each other.

The children of this period were either born in Canada and raised in Portuguese-speaking homes or emigrated at a young age. In either case they usually entered school without much knowledge of the English language. Those who were born in Canada most likely had parents who already had acquired a few words of English because the low number of Portuguese-speaking people and establishments had forced them to interact with the non-Portuguese speakers. Those who emigrated with

their parents entered school if they were younger than fourteen years of age and immediately became their parents' interpreters and translators. This dependence on the children hindered the parents' language learning and because Portuguese was their only language of communication, the children were expected to speak only Portuguese at home which to a certain extent also hindered the children from acquiring English more quickly.

Since my parents did not acquire the English language as quickly as I did, we always spoke Portuguese at home. I didn't mind this because although I was only eleven years old I could express myself quite well in the language. The continuous practice also improved my language skills and I would frequently be complimented on how well I spoke. This further motivated my eagerness to preserve my language. Within a few months of Basic English I was placed in a Grade seven class. As I grew older I became an interpreter not only for my family but also for other friends. I enjoyed helping people but sometimes due to the few people who could or were willing to interpret I would be called to the police station, to court cases, and to appointments with obstetricians, gynecologists, and other specialists. Being fifteen or sixteen some of these responsibilities were quite demanding and at times I lacked the knowledge of the proper terminology to fully comprehend the situation.²⁶

Children were expected to preserve their heritage language for different reasons. A few parents believed that the language was important for its own sake and valuable to maintain; the majority, however sent their children to Portuguese evening school because of their intent to return to Portugal even though only a few accomplish this aspiration. In the evening school, they obtained a certificate after the successful completion of a written examination acquired from Portugal. Despite the lower percentage of immigrants from the mainland as opposed to the Azores, their children constituted the majority of those enrolled in the evening school. This is explained

by the fact that people from the mainland had usually left some possessions in Portugal and wished to return after a short time.

In conjunction with language, the children were also involved and expected to participate in cultural events. Their social lives centered around the activities of the community as they were not allowed to go elsewhere. Many would acquiesce to the parents' demands with bitterness but most of the children of the first generation showed satisfaction in attending dances, socials, and parties at the Portuguese Association and the other organizations despite their parents' presence. Initially the young men accepted this situation but because they had more freedom they were the first to break away from these types of social gatherings and attend other social events in the Canadian community.

This was just one example of a difference in treatment of the sexes. Females claimed to have been confined to a more isolated lifestyle as opposed to males. They were completely supervised at all times and older brothers were expected to be guardians to their sisters. "Dating" as the traditional North American custom was not approved by the parents as this was unheard of in Portugal. Young couples had to rely on unobtrusive courting at the initial point of their relationship and then always under supervision. Girls would not dare to go for a drive or for coffee with their boyfriends as this type of visibility could lead to an unwanted reputation.

I met my husband when I was fourteen and attending school. We always stayed together at school but I could never see him in the evenings. Our only other opportunity was the dance on Saturday night at the Association. Our parents knew what was going on but would not say much. When

we were older he was allowed to come over to my house and we would sit together watching T.V. with the rest of the family.²⁷

The teenagers of the 1960s had to follow similar courting patterns to those of their parents to reach the wedding day, as parents had not had sufficient time to accept some of North American customs. In the 1970s the young people had slightly more freedom but were still watched carefully by the parents. Their greatest fear was to find their daughters pregnant, although this very rarely occurred. If it did happen it would bring shame to the whole family, and parents would threaten the girls that they would disown them.

The parents loved and valued their children, but they disciplined them very strictly. Many children feared their father's temper and would withdraw information from him to avoid disputes. Despite the many differences between parents and children, the majority cared for their parents and in their own way attempted to deal with the parents' over-protectiveness. Those who worked handed their pay cheques over to the parents for the household expenses. Parents, in turn, provided them with all the living expenses, and if they were financially secure, with some money for extravagances.

In the recent years it appears that parents have adjusted even more and they have also acknowledged the fact that many of their ways were outdated in this society. A further realization occurred with more frequent visits to Portugal and the discovery that there too, the way of life has changed with urbanization, industrialization, accessibility to public education, better communication systems and prosperity. In their first visits, some received a second cultural

shock as they realized that they had fallen behind the social change within their beloved homeland. A few families have attempted to return to reside in Portugal but although they return with a certain financial security, they have for the most part remained manual workers, a type of employment which in Portugal does not bring great opportunities for success. In addition, their children, whose upbringing was in Canada, have difficulties in adapting in a new country, and they tend to encourage parents to return to Canada. The cases in Winnipeg are not sufficient for a full analysis of the reasons for this, but it is also suspected that once they arrive they discover that the idealized village life of their upbringing no longer exists and that the new ways there now are not what they expected. Many return to Canada where their hindrance can be masked by cultural differences.

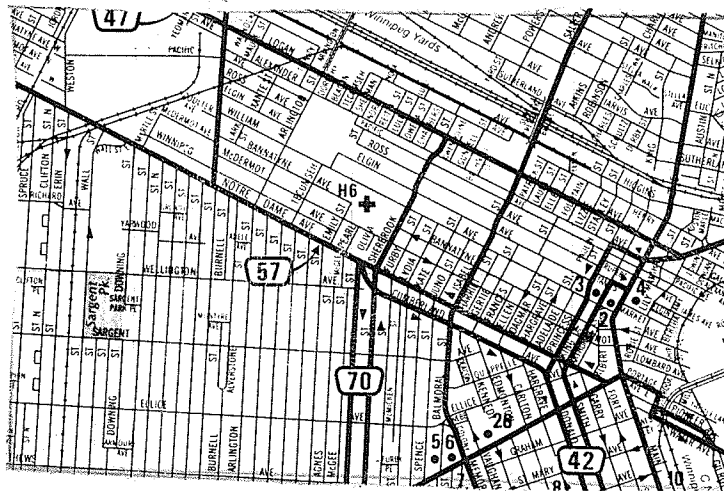
The many influences of time and social change, the pressure exerted by the children, the easier way of life due to more financial security, and the ability to communicate with the larger community have provided many new perspectives. Parents have become more permissive in dealing with their children and more understanding and sympathetic toward the problems of growing up. They have made lasting impressions on their children, so much so that these feel that they are perpetuating their traditional values in a more moderate way on their own children.

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD OF SCHOOL - CANADA

Target Schools

The generally accepted residential boundaries of the initial Portuguese concentration were Logan and Ellice Avenues, running from north to south and Arlington and Ellen Streets, from west to east.



Source: Excerpt from the Winnipeg City Map.

Within this city district there were two senior high schools: Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Institute and Technical Vocational High School; two junior high schools: Hugh John Macdonald and General Wolfe; and seven elementary schools: Victoria-Albert, Pinkham, Dufferin, Somerset, Wellington, John M. King, and Montcalm all under the

jurisdiction of the Winnipeg School Division Number 1.

TABLE XI

Location of Target Schools

<u>Name of the School</u>	<u>Location</u>
Daniel McIntyre	Alverston Street
Technical Vocational	Wall Street
Hugh John Macdonald	Bannatyne Avenue
General Wolfe	Banning Street
Victoria-Albert	Ellen Street
Pinkham	Pacific Avenue
Dufferin	Alexander Avenue
Somerset	Sherbrook Street
Wellington	Beverly Street
John M. King	Agnes Street
Montcalm	Tecumseh Street

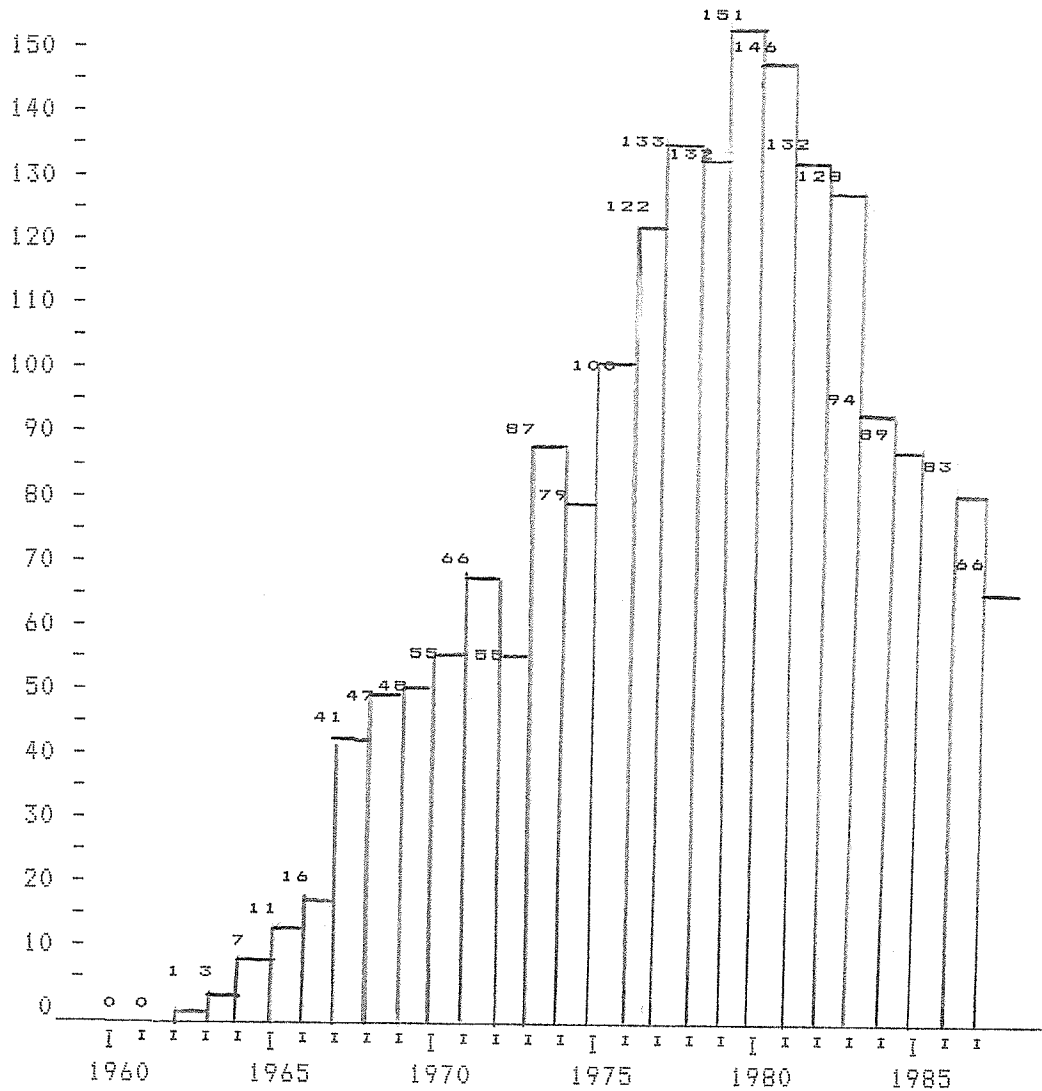
The French immersion school of Sacre Coeur was also located in this area but was operated as a private Catholic parish school. Of these schools, Pinkham at the elementary level, and Hugh John at the junior high level, claimed the highest representation of Portuguese students.

The high enrollment of Portuguese students at Hugh John Macdonald as opposed to General Wolfe (Tables XII and XIII) suggests a high enrollment in its feeder schools of Victoria-Albert, Dufferin, Pinkham, Somerset and Montcalm, and thereby a high concentration of Portuguese residents in the vicinity of Logan, Alexander, Ross, Elgin, William, Bannatyne, and McDermot Avenues, in the earlier stages.

The increase in student enrollment after 1966 coincides with the wave of sponsored relatives who came to Canada and settled in the urban centers with their family members. Winnipeg absorbed most of

TABLE XII

Approximate numbers of Portuguese students
enrolled at Hugh John Macdonald School (1960 - 87).



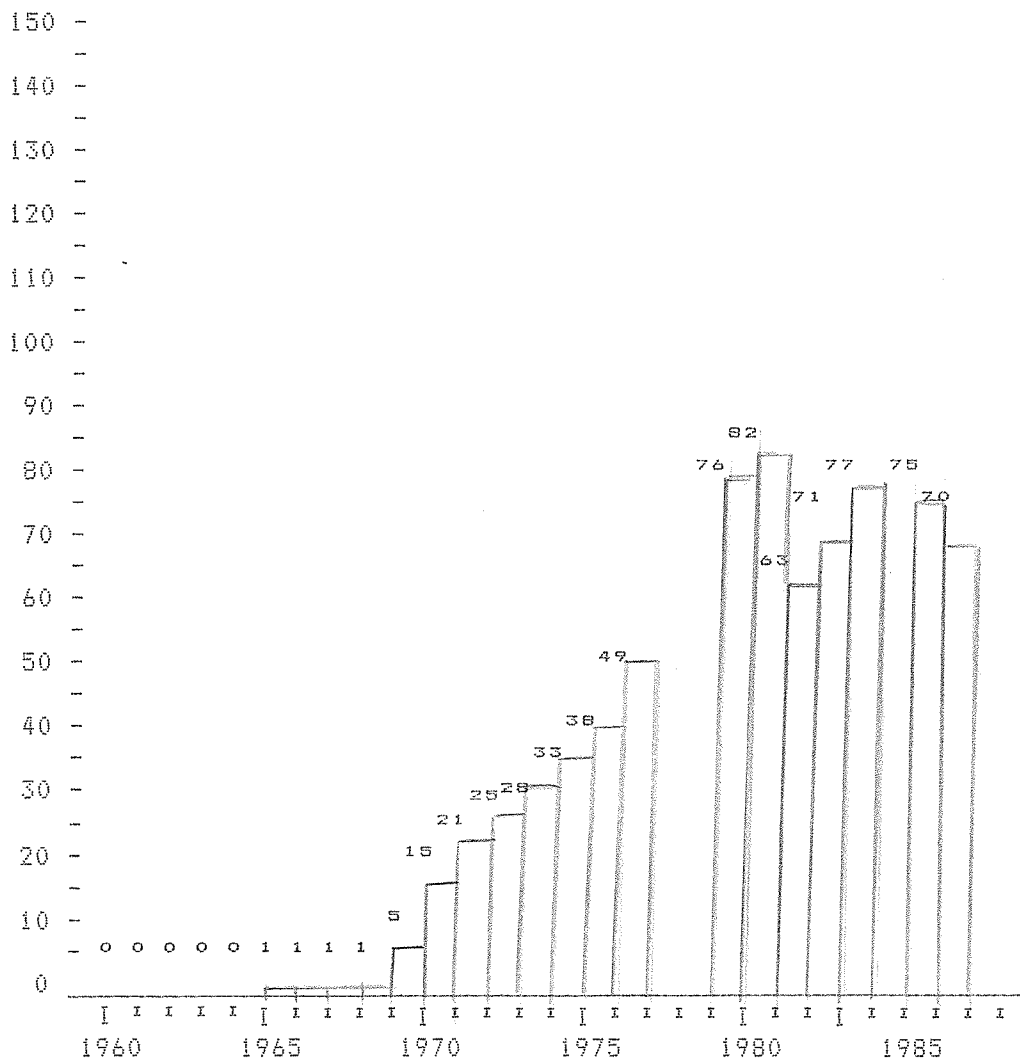
Source: Hugh John Macdonald School Yearbooks. Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1960-1987.

the Portuguese immigrants coming to Manitoba and with this influx followed an enlargement of the original residential boundaries to include a few streets west of Arlington Street. A longtime resident of Lipton Street stated that when he purchased his home in this location there were only two Portuguese families already living there

but that number increased rapidly in the seventies as the continuous waves of newcomers settled in Winnipeg. This increase is reflected not only on the Hugh John Macdonald enrollment which represented the initial reception area but also on the General Wolfe enrollment which

TABLE XIII

Approximate numbers of Portuguese students
enrolled at General Wolfe School (1965-1987)



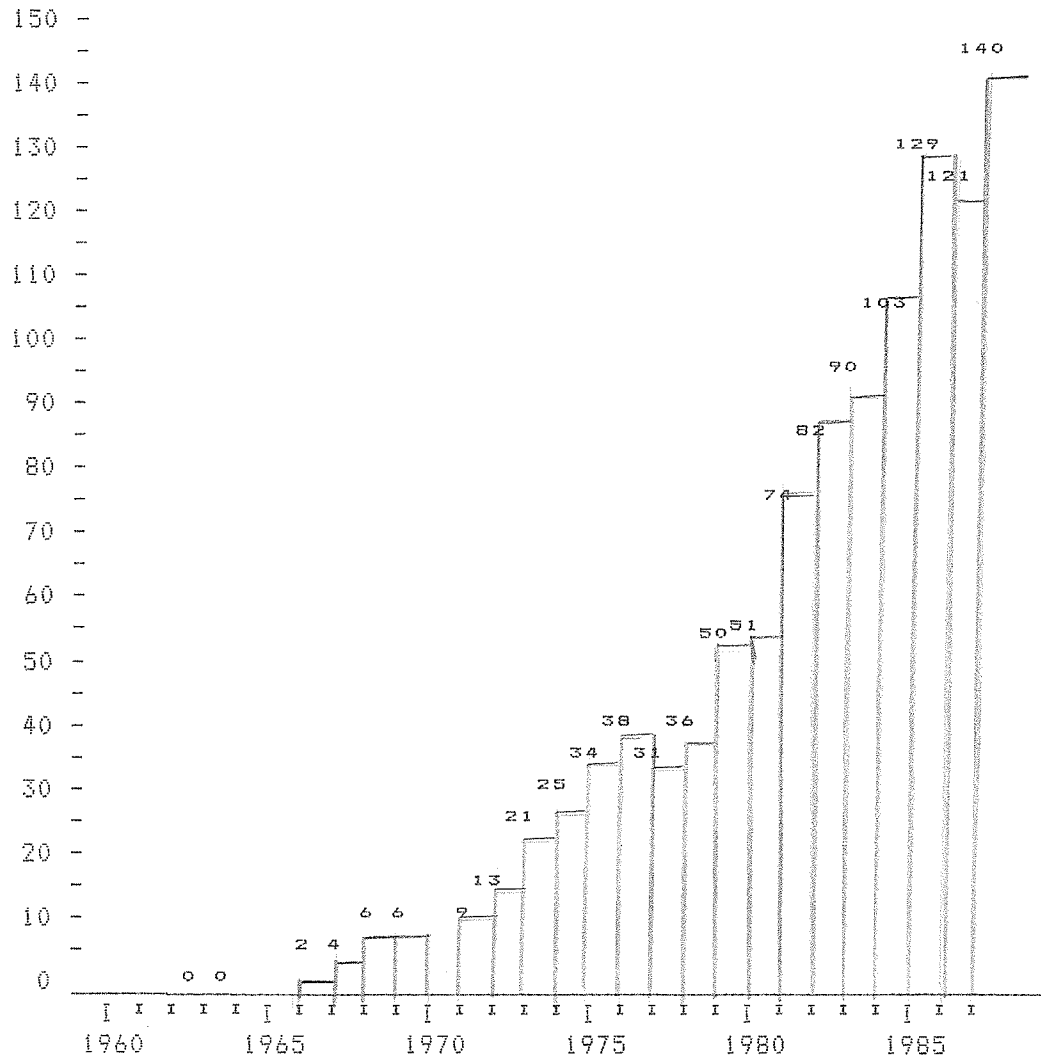
Source: General Wolfe School Yearbooks. Winnipeg, Manitoba.
1965-1987.

increased dramatically in the late seventies.

Table XVI shows a gradual increase of Portuguese students up to the year 1980 in both schools despite the fact that the number of newcomers into the province decreased after 1975. This is

TABLE XIV

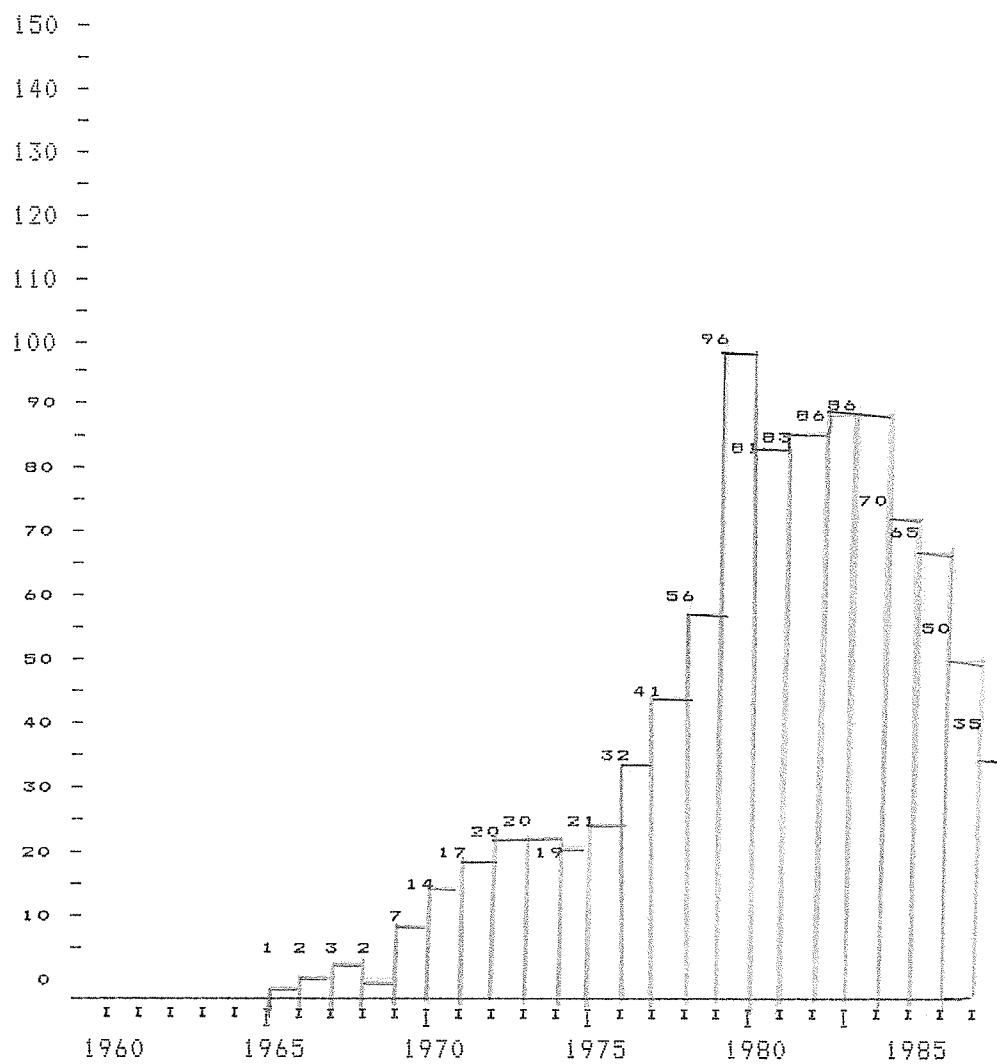
Approximate numbers of Portuguese students
enrolled at Daniel McIntyre Collegiate (1960 - 87).



Source: Daniel McIntyre Collegiate Yearbooks. Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1960-1987.

TABLE XV

Approximate numbers of Portuguese students
enrolled at Technical Vocational High School (1965-1987)



Source: Technical Vocational High School Yearbooks. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1965-1987.

TABLE XVI

Approximate numbers of Portuguese students enrolled at Hugh John Macdonald, General Wolfe, Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, and Technical Vocational High School

School	Hugh John Macdonald	General Wolfe	Daniel McIntyre Collegiate	Technical Vocational High School
1965	11	1	0	1
1966	16	1	2	2
1967	41	1	4	3
1968	47	1	6	2
1969	48	5	6	7
1970	55	15	?	14
1971	66	21	9	17
1972	55	25	13	20
1973	87	28	21	20
1974	79	33	25	19
1975	100	38	34	21
1976	122	49	38	32
1977	133	-	31	41
1978	132	-	36	56
1979	151	76	50	96
1980	146	82	51	81
1981	132	63	74	83
1982	128	71	82	86
1983	94	77	90	86
1984	89	-	103	70
1985	-	75	129	65

Source: Tables XII, XIII, and XIV and XV

TABLE XVII

Enrollment of Portuguese Students (1960-70)

Date	Hugh John Macdonald	General Wolfe	Number of immigrants entering Manitoba
1960	0	0	223
1961	0	0	122
1962	1	0	143
1963	3	0	227
1964	7	0	244
1965	11	1	223
1966	16	1	355
1967	41	1	381
1968	47	1	295
1969	48	5	301
1970	55	15	498

Source: TABLES XII and XIII; Statistics Manitoba.

TABLE XVIII

Enrollment of Portuguese Students (1971-87)

Date	Hugh John Macdonald	General Wolfe	Number of immigrants entering Manitoba
1971	66	21	657
1972	55	25	509
1973	87	28	623
1974	79	33	637
1975	100	38	318
1976	122	49	219
1977	133	-	214
1978	132	-	167
1979	151	76	217
1980	146	82	125
1981	132	63	135
1982	128	71	68
1983	94	77	43
1984	89	-	22
1985	-	75	29
1986	83	70	42
1987	66	-	94

Sources: TABLES XII and XIII; Statistics Manitoba.

explained by the fact that the early seventies represent the natural increase of students coinciding with the increase of newcomers. In the late seventies, however, the continuous increase of students enrolled was no longer associated with the arrival of Portuguese immigrants, but rather with the coming of age of Canadian born children of Portuguese parents. By the early eighties there was a steady decline of Portuguese students in these inner city schools reflecting two major factors. First, many young parents purchased their first home in other city areas and their children attended other elementary schools leaving the feeder schools with lower numbers to send to the junior high grades. Second, the steady movement to the suburbs from the inner-city created high transfer rates throughout the eighties.

This decrease has not yet reached the senior high level, mainly Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, as presented on Table XIX. This anomaly is due to the fact that this senior high school is the only academically oriented institution in this area and although many students left Hugh John and General Wolfe they enrolled at Sargent Park and Isaac Brock which are also feeder schools.

TABLE XIX

Enrollment of Portuguese students at Daniel McIntyre Collegiate and Technical Vocational High School

Date	Approximate enrollment at the two major feeder schools: Hugh John and General Wolfe	Approximate number of Portuguese students enrolled at Daniel McIntyre Collegiate	Approximate number of Portuguese Graduates at Daniel McIntyre Collegiate	Approximate number of Portuguese students enrolled at Technical Vocational High School	Approximate number of Portuguese Graduates at Technical Vocational High School
1964	7	0	0	-	-
1965	12	0	0	1	0
1966	17	2	0	2	1
1967	42	4	0	3	0
1968	48	6	3	2	0
1969	54	6	1	7	0
1970	70	?	?	14	2
1971	87	9	0	17	4
1972	80	13	2	20	5
1973	115	21	6	20	8
1974	112	25	5	19	6
1975	138	34	9	21	4
1976	171	38	7	32	8
1977	133 + ? at GW	31	9	41	9
1978	132 + ? at GW	36	13	56	16
1979	227	50	10	96	20
1980	228	51	14	81	35
1981	195	74	19	83	30
1982	199	82	24	86	22
1983	171	90	29	86	24
1984	89 + ? at GW	103	29	70	24
1985	? at HJ + 75	129	43	65	31
1986	153	121	40	50	16
1987	66 + ? at GW	140	56	35	12

Source: Yearbooks. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1964-1987.

The low numbers enrolled in the sixties support the premise that many of the Portuguese immigrant children joined the work force at an early age, often as early as fourteen years of age. Those who did attend senior high school were generally children who had been in Canada for a number of years and had gone through the Canadian school system. These students who graduated in the sixties usually stopped their education after grade twelve, as this was considered quite a high attainment at the time. This was followed by a trend of graduates in the middle seventies who pursued higher education at either Red River Community College or at both of the universities in Winnipeg and comprise the majority of professionals in the community today. Those who have graduated in the eighties have integrated themselves into the general trend followed by the other Canadians who choose either to further their education or to stop after Grade twelve without what could be considered 'ethnic influences' in their decisions.

The Academic Facet

The target schools of this study were and continue to be under the jurisdiction of the Winnipeg School Division Number 1 with the exception of Somerset and Montcalm which ceased to exist as elementary schools. Thus, all the schools at the three different levels of instruction were embodied by common goals and policies stressing the right of every child to have access to an education regardless of

color, language, or ethnic background. The adoption of the Canadian Policy on Multiculturalism within a bilingual framework in 1971, the fact that children from ethnic minority groups became the majority in some schools, and the pressure from Human Rights groups and other social agencies to ensure equality of education awakened educators to the reality of Canada's multicultural society and thereby to advocating for the preservation of the ethnic groups' cultural heritage, all led schools to undergo modifications to cater to the needs of the students. The Winnipeg School Division Number 1 in recognition of the culturally diverse nature of its schools and community (Melnicer, 1986) adopted a policy on Multiculturalism in 1978 recognizing the fundamental unity of people of all origins.

People are accepted, respected and appreciated for their differences and their cultures. Multicultural education prepares all students with the knowledge and skills to function socially, politically, economically, and to develop a positive self-image and high self-esteem as good citizens with equal rights and privileges in a cultural mosaic (Philosophy of The Winnipeg Division No. 1 Multicultural Policy, 1978).

Similarly, the School Division also saw a need to have newly arrived students master one of the official languages to become functional in society. The concept of having English as a Second Language classes has existed especially in the United States since the 1950s. However, it was only in the mid-sixties that a few of our target schools introduced this program referred to as Basic English classes to meet the needs of the non-English Speaking students. In the seventies the numbers increased rapidly and in 1976 of 305,740 inhabitants in Manitoba between the ages of five and nineteen, thus, eligible to be

in school, 442 of the students were enrolled in the basic program for newcomers and 6,248 were enrolled in the English as a Second Language Program (Heritage Language Programs in Manitoba, 1988).

Many of the Portuguese students did not take advantage of these programs because some came before their implementation and others did not have this option at the school they attended. Still, other children did not benefit from the program because of their particular age. Those who entered elementary school in Kindergarten or Grade One were raised in Portuguese-speaking homes but they had already acquired some English from their friends and from television. Until recently they were seldom placed in English language classes as it was felt that both the Kindergarten and Grade One curricula were geared into language development. Although Toohy (1985) found extensive research that this type of immersion for these young children proved successful as a language learning technique many of the Portuguese children were frustrated and refused to go to school. Parents faced a dilemma because the children were too young to stay home alone and they, themselves, had to go to work in order to survive.

We came in 1969 with two children and we settled in St. Boniface because I spoke French and I had a few friends there. Our oldest boy was eight years old and he was placed in Grade 2. The youngest was six and he was placed in Grade 1. They could not say a word of English and nobody spoke Portuguese at the school. Every morning they both cried, kicked, and screamed because they did not want to go to school. They were totally insecure and nobody knew how to help them. As parents, my wife and I provided them with all the love and support but we could not help them at school. Everyday it tore my heart to leave them in that strange place.²⁸

The situation in the sixties was not clearly defined and

educators were not aware of ways to help these children. They, too, experienced frustration. A teacher who was at Greenway School in 1968 recalls an incident:

A little Portuguese boy was placed in my Grade two class. I could sense his displacement but I could also sense his eagerness to learn. At the time I could not locate any E.S.L. materials. In desperation I began to provide the boy with some material that was used to teach French. We slowly began to make progress.²⁹

In the late sixties the children who enrolled in the target schools of this study, as did the majority, were re-directed to the schools that provided language classes. At the elementary level, children would register at the home school, and they were given bus tickets to go to Dufferin School for a temporary term to acquire English. By 1969 there were two basic English classes at the school with approximately ten Portuguese students enrolled. Through this next few years students would be bussed there, but gradually this situation was somewhat alleviated as other schools implemented the program. Most of the children did not interact with their peers, not even within the class because they could not communicate due to the various language backgrounds, and they knew that they were visitors at the school. Rather, they would group according to language, and that was the extent of their socialization. Despite the perceived isolation by the other students and the staff, most students have very pleasant memories of their Basic English days.

When I came to Canada my aunt took me to John M. King School because it was close to our house. I was there for two days and it felt like my whole life. I was then told to go to Dufferin School to learn English and then I would come back. I spent ten months there and they were the happiest time of my life. There were eight Portuguese students there and we

became really good friends. We helped each other and did a lot of guess work. We did not bother anybody and they did not bother us. At recess time we would all join hands and walk around the playground singing Portuguese songs.³⁰

At the junior high level, Hugh John Macdonald absorbed most of the Portuguese students, but the majority did not attend E.S.L. classes there because they had already acquired some language at the elementary level. Table XX shows a relatively low number in this program in comparison to the total number of Portuguese students enrolled in the school.

TABLE XX

Basic English classes at Hugh John Macdonald

Year	Approximate number of Portuguese students in the school	Number of Portuguese students in the E.S.L. class	Total number of students in the E.S.L. class
65-66	16	3	14
66-67	41	5	9
67-68	47	5	14
70-71	66	7	16
71-72	55	7	15
72-73	87	7	13
74-75	87	10	18
75-76	122	6	14
76-77	133	13	15
78-79	151	4	18
79-80	146	3	31
80-81	132	4	37
82-83	94	2	54
83-84	89	1	-
85-86	86		
86-87	66	3	-

Sources: Yearbooks, Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1965-1987.

Once integrated in regular grades, the students claimed to have had experienced pressure not only from peers but also from the school system. In most cases it took years before they were totally fluent

in the language, but meanwhile they had to compete with the rest of the English-speaking student population on both academic and social terms. Most students claim to have experienced great difficulties in reading and writing in the first few years of school, and with others this problem was prolonged throughout their entire school years. An explanation for this occurrence is the fact that the majority of children arrived in Canada with little or no education from Portugal. The first few years in the Canadian school system were spent in acquiring the language, and many of the essential academic skills were not learned. At home the parents lacked the time, the materials, and the educational skills to assist in the academic demands. Thus, many children began to lose some of their Portuguese as they acquired the English language. The older the children the more acute the problem became, and the initial hindrance of not acquiring the basic skills in either language affected their education in all aspects. At a more moderate level, there still exists some residue of this problem as some research conducted by Clifton (1981) showed that the Portuguese scored low on the test of intellectual ability in comparison to other groups tested. This study involved 359 junior high students from six selected groups: British (78), Canadian Indian (38), Filipino (49), French (45), German (75), and Portuguese (74). The research was conducted in three schools presumably located in the inner-city where both this variety in the ethnic mix and the large numbers in each group predominate. The study attempted to measure the teachers' expectations of their homeroom students and the students' demographic

characteristics, abilities, attitudes, and achievements. The results showed that intellectual ability had the major effect upon academic performance, with ethnicity having the second largest effect. Thus, if students have a low intellectual ability, they will score lower on academic performance. This may augment the problem if the theory that teachers' expectations of students affects their academic achievement. Some research by Finn, 1972, Garner & Bing, 1973, and Rosenthal, 1975 has found that teachers' high expectations enhance the students' achievements while low teacher's expectations inhibit them (Clifton, 1986). Clifton's study further showed that 'teachers' cognitive and normative expectations of their students are based on student's intellectual ability, ethnicity, sex, and academic performance. Considering these findings, the Portuguese students' low attainment in intellectual ability may have affected their academic performance which in turn may have created low teachers' expectations. The expectation that Portuguese students were 'not smart' may have led them to respond accordingly.

The I.Q. tests I received in grade six isolated me at Hugh John from other Portuguese students. I was placed in a 7C1 as opposed to most of the others who were registered in 7C4, 7C5, and 7C6.³¹

(Prior to 1973 Hugh John Macdonald used a system ranging from C1 to C6 - high to low - to place students according to academic ability.)

One possible source of weak performance stems from the fact that the students, although having gone through the school system, were exposed to both broken English and broken Portuguese at home. Most of the parents acquired some broken English which they shared with their

children and simultaneously adopted many English words in their vocabulary that were nonexistent in their Portuguese environment like 'snow', 'store', 'fence', and 'freezer'. Still in other cases, English words have been modified or given Portuguese endings such as *drivar* (to drive), *parcar* (to park), *iarde* (yard), *garbiche* (garbage), *oficio* (office), *a bus* (bus), *tiquete* (ticket), *holideis* (holidays), *machim* (machine), *basemento* (basement). There exists a similarity of words that are usually modified from the predominant language where the Portuguese immigrants are located to Portuguese. For example, in France the Portuguese also refer to office as *birru* (*bureau*), garbage as *puvela* (*puvelle*), holidays as *vacancas* (*vacances*). This leads to the argument that although the correct translation of these words does exist in Portuguese, the words themselves were not part of the daily vocabulary of the immigrants, and therefore, the frequency and immediate necessity to use these words upon arrival in the respective reception country led to the formation of new vocabulary. The children were exposed to this type of language and many firmly believe that it is correct Portuguese.

In the social sphere, the students also experienced pressure. They found themselves in a school milieu where students were given the opportunity to be more independent, but at home they were being overprotected by the parents. At the same time that they were being held back by the parents they also lacked the confidence to participate and compete. Yet, they felt a great need to be an integral part of the school and of the Canadian society. For this they tried to obscure their ethnic background which is usually salient

with the language, physical features, clothing, food, and names. In the case of the Portuguese, they attempted to masquerade their background by changing their names. Thus Jose, Joao, Antonio, Ana and Teresa became Joe, John, Tony, Anna, Theresa respectively. The initial involvement in extra-curricular activities was limited to soccer for boys and to choir for the girls. By the mid-seventies the students already had more interests such as involvement in the school year book, the French verse-speaking competitions, taxidermy and gourmet clubs, and several other sports besides soccer. In the late seventies and throughout the eighties, the Portuguese extended their participation into leadership roles in yearly events, science fairs, and student councils. The majority of the students of the eighties no longer feel ashamed or threatened by being of Portuguese background. They feel secure because they are 'Canadians', they have had equal exposure in the school system as their counterparts, and their parents are no longer perceived as coming from an unknown country that often was confused as being a colony of Spain.

Portugal is no longer a world power but through the years it has acquired an excellent reputation for fine beaches and other tourist attractions. The Portuguese community has also fostered an understanding of the country, its language and culture in a positive way which has encouraged the children to develop high self-esteem and a positive attitude of their ethnic background. This is further supported by the philosophy of multicultural education which has been incorporated in the public schools to the extent of promoting the preservation of individual cultures through the implementation of the

teaching of heritage language programs.

Foreign languages have been taught in Manitoba schools since the 1950s at the junior and senior high levels. A revival interest in language learning led to the introduction of 'language of study' courses at the elementary level in the seventies and to the present heritage language programs in the eighties. Amendments took place in 1980 in the Public Schools Act in its sub-section 79, under 'Languages of Instruction' to allow for the implementation of bilingual programs and in 1981 the Act was expanded under "Languages of Study" to allow for the instruction of heritage languages as a subject during the school day. The seventies fostered a favourable political climate as ethno-cultural groups lobbied the government to commit itself more fully to the policy on Multiculturalism which was 'to grant equality to all citizens and to provide them with equal opportunities without loss of cultural identity' (Heritage Language Programs of Manitoba, 1988). The widely accepted view that language is the vehicle to cultural maintenance led to the policies and practices stipulated in the 1982 Administrative Handbook under "Culture and Language", where it is stated that,

Multicultural education is the process of making education more responsive to the cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes our society. Integral also is the provision of opportunities under the law and through the schools curriculum to provide instruction in both English and French languages, being the official languages recognized under the British North America Act, and in heritage languages, and to provide for the study of second languages by offering language options, in various forms, as part of the school program. (p.2).

TABLE XXI

The teaching of Portuguese in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 -
1982-87

Schools	Grades	Approximate numbers of students enrolled in the program				
		1982/3	1984/5	1985/86	1986/7	1987/8
Victoria-Albert	1-6	65	55	28	23	12
Pinkham	1-6	?	67	?	?	41
Wellington	1-6	87	85	65	54	54
John M. King	1-6	108	77	60	44	43
Greenway	1-6	No program	43	40	30	14
Hugh John	7-9	61	54	56	?	67*
General Wolfe	7-9	28 (Gr.7)	60	59	22	No class
Daniel McIntyre	10-12	No program	39	66	44	37
Tec. Voc.	10-12	No program	30	36	32	28
Total						

* a good percentage of students are not of Portuguese background

Sources: Minutes of the Portuguese Advisory Committee. Manitoba Education. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 1982-1987.

The preliminary work in fulfilling the requirements for the implementation of heritage programs had been done by other ethnic language groups in previous years. In the early eighties the Portuguese saw the opportunity and through the Portuguese Association of Manitoba lobbied for the introduction of the program which was implemented in six public schools of the Winnipeg School Division Number 1, from Grades 1 to 9 in 1982. The program which presently is being taught from Grades 1 to 12 is open to all students, regardless of ethnic background. It has been noticed that although a significant number of non-Portuguese speakers have taken advantage of the program, the majority of the students are of Portuguese background.

The Conflict of Home and School

Kelvin (1970) interprets the phenomenon of socialization as the learning process undergone by each individual in living harmoniously with other society members. Children possess unique ways of learning about the world which enable them to acquire knowledge of their surroundings and the required skills to respond appropriately in their daily interactions. It is also generally accepted and supported by Borrie (1959) and Listwan (1960) that children interact with a new socio-cultural environment at a more rapid rate than adults, as a consequence of their interpretation of the concept of socialization (Kovacs, 1980). Despite this innate facility of adapting to new situations, children face the risk of becoming confused and insecure especially if their established norms come into conflict by the transplantation into a different culture. Some adjust by undergoing a transition from a partial to a total abandonment of the previously acquired roles to the adaptation of the new standards. Others have difficulties in adjusting to the conflicting forces and may exhibit signs of rebellion or delinquency.

Kovacs & Cropley (1975) claim that the antisocial behaviour displayed by children is a result of an 'inadequate or defective socialization'. Inadequacy or defectiveness is often present when minority group children have to sacrifice values from one culture to be accepted by the other. Moreover, they are exposed to two different socializing agencies, these being the home as a representative of parents, relatives, ethnic community, and the ethnic culture and the

school as a representative of the peer group, teachers, television, and sports heroes, and the new community at large. In most cases these influences are conflicting, and leave the children with the option of preserving the parents' conservative and traditional ways or accepting the liberal lifestyle of the wider Canadian society. Children are exposed to extreme pressure to gain acceptance by their circle of friends and the dominant society and as a consequence reject their parents' value system. This situation is often quoted as leaving the children torn between two cultures and questioning their cultural identification.

Nunes (1986) presents four different options available to children in order to deal with this cultural identification dilemma. One possibility they may choose to adopt is the resistance of the pull to acculturate by the dominant society. He notes that this occurrence is rare except in cases where children are not exposed to the mainstream society by adapting a work, home, and family routine. To a certain extent, this happened in Winnipeg in the initial phase of the Portuguese settlement, especially involving the young females who joined the workforce instead of attending school. A second possibility is to preserve a traditional 'outlook on life' even though the culture is not emulated. This appears to be more of a recent phenomenon as people integrate and become accepted into the Canadian society but feel the necessity to identify with their cultural roots. Moreover, many may choose to adopt a high degree of assimilation. This occurred with families who settled in smaller Manitoban communities and were surrounded by Canadian people only. Many

Portuguese customs were lost and the children were not given the opportunity to learn their language. Finally, another possibility which is found to be very common is the indecisive route where they attempt to be Canadian in certain situations and Portuguese in others, thus creating a type of 'bi-culturalism' composed of a Portuguese-Canadian culture that is acceptable to them.

This last possibility requires knowledge, self-confidence, and experience in order to establish a comfortable equilibrium between the two cultures. Many never achieve this state and they live in constant conflict as they attempt to play the roles of ethnics or Canadians at the appropriate time. Bulger (1987:20) claims that "the cultural duality lived by the second generation is a motive of anxiety and even psychologic disequilibrium." Unlike their parents who were mostly preoccupied with establishing economic security, the second generation, Canadian-born or arrivals at a tender age, face the challenge of surviving in a pluralistic society. Simultaneously, as Bulger points out, they still see themselves as heirs of a culture which has become their responsibility to transmit and perpetuate. This augments the difficulty in reaffirming their full Canadian citizenship as many of the new liberal traditions contradict those previously acquired.

The school, generally accepted as being a systematic agency that transmits culture from one generation to another, should play an important role in assisting these minority group children achieve the equilibrium required to function comfortably in their two realistic cultural spheres. Prior to the adoption of the Policy of

Multiculturalism, the schools only promoted the English language and the British version of history. This can be regarded as a threat to the student's language and culture and also a subversion of their ethnic values. This was the ambiance that predominated when the first Portuguese students enrolled in schools in the sixties. Eager to learn, they brought to school their greatest strength which was their language and culture. They quickly sensed that the majority of Canadians were ignorant about their ways, their language, and even the location and conditions of their country. The discovery that the school and teachers considered the ethnic origin important usually leads to pride, and subsequently, a development of a positive self-concept; a learner who has high self-esteem is the best candidate for learning. On the other hand, if the home culture is ignored in school, as was the case, the children tend to develop a sense of rejection and view themselves as different and not worthy. They may be harassed by peers, which leads to a further increase in alienation. Their frustration may eventually lead them to reject their ethnic roots, adapt other games, and even invent fictitious Canadian ancestors. The Portuguese children of the sixties and early seventies used the newly acquired knowledge of English, language being their major cultural delineator, to obscure their ethnicity. Sensing the differences between the home and the school, they tended to become 'Canadian' in many external ways such as participating in Canadian sports, accepting Canadian food, and anglicizing their names.

Although this masquerade on the part of the students may have alleviated some pressure at school, it increased the tension at home.

The more integration or assimilation undertaken by students, the greater the fear held by the parents in losing their children to a 'foreign way' of living. Moreover, the parents' lack of growth both in the English language and in acculturation and the minimum attempts of the school to reach the parents further increased the gap of the cultural environment of home and school. The attempts to contact parents in a traditional way were unsuccessful because parents were not accustomed to receiving notes from school and often misunderstood or ignored them. Visiting the school had also not been part of the parents' responsibility; these institutions were feared and considered too sophisticated or unfamiliar places with different ways of functioning. As a last option schools often used the children to interpret and translate. In this case the children translated using their own version and selecting the message that was most advantageous to themselves.

This mismatch between the worlds of home and school accounts for much of the difficulty experienced by children from language minority groups as supported by Jordan, (1984), and Trueba, Guthrie & Au, (1981). Many children have been forced to live double lives because everything valued by the home was feared, misunderstood, ridiculed, and undermined. Ovando (1985) claims that this 'ethnic guilt' can be self-destructive and it has stunted the personal growth and the social contribution of many individuals as they felt alone in coping with the battle. Very seldom would they seek help from their parents who appeared not to understand their children's problems. This sense of isolation in moments of crisis contributed to the distance between

children and parents. Nevertheless, in Winnipeg, the majority were able to accomplish a 'synthesis' between both cultures and even come to appreciate the Portuguese culture in a more positive way. Many who had attempted to assimilate into the Canadian society by neglecting the Portuguese roots found it awkward and unfulfilling and are beginning to take interest in the Portuguese culture.

I no longer pretend to be one or the other. Instead, I select the best from both systems and I try to use them to my advantage.³²

The latter part of the seventies has witnessed an increasing movement on multicultural education and other issues. The target schools were the first in the Division to take some implementing steps in this direction by hiring Portuguese teacher-aides, involving parents in school, acquiring Portuguese books for their libraries, promoting the Portuguese culture in multicultural school events and in the recent years introducing the Portuguese language as a language of study. Although these could be considered superficial attempts, they have alleviated many painful experiences both for children and for parents. The fact that many teachers perceive the South-East Asian students as having a gradual but successful integration in the Canadian society despite their traumatic experiences in refugee camps and boat trips is presumably due to the atmosphere created in E.S.L. reception classes and in most receiving schools where teachers attempt to be familiar with the children's cultural background. Ovando (1985) claims that the perception they received from the established citizens has a great impact on the newcomers.

It is, however, difficult to estimate how much of the well-being

of today's immigrant students is due to a change in the cultural tolerance of the general society. There are many factors involved which encompass the fact that the few Portuguese newcomers of the eighties acculturate more rapidly, are well informed about Canadian lifestyles, and do not experience the same hardships as the previous ones. Simultaneously, they also benefit from the many changes adopted in the last ten to twelve years with the implementation of the Policy on Multiculturalism, the increase in funding for English as a Second Language classes, and teacher training. Still, the students sense their uprootedness and transplantation into an incomprehensible environment as expressed by an ESL student attending "Hugh John Macdonald School ESL III" in Common Threads:

I am Portuguese. Listen to me!
 All of lost Portugal is in my heart.
 Cities of people, fields of grapes.
 The ships with fish on the beaches.
 The people swimming.
 The rain tapping on the side windows.
 The flowers opening with a beautiful smell.
 The people walking in the green parks.
 The cows eating the fresh, green grass.
 The birds singing in the trees.
 And on Sunday,
 The people walking to church.
 Now, I am in Canada. It's snowing.
 When I came to Canada
 I remembered my friends in Portugal.
 I lost my country, my friends
 Because my family moved to Canada.
 But, now we are together.
 We are very happy.
 It is good for a family to be together,
 To talk to each other
 No more telephones, no letters.
 When I was in Portugal,
 My sisters sent letters
 And with each letter, my Mother cried.
 She wanted to be with her daughter and sons.
 Understand me!

CHAPTER VI

PERSPECTIVES

Student Life

The life of the Portuguese students in Winnipeg can be analysed more effectively if correlated to the three common administrative divisions of the academic stages of the child: elementary, junior high, and senior high levels. At each of these stages the experiences differ as they correspond to both the maturation of the student and the continuous growth of the community. Thus, the period of arrival or time of birth in Canada was a strong influential factor on the general experiences of the children throughout their student life.

The children who arrived at a young age and enrolled in elementary school were not very sensitive to the outside environment. Their lack of knowledge about complex issues of ethnicity and cultural transplantation allowed them to flourish in their ego-centric world, and they experienced the greatest personal fulfillment. The interviews indicated that their young and unexperienced minds could not yet identify clearly the conflicts which were beginning to surface in their lives as minority children. The love and obedience for the family which had been engraved since birth appeared to be the dominant force to combat the new norms and standards of school. They were aided in this respect by the parents who gave them little opportunity

after school to be exposed to mainstream Canadian society as necessity overloaded their schedules with babysitting younger siblings, assisting with household duties, and attending Portuguese evening classes when these were introduced in the early seventies. At this developmental stage the children tended to accept the parents' influence more readily as they found more security in the home than in the unfamiliar environment of school, which to the majority was no more than a five and a half hour drop-in instructional center. Their initial insecurity of being in a different place as well as the difficulty in effective communication reinforced by the parents' ignorance about the school system and its functions prohibited the children from participating in extra-curricular activities such as school sports, swimming lessons, camping, and other field trips.

As the students grew older and began to perceive that they were being limited in their capacities to integrate and participate fully in school life, they began to take advantage of their newly acquired language and general knowledge to deceive their parents in order to achieve their goals.

In grades five and six I became a super good liar. Most of the time when I took permission slips home I would lie about their purpose. If my lies were so logical that became somewhat questionable my parents would not sign the papers. In these cases I came back to school with another lie to justify the reason for not joining the rest of the class.³³

As the number of rejections on the part of parents increased, so did the resentment towards parents on the part of children. In spite of their feelings towards their parents, they would not usually defame them publicly to their teachers and their peers. In groups of

Portuguese friends, however, they would often lament the fact of their restrictions and would many times plan strategies to continue deceiving their parents as a group.

Most of the interviewees indicated that academically they were weak to average students because they had to acquire the English language, meet the regular curricular standards, and preserve the Portuguese language. Some commented on the difficulty they experienced in reading and writing and how this factor influenced the rest of the subject areas.

My major problem was reading and writing. I learned to speak very quickly and my pronunciation was fairly good. In class, I was very timid and I always got stomach cramps when I thought that the teacher would ask me to read aloud.³⁴

In the sixties, the students report receiving little or no resource nor individual instruction to assist them in the language acquisition process. Most were placed in regular classes and expected to acquire the language in this type of submersion environment. Studies conducted in French immersion programs support and promote this approach to language acquisition for English speaking children. In these cases, however, students already speak one official language and the parents perceive these programs as an enrichment to their children's education. Moreover, regular evaluative supervision of students identifies those who may be encountering difficulties, who are then withdrawn if unable to cope. In the case of the Portuguese students, they did not speak an official language, and learning English was not an enrichment to their education but a necessity to survive. The home support was also usually non-existent in this case

as parents did not possess the skills nor the knowledge to interact. Furthermore, unlike the French immersion counterpart, the Portuguese were not monitored regularly and identified for extra assistance if required. As a result, students acquired the oral language but missed many of the reading and writing skills crucial for success in school. Consequently, this perception of academic inferiority and lack of awareness of the school system highlighted their shyness and their unwillingness to participate.

Many times I would know the answer but I wouldn't dare raise my hand because I was afraid to make mistakes and have the other students laugh at me.³⁵

This fear of being called in front of the class to read or participate orally in discussions haunted most of the students on a daily basis to the extent of spending most of their energies attempting to appear distracted by fidgeting around their desks instead of dedicating full concentration on the lesson. The teachers in the sixties lacked the necessary training to deal with immigrant students and although they cared for them they were often insensitive to their unique needs.

I often wonder how accurately records were kept of students. In my case, it appeared that I did not have a student file or the teachers did not care enough to read through it. I enrolled at Somerset School and I was placed in Grade five which I believe corresponded with my age. The school closed shortly after my arrival and I was transferred to Wellington. After spending some time there, the teacher discovered that I could not cope with the Grade five program and brought me to the principal to make arrangements for my temporary placement in a Basic English class at Dufferin. Months later we moved out of the area to go and live with some relatives and when I registered at Margaret Scott, I was placed in Grade Four.³⁶

Several comments made by students stress the insecurity and inexperience of educators in dealing and placing students

appropriately. At the time there were no established criteria and most schools operated on what was more convenient.

I completed Grade five prior to coming to Canada in 1968. My uncle, who sponsored us, lived outside of what is designated as the inner-city. I was registered at a school near his residence and I was placed in a Grade two class because there was a little girl who had learned a few words of Portuguese at home. As much as I try to understand the reasoning behind that placement I feel it was a poor educational choice. Grade five in a Portuguese private school had prepared me with high academic standards and some knowledge of French which contrasted drastically with the expectations of that Grade two class. There, the children would spend a large part of the morning practicing the printing of upper case capital letters on that elementary lined brown printing paper which I recall vividly.

A few days in tears led to some action on the part of the administration. Considering the fact that I exceeded Grade seven standards in French and Math I was transferred to a junior high school where I could communicate with the teacher in French. For two months I was a passive learner as I sat through classes attempting to guess the topic of the day. Two months later we moved to Tecumseh Street and we were informed of the location of the nearest Junior High school. A friend of the family went with me to register at Hugh John but we were told that I was not of Junior High age and had to register at Montcalm School. A few days later, I was sent to Dufferin to acquire the English language and six months later I was back at Montcalm and successfully completed Grade six in the last two or three months of school.³⁷

The educational accounts of this student represent the frustration experienced by many children in their initial encounters with Winnipeg schools. Yet, parents and children calmly accepted this type of educational abuse as they did not know the answers themselves.

Two observed exceptions to this general trend in the elementary schools involved the Canadian-born children and those who immigrated in the late seventies and throughout the eighties. The students who were born in Canada in the sixties reported slightly different

experiences in schools which can be partially justified by the home environment. The parents of these children had been in Canada for at least six years and had acquired some communication skills in English in order to survive. They were better informed about school expectations and had the facility of contacting the schools for further clarifications. This led to more leniency on their restrictions and more opportunities for the children to integrate in school life. At the junior high level, however, many parents retrieved their newly acquired liberal ways as the number of Portuguese immigrants increased and pressured them to follow the traditional expectations in order to protect their children's reputation. These children formed a class of their own. They were Canadian and initially appeared to gain all the advantages of being so. However, they were raised by Portuguese parents and consequently perceived to be Portuguese. In school they tended to interact with their other Canadian friends because they did not feel welcomed in the Portuguese immigrant groups. These had a tendency to ostracize the Canadian born because they felt that the label of being 'Canadian' made them different, snobby, and superior.

The other exception concerned immigrants of the late seventies. Both these children and the parents were better informed about Canadian life. Moreover, the educational system in Portugal also evolved and attempted to parallel North American standards which facilitated the transaction from a Portuguese to a Canadian school at any level. Although many immigrants of this period were refugees from the former colonies of Mozambique and Angola, their economic needs

were not as great as those of the majority of the previous immigrants and the educational expectations of their children were much higher. This situation led to almost an immediate parent-involvement in schools.

The junior high level appeared to have the greatest negative impact on children and offered the most traumatic experiences. The communication with parents decreased or almost ceased in some cases. Children often responded to parents in short answers not inviting replies and signifying resentment, something that is totally uncommon with children from the same age group in Portugal. In an attempt to hold tighter to their children, parents became more strict, over-protective, and often unreasonable which further damaged the child-parent relationship.

It wasn't easy to be a parent back then. Children never appreciated our efforts. We sweated day and night to have a roof over their heads and food on the table and all they ever talked about was that we didn't let them do what their friends were doing. I told them that school was to work so they could get somewhere besides working with me pouring cement under the burning sun. I went to school for four years and by the age of twelve I was working beside my father tilling the soil in the fields. I always told them that if school was for fun and games I would pull them out and make them work.³⁰

The channels of communication at this level were almost closed. Parents failed to realize that their children were part of a different school system, a different society, even a different generation. Children were intimidated by the parents' strong authority, their lack of understanding, and they resented strongly all their restrictions. In their unique situation of insecurity in tentative grounds, their frustrations in dealing with issues they did not understand, and their

notion of helplessness, the junior high children had to cope with student life in all the academic and social content that it entails. The increase in educational demands at this level and the modifications in the grading system from the elementary standards to letter grades or percentages quickly identified the weak and the strong students. The strong students excelled in almost all subject areas as well as other extra-curricular activities, and many of the weaker students withdrew from school even before completing Grade nine. This was also the case with many other students who had to terminate their studies due to economic reasons.

I got special permission from the principal to leave school before reaching the age of sixteen because my father passed away and, being the oldest of three children, I had to help my mom. It was difficult to leave school and go to work at such tender age.³⁹

Many young males would also choose employment over school guided by their desire to own a car to show off to their friends.

The young people who joined the workforce, especially the females, were not often exposed to outside influences as they worked with older people. Those who remained in school, however, were under greater peer pressure to assimilate which led to serious confrontations with parents who wanted to control everything about their lives from accepted hairdos to the selection of friends.

We were all alone in fighting the battle and it did not matter where we turned we always lost. If we followed our parents' views we were told over and over again by our friends about the old fashion ways followed by our parents. If we joined our Canadian friends, it would create chaos at home.⁴⁰

Although the academic difficulties did not surface as readily in

senior high due to the high interest and motivation of those students who chose to continue, the social problems increased as more situations calling for the student's individuality persisted. Students, to a greater extent the females, were restricted from participating in almost all social events including such major functions as graduation. The limitation in social interactions at school fostered and strengthened circles of Portuguese friends with whom they could identify. As a group they generated support to face their parents in issues of conflict and in discovering ways to please their parents and simultaneously to please themselves.

Home and School influences

It has been stressed in the previous chapters that the Portuguese child was exposed to two culturally and linguistically different environments. Due to the lack of a good measuring device it would be inaccurate to conclude that one exerted more influence than the other. Thus, an analysis of the several factors involved in determining the intensity of influence by the home and by the school will be discussed in order to provide general information on how these affected the individuals differently. In accordance with the generally accepted concept that culture embodies language, customs, values, and traditions (Levitas, 1967), the following discussion will focus on the pressure exerted by each of the above.

Language is the primary vehicle for the transmission of culture. In effect, one could say that "a culture without language is mute"

(Heritage Language Programs in Manitoba, 1988) because when a language ceases to exist the culture has little possibility of survival. Within the Portuguese community, the language played a major role in promoting and preserving the Portuguese culture. Children have been exposed to it through interaction within the family, through evening school classes, through religious services as well as Sunday school, and through various cultural activities. In spite of the many diversified ways to transmit the language to the second generation, many children of the Portuguese pioneers do not consider themselves fluent in Portuguese and blame this great handicap on the few opportunities to use the language, on their Canadian birth, or on their tender age when they arrived in Canada. In essence the degree of loss of the language is also based on other sources such as the educational attainment of the parents, the value placed on the heritage language by the home, and the parents' own intentions of whether to remain in Canada or to return to Portugal. In reference to this last consequence, it has been observed that those people from mainland Portugal held stronger intentions of returning home than those from the Azores, and consequently, placed a higher value on the preservation of the language.

In general, the children of Portuguese parents in the sixties and early seventies were exposed to both non-standard Portuguese and broken English at home. As parents began to acquire isolated English vocabulary, they began to absorb it into the Portuguese language, thus creating new Portuguese-anglicized words, and adopting mispronounced English terms. The children continuously reinforced this pattern by

speaking English to the parents and allowing them the opportunity to acquire more English terminology. The parents, in turn, continued to complain about their children's gradual loss of the mother-tongue, and many attempted to enforce the rule to speak only Portuguese at home. Many children did attempt to speak the language at home and substituted with English terminology whatever did not come spontaneously in Portuguese. Unfortunately, the low value placed on the home language which was often associated with parental values, old customs, and a poor country did not foster a desire to upgrade the language.

In some cases when I was asked to translate letters to the parents related to school activities I often did not know if I should use the Portuguese or the "anglacidized" words. I wanted to use proper Portuguese but I feared that parents would not understand the content. Many times I would translate the letters correctly with some of the English words in parenthesis.⁴¹

There are many exceptions to this trend as many children were exposed to proper Portuguese at home and parents were conscientious and well aware of English interferences. They encouraged the children to use and to value the language, and later to become its active promoters. To a certain extent, these parents have had an impact on the visible eagerness present in today's youth to maintain and upgrade the Portuguese language. Many youngsters become involved in community organizations, take university Portuguese-language courses, visit Portugal on a frequent basis, and go on student exchange programs. This high interest may be also due to the higher status that the community itself has attained and to the availability of employment in the city requiring communication skills in Portuguese.

When I was growing up I was more preoccupied with speaking English than Portuguese. I only spoke Portuguese to my parents and that was only until they began to understand English. Even then if they spoke in Portuguese I would almost always answer in English. Now I am a hairdresser and many of my clients require that I use Portuguese. Naturally this made me learn more about the language and now I am really interested in visiting Portugal to learn more about my place of birth.⁴²

Moreover, Portugal's improved standard in the eyes of the world has given the language more prestige and the frequent visits by the immigrants to Portugal have increased the country's popularity. In the sixties and early seventies, the visits to Portugal were rare and the immigrants retained a picture of the stagnant country they had left. As the visits became more frequent the immigrants began to realize that the country had evolved with the times and could now be paralleled to North America in many ways. This increase in prestige can be directly linked to the high interest in the language. Finally, another important contributor to this attitude is the general acceptance of Canada as a multicultural society. The Portuguese Canadians no longer feel foreigners in this country because they have realized that Canada is the coming together of many cultures and many peoples. Now, as opposed to twenty years ago, one is almost expected to speak a second language and identify himself with a certain ethnic culture. Events such as Winnipeg's Folklorama, a city-wide festival of nations held in August, and other multicultural celebrations in the schools are promoters of this image. Although these events are at times criticized as being superficial ways of promoting a culture, realistically they alert the general public to Canada's reality as a

bilingual, multicultural society. Moreover, the introduction of heritage languages in some of the school divisions as an integral part of the regular school day was further evidence demonstrating the importance in preserving one's home language.

Children feel more comfortable in speaking Portuguese today than when I went to school years ago. I would only speak in Portuguese when I was sure that there was nobody listening. Today, the children and the young people speak freely of their culture.⁴³

As a consequence of the total or partial influence of these factors many Portuguese speakers who claimed to have lost their fluency in the language have taken the initiative to improve their communication skills through greater community involvement and university courses and share these with their own children. In the case of intermarriages, some individuals withdrew totally from the community and eliminated the opportunities to be exposed to the language. Others encouraged their spouses to acquire the language and familiarize themselves with the culture.

In addition to the language, customs and traditions are also key factors in preserving a culture. In this area, the family has been the strongest force in imposing lasting cultural values. Young Portuguese adults believe that they have been strongly influenced by their families to the extent that they will conduct their own family life with similar standards. The majority add that they will be more lenient towards their children and will attempt to establish healthy relationships with them. In their responses there was no hesitation in claiming their alliance to the home values but few could elaborate or distinguish which ones were a product of the home or which ones

were absorbed from Canadian society. Religion, however, was an exception and it was often associated with the culture. This link is a product of the fact that the Roman Catholic religion has been an integral component of Portuguese life. It is often interwoven with the social life, especially in rural areas where a distinct line between the sacred and the profane would be difficult to draw. Confraternity events and religious ceremonies in honor of patron saints are followed by social days incorporating fairs, music, folklore, and picnics.

In Winnipeg the socio-religious traditions have been reduced to one major religious day in honor of our Lady of Fatima and a few organizations initiated and organized by people from the Azores. The transplantation of festivities in honor of town patron saints was not feasible in a community composed of people from the different regions of Portugal. In spite of this loss, parents reinforced and imposed their moral values on their children, and these children have become adults and undertaken leadership roles in the church and its organizations. The exposure to the diverse religions in Canada had no effect on the parents or the children who continued to attend the Roman Catholic services most frequently in the Portuguese language. The Sunday School students of the sixties and the seventies are the teachers of today, which demonstrates that they have perpetuated their devotion. A very insignificant number has found greater fulfillment in other religions in the very recent years, but if the observed trend in the last thirty years persists, the Roman Catholic religion will continue to predominate and guide the moral lives of the Portuguese in

Winnipeg. A ten year old boy summed the feelings of the majority when he claimed: "I was born as a Catholic, and I will die as a Catholic".⁴⁴

The customs and traditions in the cultural sphere promoted through activities have also had an impact. The community has been, since its origin, a constant reminder of Portugal. The local businesses supplied imported food, culinary necessities, newspapers, magazines, and other items in demand. The organizations promoted the arts through music, folklore, and sports. In the attempt to maintain Portuguese customs and traditions, the cultural organizations have preserved and promoted many ways that even in Portugal are not generally practised or no longer appreciated. This success is due to the high level of involvement of the youth as they prepare themselves to become the central force for the next generation.

In summary, the home culture represented through the language, religion, customs, and traditions has deeply influenced the children of the sixties and seventies who are the young parents and leaders of today. School and the larger community appear to have had only a superficial impact. Through school, they acquired the language which fostered the understanding of another world, another culture. Similarly, through school they acquired the skills to gain employment opportunities or pursue higher education in professional fields. Through this interaction they came in contact with different people, norms, and standards which interfered and gradually modified their views. However, the majority of the interviewees claim that although there were changes which normally occur as a consequence of

interaction and socialization, a few hours on the job did not affect their values to any great extent. These findings are in accordance with Marques and Medeiros (1978) who concluded that the Portuguese have not been greatly influenced by mainstream Canadian values.

The General Development of the Student

The target group of this study attended school in the sixties and seventies and they are now young adults, many of whom are already parents themselves. As children of the first generation in Canada, they experienced the forces of their two cultural worlds. They not only faced the challenges of the conflicting environments but they also benefited from the exposure of the cultural duality. In total, their unique experiences influenced their general development educationally, economically, and socio-culturally.

These individuals now ranging from twenty to forty years of age have surpassed their parents' educational attainments. Being born in Canada or arriving at a young age, they had the advantage of attending school and gaining access to wider employment opportunities such as real estate, driver education, secretarial work and banking as opposed to joining the construction and garment industries. The increase in the number of immigrants, the stabilization in lifestyle of the pioneers, and the financial accomplishments of the families resulted in placing greater importance in education, which by the mid-seventies encouraged some students to enter university. The percentage of graduates continuing higher education has, until recently, remained

low in comparison to the total number of Portuguese students. This observation is further in evidence by the few Portuguese-speaking professionals in the city.

The gradual increase in educational attainments of the target group influenced their economic standards. Like their parents, they operate on a savings oriented mentality which to a certain extent amass material possessions. The parents who had limited education and little knowledge of the language were able to accumulate wealth and live comfortably. The children hold higher educational standards and are fluent in the language but they also hold a more bounteous outlook in life which contrasts with the motivation, dedication, and limited social lives of the parents and consequently disperses some financial acquisitions as the children have gone beyond the family circle and the worries of survival. Nevertheless, they practise skills of good financial management acquired from the home which serve as guidelines in successful lifestyles.

My parents taught me how to use money efficiently. At home we ate well and dressed well but money was never spent on unnecessary things. My parents would only buy things when they had cash ready to use. I have learned from them not to waste money but I have changed in many ways. I use a cheque book and credit cards which they never approved. I also have no reservations about getting a bank loan to buy whatever is necessary.⁴⁵

As adults, the children of the sixties and seventies are no longer under the authoritative pressure of their parents. However, the values and the customs they acquired from home continue to be the inspiration in their lives. They have changed as a result of the socialization with the larger community, but the cultural values

implanted in them are stronger than any outside influence. These values which they attempted to reject in their childhood because they created conflicts in their lives are now influential forces in their decision making.

Being a Portuguese Canadian has been a constant challenge. It has influenced my way of thinking and my subsequent actions as I find it very difficult to reach certain decisions, especially if these contradict the teachings of home. Although I am a Canadian in all aspects, and almost totally withdrawn from the community, I often wrestle with certain values which, at times, I would not like to possess but that are deeply rooted in my value system.⁴⁶

Although the majority of individuals are not as analytical as this twenty-five year old person, many cultural values interfere with or influence decisions and actions encountered by immigrants. This is because the differences they perceived between the two cultural worlds during childhood continue to exist: as children, they faced the dilemma of the contrasts between the school and the home; as adults, they face the dilemma of the contrasts between the larger society and their consciences.

This preoccupation, however, does not appear to affect the majority of the individuals who are still undergoing a superficial integration. They have engaged in a life style that fosters economic accomplishments but obscures definite expectations for their own personal growth. Their employment positions present little possibility for upward movement but the perpetual habituation satisfies them as it provides economic security for a gradual acquisition of material possessions. Their socio-cultural life is based on a partly Portuguese, partly Canadian lifestyle with stronger

influences from the Portuguese as they appear to function comfortably in the Portuguese milieu in Winnipeg. They, however, also adopted more diverse ways in their social lives than their parents and possess a more open liberal view on allotting finances for leisure activities. Some who are fortunate to find themselves in employment situations where upward movement is encouraged through job training, accept cautiously and gradually, but at times become frustrated upon the realization that their academic achievements are not sufficient to meet the demands beyond a certain point.

I have worked with different business firms since I left school in grade ten. I enjoy reading and I update my knowledge of the subject involved. Several times I have been placed in positions of higher responsibility and in most cases I have had to resign. I personally felt incompetent to deal with the new challenges. I would need to go back to school and upgrade my writing skills but I have a family who depends on me.⁴⁷

In similar situations, a small percentage has succeeded in acquiring higher positions through on-the-job training and extra courses. Still others have established private businesses or pursued studies in higher education. Those who experience the world of competition to a greater degree encounter greater pressure to acculturate as the nature of their involvement with the community at large becomes both more frequent and intense. These successful candidates are affected in two major ways: some begin a gradual withdrawal from the Portuguese community in their attempt to pursue successful acculturation; others establish a bicultural comfort level that benefits both environments. The former group believes that continuing in the Portuguese community limits their opportunities of integration in the larger Canadian

Society. Although they faithfully claim their alliance to the culture and their background which at times is conspicuous through names or physical features, they maintain a passive pride as if they believed that any action would tamper and destroy their newly acquired status in the larger community. These are often viewed by the ethnic community as being ashamed of their ethnicity or incapable of dealing with both cultures overtly. The latter group has come close to establishing an equilibrium between the two cultures. Their belief that withdrawing from the community would consequently promote more losses than gains allows them to deal effectively with both cultures without allowing one to interfere with the other. In fact, many of these individuals through their cultural and social involvement at the local level have gained experiences and leadership roles that have prepared them to pursue other challenges outside the community. The danger these individuals may experience and the one most often criticized by those who choose to decrease or cease contact with the community is the possibility of locking themselves in an attained status within the Portuguese community and not being able to transfer or apply the same skills into other areas. Some individuals in this category function extremely well in community roles but by choice or by lack of confidence do not grow beyond this enclosed boundary of the community. Individuals in all categories, integrated in one culture or the other, are not fully functional when placed in a total Portuguese environment as in Portugal. The adjustment for those who have experienced it has been difficult and full of challenges as expressed by a young woman who returned to Portugal.

I was young when I emigrated to Canada but I visited Portugal frequently, attended evening Portuguese school in Winnipeg, and participated actively in the community. I sincerely believed that I was Portuguese and would not find any difficulties in residing in Portugal, my place of birth.

In reality, I received a cultural shock when I began to establish myself in Portugal: the country which was to be my home remained a strange place for the longest time; I was not as fluent in Portuguese as I had been led to believe in the Portuguese community in Winnipeg and this affected my school grades; it took a few years before I adjusted to the lifestyle which I had highly appreciated during my frequent holiday visitations; finally, I had to stop saying that I had come from Canada because I continued to be considered as a foreigner.^{4a}

This situation demonstrates that many second generation Luso-Canadians have not established firm roots in either location which places them in tentative grounds. It is commonly said that 'in Canada, they are Portuguese and in Portugal, they are Canadian.' Their parents, as the first generation, did not experience this confusion as they arrived in Canada with strong roots of their background. They attempted to pass these on to their children who, in essence, adopted the most inner and crucial values and absorbed others from the Canadian society to create a unique value system which guides their lives today. As Bulger (1987) points out, they become hyphenated Canadians as in Luso (Portuguese) - Canadians where the hyphen represents the symbolism of their special status. She adds that although they have inherited a language and a culture which have enriched them as individuals and supposedly provided them with a more ample world view they have also inherited an ethnic label that at times transforms to a disadvantageous legacy.

In Winnipeg, probably due to the multicultural facade of the city

and the lower numbers of Portuguese in comparison to the larger urban centers, the dilemma of the special status of hyphenated Luso-Canadians does not appear to present any negative overt results. The environment of this city lends itself to a reflective and unforced acculturation leaving the majority of the individuals oblivious of their ethnicity in their daily lives.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion

During the golden age of the discoveries, the great explorers ventured into new lands and the Portuguese exerted a domineering cultural force which has survived in the diverse parts of the world they explored. In the 20th century, due to the stagnant conditions in Portugal as a result of Dr. Oliveira Salazar's extensive dictatorship as well as other historical, economic, and social consequences, the Portuguese have been encouraged to emigrate to other locations in order to ameliorate their economic situation. They have chosen countries in need of labour manpower; consequently they have been used as working machines and expected to assimilate and undergo a complete loss of the Portuguese culture. The Portuguese, however, have demonstrated that even in the most remote parts of the world, they have had an inner capacity to integrate into the host societies and simultaneously preserve their cultural identity. This tendency is observed in Portuguese communities throughout the world where their presence has been marked with the erection of edifices such as churches and cultural centers, the establishment of Portuguese businesses, and most important, the instruction of the Portuguese language.

The Portuguese contact with Canada is often traced to the

explorers and the fishermen who searched the Newfoundland shores for cod such as Pedro de Barcelos who reached Newfoundland in 1492, Joao Fernandes who reached Labrador in 1495, and Gaspar Corte-Real who explored the coast up to Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, in 1501. Officially, however, Portuguese immigration to Canada was initiated in 1953 when Portugal responded to Canada's labour shortage by sending rural agricultural workers. Throughout the fifties, young Portuguese men arrived in Canada to replace the agricultural positions left vacant by the young Canadians' urban orientation. Despite this original intent by Canadian officials, the Portuguese men soon abandoned the farms to seek employment in railroad construction and in urban centers. As a consequence of the urban attraction, small clusters of Portuguese immigrants began to emerge in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, and Winnipeg. In most cases, the men established themselves in the cities, purchased a home in older downtown districts, and sent for their families.

In Winnipeg, as in other Canadian cities, the community grew rapidly as relatives took advantage of the family reunification immigration policy. They remained together for moral, economic and social support. Portuguese businesses soon opened in the area to cater to gastronomic needs and social services, a Portuguese speaking-priest arrived in 1966 in response to the religious demand, and a Portuguese Association was also founded in the same year with other organizations following in the subsequent years to cater to the socio-cultural needs of the community. Although the community benefited from all these services, it still needed to interact with

the large community of Winnipeg for other services and, especially, for employment. This interaction, which varies in degree for the individuals who arrived at different times, became the major contact with the Canadian society. It was observed that those who came from the islands of Azores intended to remain in Canada and consequently were more open to acculturation which led to a greater degree both of language loss and intermarriages. Those from mainland Portugal shared the intention to remain in Canada temporarily to improve their socio-economic status and then return to Portugal. This intent led to a greater degree of cultural preservation and a strong encouragement for their children to pursue an education and return to Portugal with some attained status.

Despite their initial intent, the majority of the immigrants experienced a cultural shock on contact with Canadian society and it was augmented by the fact that they were rural residents who now resided in a modern urban center. They were uprooted from a close-knit comfortable village way of life and placed in a strange impersonal Canadian city. Immigration threatened their roots, their status, and their self-esteem. It alienated them from every meaningful aspect of their previous lifestyle and their way of thinking. The frustration of this experience aggravated by the language barrier, fostered an inner strength to protect their traditional ways by blocking major interferences of the host society. This attitude came into conflict with the children who were more receptive to the contact with the new environment through school.

In this new world, the children were expected to meet the

academic challenges in a language that was not yet fully familiar to them and in an environment that not only did not acknowledge their culture but at times encouraged them to abandon it. Torn between the alliance to their parents and the captivating new society, the children reacted in several ways. Some rebelled or even abandoned their culture to accept the ways of the host society,. Others withdrew from major contact with the Canadian society and attempted to maintain a traditional outlook on life by limiting themselves to the resources within the Portuguese community. Still others, and the greatest majority according to the findings of this study, played the role of acrobats in trying to balance both cultures. In doing so, many would masquerade their ancestry in order to become Canadian at school and would then revert back to being Portuguese at home.

The psychological and emotional impact of playing a double role during their formative years created conflicts both at home and at school, influenced their expectations of themselves, and shaped their present unique cultural personalities as adults. This impact also led to gradual increase in the generation gap between the parents and the children during adolescence as it was exacerbated by the pressure to conform to the standards of the host society. Despite this, the traditional family structure continued to remain a source of support to all the members. The children, now the second generation, continue this role to a great extent, and even many of those who withdrew from the culture have chosen to accept it in diverse ways, and the ones who remained in the community and accepted the responsibility to perpetuate the culture continue to accept the song and dance aspects

but have also gone beyond these cultural traits and adopted moral and social values which have made them unique individuals. Many customs, traditions, and celebrations continue to be welcomed as they become a link to the past and to a heritage but the second generation also senses a deeper feeling of ethnicity which makes them a synthesis of two cultures. The degree of acculturation in Canadian society differs from individual to individual, but regardless of this fact, it appears that the majority have accepted their cultural legacy with a positive attitude and claim that they are capable of choosing the best from both of their cultural worlds. As for their parents, after a period of hardship followed a rapid improvement in their standard of living. They report being satisfied with the Portuguese-Canadian lifestyle that they have adopted and they experience satisfaction in observing that their traditions are being promoted by the several cultural and religious activities and supported by Canadian society in general through the Policy on Multiculturalism. They will not only continue to support their children but they will also continue to be active participants in transmitting their culture to their grandchildren, the third generation. It is suspected that these adults of tomorrow will gain the economic, social, and political power lacked by their parents and grandparents, and will participate fully in the Canadian Society but will still hold some remnants of their ancestral culture.

Recommendations

The thrust of this study was to focus on the educational and cultural experiences of students of Portuguese descent enrolled in Winnipeg schools during the sixties and the seventies. For this analysis it was necessary to elaborate on some general aspects of Portuguese culture and on the experiences of the immigrant parents during their period of settlement and adaptation to the new Canadian Society. Moreover, it was of great importance to provide detail on the challenges of parenthood faced by these immigrants and on how their frustrations and expectations influenced the children who are now the adults on the verge of guiding the life of the Portuguese community in Winnipeg.

The broad approach undertaken in this study entails several limitations but also presents several possible avenues for future research. A complement to this study would be further research determining the extent to which the educational and cultural needs of the students of Portuguese descent enrolled in the new suburban schools are being addressed by the educational system of the eighties. The statistics presented in Tables XVIII and XIX indicate that a drastic decrease in enrollment has occurred during the eighties in the inner city schools with a possible flow of the student population going to the suburbs. It remains for a more extensive project to determine the new demographic boundaries of the Portuguese community and how the schools prepared themselves to receive this influx of ethnic minority children.

Perhaps, equally important, this thesis could provide a point of departure to study the aspirations that the target group, now second generation parents, holds for their children. The present findings indicate that the parents of the sixties and seventies placed a greater emphasis on material acquisitions than on social mobility through education. A future study could address the similarities or differences in the aspirations of the target group now that these individuals have been in contact with Canadian society for a period of time, and unlike their parents, are not absorbed by the constant struggle to survive in a foreign culture.

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APPENDIX A

Interviews

¹Interview with a Portuguese History Teacher from Chaves, Portugal, July 15, 1987.

²Ibid.

³Interview with a 1958 male immigrant from Madeira, Portugal. Winnipeg, September 16, 1987.

⁴Interview with a resident of S. Miguel, Azores. Azores, Portugal, August 18, 1987.

⁵Interview with a 1957 male immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, September 29, 1987.

⁶Interview with a 1959 male immigrant from central Portugal. Winnipeg, September 30, 1987.

⁷Interview with a 1959 male immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 3, 1987.

⁸Interview with a 1957 male immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, September 14, 1987.

⁹Interview with a 1969 male immigrant from northern Portugal via France. Winnipeg, September 12, 1987.

¹⁰Interview with a 1957 male immigrant from central Portugal. Winnipeg, September 15, 1987.

¹¹Interview with a 1955 male immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, September 27, 1987.

¹²Interview with a 1959 male immigrant from southern Portugal. Winnipeg, September 16, 1987.

¹³Interview with a 1960 male immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, September 14, 1987.

¹⁴Interview with a 1963 female immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, October 21, 1987.

¹⁵Interview with a 1969 female immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 13, 1987.

¹⁶Interview with a 1963 male immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, October 21, 1987.

¹⁷Interview with a 1965 female immigrant from southern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 2, 1987.

¹⁸Interview with a 1963 male immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, October 21, 1987.

¹⁹Interview with a 1966 female immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, September 29, 1987.

²⁰Interview with a 1966 male immigrant from a former Portuguese colony. Winnipeg, April 3, 1988.

²¹Interview with a 1969 male immigrant from northern Portugal via France. Winnipeg, September 12, 1987.

²²Interview with a 1969 female immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 13, 1987.

²³Interview with a 1967 female immigrant from northern Portugal via Brazil. Portugal, July 27, 1987.

²⁴Interview with a 1970 female immigrant from southern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 18, 1987.

²⁵Interview with a 1964 female immigrant from northern Portugal. Winnipeg, October 11, 1987.

²⁶Interview with a 1969 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 2, 1987.

²⁷Interview with a 1963 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 19, 1987.

²⁸Interview with a 1969 male immigrant from northern Portugal via France. Winnipeg, September 12, 1987.

²⁹Interview with a former Greenway School teacher. Winnipeg, November 21, 1987.

³⁰Interview with a 1970 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 25, 1987.

³¹Interview with a male immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, August 3, 1988.

³²Interview with a Canadian born female student. Winnipeg, May 24, 1988.

³³Interview with a 1970 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 25, 1987.

³⁴Interview with a 1972 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 16, 1987.

³⁵Interview with a 1969 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 2, 1987.

³⁶Interview with a 1967 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 20, 1987.

³⁷Interview with a 1968 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, October 30, 1987.

³⁸Interview with a 1961 male immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, September 15, 1987.

³⁹Interview with a 1970 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 29, 1987.

⁴⁰Interview with a Canadian born male student. Winnipeg, November 3, 1987.

⁴¹Interview with a 1966 female immigrant from Azores. Winnipeg, October 9, 1987.

⁴²Interview with a Canadian born female student. Winnipeg, January 5, 1988.

⁴³Interview with a 1967 female immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 20, 1987.

⁴⁴Interview with a Canadian born male student. Winnipeg, December 10, 1987.

⁴⁵Interview with a Canadian born male student. Winnipeg, January 13, 1988.

⁴⁶Interview with a Canadian born female student. Winnipeg, November 25, 1987.

⁴⁷Interview with a 1967 male immigrant and former student. Winnipeg, November 28, 1987.

⁴⁸Interview with a 1968 female immigrant and former student who returned to Portugal with her family. Portugal, July 27, 1987.

APPENDIX B

Basic Interview Questionnaire:

I. Life in Portugal

- birthplace
- employment
- income
- housing
- lifestyle

II. Emigration

- reason(s)
- why Canada
- arrangements for emigration
- trip to Canada

III. Life in Canada

- date of arrival
- first settlement
- major problems upon arrival
- other Canadian destinations
- employment (location, type, earnings, conditions, relationships)
- housing
- difficulties (language, finances, loneliness)

IV. Schools in Canada

- name of school(s)
- grades, levels
- E.S.L. or other
- problems
- circle of friends
- home life and school
- how was this problem solved
- how did school influence your life today
- was there parental support for education?
- did a separate bank account exist for each child?

V. Identification

- languages
- food
- religion
- customs

VI. Integration

- relationship with Canadian society
- fluency of the English language
- Canadian lifestyle
- involvement in Canadian life

APPENDIX C

Basic Interview Questionnaire for Educators:

1. What school(s) were you at in the sixties and seventies?
2. What grades were you working with?
3. What was the ethnic composition of the school?
4. Did English language classes exist? If not, what happened to the new immigrant children?
5. What approaches were used to cater to students with limited proficiency in English?
6. If language classes were available where were the classrooms located?
7. What efforts, if any, were made to assist the students to socialize with their peers?
8. How, when, and what procedures were followed to integrate students into mainstream instruction?
9. How were Portuguese students perceived once they were in regular classes.
10. Was there parental involvement? If not, how were parents contacted?

APPENDIX D

Letter of Consent

The purpose of this study is to analyse the educational and cultural experiences of students of Portuguese descent previously enrolled in Winnipeg schools during the sixties and the seventies.

The intent of this study is to record the experiences of these students both in the home culture and in the environment of school and to use the information in a Master of Education thesis.

For this purpose, information will be gathered from a review of the literature available and from a number of personal interviews with students of Portuguese descent who were previously enrolled in Winnipeg schools. Conclusions and recommendations will be drawn from the study.

Each participant of this research project will comment on the topics outlined in the questionnaire during a brief interview in the language of his/her preference. All information will be kept confidential and anonymous. The participant has the right to withdraw or forbid the use of any information given during the course of the interview and is free to contact the researcher if necessary. The information will be included in the researcher's Master of Education thesis and the results of the study will be shared with the participant.

Date: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

APPENDIX E

Carta de Consentimento

Este estudo tem como finalidade analisar as experiencias educacionais e culturais de estudantes de descendencia Portuguesa que frequentaram escolas em Winnipeg durante os sesentas e os setentas.

E meu intento descrever as experiencias desses alunos tanto no ambiente familiar como no escolar e utilizar esta informacao numa tese de mestrado na Faculdade de Educacao.

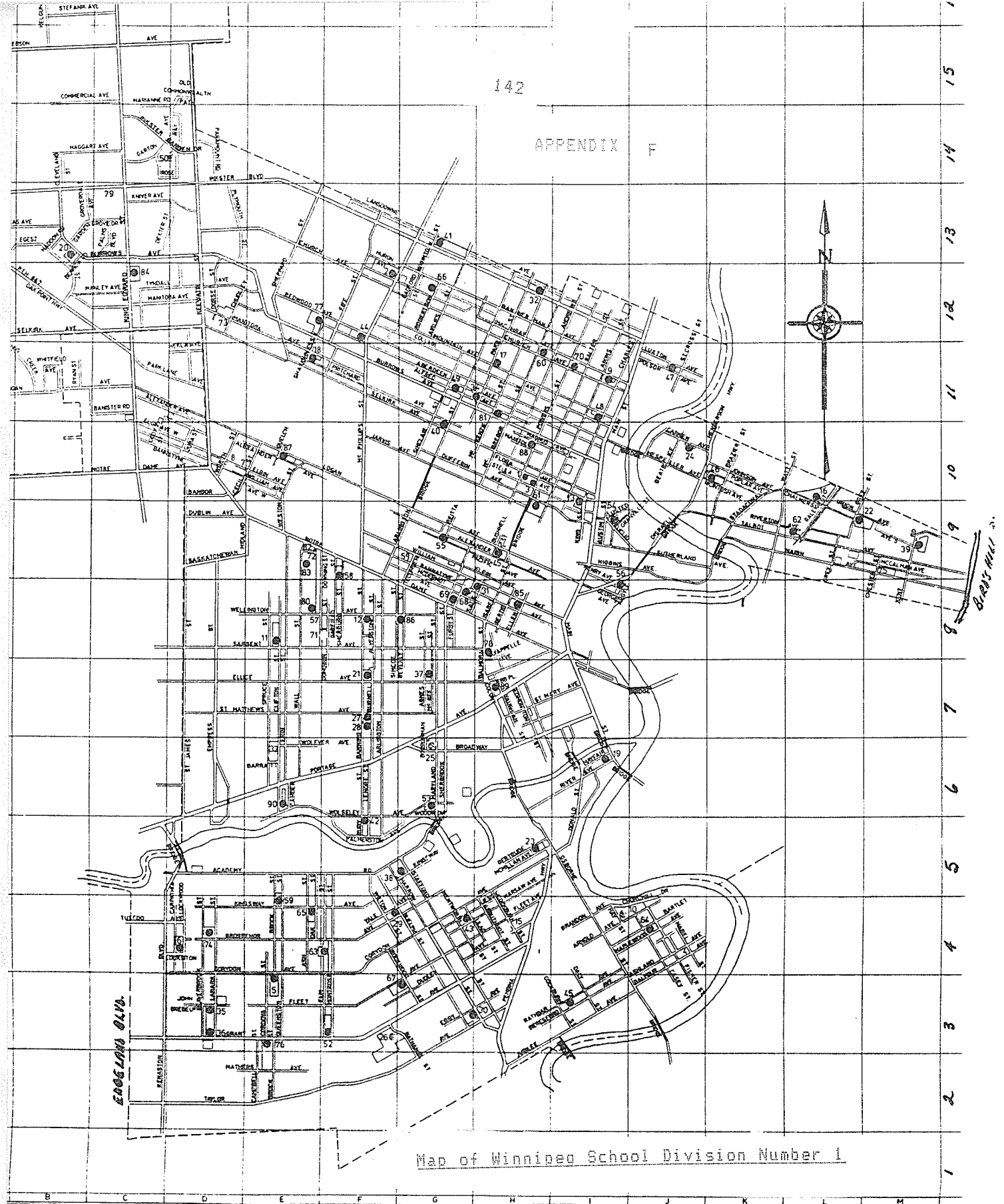
Para este efeito informacao sera adquirida atraves de uma revisao da literatura referente a este topico e de varias entrevistas pessoais com estudantes de descendencia Portuguesa que anteriormente frequentaram escolas em Winnipeg. Por fim, conclusoes e recomendacoes serao derivadas deste estudo.

Cada participante desta pesquisa comentara sobre os topicos deliniados no questionario durante uma breve entrevista na lingua da sua preferencia. Toda a informacao sera confidencial e anonima. O participante tem o direito de retirar ou proibir o uso de qualquer informacao dada durante a entrevista e tem a liberdade de contactar a pesquisadora se for necessario. A informacao sera incluida na tese de mestrado de Educacao da pesquisadora e os resultados serao compartilhados com o participante.

Data: _____

Assinatura do participante: _____

Assinatura da pesquisadora: _____



16. Elmwood High	L-10	31. Hugh John Macdonald	H-8	46. Lord Selkirk	K-10	61. R B Russell	H-9	76. Sir William Olsar	E
17. Faraday	H-11	32. Inkster	H-12	47. Luxton	J-11	62. River Elm	L-9	77. Sister High	E-1
18. Florence Nightingale	E-11	33. Isaac Brock	E-6	48. Machray	I-11	63. River Heights	F-4	78. Sister MacNamora	H-
19. Fort Rouge	I-6	34. Isaac Newton	G-11	49. Margaret Scott	G-11	64. Riverview	J-4	79. Stanley Knowles	C-1
20. Garden Grove	B-13	35. J.B. Mitchell	D-3	50. Meadows West	C-14	65. Robert H. Smith	E-4	80. Stores	E-
21. General Wolfe	F-7	36. John Daeo	D-3	51. Montcalm	G-9	66. Robertson	G-12	81. Strathcona	H-1
22. George V	L-9	37. John M. King	G-7	52. Montrose	F-3	67. Rockwood	G-3	82. Teachers Lib. Res. Ctre	E
23. Gladstone	H-5	38. Kelvin High	G-5	53. Mulvey	G-6	68. Sacre Coeur #1	G-8	83. Tec Voc High	E-
24. Glenelm	J-10	39. Kent Road	M-9	54. Norquay	I-9	69. Sacre Coeur #2	G-8	84. Tyndall Park	C-1
25. Gordon Bell High	G-6	40. King Edward	G-11	55. Pinkham	G-9	70. St. John's High	I-11	85. Victoria Albert	H-
26. Grant Park High	F-3	41. Lansdowne	G-13	56. Point Douglas	I-8	71. Sargent Park	F-8	86. Wellington	G
27. Greenway #1	F-7	42. Laura Secord	F-5	57. Prince Charles	E-8	72. School Board Offices	E-9	87. Weston	E-1
28. Greenway #2	F-7	43. LaVerendrye	G-4	58. Principal Sparling	F-9	73. Shaughnessy Park	D-12	88. William Whyte	H-1
29. Grosvenor	F-4	44. Lord Nelson	F-12	59. Queenston	E-4	74. Sir John Franklin	D-4	89. Wpg. Ad. Ed. Centre	H
30. Harrow	G-3	45. Lord Roberts	I-3	60. Ralph Brown	H-11	75. Sir Sam Steele	M-9	90. Wolseley	E

APPENDIX G

About the Researcher

I was born in northern Portugal and I immigrated to Canada in 1969. My family and I initially settled in Gillam, Manitoba, and later moved to Winnipeg. I attended Hugh John Macdonald School, Daniel McIntyre Collegiate, and graduated from the University of Manitoba in 1980. I initiated my teaching career at Red River Community College and I was later employed by the Winnipeg School Division Number 1 where I have had the privilege of coming in contact with immigrant children from different ethnocultural backgrounds.

The strong alliance with my own cultural heritage has encouraged my participation in numerous community activities throughout the years. My involvement has extended to many segments of life in the Portuguese community varying from the local newspaper, radio and television programs, and Sunday school to the organization of workshops and conferences of diverse nature. I have also fulfilled the roles of vice-president of the Portuguese Students Association, President of the Casa do Minho Portuguese Centre, Inc., president of the Portuguese Teachers Association of Manitoba, Inc., secretary of the Portuguese Parents Association, teacher, vice-director, and coordinator of the Supplementary School sponsored by the Portuguese Association of Manitoba, Inc., secretary and vice-chairperson of Portuguese Advisory Committee with Manitoba Education, and several other positions and commitments with various multicultural organizations in Winnipeg.

The knowledge of the Portuguese community acquired throughout the years through my involvement not only facilitated the accessibility to information and the contact with various people, but it also provided the inspiration and sustained my commitment to research and analyse the cultural and educational experiences of a unique group of people - the children of the first generation of Portuguese immigrants.