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THE SALIENCE OF ETHNICITY:  
OCCUPATION AND ETHNIC MANIFESTATIONS AMONG THE  
PORTUGUESE IN VANCOUVER

by

ANA PAULA BEJA HORTA

B. B. A., Simon Fraser University, 1983

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Sociology and Anthropology

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SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the variable nature of ethnic attachments among the Portuguese in Vancouver, British Columbia. How and why ethnic identity is retained, abandoned or modified forms the core of the analysis. Specifically, it focuses on the manner in which ethnic commitment is influenced by the occupational position of individuals. While the study concentrates on ethnic manifestations at a community level, individual interaction with the wider society is also probed. This demonstrates the contextual nature of ethnicity.

Methodologically, this study is based on qualitative and quantitative information. Qualitative evidence was gathered through extended participant observation and in-depth interviews with members of the Portuguese Community in Vancouver. Quantitative data were collected by means of a structured survey administered to a sample population of Portuguese living in Vancouver. This resulted in an in-depth analysis of interaction among ethnic group members.

It is shown that manifestations of ethnicity are not homogenous within the Portuguese community. Individuals experience varying levels of commitment towards the ethnic group depending on the nature of specific socio-economic circumstances and personal histories. Those with high job status tend to have lower levels of participation in the ethnic community than those with low socio-economic status.

Participation in activities of the wider society tends to be higher for the most privileged than for those who occupy the lower ranks of the occupational structure.

Drawing upon these findings this thesis argues that the policy of multiculturalism which stresses the cultural aspects of ethnic groups appears to be an inadequate device for addressing the existing problems of an ethnically differentiated society. A more insightful political alternative would have to involve a shift from inoffensive cultural displays to a more pragmatic political orientation in which members of ethnic groups could have equal access to the political and economic institutions of Canadian society.

DEDICATION

to the memory of

**CESALTINA BEJA**



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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the conditions under which ethnicity gains salience, specifically the nature of the relationship between occupation and ethnic attachments in the Portuguese community in Vancouver, British Columbia.<sup>1</sup> While the analysis concentrates on the degree of involvement experienced by individuals in different occupational categories in the ethnic community, it also examines their patterns of interaction outside the ethnic group. By incorporating both sides of the question - - interaction within and outside ethnic boundaries, the processes of ethnic manifestations are contextualized within a broader framework of social relationships. Such a research strategy permits an emphasis on the conditions under which ethnic commitment is differently articulated by individuals in maximizing access to emotional and material rewards. The chief analytical purpose of the thesis is to demonstrate that contrary to a widely held notion (Isaacs, 1975; Greeley, 1974; Isajiw, 1975; Connor, 1978) ethnicity is not a static or immutable attribute intrinsic to all members of the ethnic group but that ethnic manifestations vary among members of the group depending on specific socio-economic conditions. These monolithic and deterministic studies of ethnicity have systematically tended to overlook the variable and contextual aspects of ethnic phenomena of the



sort that exist in the Portuguese Community in Vancouver. A more appropriate approach to ethnicity is suggested and employed in this thesis.

Studies conducted among the Portuguese in Canada, (Anderson, 1974; Anderson and Higgs, 1976; Ilda-Miranda, 1976) have pointed out that Portuguese communities across Canada are differentiated in terms of class, politics and regionalism. Although this brings to the fore the essential variability of ethnicity, no systematic analyses have been offered as to how these factors affect ethnic identification and social interaction patterns among members of the ethnic group.<sup>2</sup> Other authors, such as Alpalhao and Da Rosa (1980) have stressed the homogenous character of the ethnic group claiming that class, politics and regionalism are more "circumstantial than structural" (1980:250). Unfortunately, no explanation is provided on the "circumstantial" nature of such factors nor on the extent to which they may affect ethnic affiliation and commitment to the ethnic group. By emphasizing ethnic homogeneity and uniformity among members of the group, the contextual nature of ethnic ascription and ethnic interaction remained unexplored. Fernandez' study (1979) of the Portuguese in Montreal constitutes one of the few attempts to show the contextual basis of ethnicity among Portuguese. The study examined how individual Portuguese can assert a multiplicity of ethnic identities depending on the situation. Similarly, McKay in his study of Italian

soccer clubs in Toronto (1980) also recognized different degrees of enclosure and ethnic identities exhibited by members of Italian organizations. He takes this point further by demonstrating how a dynamic and processual approach to ethnicity is a more appropriate theoretical device to explain ethnic changes than an entity approach which focus on ethnic homogeneity and on rigid notions of ethnic identification processes (1980:57-60).

These analyses bring to our attention ethnicity as a phenomenon to be explained, a variable which may gain salience or disappear in response to specific contextual changes. It is within this framework that I have chosen to give analytical primacy to the variable and contextual dimension of ethnicity following Cohen's (1974) assertion that ethnicity is to be viewed as an identity which can be negotiated, manipulated or somehow transformed for a variety of expressive and instrumental motives. On this basis, ethnicity is no longer a static concept equated solely with primordial attachments based on, for example common origin, history, language, skin color and nationalism. Instead, ethnicity is to be examined as a dynamic and processual phenomenon (ibid., 1980; 1982). Such criteria are most useful in explaining the complex and variable aspects of ethnic identities among the Portuguese in Vancouver.

The Portuguese residing in Vancouver were chosen as subjects for several reasons. Firstly, Vancouver has the

largest concentration of Portuguese in Western Canada. According to Anderson and Higgs (1976) there were approximately 15,000 Portuguese residing in the Greater Vancouver area in 1976. Similar estimates are provided by the Consulate of Portugal in Vancouver (1988) which estimates the total Portuguese population to be approximately 16,000. Although there are clusters of Portuguese families scattered throughout the Greater Vancouver Metropolitan area, the majority of the Portuguese population is concentrated in a geographically discrete area within the city which constitutes the core of the ethnic community. Secondly, the Portuguese community in Vancouver consists largely of first generation immigrants who arrived in the late 1950's and 1960's. Time of arrival similarities facilitates ethnic identification and interaction comparisons. Thirdly, this Portuguese community is typical of other Portuguese settlements in Canada in terms of occupational areas of concentration. The overwhelming majority are blue-collar workers. Only a very small proportion of the ethnic population is engaged in professional and managerial occupations. Fourthly, the presence of numerous Portuguese associations and a full range of services seem to suggest that this ethnic community is well established and enjoys a certain level of "institutional completeness" which may not only affect the degree of ethnic attachments but also the nature of their

contact with the Canadian society as a whole. Finally, while the Portuguese communities in eastern Canada have been the subject of several analyses, the Portuguese communities in Western Canada have been virtually overlooked. An investigation of ethnicity among the Portuguese in Vancouver seems to be particularly relevant.

In the beginning of my fieldwork it became apparent to me that the intensity and form of ethnic manifestations varied among individuals. While for some, ethnic affiliation fulfilled a need for cultural and emotional rewards, for others affective ties with the ethnic group combined with material interests. Neither expressive nor instrumental factors alone could account for the variability in ethnic attachments. The changing nature of ethnic commitment could only be understood in terms of an interplay between expressive and material motives.

The remainder of this chapter will delve into a theoretical examination of ethnicity. The different theoretical approaches to ethnicity will be critically discussed.

#### FROM PRIMORDIALISM TO CIRCUMSTANTIALISM

The study of ethnicity has had as a dominant theme the assumption that assimilation is the most probable and desired outcome of ethnically stratified societies. This perspective has been mostly voiced by the "Chicago School"

(Wirth, 1945; Park, 1950; Thomas, 1966). The school argued for a "race relations cycle". In his formulation Park observed that "in the relations of race there is a cycle of events which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation" (1950:50).

This approach to ethnicity has been widely criticized for its disregard for the cultural traditions and features of ethnic minorities. Moreover, the prediction of ethnic groups becoming absorbed in the "melting pot" has been proven incorrect by the historical development of ethnic relations in the United States. The resistance of ethnic minorities towards assimilationist pressures directed social research into investigations focusing on how ethnic groups make use of ethnic organizations for social mobility. In Beyond the Melting Pot, Glazer and Moynihan (1963) emphasize that ethnic groups are "interest groups" which become mobilized on the basis of a common position of disadvantage and segregation. In this vein, ethnic groups organize in pursuit of, directly or indirectly, economic and political interest. The resilience of ethnic groups led Glazer and Moynihan to stress in their introduction to Ethnicity - Theory and Experience (1975) that ethnicity has emerged as a social category as significant for the understanding of the world today as that of social class. In this perspective the salience of ethnicity is not viewed, as being based on

the pursuit of material interests alone. It also provides a sense of belonging, identity and psychological comfort to its members. This expressive dimension of ethnicity has been widely explored by the primordialist theory of ethnic relations.

Primordialism argues that race and ethnicity evoke emotional attachments which are viewed as "primordial givens" (Geertz, 1963). The argument holds that there is such a thing as a basic identity which an individual acquired at birth. This identity is composed of primordial attachments and affinities which are perceived as phenotypical and cultural differences such as skin color, physical features language, customs, history, ancestry, nationality and so on (Isaacs, 1975). In its most radical form, primordialism asserts that such primordial attachments are rooted in the biological make-up of individuals. Human beings are thought to behave in ways designed to maximize their "reproductive success". Since members of one's kinship group share more of one's genes than do outsiders, nepotism, preferring kin over non-kin, is seen as a means of ensuring individual fitness.

A most extreme example of this theory is to be found in Pierre van de Berghe's sociobiological analysis of race and ethnic relations (1981). In The Ethnic Phenomenon, van den Berghe argues that the most fundamental question asked by sociobiology, which is also posed by sociology, is why are

animals social? This constitutes the point of departure of a theoretical framework in which the concept of "kin selection" is the basis of animal sociability. Given this framework, race and ethnicity are viewed as forms of social interaction which are directly lined with the sociobiological concept of "in-selection". Van de Berghe summarizes the essential argument of his book as follows:

"Ethnic and racial sentiments are extensions of kinship sentiments. Ethnocentrism and racism are thus extended forms of nepotism - the propensity to favor kin over non-kin. There exists a general behavior predisposition in our species as in many others to react favorably towards other organisms to the extent that these organisms are biologically related to the actor" (1981:18-19)

The genetic determinism of such conceptualization of ethnicity brings to the fore the major inadequacy of sociobiological analysis which is its inability to establish a rationale for changing patterns of ethnic differentiation. As van de Berghe argues, ethnicity is to be understood as an extension of primordial kin sentiments acquired at birth. However, it has been a major issue in the literature that ethnic identities are not uniformly primordial (Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Bernard, 1971; Henry, 1976; Freedman 1976). Group identities may emerge in social and historical contexts with deep primordial attachments and affinities but other times they appear far removed from a common primordial reality. Young writes:

"Basic units of contemporary cultural conflict, themselves fluid and shifting are often entirely altered and transformed in most cases redefined versions of cultural groups" (1976:34).

In this analysis, ethnic identities may emerge or disappear not so much as a result of emotional attachments but as an outcome of specific historical, social and economic and political considerations. In primordialist analyses of ethnicity these processes are clearly overlooked. This points to the most fundamental flaw of the primordialist perspective which conceptualizes ethnicity as an ontological reality in itself divorced from the contextual setting in which ethnic expressions gain form and intensity.

In sum, the main advantage of a primordial perspective is that it captures the emotional and psychological aspects of ethnic affiliation but it does so at a cost. By reifying ethnic sentiments, primordialists fail to grasp the significance of historical, economic and political developmental forces in shaping and re-shaping ethnic relations. Furthermore, the immutability of the theoretical paradigm inhibits analyses of the conditions under which ethnic differentiation may play a major role in some situations and in others may become increasingly blurred. More recently, Banton (1983) has introduced an alternative theoretical framework to the study of ethnic and racial relations. In contrast to van den Berghe's sociobiological



theory in which ethnic and racial phenomena are theorized in terms of "primordial" origins and processes of kin selection, Banton views ethnic and racial relations as being shaped by competition. The "rational choice" theory of race and ethnic relations draws substantially on concepts and propositions derived from neo-classical economics. The theory shares three major hypotheses with other economic national choice theories: 1) Individuals are assumed to optimize their material interests in the pursuit of their self-interest; 2) Individuals select the alternatives which maximize their utility; 3) Their actions have implicit consequences on future alternatives. Based on three assumptions, Banton argues:

" . . . Competition is the critical process shaping patterns of racial and ethnic relations. Competition varies in both intensity and form, since much depends upon the nature of the units which compete and the kind of market in which they compete. When members of groups encounter one another in new situations the boundaries between them will be dissolved if they compete as one individual with another, the boundaries between them will be strengthened if they compete as one group with another" (Banton, 1983:12).

Ethnic groups and racial categories are thus viewed as the result of processes of "inclusion" and "exclusion". The emergence of ethnic groups is not conceived as a process dependent upon strong emotional attachments. On the contrary, group identities are found upon voluntary

identification. Race categories are created by exclusion processes. Race is argued to have been used to produce categories with "hard" boundaries which are difficult to cross by those who try to leave or join. These boundaries are used ultimately to prevent these social categories from having equal access to controlled resources.

The "rational choice" theory raises a number of difficulties. A crucial one is the notion of rationality. Banton's rational actor, the one who pursues his/her own self-interest and who moves towards his/her goals in a way which he/she selects the alternative to maximize his benefits is an "artificial" actor. When Banton conceptualizes rational actors he is not taking into consideration the whole personality of individuals, the complexity of their motives or their emotional needs. This very facet of being may induce the individual to forego the optimality of his/her material interests for emotional and social rewards. To give Banton credit he recognizes the difficulty in verifying empirically that individuals optimize their material interests. However, he claims that "in the long run they will be drawn to the optimal position (ibid., 104-105). It is clear that the verification of this assertion would be faced with serious methodological problems. How does one measure the maximization of benefits relative to costs in the long run? This leads to a more general criticism. The economistic interpretation of ethnic

and racial relations tends to conceive the pursuit of material interests as the sole driving force that compels individuals to interaction. Ethnicity can be shown to have a dynamism which transcends material pursuits. It can also provide a sense of belonging, identity and emotional comfort to its members, a "psychic shelter" (Porter, 1965; Isaacs, 1975; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975). In concluding, if one of the inadequacies of van den Berghe's sociobiological theory is the reification of the psychological dimension of ethnicity, Banton's theory displays a similar deficiency but in opposite direction.

In its most radical form, economistic explanations of ethnic phenomena view ethnic conflicts as the outward manifestation of underlying class conflicts and false consciousness (Cox, 1956; Leggett, 1968). This theoretical position argues that ethnic consciousness would fade away and develop into other types of allegiance based on class interests. Common to the Marxist explanations of ethnic and race relations is the assumption that ethnic and race antagonisms can only be understood in terms of the structural conditions of the capitalist society.<sup>3</sup> A more sophisticated interpretation of ethnicity and ethnic antagonism is Edna Bonacich's split labour market model (1972). In her analysis of ethnic conflicts, the structural factors are combined with ethnic, cultural and historical ones. Ethnic conflict results from the economic structures

of the labour market which is split along ethnic lines. Exclusion movements occur when dominant ethnic groups attempt to keep subordinate ethnic groups out of the labour market in order to prevent competition and, therefore, lower labour prices. Caste systems exist when higher paid labour is able to protect their work from cheaper labour through a process of exclusiveness. Bonacich's integrated approach to ethnicity and ethnic conflict provides richer insights into the nature of ethnic phenomena.

While not discounting the valuable insights of primordialist and circumstantial analyses, a crucial difficulty with these unidimensional paradigms lies in the tendency to define ethnicity as being either expressive or instrumental. Cohen's focus on ethnicity not just as a "primordial given" but as an identity which can be negotiated, manipulated or politicized for a variety of expressive and/or instrumental motives provides a more appropriate basis for the examination of ethnicity. Ethnic phenomena are analyzed not as an "either-or-matter" but as a variable. In Cohen's words:

We must remember that ethnicity is a matter of degree. There is ethnicity and ethnicity. The constraint that custom exercises on the individual varies from case to case ... In some situations ethnicity amounts to no more than the exchange of jokes between different culture groups at the strange and bizarre nature of one another's customs. In other situations it leads to violence and bloodshed ... Unless we recognize differences in the degree of

manifestation we shall fail to make much progress in the analysis of ethnicity. To put it in the idiom of the researcher, ethnicity is a variable. (Cohen 1974: XIV-XV)

Ethnicity is a dependent variable which is explained in terms of psychological, historical, economic and political factors. Ethnicity is thus perceived as being contextual, emerging, disappearing or being somehow transformed depending on the situation. Such a theoretical framework points out the dynamic nature of ethnicity which manifests itself always within a specific socio-cultural and political milieu. This approach permits the analysis of the conditions under which ethnicity gains salience. In certain situations ethnicity may emerge solely as an instrument strategically employed by ethnic groups in the pursuit of material interests. The treatment of ethnic groups as interest groups strategically organized within the economic structure has been illustrated in Cohen's study of Hausa trades in the community of Ibadan (1969). As he points out, the observed high degree of solidarity among members of the Hausa ethnic group is based not as much as on ethnic honor as on ethnic interests (ibid.:14-22). Still in other situations ethnicity may provide a sense of identity and psychological comfort which constitutes the "raison d'etre" of ethnic membership. In Deshen's study (1974) of memorial celebrations among Tunisian Jews in Israel "ethnic manifestations are primarily cultural and perhaps not

relevant at all to problems of conflict and competition" (1974:282). Based on these findings Deshen concludes that such manifestations should be analyzed in terms of "strategies to solve problems of identity, belief and culture and perhaps only secondary in terms of political strategies" (1974:282). It is the interaction between material and emotional rewards and the structural conditions under which ethnic manifestations emerge that need to be explored (McKay, op.cit.). This is an important premise as it places ethnicity firmly on a framework in which instrumental and affective ties are not dichotomized but interrelated which combine in varying degrees depending on the situation (1982:413). Similarly Wallman (1978b: 1979; 1986) stresses the contextual and shifting nature of ethnic identity processes and boundary maintenance. As she argues:

Ethnicity is a process by which "their" difference is used to enhance the sense of "us" for purposes of organization of identification ... Because it takes two, ethnicity can only happen at the boundary of "us", in contact or confrontation or by contrast with "them". And as the sense of "us" changes, so the boundary between "us" and "they" shifts. Not only does the boundary shift, but the criteria which make it change." (Quoted in Jenkins, 1986:175)

By focussing on the shifting aspects of ethnicity, Wallman brings to the fore the fluid nature of ethnic boundaries and the dynamic aspects of ethnic expressions (Wallman, 1978, 1986).

In this theoretical examination I have attempted to point out the importance of a theoretical criterion which emphasizes complementarity between primordial and circumstantial factors in explaining ethnic phenomena. In this regard I have chosen to examine ethnicity following Cohen (1974) and Wallman's (1986) assertions that ethnicity is a process always contextually defined. Ethnicity is thus perceived as a phenomenon of groups, in a society, which are characterized by a distinct sense of difference based on shared cultural traits, common origin and descent. This consciousness of difference can be manipulated, negotiated or somehow transformed for a variety of affective and/or instrumental reasons. Such definition allows for the conceptualization of ethnicity as a dynamic phenomenon both individual and collective, both subjective and objective (Cohen, 1974; Wallman, 1986; Yinger 1986). Only by contextualizing ethnicity can one fully examine the conditions under which ethnicity may rise, decline or disappear. Such an approach is crucial to account for the variable and contextual features of ethnic boundary mutations and ethnic identity changes. I will try to show how in the Portuguese community in Vancouver ethnic manifestations emerge in response to contextual variation. This thesis will provide a comprehensive attempt to deal with ethnicity at an individual level by focusing on the manner in which individuals respond and organize their

social relationships according to specific socio-economic contexts. The research will also deal more specifically with the variable nature of ethnic commitment which has been, with few exceptions (Anderson, 1974; Fernandez, 1979; McKay, 1982; Wallman, 1986) a too often forgotten element of ethnic research but one which constitutes a major focus of analysis of this thesis.

### METHODS

This thesis is based on qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative information was gathered between March and November 1987. During this period I conducted forty open ended interviews and innumerable informal conversations with pioneering Portuguese settlers in Vancouver, directors of several Portuguese social, folkloric and sport associations, Portuguese entrepreneurs, social workers serving the community, Portuguese language teachers and with the founders of the Portuguese ethnic newspaper "O Mensageiro" in order to gather information about the Portuguese ethnic community in Vancouver. Our Lady of Fatima Catholic priests were also interviewed. These interviews were mostly unstructured oral life histories which provided valuable information on the nature of in-group interaction and ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese. I took this approach in order to examine the ways in which the individual and the group as a whole



adapted and organized their lives in the new milieu. Although special attention was paid to the nature of social ties within the ethnic community, information was also gathered on the type of relationship and ties existent between the individual and the larger social system. This emphasis on the nature of social interaction between ethnic boundaries was most helpful in identifying the ways in which individuals relate differently to the same environment. Close participant observation also led me to participate regularly on local meetings organized by the Parish and by other Portuguese ethnic associations. I also observed and participated in several religious and cultural festivals organized by the ethnic community. Since there was basically no visual documentation of these feasts, audiovisual materials (photographs, slides and video) of the major Portuguese festivities in Vancouver namely Our Lady of Fatima's Feast, "Senhor Santo Cristo" Feast, Holy Spirit Feast and Portugal Day were produced to complement the archival documentation of the Portuguese Parish.

The fact that I am Portuguese and a Portuguese Consulate employee gave me access to a multiplicity of first-hand information which otherwise would be rather difficult to obtain. Though, as research began I soon realized that working at the Consulate also constituted a liability. Some apprehension in disclosing information was felt among some of the interviewees who thought I was

collecting information for the Portuguese government. One interviewee who was particularly suspicious said: "Do you want to know what I think about this conversation? I think you belong to the PIDE ("Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado" - International and State Defense Police, notorious for its oppressive methods of coercion during Salazar - Caetano regime, 1932-1974). When I told him that the PIDE no longer existed he replied: "It would not be a surprise if one of these days you come around asking me for a picture". He only had a vague idea about the Portuguese coup d'etat in 1974 and was hardly aware of the structural changes (political, economic and social) in the Portuguese society. His words were important because they revealed the extent to which lack of close contact with the country of origin and of up-dated information on contemporary Portugal alienated him from present day Portuguese society. Similar opinions and attitudes were observed among other interviewees.

With the support of the Portuguese Parish Priests and other key members in the community, more specifically, the Portuguese language teachers and the former editor of the Portuguese ethnic newspaper "O Mensageiro" I was able to develop by my own reputation in the community. Their support was crucial because not only they gave me access to a variety of sources of information but also they kept me up-to-date on Portuguese community affairs.

Between April and July 1987 an in-depth structured interview was conducted among one hundred and fifty Portuguese households in Vancouver. The main objective of the survey was to gather quantitative information on in-group interaction patterns and participation outside the ethnic community. A detailed description of the survey methods is provided in Chapter V.

To complement the research I spent two months in Portugal where I visited regions with high levels of emigration. Contact with residents and returned emigrants added to my knowledge of the country of origin as well as to the nature of adaptation problems faced by emigrants upon returning to the homeland. Besides library research conducted in Canada I also collected, while in Portugal, historical and sociological material written by Portuguese scholars on emigration phenomena.

It became clear from the wide range of data collected on the Portuguese ethnic group that ethnic manifestations vary among the Portuguese living in Vancouver and that ethnicity does not assert itself in a vacuum. On the contrary, it gains salience in response to specific socio-economic and political contexts. Chapter II is hence dedicated to an examination of Canadian immigration policies from 1886 to present and then proceeds to critically examine the policy of multiculturalism. The extent to which multicultural policy is an effective mediating tool towards

the goals of unity, equality and harmony will be discussed in detail.

Chapter III discusses the nature of Portuguese migration phenomena. The emphasis is on the major shifts in Portuguese migratory patterns and on the socio-economic and political conditions facing Portuguese emigrants.

Chapter IV deals with the Portuguese presence in Canada, specifically in Vancouver, British Columbia. The chapter provides a detailed characterization of the Portuguese Community in Vancouver.

Chapters V and VI focus on the salience of ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese in Vancouver. In Chapter V, information gathered from participant observation, case studies and in-depth interviews illustrates the varying degrees of ethnic commitment and participation found among Portuguese immigrants residing in the city. Chapter VI uses data from a survey conducted among the Portuguese immigrants in Vancouver to examine the nature of ethnic involvement and social interaction within and outside ethnic boundaries.

Finally, Chapter VII summarizes and discusses the major findings of the study which suggest that ethnic exclusiveness does not guarantee full participation in the Canadian society, in fact it may mediate against it.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The community will be conceptualized both in "geographical" and "social networks" terms (Mitchell, 1969; Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973). This concept will be applied to the Portuguese community in Vancouver which is not only a geographical community but it is also based on a multiplicity of kin, friendship and hometown "networks" (Boissevain, 1970). Geographically, it is possible to identify a core Portuguese area which is located in the east side of the city (bounded on the west by Main Street, on the east by Rupert Street, on the north by Hastings and on the south by 49th Avenue). Portuguese restaurants and cafes, Portuguese stores, Portuguese travel and insurance agencies, the Portuguese Club (P.C.O.V.), and the Portuguese church are all concentrated around Commercial Drive. The presence of formal and informal Portuguese organizations provides a context for social interaction among Portuguese immigrants which may not only reflect a certain degree of ethnic inclusiveness but it may also promote it (See Breton, 1964).

<sup>2</sup> An ethnic group is defined as a collection of individuals who identify with one another on the basis of a common "ethnic trait", for example, language, nationality, religious affiliation, culture, origin and descent (McKay, 1980). The levels of ethnic identification with the group and interaction among individual ethnics are not conceived as immutable. On the contrary, they vary depending on the situation (Cohen, 1969; McKay, 1980; Wallman, 1986).

<sup>3</sup> A full discussion on Marxist approaches to ethnic and race relations can be found in Solomos, 1986. Also see Rex, 1986.

## CHAPTER II. IMMIGRATION POLICY AND MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA

### CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

Ethnicity does not assert itself in a vacuum. On the contrary, it always exists within a specific socio-political context. This chapter will discuss the role of Canadian immigration policy as a crucial intervening factor in the molding and shaping of ethnic relations in Canada from 1886 to present.

Ethnic groups in Canada may be divided into four major categories: 1) the English and French charter groups; 2) non-charter groups of European ancestry; 3) visible minorities and 4) Native Indians and Inuit. These categories were established according to the degree of economic and political power enjoyed by the different ethnic groups in the Canadian structure.<sup>1</sup>

In the first category, the English and French constitute the vast majority of the population. Although the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) called for an equal partnership between the two founding races",<sup>2</sup> the French-Canadians have perceived themselves as a deprived majority. French nationalism has gained its own momentum in the last two decades. The victory of the Parti Quebecois in the Quebec

provincial election in 1976, and the French Canadian separatist movement which culminated with the Quebec Referendum on "Sovereignty Association" in 1980 reflected the seriousness of French-Canadians' disenchantment with their cultural, economic and political low status.

The controversial and widely read book by Pierre Vallières, White Niggers of America (1971) makes the analogy between French-Canadians and the Blacks south of the border. Although the relationship between the "two founding races" has been economically, culturally and politically asymmetrical, the fact remains that French-Canadians have enjoyed high status and power in Canada, specifically in Québec. Canada has had three French Prime Ministers and only French-Canadians have occupied the position of premier in Quebec. Furthermore, unlike the blacks in the United States, French-Canadians have a territorial base which was conquered and which has served as a historical symbol used by the separatist movement for an eventual French-speaking independent state of Quebec. In this sense, the representation of French-Canadians in the Canadian power elite and their historical concentration in the province of Quebec in which they have been politically dominant provide little concrete basis for analogies with the black situation in the United States.

The second category consists of non-charter ethnic groups of European ancestry. Included are Canadians of

German, Ukrainian and Jewish descent, Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, Dutch and Northern European origins. Unlike the two charter groups and with the exception of those of Jewish origin, the European immigrants are almost totally absent among the Canadian power elite. In his study of the corporate elite in Canada, Clement points out that while European immigrants constituted more than twenty-five percent of the total population only two percent are considered as being part of the Canadian elite (Clement, 1975:231).

Members in the second category may experience cultural and linguistic barriers upon arrival in Canada but they tend to adapt more easily to the Canadian life style than those members of visible minorities. In most cases the second generation blends easily into the mainstream of Canadian society and the absence of odd accents or dress styles quickly makes them part of the majority.

The third and fourth categories are made up of ethnic groups that have been singled out on the basis of skin color and pheno-type. These include the Native Indians and Inuit, Blacks, Chinese, Japanese and other Asians. Unlike the ethnic groups in the other two categories, these visible minorities have suffered varying degrees of discrimination and deprivation. The Chinese Immigration Act of 1885 which enacted severe regulations against all newly arrived Chinese immigrants; the defranchisement of Chinese and other Asians



living in British Columbia in the late 1880's which prevented Chinese, Japanese and East Indians from entering certain occupations (for example law and pharmacy) and the subsequent implications of such policies for occupational mobility of these ethnic groups have been well documented (Bolaria 1980, Li 1979, 1980, Saha 1970). Furthermore the mass evacuation of Japanese from the coastal areas of British Columbia during World War II, the attempt by the federal government to deport thousands of Japanese in 1945 (Adachi 1956, Sunahara 1981, Ujimoto 1980) as a solution to the "Japanese problem" and the condescending and paternalistic attitudes of Canada's official policy towards the Native Indian population (Dyck 1981, Tobias, 1975) are just a few examples of economic and political deprivations which have permeated the relationship between charter groups and visible minorities in Canada. While the history of immigration policy in Canada has been tinted with various forms of discrimination, current policy and public opinion suggest an attitude of optimism in a country where "race relations will not become, and should not be identified as a serious and worrying issue at least in the near future" (Hawkins 1975:75). However, the "Green Paper on Immigration (1974) has clearly stated that suspicion and ethnocentrism are not dead in Canada, nor is her history free from racism and discrimination. In a poll conducted by Gallup Canada in June 1987, almost seventy-eight per cent of the population

answered "no" to the question: "Do you, yourself, think the size and content of immigration should be permitted to change our ethnic and cultural balance".<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that the ethnic composition of the country is a major concern among Canadians.

To play down ethnic and racial inequality in Canada is to ignore a crucial fact of Canadian society. Beneath the lumping of all those ethnic groups from non-English and non-French origins into what has been called the "Third Force" lies the ideological fallacy that all ethnic minorities are equal. By so doing, important differences between European immigrants and visible minorities are grossly overlooked.

An analysis of the history of Canadian immigration policy reveals how visible minorities have been discriminated against while power, privilege and resources have been allocated to other ethnic groups. Immigration policies have not been aimlessly formulated. On the contrary, they have been set to address specific social, economic and political demands of the developing Canadian society. Furthermore, the discriminatory character of Canadian immigration policy up until 1963 has been highly instrumental in the shaping of an ethnically stratified society in Canada.

According to the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV (1969) the history of Canadian immigration policies can be divided into four

distinct phases. In each phase different immigration policies were formulated and put into effect which in turn affected both the level of influx of immigrants and the composition of the population in Canada. The changes in the criteria for admission as in the different policies reflected changes in manpower needs of the Canadian economy, the political priorities of the government and changes in Canadian racial and ethnic ideologies.

Table 1 characterizes the four phases of the history of Canadian immigration highlighting the major policy objectives and shifts in the influx of immigrants to Canada.

**TABLE 1. EVOLUTION OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY**

POLICY PHASE	MAJOR POLICY COMPONENTS	IMMIGRANT GROUPS
Phase I 1867-1895	Free Entry Period. Low Population growth	British, Americans, French Also Chinese and Japanese
Phase II 1896-1914	Settle Prairies. Severe restrictions to non-white immigration of Asians. Chinese Immigration Act 1885. High population growth.	British, Americans, Germans Dutch, Scandinavians. Also Ukrainians, Hungarians, Romanians and Russians.
Phase III 1915-1945	Anti-non white immigration campaign. Tighter restrictions against Asian immigrants introduced. New Chinese Immigration Act 1923.	Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Italians. Also religious groups (e.g. Mennonites)
Phase IV Post W.W. II to Present Period 1: 1946-1957	MacKenzie King's immigration policy. Creation of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. List of 'admissible and prohibited classes' to Canada. Biased towards Western Europe and other white Commonwealth countries. High population growth.	British, Irish, French, Americans, Germans, Ukrainians and Scandinavians. Also Italians, Greeks and Portuguese.
Period 2: 1957-1962	Recruitment of professionals and skilled labour. Establishment of education and skill in the selection of immigrants.	Germans, Italians, Dutch, Portuguese, Greeks. Also British and Americans.
Period 3: 1963-1978	Closer interface between immigration and Canadian manpower needs. Immigration Regulations, 1967 New selection criteria. "Point System" introduced in 1967. Development of the ideology of multiculturalism.	Substantial increase in Asian, African, Central and South America immigrants. Drop in immigrants from traditional source countries
Period 4: 1978 to present	New Immigration Act 1978: Sharper focus on relationship between immigration and economic growth. Recruitment of highly specialized labour and entrepreneurs. New Immigration Act 1988	Asians, British, Americans. Also immigrants from the Caribbean Islands and Central and South America.

The following discussion is not intended as a detailed chronological analysis of Canadian immigration history. Rather it attempts to highlight the major immigration policies of each phase and its consequences in the influx of immigrants and in the composition of Canadian population to set the stage for a contextual analysis of Portuguese immigration.

#### PHASE I. - 1867 - 1895

The first period of immigration to Canada was characterized by a policy of "laissez-faire". It was assumed that the mechanisms of labour supply and demand would create an equilibrium in the total labour force without government intervention being required. The French and the British were the two "charter" groups from 1867 to 1895 nearly 1.5 million immigrants from the British Isles and the United States came to Canada (Canada Year Book 1910, 1920). In 1871 only eight percent of the population were from other ethnic origins other than French, British and Native peoples. The Chinese were the first non-white immigrant group to come to Canada. They came to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway and in the coal mines in British Columbia. By mid-1880's Japanese immigration to British Columbia became significant. These were poor farmers and fishermen who came to seek new economic opportunities. East

Indians were also entering the country during this period. By 1901, there were approximately 17,000 Chinese, 4,400 Japanese and 1,700 East Indians in Canada (Canada Year Book 1947:118, 1952-1953:149).

In spite of an overall immigration policy based on free entry, and although Chinese immigration was encouraged during the Fraser River Gold Rush in 1857-1858, influential people in the province of British Columbia became very concerned about the number of Chinese entering the province. In 1885 an Act was passed to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration. Although the Act did not ban Chinese from entering the country, a head tax of fifty dollars was imposed on all incoming Chinese. (Canada Manpower and Immigration, Immigration Program - A Report. 1974)

Economic competition is perceived as a major factor underlining British Columbia's nervousness about the number of Asians entering the province in the late 1880's (ibid.:5). By mid 1870's Canada experienced low rates of economic development. The economic depression in Britain and in the United States exerted a direct impact on the Canadian economy. Low wheat prices, world wide deflation and an overall contraction in international economic activities were major factors accounting for high unemployment and a substantial drop in the exports of staples, lumber, grain and dairy products in Canada (Corbett 1957). British Columbia was no exception. With an economy based on the

export performance of the natural resource sector, the labour market in British Columbia was highly vulnerable to export fluctuations. Jobs were hard to find and Asians were perceived as major competitors in a tight labour market (Chong 1985, Breton 1971 and Canada Manpower and Immigration (ibid.)). As it will be discussed later, the use of Asian minorities as scapegoats for British Columbia's economic and political ills remained unquestioned throughout most of the first half of the twentieth century.

## PHASE II. - 1896 - 1914

By the turn of the century a Canadian economic boom was underway. A rise in world wheat prices was associated with rapid growth of wheat and flour exports in Canada. During the so-called "wheat boom" period, the production of wheat more than doubled. But Canada's economic progress during this period was not restricted to the agricultural sector. Between 1901 and 1911 capital employed in the manufacturing industries increased by over fifty percent. According to Corbett (op. cit.) the development of hydroelectric energy and the growth of secondary manufacturing reflected an overall trend towards economic expansion and industrialization. Furthermore, the building of the transcontinental railway made it possible for new settlers to reach Western Canada. Prairie lands were surveyed and

ready to be given to homesteaders (Marr and Paterson, 1980).

With rapid economic progress came a vigorous campaign to encourage immigration. Sir Clifford Sifton's goal to populate Western Canada with immigrant agriculturalists was achieved. Within the decade from 1901 to 1911 Canada's population increased by thirty-four percent, a population growth rate which had never been attained before (Corbett op. cit). Almost three million immigrants arrived in Canada during this period. Although the vast majority came from the British Isles and from the United States, substantial numbers of German immigrants and immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe - Ukrainians, Poles, Hutterites, Dukhobors, Russians and Romanians took advantage of Sifton's intensive campaign to populate Western Canada. The type of immigrant worker that was sought after to settle the prairies is well illustrated in Sifton's own words:

"I think that a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat, born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children, is good quality."<sup>4</sup>

These newcomers brought with them experience and expertise with innovative farming techniques which became crucial to the take-off of the agricultural sector in Western Canada. By 1912, Canada was the world's third largest exporter of wheat (Corbett, op. cit). The economic potential and the contributions made by these immigrants to the manpower requirements of the Canadian economy were most



important to Canada's evolving economic structure.

While Sifton's attempts to import massive agricultural manpower from Europe succeeded, tighter restrictions were implemented to curtail immigration of Asians. Although Asians were not banned from Canada, the province of British Columbia succeeded in pressuring the federal government to further restrict the entrance of Asians into the province. In 1900 a head tax on incoming Chinese doubled to one hundred dollars and in 1903 it was further increased to five hundred dollars (Immigration Program, 1974). By 1907 a new regulation was implemented to further control Asian immigration. A landing money requirement in the amount of two hundred dollars was introduced for all those Asian immigrants other than Japanese and Chinese. In 1912 this landing requirement was extended to Chinese immigrants in addition to their heavy head tax of five hundred dollars (Canada Manpower and Immigration, op. cit.).

### PHASE III. - 1914 - 1945

The third period of immigration began with the outbreak of World War I and lasted until the end of the Second World War. The flow of immigrants was considerably curtailed by World War I but by 1923 immigration influxes into Canada returned to previous levels. In 1922 the government established a list of "admissible classes" which granted

preferential treatment to immigrants from Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, and from Northern Europe and Eastern Russia. Italians and religious groups such as the German Mennonites also began to arrive (Canada Year Book, 1923). Another significant development in 1923 was the admission of several Jewish refugees from Romania on compassionate grounds. At the same time, the list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries from which to select immigrants severely limited Asians and the Chinese Immigration Act in 1923 cut off completely Chinese immigration into Canada. The anti-non-white immigration policy was so successful that in the Census of 1941 the Canadian Asian population showed a decrease of almost twelve percent from the Census of 1931. The decrease was especially significant among the Chinese. Between 1923 and 1946 when the Chinese Immigration Act was revoked, only 44 Chinese had entered the country legally.<sup>5</sup>

During the 1930's government policy maintained a firm grip on immigration influxes into Canada which was translated into a substantial decline in population growth rates. According to Corbett (op. cit.) immigration levels were closely related to economic development in Canada, being high at times of economic prosperity and low in years of recession. This cyclical relationship between immigration and economic conditions often described as the "tap on and off" policy has been a major characteristic of Canadian immigration policy in the twentieth century (Parai

1975). During the Depression of the 1930's economic expansion and industrialization fell considerably in Canada. A decline in exports, technological innovations and business and government expenditures aggravated Canadian economic depression and unemployment. With the outbreak of World War II immigration was drastically reduced with few exceptions for some European refugees and immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States.

During World War II, Japanese Canadians were subjected to severe discrimination and persecution (Ujimoto, 1980). In British Columbia Japanese fishing boats were confiscated and sold and newspapers closed. On January 16, 1942 an order-in-council was issued to authorize the evacuation of Japanese Canadians from the West Coast. They were settled into internment camps, some were put to work in the sugar beet fields in Alberta and others were forced to work on railroad projects. This treatment of Japanese Canadians in British Columbia cannot be justified by war measures alone. It rather reflects deeper racial resentment in the province which dates back to the mid 1800's. The war seemed to be an extremely useful pretext to implement discriminatory measures which could not be legitimized otherwise.<sup>6</sup> Overall, the third phase of Canadian immigration was characterized by low population growth levels. From 1914 to 1945 barely two million immigrants entered the country. However, this trend in population growth was rapidly changed

in the Post-War period (Canada Year Book, 1945).

#### PHASE IV. - POST WORLD WAR TO PRESENT

Since World War II, Canadian immigration policy has evolved rapidly. The shifts in policies reflected both major structural changes in the Canadian economy and in international migration patterns. Based on Freda Hawkin's study of Canadian immigration (1972), post-war immigration may be divided into four major periods. The first period began in 1946 and lasted until 1957. It was highlighted by the famous pro-selective immigration MacKenzie King statement which served as the official formulation of Canadian immigration policy until 1962 and by the creation of the Department of Canadian Citizenship in 1950.

In 1957 St. Laurent's government was defeated by Diefenbaker's Conservative Party. It was the beginning of a new phase which stretched from 1957 to 1962. It was a period of economic slow-down, high rates of unemployment and low growth rates in the economy. Although this period was characterized by major shifts in immigration policy a most remarkable feature of this period was the introduction of education and skill in the selection criteria of immigrants.

The third period which lasted from 1963 to 1978 coincided with an overall immigration policy formulated to better suit the manpower needs of a rapidly growing economy.

The increasing need for skilled workers and professionals as well as major changes in the traditional sources of emigration to Canada underlined the character of the new Canadian immigration policy which was at its core non-racially discriminatory.

The fourth period lasted from 1978 to present. It was highlighted by the new Immigration Act proclaimed in 1978. The Act was based on the Green Paper - A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study aimed at identifying new immigration policy options. The new legislation brought to a sharper focus the planning and management of immigration and Canada's manpower needs. The following is an examination of the four immigration periods mentioned above to provide a context for examining variations in ethnic salience.

#### PERIOD 1.: 1946 - 1957

After the Second World War, Canadian economy went through rapid development and expansion. Demand for consumer durables, which had been postponed during the war years, increased dramatically. The economy's productive capacity and the production infrastructure were too limited to satisfy the increasing domestic demand. Consequently, major technological and industrial innovations took the form of new processes of production, new types of machinery and

equipment. Concomitant with industrial discoveries was the exploration of mineral resources such as oil, gas, iron ore and nickel deposits in Canada. The industrial expansion that was underway required skilled manpower which the Canadian labour force could not supply. The demand for skilled workers and industrial expertise was further triggered by increased expenditures and investments in the construction and industrial sectors and in public utility projects which reached unprecedented high levels in the late 1940's (Cave and Holton 1961, Vout 1960).

In order to maintain the overall economic expansion, high population growth levels were necessary. In addition larger numbers of specialized workers in the industrial and trade sectors were required to overcome the shortcomings of the domestic labour force. Also significant at the time were labour shortages in some primary industries especially in agriculture, mining and lumbering (Marr and Paterson, op. cit.). However, if on the one hand the positive economic benefits of immigration were made quite apparent, on the other hand a lingering concern for maintaining the cultural homogeneity of the domestic population surfaced in the aftermath of the Second World War. MacKenzie King's statement on immigration policy best illustrates the dilemmas facing Canadian society at the time. In his own words:

"The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population in Canada by the encouragement of immigration ... the fear has been expressed that immigration would lead to a reduction in the standard of living. This need not be the case. If immigration is properly planned, the result will be the reverse ... the essential thing is that immigrants be selected with care and their numbers be adjusted to the absorptive capacity of the country ... people of Canada do not wish as a result of mass immigration to make fundamental alterations in the character of the population. Any considerable oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems ... Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a "fundamental human right" of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy."

In the Prime Minister's statement several major premises may be identified. First immigration was perceived as important for population growth. Second immigration was regarded as a source of economic development if properly planned. Third, immigration had to be selective in order to take into account the "absorptive capacity" of the Canadian population. Fourth, the categorical rejection of Asian immigrants reflected the prerogative that "immigration must not distort the present character of Canadian population".<sup>8</sup> This could be achieved by gearing Canadian immigration policy to express preference for the traditional source countries of Western Europe, Britain and the United States. It is within these policy parameters that the Department of

Citizenship and Immigration was created in 1950. In 1952 a new Immigration Act was passed in Parliament. The major provisions of this Act established an exhaustive list of admissible and prohibited classes to Canada. In practice, the regulation meant that British subjects born or naturalized in the United Kingdom, people of New Zealand, South Africa, Ireland, United States of America and France would be admitted automatically into the country. Relatives of any degree sponsored by residents in Canada, with the exclusion of Asians, were also able to immigrate. Allegations about the inability of Asians to assimilate to the Canadian society due to different life styles, customs and traditions were used to legitimize the tight control kept on the influx of Asians to Canada. Although non-white discriminatory measures permeated Canadian immigration policy during this period, the new manpower demands of the Canadian economy would seriously challenge the ethnic discriminatory nature of Canada's immigration policy in the next decades.



## PERIOD 2.: 1957 - 1962

The second period of Canadian immigration policy began in 1957 and lasted until 1962. It coincided with Diefenbaker's Conservative government. Serious problems in immigration management confronted this government. Huge backlogs of applications under the sponsorship category piled up in European offices and an increasing need for skilled manpower along with heavy international criticism of the discriminatory nature of immigration policy required immediate attention. Although unemployment rates were high in the unskilled sectors of the economy (for example agriculture), there was an overall shortage of skilled and professional labour in Canada.

Crucial structural changes in the Canadian economy characterized the post war period. Economic development implied a shift from primary sector investment to the tertiary sector. Table 2 illustrates the broad features of industrial changes which had a direct bearing on the occupational distribution of the Canadian labour force from 1881 to 1961.

**TABLE 2**  
**CANADIAN LABOUR PROFILE:**  
**PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS WORKING BY INDUSTRY**  
**1881 - 1961**

(omitting 1941)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PRIMARY SECTOR</u>	<u>MANUFACTURING AND CONSTRUCTION SECTOR</u>	<u>TERTIARY SECTOR</u>
1881	51.2	29.4	19.4
1891	49.5	26.3	24.2
1901	44.3	27.9	27.8
1911	39.5	27.1	33.4
1921	36.6	26.5	36.9
1931	32.6	16.5	50.9
1951	23.3	33.2	43.5
1961	14.2	30.2	55.6

Sources: O.J. Firestone, Canada's Economic Development (London, 1958:185)  
and S.G. Peitchinis, Canadian Labour Economies (Toronto, 1970:73)

The proportion of the Canadian workforce engaged in primary economic activity fell from fifty per cent in 1881 to below fifteen per cent in 1961. Also worth noting is the substantial increase in white-collar jobs, managerial, financial, professional and clerical which represented 55.6 percent of the workforce in 1961 compared to 19.4 percent at the beginning of the century. Although the proportion of the workforce in the manufacturing sector grew less rapidly than in other sectors of the economy, labour market opportunities expanded in the new sub-sector industries of

the twentieth century, for example pulp and paper, chemicals, petroleum refining and electrical apparatus (McInnis, op.cit.)

The manpower requirements of the Canadian economy dictated a need for immigrants who possessed skills and expertise. Due to changing patterns of international migration, Canada could no longer rely on immigrant workers from traditional source countries. The post war economic recovery in Europe increased the demand for domestic skilled and professional workers. Higher standards of living and stable employment enjoyed by European workers reduced considerably the incentive to emigrate. Seeking new sources of immigrant skilled labour in Asia, Africa and Latin America became a priority of the Canadian immigration programme in the 1960's. Responding to the need for immigrant workers from the Third World, Canadian immigration policy was amended in 1962. New standards and regulations were implemented to reflect a more non-racially discriminatory approach. The new policy allowed all residents of Canada to sponsor relatives regardless of nationality. The elimination of racial discrimination in the sponsoring category was, in fact, one of the major features of the new immigration policy. Another important component of the policy was the introduction of a new criterion for admission of prospective non-sponsored immigrants to Canada which was based on 'education,

training, skills and other qualifications" (Canada Manpower and Immigration, op. cit.). Also remarkable during this period was the increase in Asian immigrants into Canada. In the Census of 1971, Asian immigrants constituted 1.3 per cent of the total population in Canada compared to 0.7 percent in the Census of 1961. The non-racial approach of the Canadian immigration policy further accentuated the multiracial composition of the domestic populations.

### PERIOD 3.: 1963 - 1978

The third period began in 1963 with the victory of Prime Minister Pearson's liberal government. It was a period of economic recovery and growth as indicated by the Economic Council of Canada:

"More recently, since 1961, the economy appears to have entered a third phase in which a degree of reduction in unemployment has been achieved, productivity gains have been improved, balance of payments strains have been eased, and reasonable price and cost stability has been largely maintained" (Freda Hawkins, 1972:93).

In a climate of economic optimism, the public sector and policy making became the subject of major studies conducted by experts on planning and management. Analyses in public policy and administration were presented by several Royal Commissions, the most important ones being the Royal

Commission Government Organization and the Glassco Committee. In 1965, Pearson announced that a new Department of Manpower would be created with responsibilities for Immigration Policy (ibid.). A year later the new Department of Manpower and Immigration was established. It consisted of an amalgamation of the National Employment Service, elements of the Department of Labour and Immigration services. The creation of this Department made it explicitly clear that immigration policy and manpower were the two sides of the same coin.

The highly racially selective criteria which had characterized former immigration policies were now replaced by non-racially discriminatory immigration regulations. In the sequence of various recommendations made by the White Paper on Immigration, in 1967 new regulations were appended to the immigration law. The major features of these regulations were the abolition of racial and national discrimination for all classes of immigrants, the creation of new category -- nominated relatives, and the introduction of selection standards in the assessment of new immigrants. After 1967 applicants for immigration to Canada were classified via a "point system" which was meant to introduce objective criteria to judge immigrant applicants and by so doing curtail immigration officers' broad discretionary power.<sup>9</sup> With the introduction of the point system, officers' decisions to admit applicants were to be based on skills and

education rather than ethnic origins and nationality.

The number of independent (unsponsored) immigrants to Canada between 1962 and 1968 increased considerably. Whereas in 1962 only 40,848 persons were admitted under the independent category, in 1968 their number rose to 110,627 (Department of Manpower and Immigration. Immigration and Population Statistics, 1974). Admission of these immigrants was based on the level of skill and professional training acquired in the country of origin. Table 3 indicates the changes in immigrant occupations from 1963 to 1967.

**TABLE 3**  
**CANADIAN IMMIGRATION, 1962-1967**  
**PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL WORKERS**

<u>Category</u>	<u>1962</u> %	<u>1963</u> %	<u>1964</u> %	<u>1965</u> %	<u>1966</u> %	<u>1967</u> %
Immigrants with Occupations	49.2	49.4	49.8	50.5	51.0	53.6
Professional & Technical .	11.0	11.34	11.6	11.8	12.1	13.8
Engineers	12.9	12.9	13.1	15.4	16.5	17.0
Natural Scientists	0.64	0.58	0.59	0.64	0.67	0.77
Physicians & Surgeons	0.71	0.73	0.59	0.51	0.52	0.55
Professional Nurses	2.17	1.48	1.76	1.90	1.90	2.00

Source : Statistics Canada, 1971 ; Freda Hawkins(1971 :21)

Although in percentage the increase may not seem considerable, in absolute terms it was highly significant. It becomes clear from the above discussion that Canadian Immigration Policy has not been static but that its major

objectives have shifted with changes in economic needs, government priorities and ideological trends. Prior to 1962 Canada's immigration programmes and legislation expressed a preference for immigrants from Europe especially from the United Kingdom, and from the United States while it maintained a closed-door policy towards Asian immigration. It was not until 1967 that more universalistic selection criterion were applied to immigrants of all ethnic origins. These developments had a major impact on the composition of Canadian population which became more technically diversified in the next decade.

In 1971, a policy of multiculturalism was introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in the House of Commons. The policy emerged as an institutional response to the new challenges posed by an ethnically stratified society. The impact of the multicultural policy will be further discussed below.

#### PERIOD 4.: 1978 TO PRESENT

In April 1978 a new Immigration Act brought Canadian immigration policy into a sharper focus. Non-discrimination, family reunion, humanitarian concern for refugees and a closer interface between Canadian manpower demands and immigration became the major principles underlying the new legislation. Under the new policy, the government after consulting the provinces established an

annual forecast of the number of immigrants to Canada. This forecast is determined by regional, demographic and labour market considerations so that immigration movements could respond more effectively to economic demands (Canada Year Book:1978, 1981).

The Act also established a new family class allowing Canadian citizens and permanent residents to sponsor a wide range of relatives. Regarding refugees, the Act provided special selection standards and procedures relating to the determination of refugee status. An official Refugee Status Advisory Committee was established for the first time reflecting Canada's commitment to its international legal obligation regarding refugees.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1980's the proportion of immigrants who are neither British or French increased significantly. In the Census of 1981 these constituted 27.6 percent of the total population compared to a meager eight percent in 1871. Worth noting is the proportional increase in Asian born immigrants to Canada. Immigrants from Asia represented 43.8 percent of all immigrants for the period 1978-1981 compared to 1.5 percent for the period 1945-1954 (Canada Year Book, 1980-1981, 1985, 1988). It is, however, interesting to note that even though the new regulations of 1967 claimed to abolish preferential selection of immigrants based on national origins, according to the Census of 1981, Europe remained a primary source of the total immigrant population



to Canada (Canada Year Book, 1988). This situation was reversed by mid 1980's. In 1985 immigrants from Asia constituted 45.8 percent of the influx whereas European immigrants accounted for only 22.4 percent (Canada Year Book, 1988). These immigrants were in their majority highly skilled workers, professionals, and entrepreneurs. From 1980-1982, 3,291 immigrant entrepreneurs were admitted to Canada. According to Passaris (1984) these immigrants invested in the Canadian economy 1.1 billion dollars which generated 8,000 new jobs.

Post-war immigration to Canada brought to the fore ethnicity as a salient feature of Canadian society. Central and South America, Caribbean and Asian countries became new sources of immigrants which have accentuated the multicultural and multiracial composition of the Canadian population. The new "ethnics" arriving in Canada in the last three decades were in their majority skilled, educated, and eager for advancement. In spite of their greater heterogeneity of ethnic background their impact on the Canadian society, specifically in its culture and mobility structure had far-reaching economic, cultural and political consequences. The challenge posed by the newcomers to the Canadian status quo and the increased politicization of French-Canadians in the 1950's and the 1960's gained momentum in a society with an ill-defined and ambiguous concept of identity. It is within this context that

multiculturalism within a bilingual framework emerged as an institutional response aimed at accommodating French-Canadians' political mobilization and ethnic minorities' claims to a larger share for economic and political power.

### THE POLICY OF MULTICULTURALISM

The policy of multiculturalism introduced by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971 was derived from Book IV of the Royal Commission's Report on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969). In 1969, the federal government accepted the recommendations of the Commission on the status of English and French as the two official languages in Canada. In the Official Languages Act, bilingualism became the official language policy in Canada. Two years later Prime Minister Trudeau introduced in the House of Commons, a policy which he called "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework".

In his own words:

" ... the government has accepted all those recommendations of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which are contained in Volume IV of the reports directed to federal government and agencies. Honorable members will recall that the subject of this volume is the contribution by other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution ... For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture,

"nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other. No citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly ... a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians ..."

(House of Commons' Debates, 1971. Statement by Prime Minister Trudeau, October 8th).

There are two major factors that provided the momentum for the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism and the subsequent introduction of the policy of multiculturalism. First the rise of French-Canadians' disenchantment with their cultural and socio-economic status in the 1960's became a major challenge to Canadian Confederation, and more specifically to Anglo-Saxon dominance. Dofny's (1966) survey of engineers in Montreal found that Anglophones working for the same company, in the same age bracket and with similar skills had significantly higher incomes than Francophones. Inequalities in the occupational distribution for Anglophones and Francophones were also perceived. In 1961 full time male employees of French origin earned only 79% as much as Anglophones in similar conditions (Dofny and Raynaud et. al. 1975). Second, the new non-racially discriminatory immigration policy outlined in the White Paper on Canadian Immigration Policy of 1966 in the form of the "point system" led to a remarkable shift in the ethnic and occupational composition

of Canadian population. The rise of a non-English and non-French well educated immigrant population brought to the fore ethnicity as a salient feature of Canadian social structure.

It is within this context that a bilingual-multicultural policy emerged as an institutional response to the threat posed by Quebec's nationalism and by other ethnic groups to the ruling dominance of English speaking Canada. As Karl Peter points out:

"The policy of multiculturalism served as a device to legitimize the continued dominance of the ruling English speaking elite and secure its position in society at a time when its position was threatened by Quebec's claim to political power in the one hand and by economic and cultural vitality of ethnic groups on the other hand" (Peter, 1980:60).

What are the major implications of the policy of multiculturalism in Canada? First the official policy definition of culture as "lifestyle" obscures the fact that culture is intimately connected with the group's "life chances" (Porter, 1975). Second, the policy of multiculturalism overlooks the stratified nature of Canadian society along ethnic lines. Finally, there is the question of the efficacy of multiculturalism in promoting national unity.

There is a conceptual dichotomy implicit in the policy of multiculturalism regarding the notion of culture as life styles in opposition to life chances. The policy of multiculturalism defines culture as a monolithic and static entity. The expressive aspects of culture are stressed by focusing on culture as dress styles, folklore, cuisines, aesthetic activities, traditions and so on. This perspective is shared by primordialists (Greeley, 1974; Isajiw, 1975 and Yinger, 1976) who argue that the maintenance of ethnic bonds and ethnic identification among immigrants and their descendants in the U.S.A. and Canada can be largely explained by the efficacy of ethnic attachments in providing a sense of belonging, security and identity in a highly impersonal and industrialized society. Although this perspective is rather useful in understanding the emotional basis of ethnic bonds and the strength of ethnic attachments, by focusing only on the primordial rewards of culture it draws attention away from the instrumental side of ethnic affiliations. Porter in his discussion of Canadian ethnic pluralism (1975) argues that identifying culture as a lifestyle has two major undesirable consequences. Given the differential socio-economic status of ethnic groups, a policy that promotes the maintenance of ethnic heritage tends to reinforce the existing unequal ethnic life chances. The findings of Frank Vallee in his study of French-Canadian communities outside of Quebec tend

to support Porter's hypothesis. In Vallee's words:

"The more a minority group turns in upon itself and concentrates on making its position strong, the more it costs its members in terms of their chances to make their way as individuals in the larger system" (Vallee, 1969:95).

Vallee argues that any collectivity is faced with scarce resources opting for the maintenance of ethnic institutions will draw away resources that could be otherwise used to enable its members to successfully in an achievement-oriented society. The study points out some important issues regarding the costs of ethnic group affiliations in a society in which ethnicity "has served as a form of class control of the major power structures by charter ethnic groups who remain overrepresented in the elite structure" (Porter op. cit.:294). However, such approach fails to account for the development of ethnic groups as interest groups in the pursuit of group or individual interests. Ethnic allegiance may in fact be used for maximizing access to material, social and cultural rewards which could not be easily derived from other forms of social solidarity (De Vos and Romanucci-Ross, 1975; Gans, 1979; Yancey et. al. 1976, Cohen, 1974).

The second consequence deals with the issue of individual and group rights. Porter argues that since the policy of multiculturalism equates culture with ethnic groups, funds are channelled to the latter. By so doing,

individual rights and claims are subsumed under group rights. Porter views such actions as positive discrimination, benign quotas and preferential hiring which focus on groups rather than on individuals as a retreat from the principles of meritocracy of a society organized on "individual achievement and universalistic judgments" (Porter, 1975:296). He further points out that emphasis on group rights rather than on individual rights may intensify rivalry and hostility among ethnic groups in Canada. Burnet (1976) also points out the social costs of the multicultural policy's emphasis on group rights. One of the most controversial areas is the giving of grants to ethnic organizations to help the preservation of their ethnic culture. On this issue, Burnet argues:

"Certain ethnic interest groups will be able, by means of the policy [multiculturalism], to maintain and strengthen their position in relation to others. Those most successful in getting grants from the government will have both the prestige and the money to bid for support, and even to exert pressure on reluctant groups and individuals" (Burnet 1976:38).

A strong case can be made for the role of ethnic affiliation as "psychic shelters" (Porter, 1969) in an urban industrialized society. The importance of ethnic associations, ethnic churches and schools in providing the social and cultural cushions for immigrant communities in Canada cannot be overlooked. However, a policy that

concentrates on the life styles and on non-controversial aspects of culture as mediating factors against discrimination and inequality appears an inadequate device to address the existing problems of an ethnically differentiated society.

Jackie Wilson captures the essence of Canadian multicultural policy in a forceful way:

"The Canadian multiculturalism policy seems to guarantee that we can each do our little dances and flash our pretty lacy petticoats, while we drink our ethnic drinks and admire each other's handicrafts, as long as we realize that in reality the mosaic is vertically organized. It says little about meeting the needs of those of us whose place is at the bottom of that vertical column, who cannot find decent employment or housing, where creative spirit is crushed by poverty, and incessant insecurity, whose children are destined only to replace us in our bottom slots. It does not speak to the injustice that pervades our daily lives if our hair style or skin color is unlike that of the members at the top of the column" (Wilson, 1978:185).

While the policy of multiculturalism focus on life styles and folklore as a way of living, the structural position of ethnic groups in the Canadian society remains unexplored. This led Adam to comment that in Canada "... we celebrate ideological multiculturalism but do not practice structural multiculturalism", the latter meaning that "... the equal access to crucial resources and positions of power by all segments of Canadian society" (Adam, 1984:248).



This has a direct bearing on the second controversial area of the policy of multiculturalism - the question of ethnic structural differentiation in Canada. Porter's The Vertical Mosaic (1969) reveals that there is a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and class beginning with the initial "entrance status" of ethnic groups. The study also reveals that immigrants from Britain and the United States are over-represented in professional, managerial and technical occupational levels while Portuguese, Greeks and Italians occupy the lower ranks of the occupational structure. The assumption that mobility is "ethnically blocked" in Canadian society has led Porter to claim that the initial "entrance status" of minority ethnic groups "can either harden into a permanent class system or can change in the direction of absorption, assimilation, integration and acculturation as a result of which the relationship between ethnicity and class disappears" (Porter, 1980:328). The central role of ethnicity in class formation is perceived as the major distinguishing feature between the United States and the Canadian society. He further suggested that the ideological concept of an ethnic vertical mosaic as opposed to the notion of the "melting pot" is a fundamental source of structural inequality in Canada (Porter 1972).

With respect to ethnic stratification in Canada, Goldust and Richmond (1973) and Clement (1975) have documented a correlation between ethnicity and occupational

differentiation. Goldust and Richmond's analysis (op. cit.) of the economic position of immigrants in Toronto reveals that the earning capacity of immigrant men with similar skills and educational background is structured hierarchically along ethnic lines. English and Jewish origins occupy the top of the hierarchy followed by West-Europeans, Slavs, Greeks, Portuguese, Asians and Blacks at the bottom.

Clement's analysis of the Canadian corporate elite (1975) pointed out that ethnic groups other than English and French are virtually excluded from the Canadian power elite. Although non-charter groups accounted for over 25% of the total population, they constituted only 1.3% of the elite (Clement, 1975). Clement's conclusion is that the Canadian economic elite is characterized by Anglo dominance. Such findings tend to support Porter's assumption that ethnic affiliations are the principal element in sustaining class cleavages in the Canadian society.

Various studies have focussed on the initial economic and social adjustment problems of immigrants in Canada (Richmond 1967, 1974; Ferguson, 1966). These analyses point out that immigrants experience some difficulty in obtaining employment in occupations commensurating to their educational level and qualifications when they first arrive in Canada. However, in the long run, immigrants seem to do as well or better than native-born Canadians economically.

A longitudinal study conducted by the Economic Council of Canada (1978) makes similar observations. The study showed that after three years in Canada a high proportion of Third World immigrants had not been able to find jobs commensurating with their qualifications and earned considerably less than others during their early years in Canada. The survey indicated that after three years in Canada twenty-three percent of Third World immigrants mentioned that lack of "Canadian experience" as an employment requirement was still an obstacle to mobility compared to thirteen percent of other immigrants. Basavarajappa and Verma's (1985) study of Asian immigrants in Canada tend to support these findings. The study showed that although higher numbers of Asian born immigrants who arrived in Canada in the 1970's have university level education, these continued to be under-represented in managerial and professional occupations. The authors suggested that this is mainly due to non-recognition of their qualifications by employers and to a lack of "Canadian experience". Problems of this nature draw attention to the overuse "Canadian experience" as a job qualification which may effectively bar members of ethnic groups from entry into higher occupational levels. To this extent, employment discrimination may in fact contribute to the low earning capacity of recently arrived immigrants particularly those form the Third World.

In his reassessment of ethnicity in Canada, Darroch (1979) argues that the centrality of ethnicity in class formation has been over estimated in previous analyses. Based on data presented by Porter in The Vertical Mosaic (1969), indices of dissimilarity are calculated for each of the ethnic groups between its occupational distribution and that of the total labour force (Table 4). The index of dissimilarity indicates the proportion of one population which would have to become distributed to match the occupational distribution of the comparison population. The study shows that with the exception of the French and the Native Indians occupational differences have declined systematically over time.

**TABLE 4**  
**CANADA: OCCUPATIONAL DISSIMILARITY OF ETHNIC GROUPS**  
**FROM TOTAL MALE LABOUR FORCE FOR 1931, 1951 AND 1961**

<u>Ethnic Groups</u>	<u>Dissimilarity Indexes</u>		
	<u>1931</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1961</u>
British	7.9	5.7	4.7
French	3.4	3.0	3.7
German	21.0	19.1	8.8
Italian	33.4	19.5	17.9
Jew	48.1	31.6	23.1
Dutch	18.5	17.3	10.3
Scandinavian	21.2	14.7	10.6
East European	26.9	14.1	7.8
Other European	35.8	11.1	6.9
Asian	38.0	23.9	20.8
Indian and Inuit	45.3	47.0	42.9
Mean (X)	27.23	18.82	14.32

(Source: Darroch, 1979:212, Table 2)

Table 4 shows a significant reduction in the average dissimilarity between 1931 and 1961 which decreased from 27.23 to 14.32 in a span of thirty years. Table VI indicates a further reduction in the level of ethnic occupational differentiation. As the new tabulation indicates there is a slight rise in the dissimilarity indexes for British and French and a considerable increase for Italians and Jews. Also worth noting is the Asian index which dropped significantly whereas Native Indian index remained extraordinarily high. Still, the mean has lowered from 14.32 in 1961 to 13.9 in 1971. This systematic decrease in the cultural divisions of labour may reflect the post-war shift in Canadian manpower needs as well as the more racially indiscriminate and universalistic immigration regulations implemented in the mid-1960's.

**TABLE 5**  
**OCCUPATIONAL DISSIMILARITY OF ETHNIC GROUPS**  
**FROM TOTAL LABOUR FORCE, 1971**

<u>Ethnic Groups</u>	<u>Dissimilarity Index</u>
British	5.9
French	5.5
German	8.8
Hungarian	12.9
Italian	26.4
Jew	29.8
Netherland	10.9
Polish	9.6
Russian	8.2
Scandinavian	9.8
Ukrainian	8.0
Asian	16.3
Native Indian	29.0
Other	13.0
Mean (X)	13.9

(Source: Darroch, 1979:213, Table 3)

Considering the comparison between ethnic occupational dissimilarities and regional dissimilarities, Darroch (1979) presents evidence that the index of regional dissimilarity is lower than the mean of ethnic occupational dissimilarity by one percent. This evidence led Darroch to conclude that ethnic occupational stratification is not much more salient for Canada as a whole than regional dissimilarities in occupational distributions. Another important issue is brought out by comparing the distribution of women in the labour force and the total labour force distribution. The index of dissimilarity for women is 25%, one of the highest indexes. In the overall ethnic occupational dissimilarity distribution only Jews (30%) and Native Indians (29%) have higher indexes than women. When indexes of dissimilarity were computed between employed women and men the difference is even more striking. Forty-five percent of women would have to change their occupational status in order to match the distributions.

From the above discussion two conclusions may be drawn. First, evidence showed that the role of ethnicity in shaping the Canadian class structure is not as crucial as Porter (1969) and Clement (1975) claimed it to be. Ethnicity as measured by the index of dissimilarity is but one of the major factors determining occupational stratification. Regional occupational differentiation and occupational

imbalances experienced by women seem to be as important for stratification as ethnic dissimilarities. Second, there is a significant trend towards the reduction of ethnic occupational differentiation in the Canadian society. Such patterns tend to refute Porter's hypothesis that the initial "entrance status" of immigrant groups tend to harden into a permanent class system (Porter, 1975).

Although Darroch's efforts at redefining ethnicity in Canada are unequivocal, his analysis fails to explore the structural conditions hampering upward mobility among members of minority groups. Darroch's analysis does not address the question of ethnic power and privilege. It is not possible to infer from the index of dissimilarity whether the groups are dissimilar in a privileged or under-privileged way nor is it possible to test the importance of ethnic affiliations for mobility. To this extent, the calculation of an index of occupational dissimilarity seems inadequate to account for the persistent over-representation of British in the higher professional and managerial ranks of the occupational structure while South Europeans, Blacks and Native Indians remain at the lower levels of the immigrant labour force. Furthermore, the economic and political mechanisms responsible for shifts in the cultural divisions of labour in Canada, particularly in the 1960's and 1970's remain essentially unexplored. The index of dissimilarity is a statistical artifact which provides

little insight into the dynamics of the Canadian occupational structure. Further examination of the processes through which cultural divisions of labour have declined or been maintained over time is required.

A more developmental approach to the question of ethnic stratification over long periods of time is Reitz's (1980) study of social mobility and ethnic stratification in the Canadian society. In his discussion of ethnic group cohesion and social mobility, Reitz argues that there is a correlation between upward mobility and ethnic affiliation. The North Europeans and the East Europeans as a group are better educated, enjoy higher job status and income and, therefore, are more upwardly mobile than the South Europeans and the Chinese. Evidence shows that the former ethnic groups have a considerably lower rate of in-group interaction and ethnic identification than the South Europeans and the Chinese.

The study also reveals that ethnic cohesion is undermined over time. As Reitz states:

The social processes in industrial society operate to reduce economic and or cultural bases of ethnic cohesion greatly over time" (Reitz, 1980:228).

If Reitz's hypothesis holds true, then the policy of multiculturalism seems to reinforce existing ethnic stratification rather than promoting equal opportunities for upward mobility for members of ethnic groups. The policy's



emphasis on cultural distinctiveness has as a net effect the neutralization of group and individual's efforts for socio-economic mobility through a process of ethnic atomization. The institutionalization of cultural differences in a society dominated by Anglophone culture encourages ethnic marginality to the extent that it hardens the boundaries between "us" the charter group and "them" the ethnic minorities. The distinction between charter groups and ethnic minorities as it is explicitly stated in the policy of multiculturalism is an important one to the extent that it reflects the wish of English and French Canadians to differentiate themselves from other ethnics. The conceptualization of ethnicity in terms of "charter" groups and ethnic minorities relegates these latter groups to a marginal position from which they are permitted to contribute with their cultural heritages to the mainstream of the Canadian society while at the time equal access to the occupational structure and political power is denied. In this sense the policy of multiculturalism is deflecting the crucial question of equality of economic and political rights into cultural equality. To what extent symbolic rewards can compensate for continuing deprived status remains an open question. However, if, in fact, the present multicultural policy is meant to be more than a political artifact for co-opting ethnic minorities' claims to a redistribution of resources and political power than a

serious effort would have to go beyond the normative rhetoric of equality of opportunity and recognize the unequal life chances of the different ethnic pieces of the grand mosaic.

The third controversial area of multiculturalism concerns the issue of whether this policy promotes the unity of Canadian society. The policy was based on the assumption that if an individual is to be open to his or her ethnic attitudes, and have respect for other groups, he or she must have confidence in his or her cultural heritage. In this vein Trudeau argued that the policy of multiculturalism would protect the "cultural freedom of Canadians" which would contribute to a society based on "equality", "harmony" and "unity". John Berry, Rudolf Kalin and Donald Taylor's (1976) study of multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada showed that the multicultural assumption that confidence in one's own group identity is a prerequisite for accepting others is unwarranted. The results of the study point to a high correlation between those with higher economic status and those who were most tolerant towards ethnic groups. Those of lower socio-economic status showed less favourable attitudes towards cultural diversity. It is clear that tolerance of others is not dependent on positive own group evaluation but rather on the level of cultural and economic security of the individual. In this sense cultural tolerance is related to the level of individual achievement

rather than to the intensity of ethnic identification.

The "multicultural assumption" attempts to project an image of "equality" and "unity". As the Minister of Multiculturalism stated "the ethnic bond is a positive force that cuts across all lines of conflict including those of region and class". In a society characterized by separatism and bitter labour strife, the multicultural formula becomes an ideological panacea for discrimination and prejudice. When confronted with the objective life chances of ethnics and members of visible minorities the symbolic manipulation of ethnicity loses irremediable all its grandeur. As a Portuguese immigrant carpenter observed:

"They show us all those beautiful images of Canada made up of many different peoples and races. It almost seems we are all equal. But these are only images which do not mean anything. When I look for a job they still ask me if I have Canadian experience. I'm a carpenter that's all. Do you know what Canadian experience is?"<sup>11</sup>

Although only a fifth of the Canadian population has any direct knowledge of the policy of multiculturalism (Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977:241), frequent references to the multicultural movement have been made and much has been written on this issue. Besides the government vested interest in this policy as a form of legitimation of Anglo-dominance, who else is benefitting from it?

According to Jean Burnet, some of the ethnic groups' leaders who have pressed more enthusiastically in support of

a policy of multiculturalism were predominantly Canadian born (Burnet 1975). The upwardly mobile East Europeans viewed the policy as an open avenue for political recognition. In contrast the South Europeans and the Chinese have shown little public interest in multiculturalism. In his book, The Survival of Ethnic Groups, Reitz (1980) argues that high levels of ethnic identification among ethnic groups with low status, for example South Europeans and Chinese, undermines the political participation of these ethnic groups in the Canadian society. In his own words: "Ethnic identification results in low political participation because ethnic inequality encourages a self-definition of marginality" (1980:228).

The situation is ironic. It is the more established ethnic groups with low levels of ethnic identification and attachments that have manipulated successfully their ethnicity in the pursuit of political interest. By rediscovering their ethnic identity, these "professional-ethnics" (Peter, 1981:66) attempt to secure positions of power in an ethnically skewed power elite. For these, ethnicity becomes a gratuitous asset, whereas for those members of ethnic groups situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy, ethnic identification and membership in the group hamper their participation in the political sphere where policies such as multiculturalism are debated. Thus,

they become indifferent to a policy which purports to benefit them. O'Bryan, Reitz and Kuplowska's (1976) study on multiculturalism found that more than three-quarters of all Portuguese interviewed had no knowledge of the policy and more than half of all Chinese were unaware of it. Greeks and Hungarians were the two ethnic groups who showed a greater knowledge of the policy. Total funds allocated to ethnic organizations by multiculturalism for the fiscal years 1985-1986 and 1986-1987 is presented in Table 6.

**TABLE 6**  
**TOTAL MULTICULTURAL FUNDS ALLOCATED TO**  
**PORTUGUESE, ITALIAN, GREEK, CHINESE AND UKRAINIAN**  
**ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS, FISCAL YEARS 1985-1986 AND 1986-1987**

<u>Ethnic Groups</u>	<u>1985-86</u>	<u>1986-87</u>
Portuguese	250,510.00	239,954.00
Greeks	439,385.00	482,868.00
Italians	664,560.00	630,469.00
Chinese	818,271.00	1,033,133.00
Ukrainians	658,400.00	638,353.00

(Source: Figures provided by the Secretary of State.  
 Multiculturalism, Community Development, 1988)

It is interesting to note that although the total Portuguese population in Canada is larger than the Greek (188,105 and 154,365 respectively, Census of 1981), total funds allocated to Greek ethnic organizations for the fiscal year 1986-1987 more than double those received by Portuguese organizations. There is no doubt that unlike the Greeks,

the Portuguese have shown little interest in the policy of multiculturalism. Lack of knowledge of the policy, lack of organizational skills along with personal rivalries and animosities among members of Portuguese ethnic associations are some of the reasons which may undermine the mobilization of Portuguese concerning multicultural issues. Still, the question remains whether this seemingly apathetic behaviour is a strategic form of escaping institutionalized ethnic difference or is multiculturalism simply bypassing the Portuguese? In a society in which multicultural grants are allocated to groups rather than individuals the inability of Portuguese to operate as an "official" interest group may, in fact, relegate them to a marginal position vis-a-vis other ethnic groups which have been more successful in capitalizing on ethnic exclusiveness and on public funds. Moreover, the lack of ethnic political mobilization showed by the Portuguese weakens the group politically, making it more vulnerable to political manipulation by government bureaucrats. In the last analysis, the net effect of the policy of multiculturalism might, in fact, widen the socio-economic and political gap among ethnic groups, and by so doing may promote further divisiveness and inequality in the Canadian society.

In the early 1980's the cultural concerns of the policy of multiculturalism have shifted to more instrumental and pragmatic ones. The economic recession has brought about a

new rationale for multiculturalism. The emphasis on heritage maintenance and promotion of ethnic cultures have been replaced by the instrumental value of culture in competing successfully in external markets. The multicultural manager is perceived as one who can function efficiently in a global economy. Cultural diversity as a resource is expected to maximize profits and give Canada an edge in competing with other countries (Moodley, 1983).

Most recently, the official policy of multiculturalism underwent a significant twist. On December 1st, 1987, David Crombie, the Minister for Multiculturalism tabled a Bill, in the House of Commons, to introduce the Canadian Multiculturalism Act. Under this Bill, the government of Canada and all its agencies, boards and corporations will be committed to "preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages in Canada" (Bill C-93, 3(1,i)). It further states that it will also be the official policy to advance multiculturalism in Canada in harmony with the commitment to the official languages in Canada.

Although the semantics are somewhat ambiguous, the meaning is rather clear. Bilingualism as the sole language policy of the government is losing its momentum. This attempt to give status to languages other than English and French represents a major shift in the policy of

multiculturalism within a bilingual framework enunciated in 1971 by Prime Minister Trudeau. This step towards a multicultural-multilingual policy has to be viewed within other initiatives taken by the Mulroney Conservative government, specifically the Meech Lake Constitutional Accord. The Accord emphasizes the bilingual nature of Canadian society, however, it fails to commit the English-speaking provinces to promote the use of French. The effects of the Meech Lake Accord are still unknown, however, it may have undesirable consequences in promoting divisiveness in Canadian society. A de-emphasis in the use of French at a national level could be crucial for the creation of a French linguistic enclave in Quebec which could further radicalize and alienate the French-Canadians from the rest of Canada. Furthermore, the government's intent to privatize major government's Crown Corporations which have been the instrumental vehicles of bilingualism may, in fact, further hamper the country's language duality.

Regarding the promotion of multiculturalism, the Act does not create a separate Ministry to oversee multicultural issues and programs and no new additional funds for multiculturalism are explicitly offered. Furthermore, no new guarantees or rights other than those already in place are being established. Instead, the Bill commits the government to "ensure that Canadians of all origins have an equal opportunity to obtain employment and advancement in



(Federal) institutions", without ever mentioning how this should be accomplished (Bill C-93, 3(2,a)). Moreover, the Bill clearly states that the government should "promote", "support", and "facilitate" the multicultural nature of Canadian society. Still, the Minister gave no indication of how much money would be budgeted to implement the Bill. Apart from the symbolic declarations of intent, it is still unclear how members of ethnic groups will benefit from this new Bill.

Despite the multicultural ideological shifts and the symbolic moves towards equality of opportunity for all Canadians, the policy of multiculturalism still remains consciously or unconsciously a mere ideological artifact which ignores and overlooks structural inequalities. As Kogila Moodley noted: "By merely postulating that all ethnics are equal and deserve equal recognition, multiculturalism only perpetuates a different reality by ignoring it" (Moodley, 1981:17).

In conclusion, two major implications can be derived from the above discussion. Contrary to what the policy of multiculturalism claims, ethnicity is not static nor devoided of instrumentality. Ethnic expressions can be successfully mobilized in the pursuit of particular interests depending on the circumstances. Second, the role of state policies as an intervening factor in the shaping and re-shaping of ethnic stratification has been of utmost

importance in Canada. These have been rather successful in manipulating ethnicity from above. The institutionalization of ethnicity has diffused the power struggle of ethnic groups from political and economic spheres into a cultural arena in which ethnic distinctiveness is encouraged. By assuming that the degree of ethnic retention is homogenous among ethnic groups, multiculturalism grossly overlooks the fact that ethnic manifestations vary considerably among ethnic minorities. Such variability is largely an expression of different collective adaptation processes to a specific social environment. But at a deeper level, it also reflects the socio-economic conditions and the cultural traditions of the home country as well as the specific circumstances of immigration faced by members of ethnic groups.

It is within this context that the lack of political participation among the Portuguese needs to be examined. Unlike the Ukrainians and East Europeans whose second and third generations were able to capitalize politically on their ethnicity, the Portuguese can hardly afford the manipulation of their ethnic identity in the pursuit of political interest. There are several factors that may account for the political passivity of Portuguese immigrants. First, the majority of the Portuguese now residing in Canada lived part of their lives under a dictatorship which strictly controlled political activities.

Thus, it is not surprising that a vast majority show lack of politicization and tend to refrain from taking part in the Canadian mainstream political life (Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980:210-221). Second, the majority of the Portuguese in Canada are first generation immigrants. Finding suitable employment, housing and the learning of the English/French languages are still major problems facing these immigrants. Identification with the new milieu is tenuous and status insecurity tend to marginalize them from the wider society. Furthermore, personal disputes and animosities among group members tend to neutralize the political mobilization of the ethnic group.

In sum, the socio-economic and political aspects of Canadian society in conjunction with the structural conditions of immigration define the parameters in which ethnicity gains salience. The form and intensity of ethnic manifestations is ultimately dependent on the nature of the processes by which different traditional cultural forms gradually change in response to the constraints posed by the new environment. In order to analyze the nature of ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese in Vancouver, it is necessary to examine the structural conditions of Portuguese migratory phenomena, specifically the nature of the socio-economic and political conditions faced by Portuguese immigrants in the home country. This will provide a counterpoint to an examination of Portuguese emigration to

Canada and to the ways in which ethnicity manifests itself  
among the Portuguese population in Vancouver.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> These categories were based on Kogila Moodley's Topology of Ethnic Groups in Canada (1981).

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book IV, The Cultural Contribution of Other Ethnic Groups. Ottawa, October 23, 1969.

<sup>3</sup> Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. The Gallup Report, June, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in K. Lysenko (1947:31).

<sup>5</sup> Vivian Lai (1971). Also see Historical Statistics of Canada. Statistics Canada, 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Ann Sunahara (1981). For further discussion on this view of the Japanese situation in Canada during W.W.II also see K. Adachi (1956).

<sup>7</sup> Statement of Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada's Immigration Policy. A Report of the Canadian Immigration and Population Study. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1974.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted in Freda Hawkins (1972:93).

<sup>9</sup> For more details on the selection procedures of the "point system" see Canadian Immigration and Population Study, Vol. 2, The Immigration Program, 1974.

<sup>10</sup> A new refugee determination system was introduced on January 1, 1989 (see Bill C-55 and Bill C-84). The new regulations were implemented to curtail on the increasing number of bogus refugee claims as well as to expedite huge backlogs in the processing of applications for refugee status which in 1985 constituted 20% of the total immigration influx to Canada (See Employment and Immigration Canada. Immigration Statistics 1986)

<sup>11</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November, 1987.

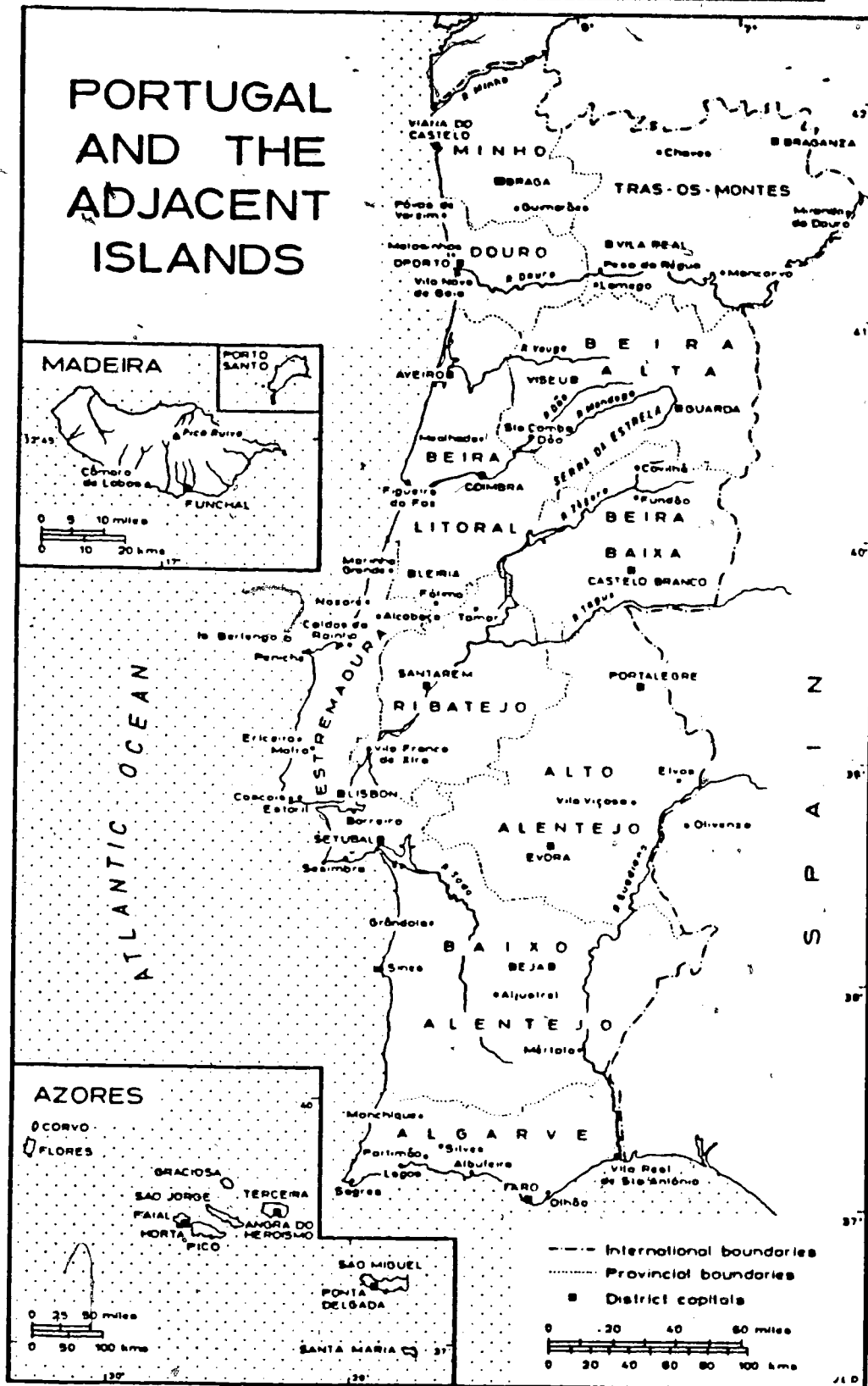
## CHAPTER III. THE ROOTS OF PORTUGUESE MIGRATION

### HISTORICAL, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

Portugal is situated in the south-western most edge of Europe. With a mainland area of 34,500 square miles, Portugal today is one of the oldest and geographically most stable nations in Europe. The national boundaries have remained practically unaltered since the thirteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Although a high degree of cultural unity has been achieved in her 800 years of history, Portugal is highly diversified regionally (Figure 1). Whereas the north of Portugal is the Portugal of granite, of romanesque chapels and churches, Celtic, uninfluenced by Islamic culture, the south of Portugal is the Portugal of clay, Moorish, Mediterranean, with houses with white chimneys reminding one of minarets. But if there is a line cutting Portugal North-South, there is also one dividing the Atlantic littoral from the hinterland. Atlantic Portugal is the Portugal of the cities. The hinterland is the Portugal which has been isolated, forgotten and neglected - the Portugal of peasants and emigrants. The Archipelagos of Madeira and Azores are also part of the Portuguese kaleidoscope. They are the Portugal of volcanic islands molded by deep religious beliefs, processions, poverty and chronic emigration.

**FIGURE 1. PORTUGAL AND THE ADJACENT ISLANDS**



Source: Richard Robinson, Contemporary Portugal  
(London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1979:285).

Emigration has been one of the most dramatic phenomena of the Portuguese people. Since the fifteenth century Portuguese have emigrated to discover, conquer, colonize, trade and to work. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Portuguese, nevertheless certain unique historical developments have been responsible for the explosive pattern of Portuguese emigration in the last two decades.

How and when was the Portuguese explorer and colonist transformed into an emigrant, a guest worker in the four corners of the world? In order to provide an adequate answer to this question, it is important to analyze the historical roots of present migratory movements. The following discussion highlights the major shifts in Portuguese migratory phenomena.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the main objective of Portuguese oceanic voyages was to discover new sea routes. Such a task implied the occupation of strategic points in the uninhabited archipelagos of Azores and Madeira, in Africa, Asia and Brazil. In order to maintain these posts it is estimated that a flow of more than 20,000 people left Portugal annually (Magalhaes Godinho, 1978:253-268). These settlers were subjects of the crown, in the majority poor peasants. With the colonization of the Atlantic Archipelagos and Brazil new categories of settlers emerged: technicians, qualified personnel and foremen who constituted the administrative body of the new colonies;



slaves, convicts and exiled persons who were forced to emigrate and free men who left Portugal in search of new economic opportunities and riches.

Such opportunities emerged in Brazil first in the tobacco and sugar agriculture based on slave labour imported mainly from Africa and supervised by Europeans. Later, at the end of the seventeenth century, the discovery of gold and precious stones gave rise to a rush of Portuguese "emigrants" to Brazil. From 1689 to 1750 it is estimated that 800,000 Portuguese from all occupational and social backgrounds emigrated to Brazil (Rocha-Trindade, 1979:165). In 1760 with the introduction of coffee, Portuguese immigrants were able to take advantage of new opportunities created in trade and small scale industries. There were fundamental differences between Portuguese "emigrants" who went to Brazil in the eighteenth century and those who emigrated more recently in search of a better life (ibid.). Although economic reasons constitute the common denominator to both categories of emigrants, their social and economic status in the country of immigration differs substantially. Unlike the Portuguese emigrant of this century, the "colonist-emigrant" performed a dominant role and enjoyed higher status than the rest of the inhabitants of the colony. Today, Portuguese emigrants face a completely different reality. The emigrant is confronted with a stable social structure which is superimposed on him and over which

he has little or no control. Frequently he has to face a set of cultural values and norms which may differ considerably from those of his own culture and which may stigmatize him as a foreigner and relegate him to an inferior status.

The process of transformation of a "colonist" into an emigrant became quite clear in Brazil. Between the initial period of colonization and the end of the eighteenth century and the period after the Independence of Brazil in 1882, the Portuguese colonist lost his higher status and power and became a foreigner. However, due to common cultural roots and to a relatively peaceful independence process, the majority of Portuguese immigrants in Brazil continued to enjoy higher status than the rest of immigrants from other countries. In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that the former colony continued to be the preferred destination of Portuguese emigrants up until the mid-twentieth century. Despite major efforts made by the Portuguese government to curtail the outflow of Portuguese nationals to Brazil, it is estimated that between 1891 and 1900, 24,000 Portuguese emigrants entered the country annually (ibid.:165).

Another important transoceanic destination has been the United States of America. Although Portuguese emigration was not significant until 1870, between 1871 and 1880, the United States attracted 14,082 emigrants. This number

increased substantially in the next decades until it reached a peak in the decade of 1911-1920 of 89,732 emigrants (Serrão, 1974:135). It is worth noting that contrary to what happened with Portuguese emigration to Brazil, which declined substantially after 1950, the United States continued to attract significant numbers of Portuguese emigrants to the present day.

PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

In the beginning of the twentieth century, emigration from Portugal continued the high trends of the nineteenth century. Table 7 summarizes legal emigration from Portugal for the period 1875-1984.

TABLE 7  
LEGAL EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL BY DECADES, 1875-1984

1875 - 1884	142,919
1885 - 1894	221,903
1895 - 1904	251,104
1905 - 1914	483,501
1915 - 1924	308,083
1925 - 1934	218,798
1935 - 1944	92,688
1945 - 1954	239,691
1955 - 1964	354,205
1965 - 1974	746,243
1975 - 1984	157,075
TOTAL	3,216.210

Source: Data compiled by Serrão (1974) and statistics supplied by the Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas, 1984.

As indicated in Table 7 the total number of Portuguese legally leaving the country between 1875 and 1984 was approximately 3.2 million. However, when the number of illegal immigrants is taken into account, total emigration from 1875 and 1984 reaches nearly 4.2 million (Serrao, 1974:38).

In spite of World War I, which curtailed overall emigration flows, total Portuguese legal emigration did not fall considerably. For the decade 1915-1924, 308,083 Portuguese left the country compared to 483,501 for the period 1905-1914. However, in the next two decades, the American Depression, and World War II had a major impact on overall Portuguese emigration flows which show a substantial decrease. During this period the number of emigrants fell from an annual average of 32,000 to 7,000 (ibid.:166). Up until World War II the Portuguese migratory movement was especially directed to Brazil, North America, Australia and Hawaii.

Between the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the 1950's, the majority of Portuguese emigrants came from Northern and Central Portugal and from the Azores. These emigrants were mainly small landowners, farm workers, artisans and other persons without any specific profession. From 1925 to 1930, 42.6% of all Portuguese emigrants were illiterate. In the next decade this figure fell to 24.1% stabilizing at 19.3% for the

period 1940-1960 (Serrão, 1974:135). The exodus from rural areas reflected major socio-economic deficiencies of a country unable to create the necessary infrastructures to engage in a process of industrialization. By the end of the nineteenth century, Portugal was faced with an extremely impoverished agricultural sector along with a stagnant economy without infrastructures of capital. Efforts to industrialize widened the already existent regional development imbalances. The following passages best illustrate the overall economic problems underlying the decision to emigrate.

Why do farm workers leave? Certainly because agriculture does not remunerate them for their work; they leave in the greatest misery ... How much do they earn? The salaries of day labourers are between 280 and 360 reis per day. It is therefore natural that the worker procures in other areas of the kingdom or in foreign countries a remuneration which will rid him of the misery of slavery.<sup>2</sup>

Although this passage refers to nineteenth century Portuguese emigration to Brazil, unemployment, low standards of living, low productivity in agriculture and poverty continued to be the major causes of Portuguese mass emigration in the twentieth century. A Portuguese immigrant in Vancouver expressed his desire to emigrate in the following terms:

I used to live in a small village in Trás-os-Montes. At the time, there were no roads, running water or electricity. All my family worked in a piece of land

I still own. I couldn't even get enough money to buy a pair of shoes. Then I saw other Portuguese who went to France spending holidays in Portugal. They had nice cars, clothes and money. I got tired of being poor. I left to France. Life was not as easy as I thought. I lived in a "bidonville" (shantytown) for four years then I came to Canada".<sup>3</sup>

The similarities between the two passages are most revealing of the type of economic problems which have remained at the root of Portuguese migratory phenomena for centuries.

#### POST-WAR PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION

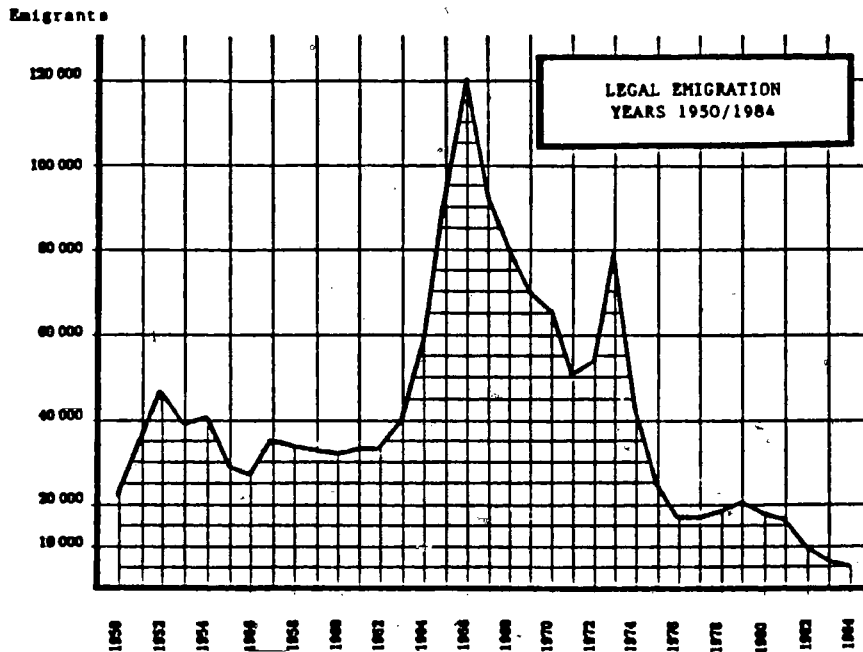
After World War II, the economic gap continued to widen between Portugal and other European countries. In the words of Rocha-Trindade "the Industrial Revolution bypassed Portugal and during the twentieth century the situation did not visibly change" (Rocha-Trindade 1979:166). In the 1950's and especially from the mid-1960's to mid-1970's total Portuguese emigration increased dramatically. Emigration figures for the period 1950 to 1984 are shown in Table 8 and Figure 2

**TABLE 8**  
**PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION - 1950-1984**

Years	Emigrants	Years	Emigrants	Years	Emigrants	Years	Emigrants
1950	21 892	1960	32 318	1970	66 360	1980	18 044
1951	33 664	1961	33 526	1971	50 400	1981	16 534
1952	47 018	1962	33 539	1972	54 084	1982	10 256
1953	39 686	1963	39 519	1973	79 517	1983	6 905
1954	41 011	1964	55 646	1974	43 397	1984	6 573
1955	29 796	1965	89 056	1975	24 811		
1956	27 017	1966	120 239	1976	17 493	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 440 723</b>
1957	35 356	1967	92 502	1977	17 226		
1958	34 030	1968	80 452	1978	18 659		
1959	33 458	1969	70 165	1979	20 574		

Source: F.G.Cassola Ribeiro, Emigração Portuguesa, 1986.

**FIGURE 2.**  
**PORTUGUESE LEGAL EMIGRATION: YEARS 1950-1984**



Source: F.G. Cassola Ribeiro, Emigração Portuguesa  
Porto, 1986.

As Table 8 shows more than one million Portuguese emigrated between 1960 and 1975. The massive exodus of Portuguese during this period led Serrao to point out that such a phenomenon has "... above all starting in the 1960's reached an intensity without precedent in our history" (Serrão 1974:60). From 1950 to 1959 approximately 30,000 Portuguese left the country annually. From 1963 to 1973, the emigration flow increased abruptly reaching its peak in 1966 when 120,000 Portuguese emigrated in a single year.

An important change in the pattern of Portuguese migratory movements took place in the early 1960's when emigrants switched their primary country of destination from Brazil to France. Whereas from 1950 to 1956, 69.2% of the total Portuguese emigration was directed to Brazil, from 1960 to 1969, 50.9% emigrated to France and only 11.3% to Brazil (Cassola Ribeiro, 1986). Table 9 indicates the evolution of Portuguese emigration by country of destination from 1960 to 1982.



**TABLE 9**  
**PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION BY COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION**  
**1960/1982**

Years	West Germany	South Africa	Australia	Brazil	Canada	U.S.A.	France	Netherlands	Luxembourg	Great Britain	Switzerland	Venezuela	Other countries	TOTAL
1960	54	685	98	12 451	4 895	5 679	3 593	3	2	84	8	4 026	740	32 318
1961	277	1 126	110	16 073	2 635	3 370	5 446	55	20	127	49	3 347	891	33 526
1962	483	739	110	13 555	2 739	2 425	8 245	70	50	163	20	3 522	1 418	33 539
1963	1 029	699	112	11 281	3 424	2 922	15 223	148	115	244	53	3 109	1 160	39 519
1964	3 868	1 437	175	4 929	4 770	1 601	32 641	297	328	331	193	3 784	1 292	55 646
1965	11 713	2 802	164	3 051	5 197	1 852	57 319	480	363	421	171	3 920	1 603	89 056
1966	9 686	4 721	288	2 637	6 795	13 357	73 419	1308	462	597	205	4 697	2 097	120 239
1967	2 042	1 947	347	3 271	6 615	11 516	59 415	401	205	631	191	4 118	1 803	92 502
1968	4 886	921	381	3 512	6 833	10 841	46 515	467	215	537	176	3 751	1 417	80 452
1969	13 279	713	446	2 537	6 502	13 111	27 234	420	361	783	276	3 044	1 459	70 165
1970	19 775	702	360	1 669	6 529	9 726	21 962	393	269	506	362	2 927	1 180	66 360
1971	16 997	339	435	1 200	6 983	8 839	10 023	338	175	303	344	3 500	924	50 400
1972	14 337	274	249	1 158	6 845	7 574	17 800	149	529	309	527	3 641	692	54 084
1973	31 479	359	672	890	7 403	8 160	20 692	394	2 870	586	1246	4 294	472	79 517
1974	3 049	452	643	729	11 650	9 540	10 568	278	2 123	666	735	2 550	414	43 397
1975	1 072	217	256	1 553	5 857	8 975	2 866	44	649	630	123	1 903	666	24 811
1976 *	346	210	213	837	3 585	7 499	1 787	19	138	299	98	1 812	611	17 454
1977 *	210	198	465	557	2 280	6 748	1 435	34	194	191	231	3 613	839	16 995
1978 *	112	157	496	323	1 871	8 171	1 604	25	185	145	212	3 580	1 770	18 651
1979 *	76	163	227	215	2 805	8 181	2 168	19	512	177	29	3 944	2 106	20 622
1980 *	67	163	317	229	3 269	4 981	1 862	38	450	100	41	2 744	3 783	18 044
1981 *	43	418	1420	228	2 250	4 293	1 568	51	190	46	44	2 490	3 493	16 534
1982 *	37	146	1463	189	1 480	1 881	584	12	97	30	42	2 845	1 450	10 256
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>134 917</b>	<b>19 588</b>	<b>9447</b>	<b>83 044</b>	<b>113 212</b>	<b>161 242</b>	<b>423 969</b>	<b>5443</b>	<b>10 502</b>	<b>7906</b>	<b>5376</b>	<b>77 161</b>	<b>32 280</b>	<b>1 084 087</b>

Source: Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas  
A Emigração Portuguesa - DADOS ESTATÍSTICOS RETROSPECTIVOS, 1960/82.

As indicated in Table 9, France, West Germany, the United States and Canada became the major countries of destination of Portuguese emigration in the 1960's and 1970's. It is clear that during this period European countries attracted the overwhelming majority of Portuguese emigration flows. With the rapid post-war economic recovery

and industrialization, Europe became divided into two major poles - the suppliers of manpower, (Italy, Spain and Portugal) and the importers of foreign labour, (France, Switzerland, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands and Austria). The slow rate of industrialization in Mediterranean countries vis-a-vis the rest of Europe created surplus labour which was rapidly absorbed by the most industrialized countries. Since the 1950's Portugal became the major supplier of labour to Europe especially to France. While in the French Census of 1962, the number of Spaniards in France was approximately 618,000 compared to 303,160 Portuguese, the Census of 1972 revealed a dramatic change. Whereas the number of Spaniards was estimated as 630,287, the number of Portuguese boomed to 694,500 (Rocha-Trindade, op. cit.:10). However, when illegal emigration is taken into account, the total number of Portuguese residing in France in 1975 was 1,524,413 (Legal emigration: 412,961; illegal emigration 558,882 according to figures provided by the Portuguese Secretary of State of Emigration, 1975).<sup>o</sup>

There are major economic and political reasons underlying the exodus of Portuguese population in the last two decades. During the 1960's, Portuguese emigration flows encompassed not only unskilled labourers and farm workers but also skilled workers, small businessmen and landowners. The majority of these emigrants came from Northern and Central regions of Portugal. Major economic indicators

specific to each region are presented in Table 10. Figure 3 shows the regional migration patterns of Portuguese population from 1960 to 1974.

**TABLE 10**  
**CONTINENTAL PORTUGAL: GROSS PRODUCTS,**  
**INDEX OF INCOME, INDEX OF PURCHASING-POWER BY REGION**

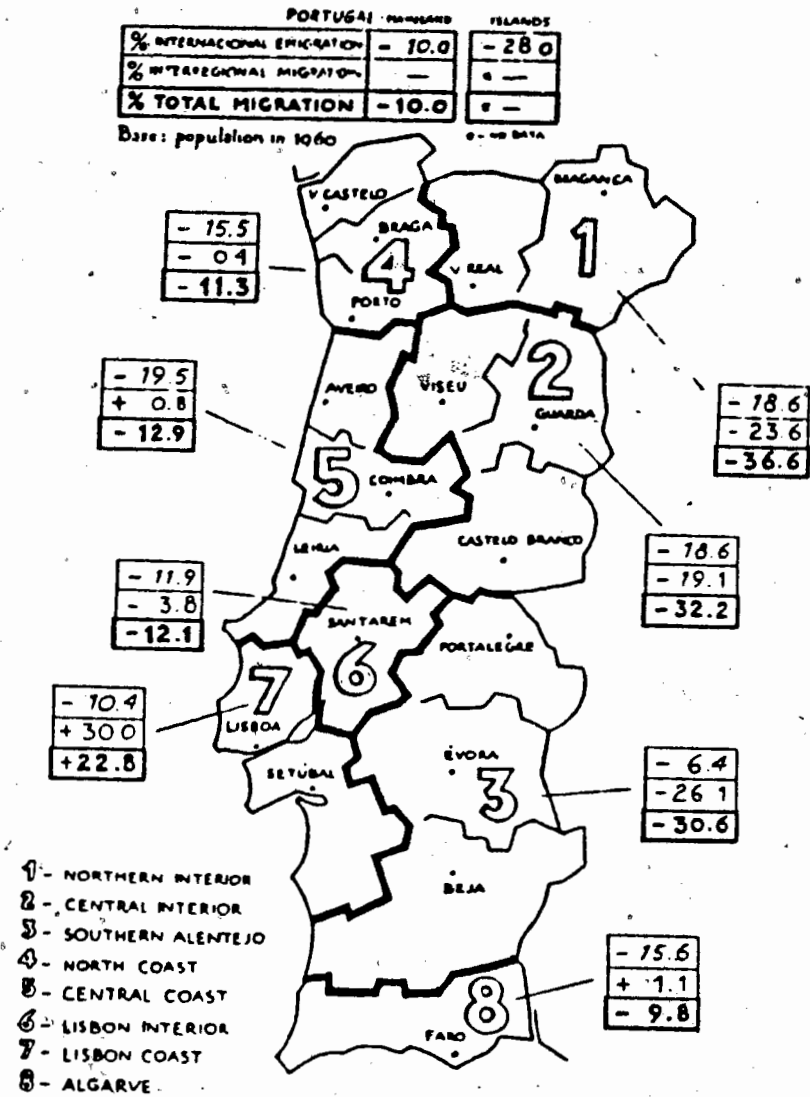
	Gross Regional Product (% of total)	Gross Regional Product in Agriculture (% of total)	Index of Income * (% of total)	Index of Purchasing-Power (% of total)
1. Northern Coastal	23.0	12.1	25.3 (Oporto: 20.0)	24.8 (Oporto: 18.4)
2. Northern Interior	2.7	42.1	1.7	2.6
3. Central Coastal	11.7	26.9	11.2	12.7
4. Central Interior	3.5	36.2	2.7	3.3
5. Lisbon Region	51.8	8.9	53.1 (Lisbon: 39.2)	49.4 (Lisbon: 34.9)
6. Southern Interior	4.9	53.5	3.3	4.1
7. Southern Coastal	2.1	24.7	2.7	3.1

Source: Mário Bacalhau, 1986:60

\* Index of income established on the basis of: consumption of electricity for domestic use, stamp tax, income subject to supplementary (individual) tax, professional tax, television licenses, and passenger cars (light and mixed).

# Index of purchasing power calculated on the basis of: population volume, index of sales, income index, using weighting 1 for the first and second and weighting 2 for the third.

**FIGURE 3**  
**REGIONAL PROFILE OF PORTUGUESE MIGRATION 1961-1974**



Source: Guy Clousse, 1986:148.

One of the most striking features of Table 10 and Figure 3 is that those regions with the lowest standards of living show the highest indices of migration. The wide economic disparities existent between the Portuguese coastal regions and the hinterland (Table 10) are at the root of

interregional and international migration. There is a clear pattern of internal migration (rural-urban) which is especially accentuated in the Northern Interior (-23.6%) and the Southern interior (-26.1%). Poor economic conditions and lack of improvement in their standards of living are the major reasons pushing migrants out of their rural villages to the cities (especially Lisbon +30%). For many, this constituted the first step in a migratory cycle which led them, ultimately, to foreign lands. For the period 1961-1974, international migration is a generalized phenomenon affecting all regions with special emphasis in the Northern Interior, Central Coastal and Central Interior regions which show the highest indices of international migration.<sup>5</sup> Apart from economic pressures, the outflow of emigrants in the 1960's and early 1970's was also increased by those whose reasons for leaving Portugal were not only economic but also related to the start of colonial wars in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique.

While the European powers, Britain, France and Belgium were already engaging in the process of decolonization after World War II, Portugal kept a strangle hold on her African Territories. Apart from economic reasons, the conceptualization of the "empire" as an extension of the metropolis may have contributed to the maintenance of Portuguese colonial rule until the coup of 1974. Salazar who became Prime Minister in 1932, a post which he held for

more than thirty years, was not only determined to balance the national budget but also to keep a firm grip on the "overseas provinces" as they were referred to in the Colonial Act of 1930.<sup>6</sup>

Salazar, a nationalist himself, visualized the empire, almost twenty-two times the size of Portugal as a self-contained nation. The colonies would absorb the excess of population and produce the raw materials necessary for the mainland in exchange for manufactured goods. The slogan "Portugal não é um país pequeno" ("Portugal is not a small country") epitomizes Salazar's version of expansionism. In his view, the colonies represented four hundred years of Portuguese expansion and settlement which he held intransigently.

Increasing political mobilization among Liberation Movements in the colonies led to the first insurrection in Angola in 1961. In 1963 hostilities begun in Guinea and in 1964 in Mozambique. The colonial risings led to the formation of a large army and the extension of compulsory military service to four years. Aware of the human cost characteristic of a situation of war, many Portuguese left the country, often illegally, to avoid future mobilization for the wars in Africa. Others, due to their political opposition to Salazar's regime and colonial policy emigrated to avoid personal persecution. Salazar's regime could do nothing to stop mass emigration which reached alarming

proportions by mid 1960's. Furthermore, the remittances of these emigrants which in 1972 constituted 9.7% of the GDP (Charney, 1986:95) were most important to finance the colonial war which consumed 40 percent of the national budget between 1970 and 1975 (Brettell, 1986:73).

#### MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS FROM 1974 TO PRESENT

Due to Salazar's deteriorating health, Marcello Caetano took office as Prime Minister in 1968. Within a year of taking office some attempts at liberalization were made. Censorship was relaxed, left opposition leaders such as Mario Soares were able to leave exile. Literature deemed subversive was allowed to go on sale.

Industrial growth was accelerated in the first years of Caetano's government. Foreign companies were allowed to open factories in Portugal and domestic investment was encouraged in the industrial sector. Easy credit and incentives to companies to sell shares to individual investors generated higher economic growth. However, since the bulk of the investment was directed to capital-intensive industries, no considerable change in employment in the industrial sector occurred. With an ever increasing budget deficit due to military overspending and an inflation rate which in 1974 was approximately 30%, Portugal remained one of the poorest countries in Europe (Kayman, 1987:54).



Inflation ate into the modest increases in the wages of lower-income groups for whom emigration became the only alternative to a precarious existence in their country of origin.

On April 25, 1974, units of the Army known as the Armed Forces Movement (Movimento das Forças Armadas) deposed the Salazar-Caetano regime. The authoritarian rule that lasted nearly half a century collapsed within twenty-four hours. Three major factors prompted the "April Revolution". First, the extensive involvement in the colonial wars had led to an increase in permanent officers. By mid-July 1973, a new bill gave conscripted officers parity with career officials. This situation created deep internal military squabbles between the two groups. Second, ideological conflicts within the Armed Forces regarding the legitimacy of colonial policies further accentuated professional grievances and animosities (Harvey, 1978; Gallagher, 1983; Kayman 1987). Third, extreme inequality in the distribution of wealth and income, class exploitation, lack of technological industries caused by limited finance which was further restricted by the colonial wars brought to the fore the structural weaknesses of a country worn out economically.

In July 1974, President Spínola formally accepted the principle of independence for all African Territories. After 400 years of Portuguese rule in Africa, the empire received abruptly the last blow. Negotiations with African

Liberation Movements proceeded immediately. Within a year independence was conferred on Angola, Mozambique and Guinea. The transition from an authoritarian rule to a revolutionary situation was characterized by political unrest and instability. Between 1974 and 1976 former ministers, highly placed civil servants, entrepreneurs, financiers, and professionals left the country for Spain and especially for Brazil to avoid persecution and a potential decrease in their standards of living.

Social unrest (strikes, demonstration, collectivization of latifundia in Alentejo, expropriations), fall in production, reduction in private investment and a substantial decrease in tourism and remittances from Portuguese emigrants created serious disequilibrium in the balance of payments, unemployment and high inflation. The situation was further aggravated by the entry into Portugal of nearly 750,000 people from the former Portuguese colonies (Cabo Verde Archipelago, the Islands of Sao Tome e Principe, Guine-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, the Island of Timor and the city of Macao on the southeast coast of China (Rocha-Trindade, 1979).

The year 1974 marks a major turning point in the evolution of Portuguese migratory movements. While prior to 1974, Portugal experienced a constant massive outflow of nationals, since 1974 emigration from Portugal has decreased considerably. Whereas 293,758 Portuguese have left the

country between 1970-1974, the figure for the period 1980-1984 was 58,312. Table 11 shows Portuguese legal emigration figures for both periods.

**TABLE 11**  
**LEGAL EMIGRATION FROM PORTUGAL, 1970-1974 AND 1980-1984**

1970	66,360
1971	50,400
1972	54,084
1973	79,517
1974	43,397
<hr/>	
TOTAL	293,758
<hr/>	
1980	18,044
1981	16,534
1982	10,256
1983	6,905
1984	6,573
<hr/>	
TOTAL	58,312
<hr/>	

Source: Statistics provided by the  
Portuguese Secretary of State  
for Portuguese Communities, 1986.

Also worth noting is the shift in countries of destination. During the first period (1970-1974) the Portuguese preferred destinations were France (90,871), West Germany (87,493), U.S.A. (84,425) and Canada (55,871). During 1980-1984, the main countries of destination for Portuguese were U.S.A. (16,182), Venezuela (10,095), Canada

(8,518), France (5,235) and Australia (5,114).<sup>7</sup> The suspension of emigration permits, the energy crisis of 1973 and the adverse recessionary repercussions in the European economy were major factors contributing to the shift in Portuguese emigration from Europe to the American Continent. After 1973 several European countries (France, Netherlands, Germany and Belgium) imposed freezes or greatly restricted the entry of foreign labourers. In 1974, France suspended indefinitely any new arrivals of foreign workers. Three years later, the French government attempted to encourage the return of foreign immigrants by offering a 10,000 franc bonus to any immigrant residing in France for more than one year (Koelstra and Simon, 1979).

Regarding Portuguese return migration, official statistics are lacking, however, the Portuguese Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities estimated that an average of 26,000 Portuguese are returning annually. In 1986, the total number of returns was approximately 30,000. Incentives to return implemented by host countries, economic recession and unemployment in the countries of immigration along with a certain financial stability attained by Portuguese emigrants seem to be the major push factors encouraging the return to the country of origin. Furthermore the entrance of Portugal into the E.E.C. in 1986, and the election of a majority government in 1987, (the first one since the coup in 1974), have created an

atmosphere of political stability and economic optimism. If fatalism and passivity had been nurtured as national characteristics during Salazar and Caetano's regime, attitudes seem to be changing in contemporary Portugal. A recent article in the "Expresso", the weekly newspaper with the largest circulation in Portugal, puts it as follows:

Portugal is on a high. It is the first time in our history. The last time we were minimally high it was in the era of the Discoveries. Only now it is better. We like Lux, we get along with Angola. We like to solve problems. We love to face reality. The time is neither for defeatism nor illusions. Our surname is Pragmatism (Miguel Esteves Cardoso, Expresso, October 10, 1987).

Despite the irony and the sarcasm, the message reveals a mood of optimism and confidence that prevails presently in Portugal and which may constitute major pull factors for return migration.

The effective re-integration of Portuguese emigrants in Portuguese society poses critical problems at an individual and societal level. Emigration represents a radical change in the structure of life of the emigrant. In the country of immigration, the immigrant has to adapt and conform to social and cultural patterns which are usually alien to him. At the same time and after long periods abroad, especially in the case of transoceanic migration, the immigrant acquires a distorted view of Portuguese reality. The images he retains of his country of origin mirrors a reality that

has long ceased to exist. The society he left in the 1950's and 1960's remains frozen and intact but only in his mind. The cultural, social and economic developments in the country of origin have bypassed him.

To return home after a decade or more implies new adjustments to the "new" surroundings. In order to attenuate and minimize re-integration problems, Portuguese official migration policy has emphasized the creation of economic, social and professional conditions to accommodate the return of those abroad. Portuguese authorities defined the basic features of migration policy in October 1987 as follows:

1. Extending Social Security to all Portuguese living abroad through bilateral agreements.
2. Promoting Portuguese language and culture through the creation of Cultural Centres in host countries.
3. Promoting the new Portuguese reality not only among the Portuguese Communities abroad but also in the host countries as such.
4. Stimulating and facilitating the construction and the purchase of apartments by Portuguese emigrants.
5. Sensitizing and informing local communities with high rates of emigration about the problems of migration. (Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas, Preparar O Futuro: Apostar Nos Portugueses. Lisboa:October, 1987).

Regarding the last point, major efforts have been made in Portugal to make people and communities receptive to the social problems arising from emigration and re-integration

The project "Community Receptivity in Areas of High Emigration" was launched in the early 1980's to increase the receptivity of the Portuguese residing in Portugal towards the problems faced by Portuguese who have resided abroad and to minimize the cultural and social gaps concerning the returnees. Presently, attempts are being made to launch similar programmes at a national level.

One of the most immediate consequences of return migration is the suburbanization of the rural countryside. The building of large houses which most often combine Portuguese regional architectural styles with architectural features of the country of immigration is rather conspicuous in the Northern and Central Regions of Portugal (regions with the highest indices of emigration). These houses due to their size and architecture are the ultimate symbols of social and economic success - they stand out like "castles" on top of hills.

Besides the symbolic representation of social status and prestige, the blending of different architectures is most interesting to the extent that it reveals how immigrants not only tend to transplant to the country of immigration traditional cultural forms (Chimbo, 1980, 1981 and Jansen, 1981) but also how they tend to reproduce certain features of the country of immigration upon returning to the homeland. If the houses of Portuguese living abroad may have outside a small altar with the image

of Our Lady of Fatima or tiles depicting favorite saints, in Portugal they may have French fountains or Swiss roofs. The house represents the synthesis between two life styles which most often have little apparently in common. It is an attempt to reach an equilibrium, a reconciliation between different realities lived by the emigrant and which sets him apart from the rest of his village neighbours. The house is the overt marker with which he differentiates himself from others.

In addition to house construction, Portuguese emigrants also invest their savings in stores, small factories, coffee shops and restaurants. A Portuguese immigrant who returned after twenty years of residence in Vancouver opened up recently a coffee shop in his native village - O Café Canadiano (The Canadian Coffee Shop). In his "Café" one can see the flags of Portugal and of Canada which he justified as follows:

"I'm a Portuguese, you know. But after so many years in Canada I also became a little bit Canadian. Besides my children and grandchildren are all Canadians".<sup>8</sup>

In Portugal he emphasizes his "Canadianess" which may amount to no more than a token identification with Canada and Canadian symbols such as the flag, the anthem and hockey games (for example a Portuguese immigrant who has resided in Vancouver for many years is planning to erect a satellite dish in Portugal to receive Canadian hockey games).



However, being a Portuguese-Canadian in Canada goes beyond a symbolic identification with the Portuguese culture. For the majority ethnic identification and interaction with members of the ethnic group becomes a way of living whereas for others ethnic attachments and involvement in the ethnic community becomes sporadic and peripheral. The ways in which ethnicity gains salience among the Portuguese in Canada specifically in Vancouver will be the major focus of the following chapters.

FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> See Oliveira Marques (1972) for a full discussion on the historical foundation of Portugal.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in C. Brettell (1986:69).

<sup>3</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, September 10, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> For a full analysis of Portuguese emigration to France see Beatriz Rocha-Trindade (1975); C.B. Brettell (1986) and Guy Clausse (1986).

<sup>5</sup> Unlike Northern Interior and Central Interior migratory flows, which were not only directed to the urban centres but also to foreign lands, Southern Interior migration was especially directed to the cities. A major factor accounting for different migratory patterns between the Northern and Southern regions has to do with the type of land tenure existent in these regions (minifundia in the North and latifundia in the South) and consequently with the differential ability shown by these migrants to mobilize the necessary economic resources to emigrate. See Rich Charney's (1986) analysis of Portuguese regional emigration patterns and remittances.

<sup>6</sup> See António Figueiredo (1975); T. Gallagher (1983) and L. Graham (1975) for a detailed analysis of Portuguese authoritarian regime and Colonial Policies.

<sup>7</sup> Figures provided by the "Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas" Lisboa: October 1987.

<sup>8</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Portimão, Portugal, August 1987.

## CHAPTER IV. THE PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN CANADA

### OVERVIEW

The first official Portuguese presence in Canada dates back to 1501 when Gaspar Corte-Real landed in Newfoundland and explored the coast up to Placentia Bay. During the sixteenth century other Portuguese fleets maintained contacts with the North Atlantic coasts. Although very few Portuguese settled in Canada during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many Portuguese ships came to fish for cod in Newfoundland waters during the last four centuries. The Portuguese historical presence on the North Atlantic coasts has tended to be down-played by historians in general. However, the historical presence of the Portuguese is demonstrated by maps dating to the age of Discoveries and by Portuguese names given to bays, capes, islands, rivers and ports in Atlantic Canada.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the Second World War, the Portuguese presence in Canada was not significant. Mass emigration of Portuguese to Canada is a recent phenomenon. Between 1926 and 1927 only 14 Portuguese entered Canada compared to 1,427, 9,500 and 16,333 in the years 1955, 1967 and 1974 respectively (Canada Year Book: 1927, Census 1976). Table 12 shows the evolution of Portuguese immigration to Canada from 1946 to 1984.

**TABLE 12**  
**PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1946-1984**

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1946	38
1947	25
1948	51
1949	66
1950	87
1951	157
1952	256
1953	555
1954	1324
1955	1427
1956	1971
1957	4748
1958	2177
1959	4354
1960	5258
1961	2976
1962	2928
1963	4000
1964	5309
1965	5734
1966	9525
1967	9500
1968	7738
1969	7182
1970	7902
1971	9157
1972	8737
1973	13483
1974	16333
1975	8547
1976	5344
1977	3579
1978	3086
1979	3723
1980	4230
1981	3290
1982	2244
1983	1350
1984	1342

Sources: Canada Department of Citizenship and Immigration  
 Statistics Section. Ottawa, 1956.  
 Canada Department of Citizenship and Immigration  
Immigration, from 1956 to 1984.

The first phase of large scale emigration of Portuguese to Canada took place between 1952 and 1957. During this period labour shortages in Canada prompted the Canadian government to sponsor a program in which unskilled labourers were recruited to work in pre-assigned jobs on farms and on railway tracks. In 1952, 555 Portuguese arrived in Canada as a result of a bilateral agreement signed by both countries.

In 1958, the program was cancelled due to high unemployment rates in the unskilled sectors of the Canadian economy. By that time approximately 10,710 Portuguese had already entered the country. These immigrants laid the foundation for a kinship-based migration of Portuguese into Canada which reached its peak between 1965-69 when one quarter of all Portuguese immigrants arrived.

According to figures compiled by the Portuguese Secretary of State for Emigration, for the period 1950-59, 38.2% of Portuguese immigrants in Canada came from the mainland, 59.8% from the Azores and 2% from Madeira.<sup>2</sup> Such a regional migration pattern has been maintained up until 1980. From 1980 to 1984, for the first time, the number of Portuguese emigrants to Canada from the mainland surpassed that of Portuguese from the Azores. Table 13 illustrates Portuguese emigration to Canada by major regions of origin from 1950 to 1984.

**TABLE 13**  
**PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION TO CANADA BY REGIONAL ORIGIN,**  
**1950-1984**

<u>Regions</u>	<u>1950/59</u>	<u>1960/69</u>	<u>1970/79</u>	<u>1980/84</u>
Mainland Portugal	3,806	19,962	22,152	4,598
Azores	7,595	30,013	32,955	3,887
Madeira	249	412	763	63
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>11,650</u>	<u>50,387</u>	<u>55,870</u>	<u>8,548</u>

Note: These figures refer only to legal emigration

Source: Cassola Ribeiro (1986)

In the 1950's the majority of Portuguese who arrived in Canada were highly mobile with no family attachments in Canada. Most of them received less than four years of formal instruction in Portugal and had no knowledge of other languages. Estimates from the Portuguese Secretary of State for Emigration show that for the period 1955-59, 42% of Portuguese transoceanic emigrants were classified as persons without profession and 34% were rural workers. In fact, to be admitted into Canada in the 1950's prospective Portuguese immigrants had to have the status of a rural worker. As evidence Canadian immigration officers only required the new immigrants to have calloused hands (Alpalhao and Da Rosa, 1980).

Upon arrival in Canada these first immigrants were sent to work in rural areas for at least one year for the

sponsoring farmers. However, in a very short time, the great majority of Portuguese gradually left the rural areas to settle in the urban centres. The major reasons that prompted the rural-urban migration movement had to do with low wages and poor working conditions in the agricultural sector. Furthermore, employment opportunities were far greater in the cities especially in the industry and construction sectors. Although the majority of these newcomers had grown up on farms, many had left their villages to find employment in service industries and construction in towns and cities. Previous work experience in an urban setting not only raised their expectation for better financial and educational opportunities but also proved to be a useful tool facilitating the adaptation process of the immigrant to an urban industrial setting.

The following case story is an example of a rural to urban migration pattern commonly found among the Portuguese pioneers in Canada.

Mr. Silva left his rural village in Central Portugal and went to Lisbon where he worked in menial jobs. In 1953 he came to Canada to work in a farm near Prince George. As he puts it: "I almost died on that farm. I used to get up at five o'clock in the morning and worked until four o'clock in the afternoon. They paid me \$1.50 per day and almost starved me. If it was not for the milk I drunk while milking the cows I think that I could not have survived there. A year later I heard that there were several Portuguese working in Kitimat. I left the farm immediately. I worked for Alcan for several years and then came to Vancouver. I have been here for the last twelve years. Presently, I am unemployed but I have been working as a cement finisher".<sup>3</sup>

Socio-economic factors seem to be major determinants of the place of settlement of Portuguese immigrants in Canada. In the 1950's they tended to settle in major cities such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. This pattern of settlement has been maintained to present. Almost half of the total Portuguese population in Canada (194,635) live in the Toronto area, 12% live in Montreal and 4% in Vancouver (Multiculturalism Canada. Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected/Ethnic Visible Minority Groups. Census 1981. March 1986).

In the 1960's emigration from Portugal increased abruptly. From 1960 to 1969, 60,150 Portuguese immigrants entered Canada compared to 17,056 for the period 1950-59. In the 1960's Canada became the fourth preferred destination for Portuguese emigrants. Of the total 620,811 Portuguese who emigrated from Portugal in the 1960's, 7.8% came to Canada, 10.3% to the United States, 11.3% to Brazil and 50.9% to France (Cassola Ribeiro, 1986).

In 1963, a new immigration policy was adopted in response to the demands of a rapidly growing Canadian economy characterized by an increasing need for skilled workers and professionals. To this effect, Canadian immigration policy stressed the importance of skill as the main criterion in the selection of unsponsored immigrants. Despite the numerous highly skilled technicians and white



collar workers arriving from Portugal in the 1960's, this shift in Canadian immigration policy made it particularly difficult for the Portuguese to qualify as independent immigrants, since those more likely to emigrate were unskilled workers who had on average four years of formal schooling in the homeland.

While some Portuguese took advantage of the relaxed immigration laws between 1967 and 1972 which permitted the visitor to apply for landed immigrant status within the country, a large percentage of Portuguese immigrants to Canada in the 1960's and 70's were either sponsored or nominated by relatives already residing in the country. According to the Green Paper on Immigration 75% of the 64,999 Portuguese immigrants to Canada for the period 1968 to 1973 entered under the sponsored and nominated categories (Green Paper on Immigration 1974). This pattern has been maintained throughout the years. In 1986, 80% of all Portuguese entering Canada were admitted under the family category; only 12% entered under the independent class (Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration - Immigration Statistics, 1986).

After 1976 total Portuguese emigration to Canada declined substantially. This may be attributed to changes in Canadian immigration policies and to the improvement of the Portuguese economy in the 1980's and rising expectations for better economic and educational opportunities due to the

entrance of Portugal into the E.E.C. in 1986. Although the number of Portuguese legal emigrants to Canada has declined considerably in the last decade, Canada is still the third preferred country of destination of Portuguese migration flows, just behind the United States and Venezuela.

During 1985 and 1986 approximately 3,000 Portuguese immigrants claimed refugee status in Canada because of religious persecution of Jehovah's Witnesses. Amnesty International, refugee-aid groups, all, confirmed that the claims were unfounded since there was no religious persecution in Portugal. The Portuguese Secretary of State for Portuguese Communities, Dr. Manuela Aguiar who visited Canada in 1986 claimed that "people in Portugal are shocked about the false refugee claims" (The Globe and Mail, March 31, 1986:A14). She also maintained that there was no religious persecution of minority groups in Portugal. Several Portuguese community leaders in Toronto blamed the recent illegal influx of Portuguese on "Canada's mismanaged refugee-determination system" as well as on "Canada's restrictive family reunification program" (The Globe and Mail, March 12, 1986:A16-A17). Many claimed that long years of waiting for family reunification claims to be processed and red tape at the Canadian Embassy in Lisbon are major factors responsible for Portuguese refugee bogus claims.

On July 17, 1986, the Canadian government imposed a

visa requirement on all Portuguese visitors to Canada. Portuguese community leaders in Toronto disapproved openly of such a measure, "the federal government in trying to handle the problem of illegal immigration has penalized an entire community for the misdeeds of a few" (The Toronto Star, July 17, 1986:A1). The President of the Portuguese Interagency Network in Toronto, Mr. Ed Graca, commented:

"I just don't like the picture that's been painted of the Portuguese community ... It's almost like a racist reaction ... What the political ramifications will be, only time will tell ... We're not a very vocal community but the numbers are there" (The Toronto Star, July 17, 1986:A1).

Most recently, one Portuguese who has failed the first screening stage of the new Refugee Determination process was ordered to leave Canada (The Globe and Mail, February 10, 1989:D2). Others have withdrawn their claims while still others are waiting for a hearing.

In Canada today there are Portuguese settlements located from coast to coast. Table 14 shows the distribution of Portuguese population in Canada by province.

**TABLE 14**  
**CANADA: PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION BY PROVINCE, 1986**

NFLD.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	B.C.	YUKON	N.W.T.
620	120	1,425	720	33,370	162,200	8,430	630	20,755	110	

Source: Canada Department of Citizenship and Immigration  
Immigration Statistics, 1986.

The majority of Portuguese immigrants in Canada are semi-skilled or unskilled labourers concentrated in manufacturing, construction and service industries. According to figures provided by the Canadian Secretary of State in 1981, 23% of all Portuguese worked in Machine Assembly and Product Fabricating which is more than twice the proportion among the general population (Multiculturalism Canada, Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected Ethnic Visible Minority Groups 1986:71). Studies conducted in Toronto found that the majority of the Portuguese were employed in blue collar occupations (Anderson, 1974). Similar findings are shown in Alpalhao and Da Rosa's (1980) study of the Portuguese in Quebec. Of all of the Portuguese residing in Montreal, 54.7% were industrial workers compared to the Canadian average of 24.8%. Also worth noting is the low percentage of Portuguese administrators 2.2% compared with the Canadian average of 10.0% (ibid.:174-176).

Portuguese women are for the most part employed in manufacturing, janitorial services and housekeeping jobs. In Eastern Canada, of all the Portuguese working in Machine Assembly and Product Fabrication, 56% are women compared with 20% of all workers in those occupations (ibid.:71).

In 1980, average incomes were as follows:

	<u>PORTUGUESE</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>
Males	\$14,903	\$ 16,918
Females	7,747	8,414
Both Sexes	11,791	12,993

Source: Multiculturalism Canada. Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected Ethnic/Visible Minority Groups. 1981 Census. March 1986.

Of all the Portuguese, slightly over 5% had incomes over \$25,000 compared with 10.6% of all Canadians (ibid.:74).

Although Portuguese have average incomes lower than the national average, the Portuguese emigrated to Canada determined to improve their living standards and achieve financial success. The majority of Portuguese have attained their goals. Most of them own their own house and have been able to accumulate personal savings. However, the majority of them have remained in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. Upward mobility from their low initial "entrance status" simply has not occurred. A study conducted by Goldust and Richmond (1979) in Toronto shows that Portuguese and Greeks have the lowest occupational status. Reitz's study (1980) on social mobility and ethnic stratification in Canada tends to support these findings. South Europeans (Portuguese, Italians, and Greeks) have lower job status than the North and East Europeans or the Chinese.

But if the first generation of Portuguese immigrants has not been able to overcome their low "entrance status", the second generation seems to experience a certain degree of upward mobility. The children of Portuguese immigrants are achieving higher job status and higher levels of income than their parents (Richmond, 1986). This results mainly from higher education attained by the second generation. Whereas the educational level of the first generation of Portuguese immigrants is extremely low with high rates of illiteracy and semi-literacy, the average education for the second generation is 10 years. Many are taking vocational courses and some are entering universities. In spite of the higher levels of schooling attained by the second generation in Canada, Portuguese like Italians and Greeks, attain less education than Jews, Asians and Germans (Reitz, 1980). Reitz points out that the major reasons accounting for such a differential in educational attainment have to do with different perceptions held by various ethnic groups concerning the utility of education in the job market and of their own opportunities for educational achievement.

Historically the Portuguese communities in Canada have been organized around the Catholic parish church which is the major institution in any Portuguese community. Portuguese parish churches in Canada are not merely centres of spiritual guidance; above all, they are cultural centres fulfilling both religious and social functions. The parish

has extended its sphere of control throughout the Portuguese communities by organizing other associations - parish schools, folk-dance groups, soccer teams and youth groups. The level of commitment of Portuguese immigrants to the parish is high especially among Azoreans.<sup>4</sup> A significant number of Portuguese immigrants attend church services regularly and participate actively in cultural and recreational activities promoted by the parish.

Although many Portuguese community organizations have been established outside the parish, the parish church has been most successful in mobilizing a larger pool of resources. Being Portuguese and being Catholic is synonymous. For Portuguese immigrants, participating in church organized activities is more than a religious-patterned way of coping with the new milieu. It is also an exercise in ethnic identity maintenance. By reproducing in the host country similar cultural, social and religious patterns to those existent in the native country, the parish becomes a bridge linking the receiving society to the homeland. It provides continuity between their former lives in Portugal and their new lives in Canada. As a Portuguese pioneer immigrant in Vancouver remarked:

"In Portugal I carried the litter of Our Lady of Fatima in many processions, here I like to do the same when we have processions. I believe my son will also carry the litter when I die. Maybe not ...".<sup>5</sup>

The following is a brief discussion of the Portuguese presence in British Columbia and specifically in Vancouver.

### THE PORTUGUESE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

According to the Canadian Census (1986) there are approximately 20,573 Portuguese living in British Columbia. The Portuguese Consulate in Vancouver estimates the total number of Portuguese residing in this province to be approximately 30,000.<sup>6</sup> The major areas of concentration are presented in Table 15.

TABLE 15  
Distribution of the Portuguese Population  
in British Columbia

Kitimat and Terrace	5,000
Prince George	2,000
Prince Rupert	1,000
Okanagan Valley (Osoyoos, Oliver and Penticton)	4,000
Greater Vancouver	16,000
Victoria	2,000

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Source: Figures provided by the Portuguese Consulate in Vancouver, 1988.

In the 1960's increasing numbers of Portuguese immigrants have been attracted to British Columbia because of employment opportunities and a benevolent climate. The Portuguese communities scattered in British Columbia have specific occupations according to their geographic areas of



settlement. The first Portuguese immigrants to British Columbia arrived in Kitimat in 1953. Most of them were poor, uneducated immigrants who came from rural villages in the Azores. There were unskilled labourers originally recruited to work on construction sites. Large numbers were employed in the construction of the Alcan plant. Throughout the years, many have moved to Vancouver. Those who have remained in Kitimat are still working at the plant as unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. Few have become foremen and skilled workers.

In Terrace and Prince George, the first Portuguese arrived in the mid-1950's. An overwhelming majority came from the Azores archipelago. Like their counterparts in Kitimat, these were also unskilled labourers. Presently, they own their own house and work in the sawmills and paper mills operating in the region. In Prince Rupert, the majority of Portuguese work in the fish canneries. Although the majority came from rural villages many of them also came from fishing villages. At first glance it is puzzling that only a few Portuguese immigrants are working in the fishing industry. The reason lies in the nature of Canadian legislation. Since only Canadian citizens can be employed in the fishing industry, Portuguese immigrants had to find an alternative job until they met the necessary residence requirements to apply for citizenship. After a period of five years, most men found it too late and risky to change

occupations.

The majority of Portuguese residing in the Oliver-Osoyoos-Penticton area of the Southern Okanagan came from mainland Portugal. The first Portuguese arrived in the area in 1955. Most of them are presently engaged in the fruit industry. Many own sizable orchards and fruit stands in which extended families work. With their efforts and dedication they have been able to succeed and convert fruit farming into a profitable business.

Victoria, on Vancouver Island, attracted a large number of Portuguese immigrants from the Azores Archipelago and from mainland Portugal. The first group composed of a dozen Portuguese arrived in Victoria in 1956. Gardening and landscaping are the two major occupational specifications of the Portuguese living in this area. A significant number of Portuguese men work in the construction industry as general labourers while the working women are concentrated in the service industry where they are employed as janitors.

#### THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY IN VANCOUVER

Vancouver is the urban centre in Western Canada with the largest concentration of Portuguese. According to the 1986 Census approximately 10,955 Portuguese reside in Vancouver. Data collected by the Portuguese Consulate in Vancouver estimate that there are approximately 16,000

Portuguese residing in the city. This figure is closer to Anderson and Higgs (1976) estimate of 15,000 Portuguese residing in the Greater Vancouver area.

The Portuguese have settled in the Greater Vancouver area since the 1950's. The first Portuguese immigrant arrived in Vancouver in the early 1940's. Captain Quintal was from Madeira Island. In 1939 he left his native village aboard the "Yacht Reverie" owned by a British Bishop. After obtaining the master's certificate for Home Trade Vessels he served as master of the Standard Tankers for several years. Later he passed the examinations for pilot, a position that he held until he retired a few years ago. The next Portuguese immigrants arrived in Vancouver in 1954. The group consisted of seven men from the Island of Sao Miguel, Azores. They had previously worked on farms in Ontario before coming to Vancouver. But it was not until the 1960's that large numbers of Portuguese immigrants arrived in Vancouver. The majority came from the Azores and the rest from the mainland and the island of Madeira.

The Portuguese community in Vancouver is typical of other Portuguese communities in Canada. Like all the others, the Portuguese community in Vancouver was established through a process of "chain migration" (McDonald and MacDonald, 1964) which started with the very few original immigrants who arrived in the 1950's. The first Portuguese immigrants in Vancouver settled around Prior

Street and Commercial Drive. This area was preferred by Portuguese newcomers because it not only provided low-cost housing but also because it was close to major construction sites located in downtown Vancouver which attracted unskilled labour. As the Portuguese population in Vancouver grew, new immigrant families tended to cluster in neighborhoods where relatives, friends and co-villagers had established themselves. These Portuguese pioneers played a major role in the formation of the community. They not only set the patterns of residential clustering but they were also instrumental in finding jobs for their newly arrived extended families. By functioning as "gatekeepers" (Anderson, 1974) in the new milieu, the support provided by the pioneers to the newcomers was crucial in minimizing adaptation problems and maladjustment. Although family bonds and mutual support tend to weaken as families become more established, primary ties continue to shape the nature of social interaction in the community.

According to the 1981 Census, Portuguese persons were concentrated in several areas. The principal area of concentration was bounded in the east by Main Street, in the west by Boundary Road, in the north by Terminal Avenue, and in the south by Marine Drive. In addition to this area, part of North Vancouver, Burnaby, New Westminster and Delta contained census tracts with more than 1.7% of all Portuguese in the Vancouver Census Metropolitan area (See

Figure 4). Similar residential patterns were found by the Census Tracts in 1986. However, the group tended to be moving eastward into Coquitlam, Surrey and southward into Richmond. High cost housing in Vancouver is the major factor pushing Portuguese families out of the city into the suburbs. This is particularly true for the second generation who can only find affordable housing in the periphery.

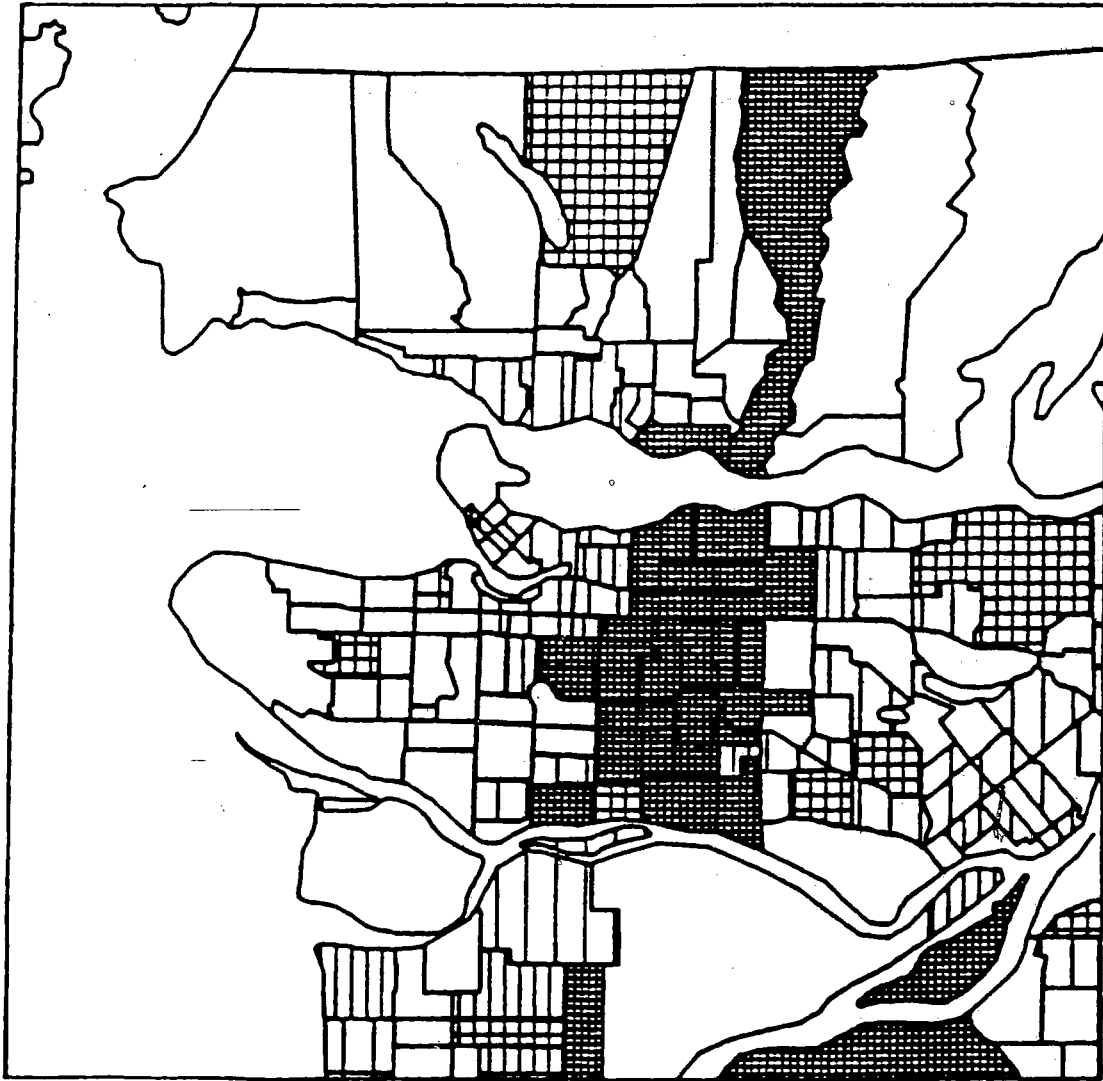
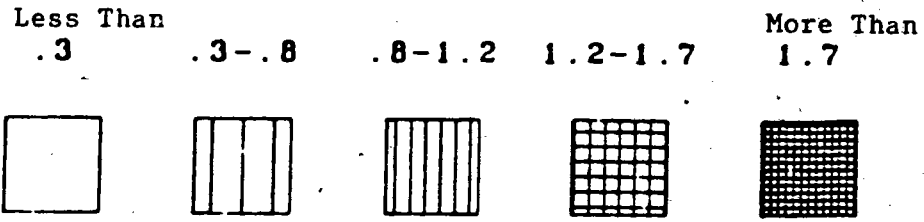
Based on the official enumeration of Portuguese in Vancouver, on information provided by Portuguese immigrant real estate agents, the Portuguese parish and from my own knowledge of the community, a Portuguese residential core area was identified. The area is bounded in the west by Main Street to Terminal Avenue and Fraser Street to 49th Avenue; in the east by Rupert Street to Terminal Avenue and to 49th Avenue; in the north by Terminal Avenue and in the south by 49th Avenue to Nanaimo Street and 45th Avenue to Rupert Street. A peripheral Portuguese residential area surrounds the core area. Other peripheral Portuguese residential niches were found in Burnaby, Coquitlam and New Westminster (see Figure 5).

There are approximately forty-five commercial businesses catering to the community. The majority of Portuguese real estate and insurance agencies, travel agencies, food stores, restaurants, cafes, and pool halls are located along Commercial Drive and Victoria Street (See

Figure 6). Several food stores, restaurants and food importing businesses have flourished in the last decades as the Portuguese population in Vancouver grew year by year. One of the most important Portuguese food importers in the community is Senhor Silva who emigrated to Canada in the 1950's. In 1958 he opened a small grocery store selling Portuguese foodstuffs. Presently, his company is one of the largest specialty food importing businesses in Western Canada with a total gross annual sales of five million dollars.<sup>7</sup>

With few exceptions, the Portuguese in Vancouver have not experienced upward mobility. Lack of formal education, skills, and little knowledge of English have contributed to occupational segregation and concentration in labouring jobs with few opportunities for upward mobility. Most of the Portuguese in Vancouver, like those living in Toronto or Montreal are unskilled labourers. The majority of Portuguese men work in the construction industry where they are employed as cement finishers, brick layers, stone masons and general labourers. The majority of Portuguese women work in janitorial services, in hospitals and in factories as unskilled or semi-skilled labourers. Often Portuguese workers are employed in work settings where a high percentage of their co-workers are Portuguese. Occupational segregation creates common interests that may foster

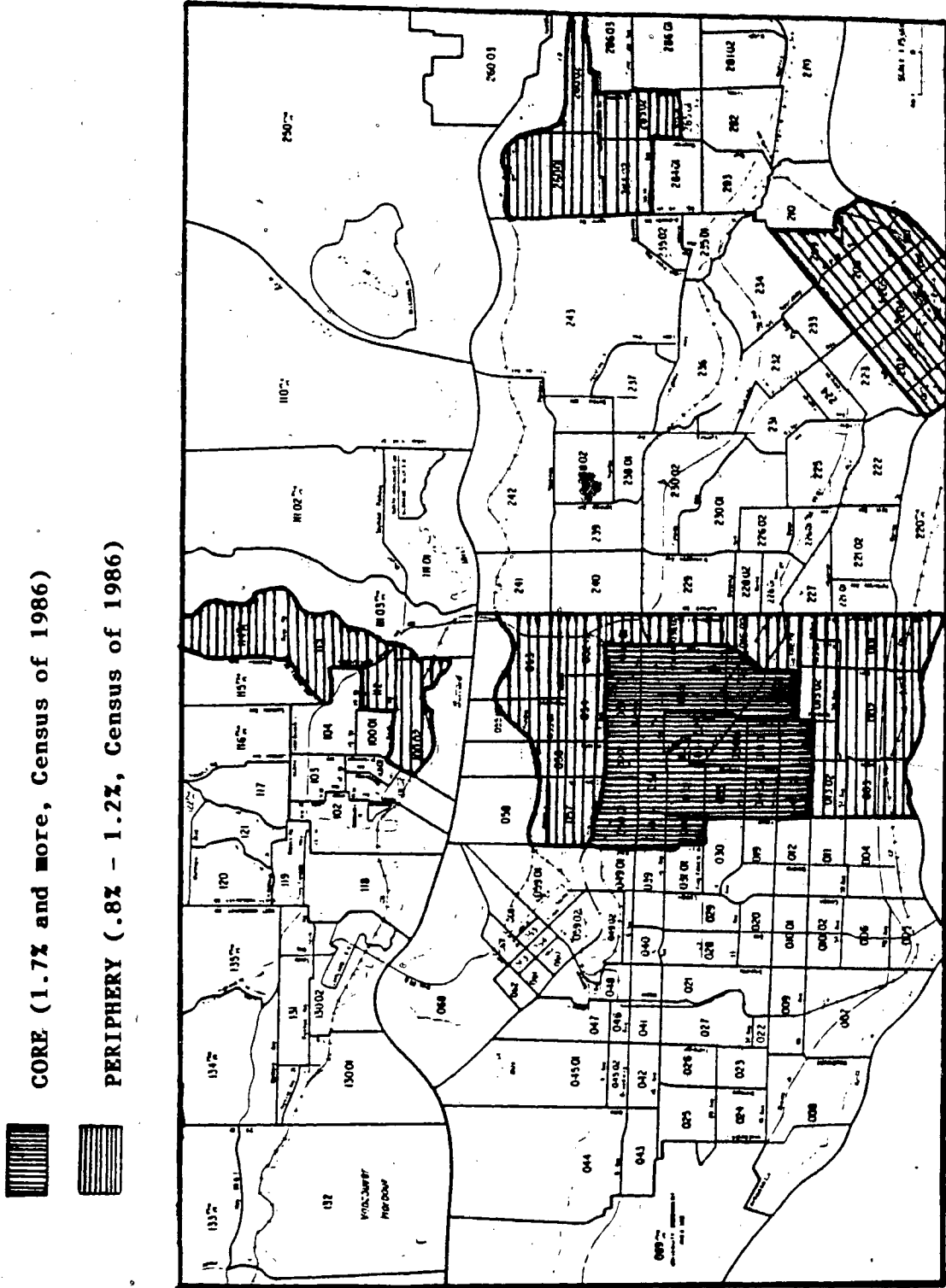
**FIGURE 4. RELATIVE RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION OF PORTUGUESE IN VANCOUVER**



Source: The Atlas of Residential Concentration of Ethnic and Visible Minority Groups. Multiculturalism Canada. 1986.

\* Percentage of Census Tract Population in Group/  
Percentage of Metropolitan area Population in Group

FIGURE 5. RESIDENTIAL CONCENTRATION OF PORTUGUESE IN VANCOUVER





**FIGURE 6. PORTUGUESE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND  
PORTUGUESE COMMERCIAL BUSINESSES IN VANCOUVER**

1. Our Lady of Fatima Portuguese Church
2. Portuguese Club of Vancouver (P.C.O.V.)
- X. Portuguese Commercial Businesses



stronger ethnic ties among this group than among Portuguese with higher education and job status. Portuguese professionals in Vancouver except for those serving a Portuguese clientele (for example a Portuguese doctor) tend to remain aloof from community activities. This is partly due to the fact that the better educated and qualified are able to fulfill their economic and social needs outside the Portuguese ethnic community. At an economic level the professionals are not subjected to occupational segregation nor are they employed in Portuguese work-group settings. If the hypothesis that economic interest tends to draw individuals to the group is correct (Reitz, 1980) then one would expect that interaction with the ethnic community would tend to be lower among Portuguese professionals than among those who are segregated occupationally. At a social level the better educated are not dependent on ethnic associations to satisfy their social, and psychological needs. Their involvement in Canadian mainstream institutions widens their range of social networks and interaction.

#### ETHNIC INTERACTION AMONG THE PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS IN VANCOUVER

Aside from economic forces what cultural bases might explain ethnic attachments and identification among the Portuguese in Vancouver? Beyond the factors of language and cultural origin, the Portuguese parish church is a key

element for ethnic maintenance. The existence of the Portuguese parish not only reflects ethnic affinities but, by fulfilling major religious, social and cultural needs, it also fosters the maintenance of ethnic attachments. In the late 1950's many Portuguese families were attending mass at St. Paul's Catholic Church. With the establishment of a stable Portuguese colony in Vancouver it was considered necessary that a Portuguese Catholic Parish be established as well. In 1959, the Archbishop of Vancouver invited a Scallabrini missionary priest to Vancouver to establish a Portuguese Parish. The Portuguese Catholic Mission "Missao Catolica Portuguesa" was founded and operated at Our Lady of Sorrows parish where regular services were held in Portuguese. By mid 1968, under the leadership of Father Aquilino Magagnin, the community had already enough funds to purchase the land where a Portuguese church was to be built - 13th Avenue and Woodland Drive (See Figure 6). After several fund-raising campaigns, negotiations for bank loans and with the support of the members of the community who volunteered many hours of work, the construction of Our Lady of Fatima Portuguese Church became a reality. On November 9, 1969 it was celebrated the first mass in the new church which was still under construction. (Our Lady of Fatima Parish Bulletins, 1967 - 1969). The church was consecrated on June 18, 1972 at the Feast of Senhor Santo Cristo.

The parish not only organized religious festivities

(Our Lady of Fatima Feast and Senhor Santo Cristo Feast) but it also looked to the social and cultural needs of the Portuguese. Dances, festivals, and excursions were often arranged by the parish. One of its first initiatives was the creation, in 1968, of a Portuguese language school. Classes were held at the Portuguese Parish house under the supervision of two instructors. The school had a total enrolment of approximately twenty students. Father Aquilino encouraged the learning of the Portuguese language among the second generation. As he put it:

"Portuguese classes began last Saturday [October 19, 1968] at our [parish] house ... It was an ugly and rainy day, the reason why, I suspect only half of the students showed up ... We appeal for the cooperation of the parents. I hope that you realize the advantage in learning another language, specially the Portuguese ... Do you all want a good and practical advice: watch less television and study more" ("Messageiro", October 25, 1968).

The school which has presently twelve instructors and a total enrolment of two hundred and twenty students, is the only Portuguese ethnic organization in Vancouver receiving grants from multicultural programs. The parish also organized the first Portuguese radio program. The first radio show was aired in October, 1968 and lasted for five years. The program provided not only religious guidance but also local news from Portugal, community news, Portuguese poetry and music. In the early 1970's, a musical band, a

folk group and a soccer team were all created under the auspices of the parish. These organizations are entirely funded by its members. When their directors were asked about multiculturalism and multicultural grants, all of them expressed some uncertainty about what multiculturalism is exactly. Some of them knew about the availability of grants, however they felt that:

"Somehow it has never worked for us. The application forms are too long and too difficult to understand. Once we asked for some financial assistance for the band which was almost bankrupt, they told us that they did not finance ethnic bands."<sup>8</sup>

Presently, the church has a total membership of more than 900 families who attend services regularly. The majority of the parishioners live in the vicinity of the Church. Most of them have low educational levels and some experience great difficulty in coping with highly structured urban services. The priests not only attend to the spiritual needs of the parishioners but they are also instrumental in solving every day problems. Helping fill in Canadian passport application forms, U.I.C. claims, translation services and settling occasional family disputes are some of the services provided by the priests on a regular basis. For many Portuguese immigrants, the parish constitutes a refuge from a society whose institutions and mechanisms remain alien to them. At an individual and community level the parish acts not only as a source of

spiritual guidance but it also mediates immigrants' adjustment to the new society.

The construction of a sizable Parish Centre is projected to start in the fall of 1989. Like the church, the Centre will be totally funded by the parishioners since no government funds are allocated to religious associations. There are, however, several Portuguese community organizations operating independently of the parish: two soccer teams, an Azorean society which organizes traditional Azorean festivities and a Portuguese Club. The Portuguese Club of Vancouver (P.C.O.V.) was founded on March 11, 1962. The main objectives of this organization were: 1) The promotion of folk, cultural and sports activities among the Portuguese in Vancouver; 2) The promotion of the moral and social welfare of its members; 3) the promotion of solidarity among the Portuguese in Vancouver (P.C.O.V. Statutes, 1962). Apart from a soccer team, the Club has not been successful in organizing other cultural associations. The club rents a small hall located on Commercial Drive (See Figure 6) where banquets, dances and pageant contests are held. During the day, the Club serves as a meeting place for Portuguese men (some of them unemployed or retired) who play cards, drink, talk about soccer and Portugal, and gossip about the Portuguese community. Although the Club has a total membership of approximately 300 members, participation in assembly meetings is rather low (five to

ten persons). Some accuse the Portuguese parish of monopolizing the community's human and material resources while others criticize the community for lack of solidarity with the Club.

The major concern of the Club is to own its own hall. However, some feel uncertain about the viability of the project. Continuous questioning of motives, activities and financing of the hall have been aggravated by the construction of the Parish Centre. Still some members advocate the purchase of a hall as being crucial for the community's survival. As one member said:

"Portuguese have to realize that religion is not everything. A Portuguese hall, not a parish hall will unite the Portuguese and motivate their children to participate more in the community".<sup>9</sup>

Personal disputes and animosities among club members have hampered effective community organization. Endemic disputes among organization members are not peculiar to Vancouver but have permeated many other Portuguese community organizations in Canada (Anderson and Higgs, 1976). Given this situation, it is not surprising that unlike other ethnic groups which have been more successful in ethnic mobilization at a national level (e.g. Asians, Italians and Greeks to name just a few), the Portuguese have not been successful so far in establishing a Portuguese umbrella organization at a provincial or national levels.

The Portuguese mass media in Vancouver consists of a weekly radio program and a newspaper "O Mensageiro". The Saturday radio program "Portugal em Vossas Casas" (Portugal in Your Homes) deals essentially with local news from Portugal, community news and Portuguese music. "O Mensageiro" is the only Portuguese ethnic newspaper in British Columbia. It was first published on May 10, 1968. It appears twice a month and it has presently a total subscription list of approximately 3,000. The newspaper presents a synopsis of news from Portugal and covers the main events in the Portuguese community in Vancouver. It also publishes periodically half-page advertisements paid by Multiculturalism. These focus mainly on issues of unity and equality among all Canadians as well as on the maintenance and promotion of heritage cultures and traditions. Portuguese major periodicals ("Expresso", "O Tempo" and "O Jornal"), regional newspapers from the Portuguese mainland and sports newspapers are also available in major Portuguese grocery stores.

It is a constant in migration studies that people who regard themselves as sojourners regardless of their length of stay in the host country continue to have strong attachments to the country of origin. Frequent contact with the homeland, transfer of resources back to the country of origin in the form of financial remittances and a everlasting ambivalence towards the place of residence



characterizes sojourners independently of ethnic origin or race. (See for example Dahya, 1974; Krane, 1979; Bonacich 1979, 1980).

Among the Portuguese in Vancouver the problems and needs of their hometown of birth continue to be part of their daily lives. This is particularly true for the Portuguese of the mainland. Even though a large percentage of them has been abroad for more than fifteen years and may never return, emigration is viewed as being temporary with eventual return. For the Azoreans emigration has a more definite character. Some of the major factors that may explain the difference in attitudes towards emigration between mainlanders and Azoreans have to do with specific social and economic conditions facing both groups. Whereas the majority of Azoreans have no family attachments in the Azores since whole extended families have emigrated to North America, the mainlanders continue to have relatives living in Portugal. Furthermore, poor economic conditions and low rates of development in the Azores which have had consistently lower standards of living than those enjoyed on the mainland have helped transform the Azorean sojourner into a permanent immigrant. As an Azorean remarked:

"Go back for what? There is nothing to go back to. All my family have emigrated. They are all in the United States and in Canada. Everyone left. Few years ago I visit my island. It was very sad, I felt like a ghost."<sup>10</sup>

For the mainlanders, on the other hand, higher standards of living, political stability and economic development felt in most recent years along with the entrance of Portugal into the E.E.C. have raised their expectations for new opportunities and the possibility of a better life in Portugal.

The economic consequence of mainlanders' commitment to their native village is manifested in different forms. Regional social events are organized regularly to raise funds to remodel the parish church in their native villages, help the construction of hospitals, old age homes or to purchase vehicles for the handicapped. Besides the channelling of funds for social causes in the homeland, transfer of personal funds to the mainland occurs frequently. According to the representatives of Portuguese banks in Vancouver more than 90% of Portuguese remittances are sent to the mainland. Usually this money is invested in the purchase of a house, business or land in the native village.

Differences in attitudes towards emigration and the home country also have cultural repercussions. It is a fact in the Portuguese communities in Canada, and Vancouver is no exception, that the overwhelming majority of the parents of children attending Portuguese ethnic schools are from the mainland. Of a total of 220 students presently enrolled in the Portuguese Language School in Vancouver less than 5% are

from Azorean descendency. This lack of motivation to learn the Portuguese language is prompted by the fact that the parents of these children do not intend to return to the homeland. The majority of these parents hold the assumption that, since the two official languages in Canada are English and French, the learning of the Portuguese language does not give their children a comparative advantage over Canadian children. However, lack of language retention may greatly reduce participation in the ethnic community fostering the loss of Portuguese traditional cultural values and heritage.

Except for religious associations, Azoreans do not participate actively in Portuguese ethnic associations. The lack of involvement in activities which are directly related with the maintenance of traditional cultural traits, such as folk groups, heritage language schools, and secular ethnic organizations reflects their orientation towards the receiving country rather than to the homeland and to its traditional culture. Mainlanders, on the other hand, demonstrate an active interest in preserving traditional cultural values and in perpetuating ties with the country of origin, which is most symptomatic of both their perception of temporariness in the receiving society and of their attitude towards the homeland which continues to be their referential axis.

## THE SECOND GENERATION

The greatest challenge for the Portuguese immigrant child is to be able to reconcile two different worlds. On the one hand, Portuguese immigrant children are offered at home the conservative and traditional values of their parents. On the other hand they have to live in a highly industrialized society. Feeling the need to be accepted by their peers, Portuguese adolescents tend to abandon the values transmitted by their parents in favour of those of their circle of friends. In order to "fit in", adolescents attempt to disassociate themselves from their Portuguese self-image which they see as a source of embarrassment and inferiority. This is particularly true for those children whose parents have low levels of formal education and a rural background. Adolescents associate the traditional lifestyle of their parents, their lack of formal education and their inability to speak English with their Portuguese ethnicity. This is perceived as a crippling liability. The adolescent tries to overcome this negative identity by rejecting Portuguese cultural values.

The rejection of Portuguese culture is expressed in various ways. A crucial one is their unwillingness to speak Portuguese. In several Portuguese ethnic schools in British Columbia and in Alberta, teachers complain that although their students are reasonably proficient in Portuguese they

only speak English to each other even during class time. Another way Portuguese immigrant adolescents resist identification with their parents' cultural heritage is by expressing their views about Portugal in negative terms. The statement of a thirteen year old boy is indicative: "Portugal is boring, poor and ugly. I don't like to go there".<sup>11</sup> Most of the Portuguese adolescents interviewed in Vancouver identified Portugal with their parents' native village. As a Portuguese adolescent puts it:

"Last year we went to Portugal on holidays. We spent all our time in my parents' village. There was nothing to do. Portuguese T.V. is so boring ... I was counting down the days to come back."<sup>12</sup>

Although this attitude may reflect a certain degree of inadequacy in the transmission of cultural heritage, for the immigrant's child, Portuguese ethnic identity is a negative value.

But there are exceptions. For the children of those few educated Portuguese immigrants, Portuguese ethnic identity is an asset, a source of pride. For these adolescents, being a Portuguese-Canadian is to be able to reconcile two cultures which are equally important. For them, a Portuguese-Canadian is a synthesis not a contradiction.

Portuguese parents are ambitious about their children's education. However, only very few are entering institutions

of higher education. The majority of the Portuguese second generation is taking vocational courses and many are reaching only Grades 9 to 10 in high school. There are several factors contributing to the poor scholastic advancement of Portuguese-Canadian youth. First, Portuguese parents' lack of knowledge of English and of the Canadian school system hampers communication among parents, teachers and students. Secondly, since the majority of Portuguese immigrant parents work outside the home, their involvement in their children's schooling is minimal. This is aggravated by the parents' lack of formal education to provide the child the most basic home instruction. Finally, lack of parental incentive and pressure to contribute financially to the family are also important factors behind the poor academic achievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth. In order to overcome some of these deficiencies, some parents enrol in evening English courses. However, earning a living and raising a family hinder their progress. The drop-out rate tends to be high especially among women.

What will the future of the Portuguese-Canadian second generation be? Until when will the hyphen persist? There are no ready made answers to these questions because it is difficult to say when a Portuguese-Canadian becomes simply a Canadian. In the words of Anderson and Higgs:

"While the first generation is a centrifugal force trying to draw scattered extended family together again in Canada, the second generation is a

centripetal force attempting to place some living space between older members of the in-group and themselves." (Anderson and Higgs, 1976:131)

The opposition of forces is not only the result of a generational gap but also of the conflict between two worlds which sometimes is irreconcilable. Children's ability to adapt more readily to the host society creates a situation of reverse dependency which constitutes a major challenge to the traditional hierarchical family structure (Brettell and Da Rosa, 1984). Due to lack of knowledge of the English language and adaptation problems in general, parents become dependent on their children who gain new responsibilities in the new environment. Translation, interpretation and even problem solving are some of the tasks performed on a daily basis by immigrant children. However, these new responsibilities are not rewarded in any form by the parents, who attempt at all cost to restore the traditional family hierarchy and to hide away the insecurity derived by such dependency through authoritarian and rigid behavior. Tensions, conflicts and disassociation of children from their parents and from what they represent, Portuguese culture, are some of the most immediate consequences of immigration.

In conclusion, although the Portuguese second generation tend to reject their ethnic identity and cultural heritage, the enhancement or weakening of Portuguese ethnic

identity among future Portuguese generations will depend ultimately on how well cultural heritage values will be transmitted and on the opportunities and constraints posed by the Canadian society.

The following chapter will examine how ethnic identity manifests itself among the Portuguese in Vancouver using information from interviews conducted among members of the ethnic group.



## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Secretary of State. Citizenship Division, 1967:295.

<sup>2</sup> "A Emigração Portuguesa para o Canadá" Comunidades Portuguesas II, 6 1966:81.

<sup>3</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, December 1987.

<sup>4</sup> J. António Alpalhão and Victor M. P. da Rosa, A Minority in a Changing Society - The Portuguese Communities in Quebec. University of Ottawa Press, 1980:61. Also, information provided by the priests of our Lady of Fatima Church in Vancouver tends to support Alpalhão and Da Rosa's (1980) contention on the high degree of Azorean religious commitment.

<sup>5</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

<sup>6</sup> The discrepancy in estimates may be mainly due to the presence of illegal Portuguese immigrants and low return rates in Census completion among the Portuguese.

<sup>7</sup> All informants names have been changed to protect their identity.

<sup>8</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

<sup>9</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

<sup>10</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

<sup>11</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

<sup>12</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 1987.

## CHAPTER V. WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A PORTUGUESE IN VANCOUVER

While conducting research among the Portuguese in Vancouver, it became evident that there are many ways of being Portuguese. When I asked Portuguese immigrants what it meant to be Portuguese in Vancouver several said they did not know. Others told me that their way of living was not very different from what they perceived to be the "Canadian" lifestyle which for them meant to own a house, a car, to have credit cards and to send their children to good schools. They were, however, quick to explain that the only differences between them and the "Canadians" were that Portuguese have a stronger sense of the family, and that, because they always thought about the future, they tended to save more.

According to a Portuguese immigrant who had been an immigrant in Germany before he emigrated to Canada, the Portuguese in Vancouver "have a good reputation: they are hard workers, honest and they go to church". When I asked him about the major differences between being a Portuguese in Canada and being a Portuguese in Germany he replied:

There, in the first place you are an immigrant and then you are a Portuguese. You feel as a third class citizen. Here a Portuguese is still very much a Portuguese".<sup>1</sup>

For another Portuguese immigrant who has been living in Vancouver for almost twenty years, being Portuguese meant to

feel isolated, alienated to have "Saudades" of Portugal everyday. "Saudades" is a characteristic totally Portuguese and completely untranslatable. It means homesickness, nostalgia for things past. For Portuguese immigrants, Saudades acts as a panacea to the strangeness of the new milieu. It is a psychological cushion made up of memories (some of them false) of a place and a lifestyle which was once familiar to them. As he puts it:

"I get up every morning and go to work. I don't hear a single word in Portuguese. I feel as if I were in exile. Vancouver is beautiful, no doubt, but the sun does not make me warm."<sup>2</sup>

A seventy year old Portuguese woman expressed her "Portugueseness" in the following terms:

"When I arrived in Vancouver thirty years ago I saw that people kept their windows and doors closed. I found that very strange. In my village there was always somebody at a window or at a door with whom one could talk. Now it does not make any difference. I have good friends who are Portuguese and we even have a Portuguese church."<sup>3</sup>

For a Portuguese construction labourer being a Portuguese in Vancouver is illustrated as follows:

"I get up at 6 o'clock in the morning and go to work. There are some Portuguese working at the site. We stick together because we understand each other. Then I go home, have supper and watch T.V. ... Sometimes I get together with some relatives. We drink wine, talk about work, soccer and Portugal. On Sundays we go to Our Lady of Fatima Church. I guess doing these things makes me a Portuguese in Vancouver ..."<sup>4</sup>

Although there was a wide variability in the responses, the most common one was that being Portuguese is to speak Portuguese, to pay one's respects of Our Lady of Fatima, "Senhor Santo Cristo" or to the "Divino Espírito Santo" depending whether one is from mainland Portugal or from the Azores, to go to processions, to have a strong commitment to one's family, to cook in the Portuguese style, to make wine and to have "Saudades" of Portugal.

Portuguese perceive these cultural features both as expressions of their commonality and as the significant objective differences that distinguish them from the rest of the population. These cultural traits are the markers that draw the boundary between "us" the Portuguese and "them" the Canadians. But a boundary has two sides. In this sense ethnicity is not only a process of self-identification but also of identification by others. While self-identification is based on the belief of common ancestry and common cultural traditions, identification by others is based primarily on behavior and physical characteristics.

Self-identification and identification by others may not and often do not coincide. Portuguese do not only define themselves as Portuguese but they also express their ethnicity in terms of their native village while Canadians identify them or rather lump them with Spanish, Italians or South Europeans. When I questioned Canadians on how they

perceived the Portuguese and the Portuguese community in Vancouver, many were completely unaware of the Portuguese presence in Vancouver. Others told me that they thought Portuguese spoke Spanish or a dialect of Spanish. In general, they had no knowledge of the role of Portugal in the early exploration of Canada.

Whatever the real causes may be that prevent the Portuguese from making a noticeable impact on the Canadian public, the Portuguese are quite aware of Canadian lack of knowledge and indifference towards the group. A forty year old Portuguese construction laborer remarked: "Canadians don't see us. I think this is so because we are good citizens. We try not to cause any problems."<sup>5</sup> Several women said: "Canadians think we are Italians or Spanish. That's because we look like them". A prominent Portuguese immigrant in Vancouver suggested that the recentness of his group's arrival in Vancouver, the small size of the Portuguese community vis-a-vis other South European ethnic communities, linguistic and educational barriers are the major factors responsible for Portuguese "invisibility". In his own words:

"Portuguese do not seem to want to be seen. It is almost a matter of choice. In a way they feel "strangers" in a strange land. This is aggravated by a lack of knowledge of English which adds to their docility towards others. Besides they also are very conscious about making ridicule of themselves."<sup>6</sup>

To focus only on self-identification and on identification by others provide limited insights into the processes by which Portuguese ethnic identity may be used to enhance a sense of security in the new milieu or to be manipulated by the members of the group to suit the demands of a particular situation. This is why I believe it is important to give an in-depth account of a Portuguese immigrant's experience in Vancouver. I chose Dona Maria because it became evident while conducting research among the Portuguese in Vancouver that her experience was typical of many Portuguese immigrant women I know, and secondly, because I realized that the experience of Portuguese immigrant men and women is different and, therefore, should be treated separately.

Dona Maria was born in a small peasant village characterized by high emigration. Her village is situated in a mountain valley sixty kilometres north of Lisbon. In spite of its proximity to the capital, most of the villagers hardly went to Lisbon. In her own words: "When my father went to Lisbon it was as if he had gone abroad".

She has four brothers and three sisters. Like her brothers and sisters she only had four years of formal education and no previous knowledge of English before she emigrated to Canada. Her family owned a small plot of land on which they cultivated wheat, corn, beans, potatoes, and other vegetables. Her brothers worked for a local rich

landowner. Dóna Maria and her sisters were salaried workers in a textile factory for short periods of time. She married a bricklayer from a nearby village who, like her, only received few years of elementary education.

The following is an account of her experience in Canada as she described it to me:

"All my brothers and sisters emigrated to Canada. For a while I was the only one left in Portugal with my parents. Soon after I got married my brothers sponsored us and we came to Canada. I had no idea what Canada would be like. For me it was a foreign land a long way from home, that's all. We arrived in 1967. We went to live with one of my brothers. The others lived all together in the same house. At the time we didn't have much money but we were good to each other. We wanted to make it good. We all had the same dream to have our own house. When we had saved enough money we bought houses in the same neighborhood. They were old houses, the cheapest on the market. We helped each other remodelling these houses and saved enough money to pay the mortgages and bought new ones. Only now it was different. Each one chose a different neighborhood. We were no longer friends as we used to be. Some of my brothers and sister-in-law became greedy and envious of each other. I say, if it is not because of the money why do you think this happens? There are many Portuguese families here that came from my village. Some even say that the whole village emigrated to Vancouver. We only left behind the old and the stones. These families also have problems among themselves. Too much greed.

When I arrived in Vancouver I had many "Saudades" (homesickness) of my village. At the time we didn't have our own church. I used to go to St. Patrick's or to St. Paul's. I could not understand a single word the priest said. For me it was as if he was silent all the time. I used to cry during the whole mass because I could not participate. People would look at me. I felt humiliated. Then the Portuguese, particularly the Azoreans, built our church. I became involved with the church's choir and with the festivities of our community. Things got better. I didn't

feel so foreign anymore.

Since we arrived my husband has always worked in construction. In the beginning, he did not want me to work outside the house. He wanted me to stay at home and to take care of my two sons. But I felt I needed my own money. I started looking for a job. I talked with my friends and then went to the Manpower office. Finally a Portuguese woman got me a job. I have been cleaning houses since then. I would prefer to do something else but what can I do? I don't speak enough English. Still that job is better than nothing. I have a good reason to get out of the house and above all I have my own independence. I even have my own car.

My husband is now talking about going back to Portugal. But I think that is not such a good idea. Going back to what? To have the same life my grandmother had? Going back to take care of the chickens and running after the pigs while he spends his time talking and drinking with his friends. I prefer to stay. If you ask around there are many women who think like me."<sup>7</sup>

The weakening of family bonds and mutual support in Dona Maria's extended family was mainly due to economic competition, status rivalry, and jealousy. As she told me, this problem was not limited to her own family. Through interviews conducted among several Portuguese families in Vancouver, I realized that economic competition and envy are the major sources of friction among families.<sup>8</sup>

There are several elements that could serve to accentuate in-family rivalry among the Portuguese in Vancouver. First, the majority of the Portuguese emigrated for economic reasons. As a Portuguese immigrant points out:

"For Portuguese immigrants personal triumph is synonymous of economic success and purchasing power is the yardstick with which they measure everyone else."<sup>9</sup>



Secondly, the Portuguese immigrant population is composed of extended families such that everyone tends to know everyone else. Thirdly a great percentage of Portuguese immigrant men are engaged in the construction industry while the majority of women work in janitorial services, therefore any differences in economic success are easily compared by the size of the house owned, number of cars purchased, trips to Portugal and so on. Fourthly, since the majority of men are concentrated in the construction industry which has been deeply affected by economic recession in the last few years, Portuguese find themselves competing with each other for jobs.

For Dona Maria ethnic identity operated as a resource which she utilized for her own advantage. For instance at the time of her arrival in Vancouver, self-identification with other Portuguese gave her access to a group that could provide support and company with people who spoke her language and shared her own cultural values.

It must be stressed that Portuguese may express their ethnic identity in terms of their native village, province and island. Regionalisms which were very much accentuated in Portugal were transplanted to the Canadian setting.<sup>10</sup> As a member of the community states:

"The Portuguese community is a "ghetto" made up of many small ghettos. Now we even have exclusive parties for the "Beirões", "Algarvios", "Açoreanos" and even for those who came from a small village in Portugal".<sup>11</sup>

Regional associations are strong in the community. These have been a source of divisions and conflict among its members. In 1969 a situation of conflict arose between mainlanders and Azoreans when the image of Our Lady of Fatima was the only one placed at the altar of the newly built Portuguese church. An Azorean who helped building the church complained: "We [Azoreans] worked so hard to build the church and they [Portuguese from the mainland] put the image of "Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres" at a church's corner". (Azoreans have a special devotion for Lord Christ of Miracles). Since then the two images have been side by side at the altar. Another situation of friction was generated when the litter with the image of "Senhor Santo Cristo" was not carried out from the church at the first procession of Our Lady of Fatima. Nowadays both images are always carried out in all processions.

The manipulation of Portuguese ethnic identity and the crossing of ethnic boundaries depend on the situation. When Dona Maria decided to search for a job she contacted primarily those people who came from her native village. In this situation her ethnic identity was expressed in terms of a specific area. Since her network of contacts in this group failed to provide the necessary information she contacted other people in the Portuguese community. The fact that she was from a specific village was completely

irrelevant. Now she was above all a Portuguese. Later on when she went to the Manpower office she was neither a native from a specific village nor solely a Portuguese. There, she was an unemployed immigrant.

Portuguese immigrant women have very limited options when looking for work. Cultural and language barriers, lack of formal education and work experience combined with an overall lack of skills in job searching are major factors contributing to an over representation of Portuguese immigrant women in low paid jobs. A social worker describes their situation as follows:

"Most Portuguese immigrant women do not speak English nor are they aware of the different social services available to them. Most of the women are overburdened with a very heavy workload. They work all day outside the house and when they get home they are still expected to do all the household chores. Still, they prefer to work than to stay at home taking care of the children. It gives them a certain emancipation from their husbands. Overall they have adapted well."<sup>12</sup>

A certain degree of economic independence enjoyed by immigrant women in the country of immigration is not peculiar to the Portuguese women. Similar findings were reported by Chimbo in his study of Greeks in Canada (1982) and in Sirey and Valerio (1982) analysis of Italian immigrant women in America.

Portuguese (included under "South Europeans") are described by official statistics as concentrated in the

lowest occupational class within the present Canadian economic structure. But Portuguese immigrants do not see themselves only in respect to Canada. They also see themselves in relation to their native village, to their country of origin and to Canada through time -- at time of arrival, in the present and in the future. It is within this framework that constant comparisons of standards of living are made and the costs and benefits of emigration are carefully calculated. A German woman married to a Portuguese immigrant tells her experience with Portuguese immigrant women:

"Twenty years ago we went on holidays with two Portuguese couples. The women did everything. They spent all their time cooking. As soon as we had finished lunch they were already worrying about dinner. They never complained. They thought it was perfectly normal to cook all day. It was their duty. Now those same women are asking their husbands to cook and vacuum. I believe they have gained a lot of self-determination in Canada."<sup>13</sup>

Portuguese immigrant women's emancipation from their husbands has been a gradual process. Their new status as salaried workers has accelerated this process. Even though most of them work as cleaning women this does not in itself imply a loss of self-worth or status. On the contrary, the possibility of contributing financially to the family gives them the ability to free themselves from an inferior status which was traditionally accepted with resignation.

In last analysis, emigration seems to have improved the social status of the Portuguese woman in terms of a new acquired economic independence. Furthermore, her participation in church-oriented activities and the wide network of contacts she derives from interaction with the Portuguese community become extremely useful for her and her family's survival in the new milieu.

Dona Maria's husband, a construction laborer, illustrates his experience in Canada as follows:

"I came to Canada to have a better life. I have worked very hard but I think I succeeded. Now I'm planning to go back. I bought some land in my village and I'm planning to build a house. My children are all grown up. They have their own lives. I'm not young anymore and jobs in construction are not easy to find. What else can I do? I don't speak English very well. But it's ok now I think I can go back. Besides I don't find Canada such a great place to get old. There I still have my friends and relatives."<sup>14</sup>

For Dona Maria's husband being Portuguese in Vancouver is perceived as a liability. It means to have an inability to speak the language and to lack the necessary skills to be occupationally mobile. In Portugal, being Portuguese implies to be successful, to be well known in his village, and to have friends and relatives with whom he can talk, joke or drink wine. In other words, the desire to return is more than an emotional move. Returning to the native village with a financially stable situation allows him to

improve his status economically and socially. The possibility of converting income into social prestige remains a crucial factor underlying the desire to return to the native village.

For a top executive in Vancouver, ethnic identification and participation in the Portuguese community are not a way of living but a matter of choice. He may enhance his ethnic identity or hide it depending on the circumstances.

"In my work I speak English all the time, at home I only speak English because my wife is Canadian. I am no different from other "Canadians". I don't go to Our Lady of Fatima Church nor do I participate in their festivities or processions. I have very few contacts with other Portuguese living in Vancouver. But still I am a Portuguese. Sometimes I need to isolate myself. It is through isolation that I find my own space and this space is Portuguese. At those times I go to Portuguese restaurants. I speak Portuguese, I listen to Portuguese music, I think about going back."<sup>15</sup>

His case is typical of other highly educated Portuguese immigrants in Vancouver who enjoy high job status and upward mobility. Contrary to the majority of Portuguese living in the city who have little education and are segregated occupationally, the professionals are not forced to tie themselves to the community in order to minimize economic and social hardships. Those who are culturally more sophisticated can more easily adapt to the host society. Education serves as a vehicle that may break down

economic and cultural barriers giving easy access to the new cultural context.

For those who have linguistic and other socio-economic handicaps adjustment to the host society is not easily reached. As Dona Amelia, a Portuguese immigrant woman who has lived in Vancouver for the last fifteen years puts it:

"I have been cleaning banks since I arrived in Vancouver. Sometimes I wonder when I'm at work how it would be like to work in that bank during the day. I would not be seen as the Portuguese cleaning lady who comes when everyone has left. I would be just like any other bank employee".<sup>16</sup>

Like Dona Maria and many other Portuguese immigrant women, she is trapped in the low ranks of the occupational structure with very limited mobility opportunities. But the impact of economic and occupational segregation has further social and cultural implications. Whereas the social networks of highly educated Portuguese may cut across ethnic boundaries, for the majority of Portuguese in Vancouver social interaction is confined to participation in the ethnic community. For these, emigration took them out of contact with the wider society and narrowed down their range of social interaction to family gatherings and church basement parties. This pattern of cultural and social isolation is well illustrated by Dona Amelia:

All my friends are Portuguese. Once my neighbor who is Canadian invited me to a birthday party. I was there for half an hour. I couldn't understand their conversations nor their jokes. I prefer

the parties at our parish church. at least we all speak the same language."<sup>17</sup>

The Portuguese immigrant's relationships with the ethnic community and the Canadian society at large cannot be explained as mutually exclusive categories - Portuguese or Canadian. The fluidity and variability of ethnic identification and in-group participation observed among members of the Portuguese community demonstrate that ethnic identity is a matter of degree. The varying degrees of commitment to the ethnic group seem to be dependent on specific socio-economic conditions which may harden or weaken ethnic boundaries.

Whether ethnic identification and in-group participation feeds on economic inequality needs further examination. The interplay between economic forces and ethnic maintenance will be explored in the following chapter using information collected by the survey conducted among the Portuguese residing in Vancouver.



FOOTNOTES:

<sup>1</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 10, 1987.

<sup>2</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 11, 1987.

<sup>3</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 11, 1987.

<sup>4</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 5, 1987.

<sup>5</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, November 20, 1987.

<sup>6</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 12, 1987.

<sup>7</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 11, 1987.

<sup>8</sup> Rosa Periera Munzer's (1981) analysis of familism and in-group competition among the Portuguese in the Southern Okanagan tend to support these findings.

<sup>9</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 14, 1987.

<sup>10</sup> This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Portuguese. Similar regional identification patterns have been documented among Mediterranean cultures (Chimbos, 1980; Jansen, 1981 and Roche, 1984).

<sup>11</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 14, 1987.

<sup>12</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, October 15, 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, September 12, 1987.

<sup>14</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, September 14, 1987.

<sup>15</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, May 1, 1987.

<sup>16</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, September 20, 1987.

<sup>17</sup> Interview conducted by the researcher in Vancouver, September 20, 1987.

CHAPTER VI. ETHNIC MANIFESTATIONS AMONG  
THE PORTUGUESE IN VANCOUVER

Throughout this thesis I have been arguing that ethnic identity and the degree of involvement in the ethnic community is neither unilinear nor uniform for all members of the ethnic group. Members experience varying degrees of commitment towards the group depending on the nature of specific socio-economic conditions. The survey conducted among the Portuguese in Vancouver attempts to pursue this general theoretical issue by focusing on the manner in which ethnic commitment among Portuguese immigrants in Vancouver is patterned by the occupational position of individuals. Such examination poses some crucial questions: how does the occupational position of Portuguese affect the level of ethnic identification and in-group interaction?; how does the occupational position of Portuguese immigrants affect their patterns of interaction with the larger society ?; what is the impact of other variables such as education and length of residence in Canada on ethnic identification and in-group interaction as well as on the level of interaction with the larger society? It is within these general parameters that the analysis of ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese in Vancouver was undertaken.

## THE TARGET POPULATION

The target population was defined as being all the foreign born Portuguese households in Vancouver, British Columbia. An updated list of 1800 families was obtained by combining information from three sources: 1) a list of Portuguese families furnished by the Portuguese parish priest in Vancouver; 2) a list of all the Portuguese residents taken from the telephone directory and 3) a list of people of Portuguese origin provided by the Portuguese Consulate in Vancouver.

A total of 250 households were randomly selected by using a proportional stratified sampling plan. A weighting procedure was devised so that the data used reflected the sample universe. This weighting procedure took into account the occupational category of the respondents. Five occupational categories were established: 1) Professional and Management (doctors, lawyers, accountants, University professors); 2) Business (travel agencies, real estate and insurance agencies, grocery shops, variety shops); 3) Skilled (carpenters, painters, mechanics, stonemasons, tool-makers, decorators); 4) Semi-skilled (bricklayer, cashiers; shop salesmen, demolition workers, assembler); 5) Unskilled (general labourers, dishwasher, janitor, factory workers and construction workers). (Canada Government, Statistical Service Classification of Occupations 1980)

## DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

A structured interview was designed and a date was set with each respondent to conduct the interview. Respondents were informed about the purpose of the research and that the data would be treated confidentially. The survey results were made available upon request.

Either the husband or the wife (whoever was the head of the household) was interviewed. All the interviews were administered in person and were conducted in Portuguese. The interviews lasted from forty-five minutes to one and a half hours. Often at the end of the interviews, informal conversations about Portugal and the immigrant experiences of some interviewees in France and Germany were most helpful in identifying the nature of their adjustment problems. The total number of respondents to the questionnaire was 150. Information was thus obtained concerning 104 male and 46 female immigrants. The overwhelming number of male respondents may reflect the importance of the man's role as family head within the traditional Portuguese family. Despite changes imposed by the new milieu on the family structure, family values of the patriarchal type are still deeply ingrained in Portuguese immigrant families.

In spite of efforts to explain the nature of the survey, and its purpose, suspicion and fear of disclosing

information could partly explain why only 150 of the 260 subjects selected agreed to be interviewed. Moreover, it became evident during the data collection process that the low educational level of the target population is a major factor hampering the ability of the respondents in furnishing information.

### THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The survey instrument was based on Reitz' (1980) analysis of ethnic cohesion and social mobility in the Canadian society. The operationalization of ethnic cohesion involved both a measure of self-identification with a particular group and a measure of ethnic interaction among members of the ethnic group (ibid.:92) Such a methodological strategy facilitates the examination of the subjective (self-identification) and the objective (in-group interaction) nature of ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese in Vancouver. The survey instrument was divided into four major parts: (Appendix I)

- PART I - Demographic Information
- PART II - Occupational Level of the respondents
- PART III - Ethnic Identification and In-group interaction levels
- PART IV - Participation outside the ethnic community

PART I of the questionnaire was designed to obtain a

profile of the respondents in the sample regarding age, sex, marital status, number of children in the household, length of residence in Canada, reasons for emigration and educational level.

PART II of the questionnaire gathered information on the occupational position of respondents. Data were collected on the subjects' job history in Portugal and in Canada; subjects' father's job in Portugal; income level; participation in professional and career up-grading courses in Canada and union membership.

PART III was designed to assess the level of involvement of Portuguese in the ethnic community. Subjective (ethnic identification) and objective (in-group interaction) criteria were used to determine the degree of ethnic involvement exhibited by the interviewees in the community. Regarding ethnic identification, respondents were asked to define themselves in terms of ethnic affiliation (Q. #21). In-group interaction was measured according to the following criteria: 1) Intensity of informal social relations (Q. #24); 2) Language retention (Qs. #27, 29, 30) and 3) Participation in ethnic cultural and recreational activities (Qs. #25, 26, 28) and participation in religious activities (Qs. #31, 32, 33).

PART IV of the questionnaire assesses the level of ethnic participation outside the Portuguese community (Qs. #34-38). It determines the type of work setting) the

intensity with which respondents read Canadian press, and participate in business meetings, socio-cultural and political activities organized outside the ethnic group.

## ANALYSIS

### PART I. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Of the 150 head of households, 104 are male and 46 are female. The sample included 128 married couples, 10 single, 7 separated and 5 divorced. All the respondents except two were married to Portuguese persons.

#### 1. Age

Respondents were grouped into five age categories as shown below:

TABLE 16. AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

<u>AGE</u>	<u>PER CENT</u>	<u>NO.</u>
20 - 30 years	15	22
31 - 40 years	29	43
41 - 50 years	35	52
51 - 60 years	19	28
61 years or more	3	5
Total	100	150

Approximately 64% of the population in the sample falls into the middle-aged bracket, 31-50 years.



2. Number of Children in the Household

Approximately 73% of the households had 1 to 4 children, 20% had no children and 6% had more than 5 children.

3. Length of Residence in Canada

Eighty percent of the population in the sample has been in Canada for more than 14 years. Of these 50% have been residing in the country for more than 20 years. Table 17 shows the number of years in residence in Canada.

TABLE 17. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA  
AMONG PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No.</u>
7 years or less	4	6
8 - 13 years	16	23
14 - 19 years	30	45
20 years or more	50	75
Total	100	150

In terms of immigration history, the Portuguese resemble more the Italians and the Greeks than the Eastern and Northern Europeans (Reitz 1980). Like the Italians and the Greeks, the Portuguese started arriving in large numbers in Canada only after World War II. However, when compared with the Italians, Portuguese immigration is a more recent

one. Whereas 84% of all Italian immigration took place between 1950 and 1969, the overwhelming proportion (85%) of all Portuguese immigrants to Canada came during the period 1960-1977. (Multiculturalism Canada. Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected/Ethnic Visible Minority Groups. Census 1981. March 1986). The immigration of Portuguese to Canada occurred primarily in the 1960's, the peak period was 1965-1969 when approximately twenty-five percent of all Portuguese immigrants arrived. According to Statistics Canada (1986) only 180 came before 1945. From the figures presented in Table 17, it is evident that the majority of the Portuguese in the sample came during the peak period or in the late 1950's.

#### 4. Reasons For Emigration

When asked to specify the most important reason underlying their decision to emigrate to Canada, 34% of the respondents in the sample indicated economic factors; 29% specified the desire to join relatives; 14% named economic and family reunion as the two major incentives to emigrate; 1% came because of political reasons and 8% had other reasons. These findings tend to support Anderson and Higgs' (1976) and Alpalhao and Da Rosa's (1980) hypotheses. These authors contend that although economic reasons constitute a major incentive for emigration, extended family reunification also plays an important role, since first

generation Portuguese immigrants seek actively to reunite their extended families in Canada

From 1968 to 1973, 75% of all in-coming Portuguese immigrants entered the country under the nominated and sponsorship categories (Green Paper on Immigration, 1974). This illustrates the significance of kinship networks in Portuguese immigration to Canada. Chain migration is not peculiar to the Portuguese. Various studies have documented similar immigration patterns among Italians (Jansen, 1981; Ziegler and Richmond 1972) and Greeks (Chimbos 1980, 1981). Strong kinship ties and hometown networks seem to play a major incentive for emigration among these ethnic groups.

## 5. Education

### a) Years of Schooling in the Homeland

Table 18 shows the number of years of formal instruction received by respondents in the homeland.

TABLE 18. YEARS OF SCHOOLING AMONG PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

<u>Years of Schooling</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>	<u>No.</u>
1 - 4	60	123
5 - 7	12.7	8
8 - 12	16	7
Business and Vocational	9.3	8
University	2	4
TOTAL	100.0	150

There is little doubt that Portuguese immigrants have a very low level of formal education. Sixty-percent of all

Portuguese heads of household in the sample have not progressed in school beyond grade four. Similar low educational levels were found by Anderson and Higgs (1976). According to the authors, the majority of Portuguese immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1953 and 1973 had on average four years of schooling in Portugal. A recent study conducted by Multiculturalism - Secretary of State (March 1986) estimates that more than half of the Portuguese immigrants in Canada have less than grade nine schooling compared with a Canadian national average of twenty-percent. Regarding University education, the study found that less than five percent had any University education compared with sixteen percent of all Canadians (ibid.:1973).

When compared to other Southern European groups (Italians and Greeks) the Portuguese score the lowest level of formal education. Thirty-six percent of Italians and fifty percent of Greek immigrants have grade nine or less. A similar pattern is found for higher education. Just under twelve percent of Italians and nine percent of Greeks had some university education (ibid.:1950).

The relatively low educational achievement by Portuguese immigrants is most revealing of lack of educational opportunities in the home country. The majority of Portuguese immigrants who came to Canada in the 1950's and 1960's came from rural areas where opportunities for educational advancement were slim. Children's employment at

an early age and lack of incentive by parents towards educational attainment are some of the major factors accounting for the low educational levels found among Portuguese immigrants. Although the situation has been rapidly changing in the last few years, high levels of illiteracy among the rural population and an overall lack of educational achievement still remains a problematic feature of Portuguese society today. A survey conducted by The Economist (May 28, 1988) reported that approximately 45% of the Portuguese rural population is illiterate and that eighty-five percent of the total adult population has not progressed beyond grade six.

b) Length of Residence and Education

The relationship between the level of formal education attained by respondents in Portugal and length of residence in Canada is presented in Table 19.

**TABLE 19. YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN THE HOMELAND  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Years of Schooling</u>	<u>Length of Residence</u>							
	<u>7 years or less</u>		<u>8 - 13</u>		<u>14 - 19</u>		<u>20 years or more</u>	
	%	N( 6)	%	N(23)	%	N(45)	%	N(75)
1 - 4	0	0	52	12	29	26	68	55
5 - 7	17	1	9	2	18	8	11	8
8 - 12	17	1	26	6	16	7	13	10
Business and Vocational	33	2	13	3	9	4	7	5
University	33	2	0	0	0	0	1	1

Although the proportion of those immigrants who have resided in Canada for seven years or less is rather small and subjected to statistical error, these respondents tend to have higher educational levels than those who have been in the country for longer periods of time. Whereas sixty-eight percent of the respondents who have resided in Canada for twenty years or longer have not advanced beyond grade four, all the newcomers have progressed beyond grade four. Approximately sixty-six percent of these have some kind of business or vocational certificate or professional training compared to 13%, 9% and 8% in the year groups: 8-13 years, 14-19 years and 20 or more years respectively.

c) Present Occupation and Education

As one might have expected there is a close relationship between occupational position and education. Table 20 summarizes the available information.

**TABLE 20. PRESENT OCCUPATION BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING  
ON ARRIVAL**

<u>Years of Schooling</u>	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
1 - 4	0	0	63	10	49	31	76	47
5 - 7	0	0	13	2	18	11	10	6
8 - 12	56	5	13	2	18	11	10	6
Business and Vocational	11	1	6	1	14	9	5	3
University	33	3	6	1	2	1	0	0

As Table 20 illustrates the overwhelming majority (76%) of those engaged in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs have not progressed beyond grade four. A low level of educational attainment was also found among those in the business category. Only six percent of the respondents in this category had received any kind of business training in Portugal. It is interesting to note that, overall, those engaged in skilled work in Canada have attained higher levels of education in Portugal than the semi-skilled, unskilled and businessmen. It is not surprising to find that among the respondents in the sample, professionals have attained the highest educational level. Forty-four percent of the professionals had post-secondary level education compared to twelve percent for business; sixteen percent for skilled and five percent for semi-skilled and unskilled.

d) Education in Canada

Forty-four percent of all Portuguese household heads in the sample indicated that they have not attended any educational institution in Canada. Approximately forty-one percent have been enrolled in English courses and only fifteen percent have attended vocational or professional institutes. Those who have not attended school in Canada indicated that lack of time prevented them from furthering their education. Time opportunity costs regarding education seem to be high among the majority of these immigrants who are inclined to maximize material rewards in the short-run at the expense of self-improvement and upward mobility. Furthermore, lack of basic learning skills associated with low educational levels may operate as major handicaps for higher educational attainment among the majority of Portuguese immigrants.

Of those who have attended professional and career upgrading courses, the overwhelming majority (89%) are presently engaged in professional and management occupations. For those in the business, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupational categories, the proportions were 13%, 29% and 13% respectively.

e) English Knowledge

The following table shows the level of proficiency in spoken and written English.



**TABLE 21. KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE  
AMONG PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS**

<u>Written</u>	Per Cent	N(150)
Fluently	35	53
Some English	45	67
No English	20	30
<u>Spoken</u>		
Fluently	45	67
Some English	53	80
No English	2	3

The high proportion of respondents who cannot write in English, (20% of the whole sample) and their lack of proficiency in speaking the language (53% speak some English and 2% speak no English at all) are not surprising given the overall low educational level of the respondents. However, lack of knowledge of English is not homogeneously distributed across the sample. The cross-tabulation of knowledge of English with occupational position is most revealing.

**TABLE 22. KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH  
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY**

<u>Knowledge of English</u>	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/Unskilled</u>	
<u>Written English</u>	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Fluently	89	8	44	7	48	30	13	8
Some English	11	1	50	8	41	26	52	32
No English	0	0	6	1	11	7	36	22
 <u>Spoken English</u>								
Fluently	89	8	65	10	54	34	24	15
Some English	11	1	37	6	46	29	71	44
No English	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	3

It is clear from Table 22 that lack of knowledge of English is most accentuated among those in the lower ranks of the occupational structure. Eighty-nine percent of those employed in professional and managerial occupations write fluently in English compared to thirteen percent of those in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Similar patterns were found between these two occupational groups regarding the level of proficiency in the spoken language. Those in the business and skilled categories have similar levels of knowledge of English, lower than the professionals but higher than the semi-skilled and unskilled. This is not surprising since higher job status is associated with higher levels of education and knowledge of English. On the other hand, the semi-skilled and unskilled due to lack of

proficiency in the English language tend to be concentrated in jobs which do not require a good knowledge of English to perform the task. The majority of these work as dishwashers, general labourers and janitors, while others find employment in the Portuguese community (for example grocery shops, variety shops) where lack of familiarity with the English language does not constitute a major handicap to perform the job.

## PART II. OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL OF RESPONDENTS

### 1. Occupation in Portugal and in Canada

Occupation in Portugal has an effect on occupation in Canada. The data reveal that persons engaged in farm work in Portugal were more likely to work as unskilled labourers in Canada while those immigrants who were skilled workers in Portugal were more likely to remain in skilled jobs in Canada. Of those respondents engaged in farm work in Portugal, 52.6% work in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs in Canada; 34.2% got jobs as skilled labourers and 13.2% engaged in business ventures. Of those who were skilled or semi-skilled workers in Portugal, 48.1% work in skilled jobs while 46.3% work in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs. Thus, the likelihood that an unskilled labourer in Portugal will work in a similar job in Canada is high. The same is not true for those who occupied professional or managerial jobs

in Portugal. Of those engaged in these occupations in the home country, thirty percent work as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers in Canada; forty percent work as skilled workers and only 20% have an occupational position similar to the one held in Portugal. Respondents indicated that the non-recognition of their qualifications and the use of "Canadian experience" as a job requirement are the two major factors accounting for their lower occupational status in Canada.

## 2. Fathers' Occupation

Fathers' occupation also affects their children's occupational position in Canada. The following Table compares the subjects' present occupation with fathers' occupation in Portugal.

**TABLE 23. SUBJECTS' FATHER'S OCCUPATION BY SUBJECTS' PRESENT OCCUPATION IN CANADA**

<u>Fathers' Occupation</u>	<u>Subjects' Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Professional	56	5	12	2	3	2	8	5
Business	22	2	6	1	10	6	10	6
Skilled/Semi-Skilled	22	2	38	6	56	35	29	18
Agriculture/Unskilled	0	0	44	7	31	20	52	32

As Table 23 indicates of those whose fathers were employed in unskilled jobs in Portugal, 52% are also semi-skilled or

unskilled workers in Canada; 31% are in skilled jobs and 44% in business. For those respondents whose fathers were skilled or semi-skilled workers, the majority occupy similar jobs in Canada, the remaining proportion is distributed among the other occupational categories with particular emphasis in business (38%). It seems that subjects whose fathers had skilled or semi-skilled jobs will likely be in either a similar occupation or in one with higher occupational status in Canada. Similar patterns were found by Ziegler and Richmond's study (1972) of the Italian community in metropolitan Toronto.

Among those respondents whose fathers were businessmen in Portugal only 6% occupy a similar position in Canada; 22% are engaged in professional or managerial jobs and the rest are evenly distributed between skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Finally, of those whose fathers were in professional and managerial positions in Portugal, 56% are presently engaged in similar occupations in Canada.

### 3. Occupational Mobility in Canada

The following Table compares the subjects' type of job held since arrival in Canada with their present occupation.

**TABLE 24. SUBJECTS' JOB(S) SINCE ARRIVAL IN CANADA  
BY PRESENT OCCUPATION**

<u>Jobs held since arrival in Canada</u>	<u>Present Occupation</u>									
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled</u>		<u>Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(18)	%	N(44)
Professional	67	6	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Business	33	3	75	12	0	0	0	0	0	0
Skilled	0	0	0	0	83	52	0	0	0	0
Semi-Skilled	0	0	0	0	18	11	72	13	20	8
Unskilled	0	0	13	2	0	0	28	5	80	36

Based on the results shown in Table 24 it is evident that there have not been significant shifts in occupational status among the subjects in the sample. Eighty percent of those who are presently employed as unskilled labourers have worked in similar jobs since their arrival in Canada. The overwhelming concentration in occupation positions similar to those presently held is not peculiar to the unskilled. Only the business category shows a wider range of occupational variation. In spite of sample size limitations which preclude indulging in broad generalizations, the overall picture for occupational mobility among the respondents is poor. For those at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy, lack of knowledge of English and job qualifications (for example education, and technical skills) have hampered their opportunities for upward mobility. These are likely to remain "trapped" in unskilled occupations with few opportunities for upward mobility.

It is however interesting to note that a certain degree of occupational mobility has occurred especially among respondents in the business, skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled categories which may reflect participation in professional up-grading courses or in-job training programmes. Enquiries were made about the respondents participation in career up-grading courses. Table 25 below summarizes the responses.

**TABLE 25. PARTICIPATION IN CAREER UP-GRADING COURSES BY PRESENT OCCUPATION**

<u>Courses</u>	<u>Present Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Professional up-grading.	89	8	13	2	29	18	8	5
In-job training	11	1	31	5	30	19	13	8
None	0	0	56	9	41	26	79	49

Whereas all the respondents in professional or managerial occupations have participated at some point in career up-grading courses, 79% of those subjects in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations have never participated in professional up-grading courses or in job training programmes. However, for those presently employed in skilled jobs approximately 60% have participated in such courses which may further their opportunities for upward

mobility. A similar high proportion was observed among those in the business category. This is not surprising since many of these respondents engaged in business ventures which required some special training, for example, travel, insurance and real estate agencies.

#### 4. Income

It became evident during research that income was a sensitive question. Information was sought about income range rather than a specific figure in order to facilitate the matter. Still the information collected has to be analyzed with a certain degree of caution since some respondents tended to over estimate the family annual income while others underestimate the figures significantly. With few exceptions (15 out of 150 refused to provide information), the respondents were cooperative. The income distribution of the respondents by present occupation is presented in the following Table.

**TABLE 26. ANNUAL INCOME RANGE OF FAMILIES  
BY PRESENT OCCUPATION**

	<u>Present Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-skilled/Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Below \$ 10,000	11	1	0	0	0	0	3	2
10,000 - 19,999	0	0	25	4	3	3	7	4
20,000 - 29,999	0	0	6	1	16	10	15	9
30,000 - 39,999	0	0	25	4	35	22	29	18
40,000 - 49,999	22	2	25	4	16	10	27	17
Over 50,000	56	5	13	2	16	10	10	6
N.A.			6	1	13	8	10	6



Of the total sample approximately 52% had annual incomes ranging from \$30,000 to \$49,999; 24.3% had incomes below \$29,999 and 15.3% had incomes over \$50,000. It is interesting to note that the income variation gap between those in skilled occupations and those respondents in semi-skilled and unskilled is not very wide. The majority of the respondents in these two categories reported annual family incomes ranging from \$30,000 to \$49,999. However, approximately 16% of the subjects in the skilled category reported incomes over \$50,000 compared to 10% of those in the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, and 13% for those in the business category. The majority of the professionals, on the other hand, are concentrated in the high income bracket which is not surprising since these tend to occupy high job status with high income opportunities.

How do incomes of Portuguese compare with the general income levels in Vancouver? According to official statistics (Multiculturalism Canada. Socio-Economic Profiles of Selected/Ethnic Visible Minority Groups, Census 1981. March, 1986), the average income of the Portuguese was below the population average. For both sexes, the Portuguese average income was \$13,881 compared with \$14,934 for the general population average in Vancouver (Multiculturalism Report, 1986:61,72). However, if average annual family incomes are considered, approximately 67% of Portuguese families in the sample had annual incomes equal

or above the general average for British Columbia, \$39,083 (Statistics Canada, Census Families 1986), and only 23% reported incomes below the average. Such discrepancies may be mainly due to the fact that Portuguese tend to accumulate jobs, some of which are not reported for income tax purposes, in order to maximize their earning capacity. The following passage best illustrates such attitudes towards financial achievement.

"We got ahead by working twelve hours each day. If a man works only eight in a day in Canada he will always be poor but if he works twelve hours a day he will be rich" (Quoted in F. Nunes, 1986:22).

Also it is not rare to see their children contributing with their salaries to the household even after they have reached their majority. Furthermore, unemployment is low among the Portuguese. At a national level, 4.2% of Portuguese men and 6.5% of Portuguese women were unemployed compared to 6.5% of all men and 8.7% of all women in the labour force. A similar pattern was found in Vancouver where 3.4% of the Portuguese were unemployed compared with 5.1% for the city in general (Multiculturalism Report, 1986:71).

##### 5. Union Membership

Of the whole sample only 44% worked in unionized jobs. Of these 53% were skilled workers and 41% were semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. Only 1.5% of the professionals were union members. Lack of unionization is particularly

accentuated among women. Approximately 85% of females in the sample did not work in unionized jobs compared to 43.3% of males. This is not surprising if one takes into account the type of jobs performed by the majority of Portuguese immigrant women. Most of them work in janitorial services where unionization is non-existent.

Kemp and Morisset's (1981) study of the Portuguese in Hull tend to support these findings. The authors reported that approximately 58% of Portuguese immigrant men belonged to a union compared to 35.8% of women. According to Alpalhao and Da Rosa (1980) insecurity feelings generated by their immigrant status and lack of class awareness account for the lack of union militancy among the Portuguese. The majority of Portuguese immigrants lived part of their adult lives under a dictatorship where union activities were strictly controlled. In the author's opinion this prevented the development of class consciousness among the workers who maintain an attitude of indifference if not rejection towards union militancy in the new society. Low levels of unionization do not seem to be peculiar to the Portuguese. Similar patterns were found by Cappon (1974) among the Greeks and the Italians in Quebec who tended to be concentrated in non-union low paying jobs. Unlike Alpalhao and Da Rosa, Adam (1984) argues that non-unionization among ethnic minorities is a perfectly rational response to the constraints posed by union monopolies dominated by Anglo

leadership. In his own words:

Due to the cultural division of labor some ethnics showed reluctance to join anglo-dominated unions that preached class solidarity but practiced ethnic patronage. With this seemingly apathetic behavior the outsiders merely exercised shrewd political judgment when indeed collective advancement was jeopardized by ethnic stigmatization and employment monopolies" (Adam, 1984:18).

Whatever the causes may be, the real or apparent political passivity of Portuguese and other minorities renders them vulnerable to exploitation in the form of low wages and poor working conditions and ultimately to political manipulation by the Canadian establishment.

### PART III. ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION AND IN-GROUP INTERACTION

#### 1. Ethnic Identification

In discussing the degree of involvement of Portuguese in the ethnic community, I intend to cover two major areas. The first is ethnic identification and the second in-group interaction. Ethnic identification is defined in terms of an identity which can be negotiated, aligned or even transformed for a variety of motives. For instance, it is possible for individuals to change their ethnic identities (Orlando, 1976) or to have multiple ethnic identities (Bauskaskas, 1977) depending on the circumstances. In this sense, ethnic identity cannot be seen as static or

involuntary and therefore immutable. Most important than assessing the presence or absence of ethnic identification, to be or not to be Portuguese, is to account for the variability and multiplicity of ethnic identities and the contexts in which they emerge. How did respondents in the sample define themselves in terms of ethnic affiliation? The question was posed as follows:

Q. #21. How would you define yourself:  
as a Portuguese, Portuguese-  
Canadian, Canadian or other?

Although "Portuguese" and "Canadian" were put forward as two independent categories, the question allowed those who identify with both groups to express their dual identity. Forty-eight percent of the respondents in the sample identified exclusively with their own ethnic origin group; 47.3% considered themselves "Portuguese-Canadians"; 4.0% felt they were "Canadian" and less than one percent thought of themselves as members of other ethnic groups. One could stress the Portuguese component since more than 95% of the respondents had some degree of affinity for Portuguese ancestry or one could stress the Canadian aspect since the majority (51.3%) had some degree of attachment with the country of immigration. In either case the variability in responses points out the fluid nature of ethnic identification.

Table 27 shows how subjects in different occupational categories identify themselves in terms of ethnic affiliation.

**TABLE 27. SUBJECTS' SELF-CONCEPT  
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY**

	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Portuguese	56	5	44	7	44	28	52	32
Portuguese-Canadian	33	3	50	8	48	30	48	30
Canadian	11	1	0	0	8	5	0	0
Other	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0

There is no evidence of a definite link between occupation and ethnic identification. Independently of occupation the majority of the respondents think of themselves as either Portuguese or as Portuguese-Canadians. Only eight percent of those in skilled category and 11% of the professionals identified as solely "Canadians". Overall, the subjects in the sample seem to have an hybrid concept of ethnic identity. To what extent does length of residence affects ethnic identification?

There is a strong relationship between length of residence and identification with the country of immigration.

**TABLE 28. ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Ethnic Identification</u>	<u>Length of Residence</u>							
	<u>7-years or less</u>		<u>8-13years</u>		<u>14-19years</u>		<u>20years or more</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N(6)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(23)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(45)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(75)</u>
Portuguese	100	6	70	16	48	22	36	27
Portuguese Canadian	0	0	26	6	46	21	59	44
Canadian	0	0	4	1	2	1	5	4
Other	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0

It is clear from Table 28 that all those immigrants who have been residing in Canada for seven years or less identify exclusively with the Portuguese ethnic group. Identification with Canada increases for the eight to thirteen years group and most significantly for those who have been here for more than twenty years. It is interesting to note that although identification with the Canadian component alone decreases for the 14-19 years group it increases for those who have resided in Canada for more than twenty years. Still the number of subjects who think of themselves as "Canadian" is rather insignificant. Although length of residence seems to be conducive to the creation of ties with the country of immigration, this process does not imply a loss in identification with the ethnic group. After twenty years of residence strong attachments with the Portuguese ethnic group still persist.

## 2. In Group Interaction

The other measure of involvement in the ethnic community is in-group interaction. From close participant observation in the Portuguese community in Vancouver, it is hypothesized that the level of involvement in the community is not homogenous among the Portuguese in Vancouver. Participation in the ethnic community is measured according to various criteria: a) intensity of informal social relations with other members of the ethnic group; b) language retention; c) participation in ethnic cultural and recreational activities; d) religious activities.

### a) Informal Social Relations

Breton (1961) found a positive relationship between institutionally complete communities and the tendency for its members to confine their social relations to other members of the same ethnic group. Breton measures institutional completeness by the type of organizations (churches, welfare organizations and the press) an ethnic community contains. Although he does not report the participation level of the respondents in these organizations, the presence of a total of three or more of any of these institutions is perceived as an indicator of high institutional completeness. Richmond's (1967) assessment of institutional completeness considers the presence or absence of not only churches, welfare



organizations and publications but also cultural, recreational associations, schools, doctors, lawyers, radio programmes and youth groups. Except for welfare organizations, the Portuguese community in Vancouver has everyone of these institutions represented within the ethnic community. Hence, according to Breton one can expect that the overwhelming majority of the respondents in the sample confine their social ties to members of the same ethnic group.

Respondents were asked about the intensity of informal social relations with members of their own ethnic group or other groups. The question was:

Q. #24 When you visit friends in their own houses these people are: Portuguese, Portuguese-Canadians, Canadians or other.

The question assesses the overall salience of social ties with various groups. Thirty-six percent of those interviewed maintain social ties exclusively with members of the Portuguese ethnic group. Just under sixty percent reported that their friends were "Portuguese-Canadians"; sixteen percent had friends from a variety of ethnic backgrounds besides those of their own ethnic group. An interesting feature of the data on informal social ties is that involvement with Canadian-born individuals is not particularly conspicuous among the Portuguese in Vancouver. Only three percent indicated that their friends were

Canadian born. One may conclude that the overwhelming proportion of the subjects in the sample maintain social interaction with members of their own ethnic group. Similar patterns were found among the Italians in Toronto (Ziegler and Richmond 1972). The authors reported that two-thirds of the interviewees indicated that their friends were "Italian".

It is however worth noting that 55% of those in professional and managerial occupations indicated that they maintain ethnic ties with Portuguese and Canadians compared to sixteen percent for those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. The percentage for those in the business and skilled occupational categories were also considerably low, 18% and 17% respectively. There is a tendency for those in high job status to have an ethnically mixed network while those in the lower ranks of the occupational structure tend to report more ethnically homogenous social relations. High job status coupled with high educational levels and knowledge of English enable these individuals to interact freely with both members and non-members of the ethnic group. These are "boundary commuters" who maximize social interaction by being able to maintain ties across ethnic group boundaries. The same is not true for those who occupy the lower ranks of the occupational structure. Low educational levels, low job status and lack of proficiency in the English language may force them to tie themselves to

other fellow immigrants who share the same language, ways of thinking and customs.

b) Language Retention

Language retention is another important indicator of ethnic group attachment. Reitz's (1982) study of the significance of language retention in ethnic communities reported a positive correlation between language retention and participation in the ethnic community. Knowledge of the ethnic language is found to promote ethnic participation and ethnic group cohesion. Language retention here refers to its use when speaking to others. Listening to ethnic radio broadcasts and reading ethnic press are also considered indicators of language retention.

Respondents were asked about the frequency of Portuguese language usage at home. Approximately 77% of the respondents in the sample indicated that they speak Portuguese at home everyday; 10% speak regularly but not every day and only 7% indicated that they "rarely or never" speak Portuguese. Occupational category does not seem to affect the usage of Portuguese language since the overwhelming majority of the interviewees in each occupational category speak Portuguese everyday. However, the cross-tabulation in Table 29 shows that length of residence in Canada affects the frequency of Portuguese language use.

**TABLE 29. FREQUENCY OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE USE AT HOME  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Frequency in speaking the ethnic language at home</u>	<u>Length of Residence in Canada</u>							
	<u>7 years or less</u>		<u>8-13 years</u>		<u>14-19 years</u>		<u>20 years or more</u>	
	%	N(6)	%	N(23)	%	N(45)	%	N(75)
Everyday	100	6	91	21	80	36	69	52
Regularly	0	0	9	2	11	5	11	8
Occasionally	0	0	0	0	2	1	9	7
Rarely or never	0	0	0	0	7	3	11	8

It is clear from Table 29 that the use of Portuguese language at home declines over time. All of those who have been in Canada for seven years or less speak Portuguese everyday compared with sixty-nine percent of those who have resided in the country for more than twenty years. Subjects were also asked to express their opinion on the importance of Portuguese language knowledge among the second generation. Approximately seventy percent indicated that they "strongly agree" with the following statement: "To learn Portuguese is important for the Portuguese immigrant children"; 25% indicated they agree; 3% were not certain and approximately 1% "strongly disagreed". Occupation and length of stay in Canada do not seem to affect their attitudes towards ethnic language retention by the second generation. The overwhelming majority in each occupational category and in each year bracket either "strongly agree" or "agree" with the above mentioned statement. When asked

about the importance of speaking only Portuguese in the ethnic community 17% of the subjects indicated they "strongly agree"; 29% stated they "agree"; 28% were "not certain" and approximately 27% either "disagree" or "strongly disagree". It is interesting to note that of those who "disagree" 59% have been in Canada for more than twenty years compared with 10% for those in the eight to thirteen years group. No consistent pattern was found when occupational category was taken into account. More important than occupation, the passage of time seems to soften ethnic boundaries making ethnic language exclusiveness in the community not an important ethnic symbol which the Portuguese may rally around.

i) Ethnic Radio Listening

Respondents were asked to indicate how often they listen to the Portuguese radio programme in Vancouver. Twenty-eight percent listen to the radio programme regularly; 46% occasionally and 26% never. There is no clear relationship between length of residence in Canada and listening to the ethnic radio programme. It is not unidirectional in an increasing or decreasing way, it varies in a curved fashion as is illustrated in Table 30.

**TABLE 30. FREQUENCY OF PORTUGUESE ETHNIC RADIO LISTENING  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Frequency of Listening to ethnic radio</u>	<u>Length of Residence in Canada</u>							
	<u>7years or less</u>		<u>8-13 years</u>		<u>14-19years</u>		<u>20years or more</u>	
	%	N(6)	%	N(23)	%	(45)	%	N(75)
Regularly	33	2	22	5	22	10	32	24
Occasionally	33	2	57	13	42	19	47	35
Never	33	2	22	5	36	16	21	16

It is interesting to note that while listening regularly to the ethnic radio decreases for those in the second and third groups, it increases after twenty years of residence in Canada. Listening occasionally also tends to increase for those in the fourth category while the proportion of those who never listen to the radio programme decreases. The relationship is an interesting one which suggests that a gradual weakening in ethnic attachments may not be unilinear as Sandberg 1974; Gans 1979 suggested. A factor that may account for the relative increase in ethnic radio listening frequency among those who have resided in Canada for more than twenty years may have to do with low educational levels found among these respondents (55% had 1-4 years of formal schooling). These prefer to listen to the ethnic radio to keep informed about the home country rather than read the ethnic press.

People in the professional and managerial occupations listen to the Portuguese radio programme far less than those

in other occupations. The proportion who never listen to ethnic radio does increase with job status as follows:

**TABLE 31. ETHNIC RADIO LISTENING BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Ethnic Radio</u> <u>Listening</u>	<u>Occupation</u>							
	<u>Unskilled/Semi-Skilled</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Professional</u>	
	%	N(62)	%	N(63)	%	N(16)	%	N(9)
Never listens to the ethnic radio	26	16	26	15	14	2	44	4

It is interesting to note that those in the business occupational category tend to listen more often to the Portuguese radio programme than the rest of the respondents (56% listen "occasionally" compared to 44% for the professionals; 48% for skilled and 42% of the semi-skilled and unskilled). This is not surprising if one takes into consideration the fact that businessmen have a vested interest in the radio programme which airs their commercial messages.

ii) Ethnic Press Readership

Respondents were asked to indicate how often they read Portuguese ethnic press. Forty-three percent indicated they read regularly; just under 50% read occasionally and 7% never. There is an inverse relationship between length of residence in Canada and reading Portuguese ethnic press. Reading ethnic press declines consistently as length of

residence in Canada increases. Eighty-three percent of those who have been residing in the country for seven years or less read "regularly" compared with thirty-six percent for those who have been in Canada for more than twenty years. Of those subjects who indicated that they never read ethnic press the overwhelming majority (64%) have been residing in Canada for more than 20 years, 27% are in the 14-19 years group and the remaining proportion (9%) in the 8 to 13 years group. This pattern seems to suggest that ethnic ties which are strong among recent immigrants tend to erode over time. It appears that the Portuguese ethnic press tend to draw proportionately more of its support from immigrants who have been here for less than a decade than from the others. However, it is important to note that the educational levels of the "pioneers" is considerably lower than those among the most recent immigrants. Further analysis is required to assess the extent to which education is affecting ethnic readership patterns among the respondents in the different residence groups.

As it has been true of length of residence, Portuguese ethnic readership is inversely related to occupation. Forty-two percent of those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations read ethnic press regularly compared to thirty-three percent of those in professional or managerial occupations. However, the difference is not so great for those who read ethnic press "occasionally": 67% of those in



the professional or managerial category read ethnic press "occasionally" so do 50% in the business and in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories and 46% in the skilled category.

c) Participation in cultural, social and ethnic activities

Membership in Portuguese ethnic organizations is another measure of involvement in the ethnic community. In the sample just under 61% indicated membership in a Portuguese ethnic association in Vancouver. This is higher than the average of 35% of Breton's (1961) respondents (of various "ethnicities") who indicated they belonged to ethnic organizations. Ziegler (1972) also reported a lower level of membership in Italian voluntary associations. Only 25% indicated they were members of ethnic associations where the majority of its members were Italians. In the case of the Portuguese, it is important to point out that many organizations, the ethnic school, soccer clubs, musical associations, and a women's group are all associated with the parish. The high level of membership may reflect participation in these organizations rather than in Portuguese ethnic associations organized outside the parish. Low membership levels in the Portuguese Club of Vancouver (P.C.O.V.), the only Portuguese club organized outside the parish, reporting a total membership of approximately three

hundred persons, tends to support the fact that the parish and all its organizations constitute the major mobilizing force within the Portuguese ethnic community in Vancouver.

Membership in Portuguese ethnic associations is more frequent among those in the business, skilled, and semi-skilled or unskilled occupations than among professionals. The proportion of each occupational group which belongs to an ethnic organization is shown below:

**TABLE 32. MEMBERSHIP IN ETHNIC ORGANIZATIONS BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Membership</u> <u>in ethnic organizations</u>	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professionals</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Yes	44	4	56	9	62	39	63	39
No	56	5	44	7	38	24	37	23

As job status increases the tendency to belong to an ethnic organization decreases. Membership in voluntary Portuguese organizations definitely increases over time. Whereas 83% of the most recent group do not belong to any ethnic organization, this is true of only 33% of the longest residence group. There are several reasons which may account for this inverse relationship. Many of the respondents who have resided in Canada for more than twenty years were actively involved with the creation of present day Portuguese associations in Vancouver. Some have maintained their membership which is basically symbolic in

nature. Usually their participation in activities organized by the organization is rather peripheral. Still others remain active in the associations which have been molded according to the ideals and needs of its directors. Knowledge of English and higher educational levels found among the newcomers may speed up the adaptation process to the Canadian society by breaking down cultural barriers and in providing easier access to social networks outside the ethnic community. For these, the role of ethnic associations as cultural cushions on which early Portuguese immigrants need to rely on for survival in an urban environment become meaningless for the best educated and qualified immigrants.

i) Participation in Portuguese Ethnic Festivals

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of participation in Portuguese ethnic festivals. Of the whole sample 40% participated "regularly"; 52% occasionally and 8% never. Participation in Portuguese ethnic festivals is inversely related to occupation. As job status increases from unskilled to professional, the percent of respondents who participate regularly in ethnic festivals decreases from 48% to 22%.

Regarding the impact of length of residence on ethnic festivals participation, there seems to be no clear relationship. The cross-tabulation between participation in

ethnic festivals and length of residence in Canada is shown in the following Table.

**TABLE 33. PARTICIPATION IN ETHNIC FESTIVALS  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Frequency of Participation in ethnic festivals</u>	<u>Length of Residence</u>							
	<u>7 years or less</u>		<u>8-13 years</u>		<u>14-19 years</u>		<u>20years or more</u>	
	%	N(6)	%	N(23)	%	N(45)	%	N(750)
Regularly	0	0	57	13	36	16	40	30
Occasionally	83	5	35	8	56	25	53	40
Never	17	1	9	2	9	4	7	5

It is interesting to note that it is only after eight years of Canadian residence that respondents start participating regularly in ethnic festivities. It decreases sharply after fourteen years of residence in Canada before it increases again. For those who participate "occasionally" there does not appear to be any relationship between length of residence in Canada and participation in Portuguese ethnic festivities.

ii) Ethnic Grocery Shops

Occupation appears to have an affect on how often the respondents shop in Portuguese ethnic grocery shops. The figures are as follows:

**TABLE 34. SHOPPING IN PORTUGUESE ETHNIC STORES  
BY OCCUPATION**

	Occupational Category							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled</u>	
Shop in Portuguese Grocery stores	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	<u>Unskilled</u>	
							%	N(62)
Regularly	11	1	44	7	24	15	34	21
Occasionally or Never	89	8	56	9	76	48	66	41

The figures suggest that those respondents in professional and managerial occupations are less likely to shop regularly on Portuguese grocery stores in Vancouver than those who are in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. The high proportion of respondents in the business category who shop "regularly" in Portuguese grocery stores may be due to the fact that some of these respondents own grocery stores themselves.

There is no clear relationship between shopping in Portuguese ethnic grocery stores and length of residence in Canada. Although the majority of the respondents in all residence groups indicated that they shop "occasionally or never", it is interesting to note that after thirteen years of residence in the country, the proportion of those who shop regularly in ethnic grocery stores steadily declines.

d) Participation in Religious Activities

Respondents were asked about their participation level in the Portuguese parish in Vancouver. Forty-six percent indicated that they attend church daily or weekly, just

under 25% occasionally and approximately 29% rarely or never. Among the respondents in the sample, professionals are less likely to attend the ethnic church than those in the business, skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled categories as the following figures illustrate.

**TABLE 35. ETHNIC CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Frequency of ethnic church attendance</u>	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Daily or weekly	22	2	63	10	41	26	52	32
Occasionally	22	2	12	3	27	17	26	16
Rarely or Never	56	5	25	3	32	20	22	14

Whereas the overwhelming majority of those in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations attend the ethnic church on a regular basis the same is true for only 11% of those in professional occupations. The majority of these (56%) indicated that they attend religious services in the Portuguese church "rarely or never". This is not surprising since the majority of the professionals live in the suburbs and are likely to attend religious services in neighbourhood Canadian churches. The high participation level among businessmen is mainly due to the fact that these tend to live close to their shops and agencies which are located in the area with the greatest concentration of Portuguese households and where the ethnic church is located (East 13th Avenue and Woodland Drive).

Respondents were then asked to express their opinion regarding church services in Portuguese. The question was as follows:

Q. #31" I prefer church services in Portuguese: Strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree."

Seventy-three percent of those in semi-skilled and unskilled categories indicated that they "strongly agree" compared with eleven percent of those in the professional category. For those in the business and skilled categories, the percentages were 63% and 59% respectively. The overwhelming proportion (67%) of those in the professional category were not certain and 22% disagree. No respondents in the remaining categories expressed disagreement with the above mentioned statement. It is clear that lack of knowledge of English among those in less prestigious jobs is reflected in their attitudes towards the use of Portuguese in religious activities. Those in high job status the ability to speak fluently English and Portuguese is a major determinant factor explaining their indifference towards ethnic religious activities.

Like membership in Portuguese associations, ethnic church attendance tends to increase over time. Those respondents who have been residing in Canada for seven years or less are less likely to attend the ethnic church than those in the other residence group categories. Only thirty-

three percent of the newcomers indicated that they attend church services daily or weekly compared with fifty-one percent who have been residing in Canada for twenty years or more.

#### PART IV. PARTICIPATION OUTSIDE THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY

The last part of the survey analyses the level of involvement of respondents in mainstream Canadian society. Participation outside the ethnic community is measured according with the following criteria: 1) Type of work setting; 2) Canadian press readership; 3) Participation in social cultural and political activities organized outside the ethnic community.

##### 1. Type of Work Setting

Respondents were asked to indicate the language used with co-workers. This question provides information on the nature of work settings of Portuguese immigrants. The cross-tabulation of language used with co-workers with occupation is shown below:



**TABLE 36. LANGUAGE USED WITH CO-WORKERS BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Language</u>	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
English or French	75	7	25	4	52	33	27	17
English or Portuguese	25	2	67	11	44	28	61	38
Portuguese only	0	0	6	1	3	2	11	7

It is clear from the Table that whereas the overwhelming majority (75%) of those in professional and management occupations tend to work in Anglo-dominated work settings, for those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations only 27% work in such settings. The overwhelming majority of the respondents in the lowest occupational category tend to work in mixed working settings. Limited knowledge of English, lack of skills and low educational levels may force those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations to tie themselves to ethnically segregated jobs. The same is not true for those with higher levels of education and skills. Fifty-two percent of the skilled work in Anglo-dominated work settings is compared to 27% to those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. Only 3% of the skilled worked in ethnic dominated work settings compared with 11% for the semi-skilled and unskilled and 6% for the business category. None of the respondents in professional and management category work solely with people of the same ethnic background. The high

level of businessmen reporting a mixed work setting is not surprising. Most of these own their own ethnic business which employ both Portuguese and Canadian workers to satisfy both the Portuguese and the Canadian clientele.

The relationship between length of residence in Canada and the nature of work setting is not a clear one. Except for those in the 8-13 years group, the majority of the respondents in the other occupational categories speak both languages (Portuguese and English) at work.

**TABLE 37. LANGUAGE USED WITH CO-WORKERS  
BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN CANADA**

<u>Language with Co-workers</u>	<u>Length of Residence</u>							
	<u>7years or less</u>		<u>8-13 years</u>		<u>14-19years</u>		<u>20years or more</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N(6)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(23)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(45)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(75)</u>
English or French	50	3	57	13	24	11	43	32
English or Portuguese	50	3	30	7	69	31	51	38
Portuguese only	0	0	13	3	7	3	6	5

An interesting feature of the data is that working in Portuguese-dominated work settings tends to decrease consistently after thirteen years of residence in Canada. It is worth noting that none of the recent immigrants work solely with persons of the same ethnic background. This is mainly due to the fact that these enjoy higher levels of education than those who have resided in Canada for more than fourteen years. Higher levels of education among the most recent immigrants widens their range of job opportunities. Unlike the pioneers, these immigrants do not

have to confine themselves to Portuguese work settings.

## 2. Canadian Press Readership

Respondents were asked to indicate how often they read Canadian press. Approximately 43% read Canadian press daily; 21% regularly and 36% read sometime or never. Occupation appears to have an effect on Canadian press readership. The proportion of those who read Canadian press daily tends to increase with job status. Seventy-eight percent of those in professional and management occupations read daily compared with 63% (business); 40% (skilled) and 36% (semi-skilled and unskilled).

The relationship between education and Canadian press reading habits varies in an unidirectional increasing way until grade twelve then decreases. Table 38 summarizes the responses.

**TABLE 38. CANADIAN PRESS READERSHIP**  
**BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING**

<u>Canadian Press</u> <u>Readership</u>	<u>Years of Schooling</u>			
	<u>1-4 years</u> % N (123)	<u>5-7 years</u> % N(8)	<u>8-12 years</u> % N(7)	<u>13 years or more</u> % N(12)
Daily	33 41	42 3	71 5	53 6
Regularly	21 26	32 3	13 1	24 3
Sometimes or less	46 57	26 2	16 1	24 3

It is clear from Table 38 that Canadian press readership as an indicator of the degree of involvement outside ethnic boundaries is strongly related with the educational levels of the respondents. The best educated tend to read more Canadian press than other respondents with lower levels of formal education.

3. Participation In Social Meetings Organized Outside The Ethnic Community

Respondents were asked to indicate how frequently they participate in social meetings organized by non-ethnic clubs and associations. Fourteen percent indicated that they participate regularly; 29% percent occasionally; 29% rarely and 28% never. There is a strong relationship between occupational position and participation in such meetings. Participation in social meetings outside ethnic boundaries seem to increase with job status. Those in professional and management occupations have a higher degree of involvement in social gatherings organized outside the ethnic community than those in business, skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled categories. Seventy-six percent of those in the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations rarely or never participate in such gatherings compared with only 11% of those in professional and managerial occupations. There is no unidirectional trend between length of residence and

participation in outside social gatherings. Those who have resided in Canada for more than twenty years are equally likely to participate "regularly" in outside ethnic group social gatherings (18%) as those who have resided in the country for eight to thirteen years (17%). Independently of length of residence in Canada, the overwhelming majority of the respondents (57%) "rarely or never" participate in social meetings organized outside the ethnic community. Overall, length of residence does not seem to imply necessarily a greater involvement in mainstream social activities among first generation Portuguese immigrants.

#### 4. Participation In Cultural Activities Organized Outside The Ethnic Community

Thirteen percent of the respondents in whole sample indicated that they participate regularly in cultural activities organized outside the ethnic group (cultural shows, theatre, symphony); 22% participated occasionally; 19% rarely and 46% never. There seems to be a strong relationship between occupation and participation in outside cultural activities.

**TABLE 39. PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES  
BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Participation in Cultural Activities</u>	<u>Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Regularly	56	5	25	4	13	8	5	1
Occasionally	44	4	44	7	22	14	13	8
Rarely	0	0	19	2	29	18	13	8
Never	0	0	19	3	37	23	70	43

Participation in cultural activities organized outside the ethnic community is clearly related to occupation. As job status increases, the proportion of respondents who participate regularly in such cultural meetings also increases. Professionals and managers are more likely to participate regularly in cultural activities than businessmen or skilled workers. Although the difference in participation is most marked between professionals and unskilled or semi-skilled workers, the relationship between length of residence and participation in cultural meetings does not appear to be unilinear. Lack of participation in cultural activities is common to all residence groups.

**5. Participation In Political Meetings**

Respondents were asked to indicate how often they participate in political meetings in Canada. The overwhelming majority (61%) never participated in such meetings; 23.3% rarely; 40% occasionally and only 1.3% participated

regularly. The relationship between occupation and participation in political meetings is shown in Table 40.

**TABLE 40. PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL MEETINGS  
BY OCCUPATION**

	<u>Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
Occasionally	67	6	6	1	19	12	6	4
Rarely or Never	33	3	94	15	81	51	94	58

It is clear from the data that professional and managerial occupations are more likely to participate in political meetings than those in lower job status. Reitz's findings (1980) that people with high occupational status are more likely to participate actively in political affairs than those with low job status are certainly supported. If political participation reflects the way respondents perceive their relationship with the wider society, the lack of participation in political activities by those in low job status may imply a sense of marginality towards the larger society. For these political participation may seem irrelevant and meaningless. The same is not true for those in high job status who may perceive participation in the political arena as a vehicle for upward mobility and social acceptance in the wider society

Length of residence also seems to affect political participation. There is a steady increase in the proportion

of respondents participating in political activities over time as follows:

**TABLE 41. PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL MEETINGS BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE**

	<u>Length of Residence</u>							
	7 years or less		8-13 years		14-19 years		20 years or more	
	%	N(6)	%	N(23)	%	N(45)	%	N(75)
Occasionally	0	0	4	1	7	3	24	18
Rarely or Never	100	0	96	22	93	42	76	57

The increase in political participation is specially significant for those who have been residing in Canada for twenty years or more. Clearly, with the years, Portuguese may tend to become more committed with the larger society and consequently may show a higher degree of involvement in the host community. However it is important to stress that in spite of an increasing trend in political participation over time, the overwhelming majority of respondents in each residence group have a rather marginal level of participation in political activities.

**SUMMARY**

The data indicate that ethnic identification and participation in the ethnic community does not overlap completely. Although the majority of the sample identified



with Portuguese ancestry the participation level in the ethnic community is not constant for all subjects. This tends to support Gans (1979) that identification with the ethnic group does not imply necessarily participation in the ethnic networks.

While length of residence is a significant factor in virtually every aspect of in-group interaction it does not seem to be the only significant factor. Occupation seems to affect in-group interaction patterns more consistently than length of residence in Canada. The extent to which each respondent in the five occupational categories participate in the six major examples of ethnic institutions -- church, social clubs, the press, radio programs, grocery shops, ethnic festivals -- is shown below:

**TABLE 42. ETHNIC COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION  
BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Participation</u> <u>in:</u>	<u>Occupation</u>							
	<u>Professionals</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/Unskilled</u>	
	%	N(9)	%	N(16)	%	N(63)	%	N(62)
1. Ethnic Clubs	44	4	56	9	62	39	63	39
2. Ethnic Press	33	3	44	7	46	29	42	26
3. Ethnic Radio	11	1	25	4	27	17	32	20
4. Ethnic grocery shops	11	1	44	7	24	15	34	21
5. Ethnic Church	22	2	65	10	41	26	52	32
6. Ethnic Festivals	22	2	37	6	35	22	48	30

Note:

Participation was measured as follows:

1. Be a member of Portuguese ethnic organizations in Vancouver (Q.#25)
2. Regularly reads Portuguese ethnic Press (Q.#27)
3. Listens regularly to the Portuguese ethnic radio programme (Q.#29)
4. Shops weekly in Portuguese grocery stores (Q.#28)
5. Attends daily or weekly the Portuguese ethnic church (Q.#32)
6. Participates regularly in Portuguese ethnic festivals (Q.#26)

It is clear from Table 42 that the degree of participation in the ethnic community is lower among professionals than among those in less prestigious jobs. Participation patterns between those in semi-skilled or unskilled occupations and those in skilled or business are very similar. Still, the level of participation in ethnic institutions is higher in virtually all types of organizations for those in the low ranks of the occupational structure than among those in skilled jobs.

For those in professional and managerial occupations,

social clubs and the ethnic press are the two major institutions attracting the most number of participants whereas for those in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations membership in ethnic clubs, the ethnic church and participation in ethnic festivals seem most effective in immobilizing ethnic participation. For skilled workers and businessmen, ethnic clubs, the ethnic church and the ethnic press attract the highest levels of participation. The higher levels of ethnic press readership found among the respondents in these two categories vis-a-vis those in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories may be due to higher levels of education found among those in skilled and business occupational categories.

In analyzing the degree of participation in out-group activities, it becomes clear that the level of involvement in the wider society varies considerably among Portuguese immigrants. Table 43 summarizes the data.

**TABLE 43. PARTICIPATION OUTSIDE THE ETHNIC COMMUNITY  
BY OCCUPATION**

<u>Frequency of Participation in:</u>	<u>Occupational Category</u>							
	<u>Professional</u>		<u>Business</u>		<u>Skilled</u>		<u>Semi-Skilled/ Unskilled</u>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>N(9)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(16)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(63)</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N(62)</u>
1. Ethnic work	67	6	25	4	52	33	27	17
2. Canadian Press Readership	78	7	63	10	40	25	35	22
3. Social Meetings	45	4	31	5	14	9	5	3
4. Cultural meetings	56	5	44	4	13	8	5	3
5. Political meetings	67	6	6	1	19	12	6	4

Note:

Participation was measured as follows:

1. Speaks English alone when speaking with co-workers (Q. #34).
2. Reads Canadian press daily (Q. #35).
3. Regularly participates in outside social meetings (Q. #36).
4. Regularly participates in outside cultural meetings (Q. #37).
5. Occasionally participates in political meetings (Q. #38).

Table 43 shows a direct relationship between occupational position and participation in the larger society. There is a clear tendency for those in higher job status to have higher levels of participation in the mainstream of society than those in less privileged occupational positions. Regarding the type of work setting, it is not surprising that 67% of the respondents in professional and managerial positions speak only English with their co-workers compared to 27% and 25% for the semi-

skilled and unskilled and businessmen respectively. For high job status the job holder may be forced to move away from ethnic work settings. This is also the case of skilled workers. Unlike the semi-skilled and unskilled who tend to work in settings composed by members of their own ethnic group. The majority (52%) of the skilled workers indicated that they speak English with the co-workers.

The gap between professionals and the respondents in the other three occupational categories regarding Canadian press is noteworthy. Only 35% of those in the lower ranks of the occupational structure read Canadian press daily compared with 78% of those in professional jobs. The frequency for the business and skilled categories are 63% and 40% respectively.

Differential patterns of interaction in the larger society were consistently found among the respondents in the sample. Lack of participation in socio-cultural and political activities is most accentuated among those in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories. Only 5% of the respondents in this category participate regularly in social and cultural activities organized outside the ethnic community. The proportions for the professionals are 45% and 56% respectively. Only two of the respondents in the sample participate in political activities on a regular basis. Among those who participate occasionally the overwhelming majority (67%) are professionals. For the

other three occupational categories participation levels in political activities were 6% for the business and semi-skilled and unskilled categories and 19% for the skilled.

Without underestimating the importance of group membership in satisfying individuals' expressive and/or material needs, the Portuguese ethnic enclave seems to be associated with low levels of education, upward mobility and out group interaction. Cultural distinctiveness does not ensure full participation in the political, economic and social institutions of Canadian society. On the contrary, it may, in fact, "harden" the boundaries between the ethnic group and the wider society through a process of ethnic exclusion. Thus, multicultural emphases on heritage maintenance on the one hand and ethnic integration in the wider society on the other hand becomes problematic. This raises two basic issues: 1) To what extent have multicultural programs been able to articulate the needs and interests of the Portuguese ethnic group in assisting in the maintenance of Portuguese culture and traditions?; 2) To what extent has the policy of multiculturalism been able to bring the Portuguese ethnic group into the mainstream of society?

Unlike the Ukrainians and other East Europeans (Burnet, 1975) the Portuguese have remained aloof if not indifferent to the policy of multiculturalism. Although many Portuguese ethnic organizations have been formed in Vancouver, lack of

information regarding multicultural programs, lack of knowledge of English and formal education, and personal disputes and animosities among members of Portuguese ethnic organizations have hampered their effectiveness in obtaining government grants to support community activities and projects. With the exception of the Portuguese Language School of Vancouver which has been subsidized by multiculturalism since 1981, no other Portuguese ethnic organization in Vancouver has been funded by government programs, nor have funds been allocated to subsidize Portuguese ethnic festivities. Still, Portuguese organizations are encouraged to participate in multicultural events and multicultural grants have been allocated to Portuguese organizations, specially in Ontario and Quebec (Multiculturalism Community Development Information, 1988). However, the Portuguese like the Italians (Jansen, 1981) seem more concerned about immigration policy issues, (for example family-reunification policy and refugee-determination systems) than in mobilizing their efforts to compete for multicultural grants. This is not surprising, since the majority of the Portuguese immigrant population in Canada is first generation immigrants, many of whom attempt to reunite their extended families in Canada. Canadian immigration policy has, therefore, a crucial impact in their lives and in the way they perceive themselves within the Canadian society. The imposition in 1986 of visa

requirements for all Portuguese visitors to Canada, a measure taken in response to Portuguese bogus refugee claims, stirred strong reactions among the Portuguese living in Canada. Such a political measure was viewed by many Portuguese community leaders as a form of discrimination against the Portuguese communities in Canada (The Globe and Mail, March 12, 31, 1986; The Toronto Star, July 17, 18, 1986). The adequacy of such a measure is out of the scope of this study. The important aspect, however, is that in a way such a measure reflected the groups' lack of participation in mainstream decision-making processes as well as its ineffectiveness to influence political institutions to accommodate the interests and needs of the group. The multicultural rhetoric of ethnic integration in the Canadian society and equality of opportunity can hardly disguise unequal access to power and decision-making processes. Insofar as the Portuguese are concerned, multicultural priorities and programs have not only been ineffective in articulating the needs of the group but by institutionalizing ethnic differences they may, in fact, mediate against the immigrant's integration in the new society.



## CHAPTER VII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis has been to repudiate the monolithic and static approach to ethnic phenomena. This has been accomplished through an examination of ethnic manifestations among the Portuguese in Vancouver. The level of ethnic affiliation and in-group interaction is not homogenous nor uniform within the ethnic group. On the contrary, the ways in which ethnicity gains salience differ among members of the ethnic group depending on specific socio-economic and political conditions. At an individual level, socio-economic factors such as education, knowledge of English, occupation and recency of immigration, and at a community level, policies such as bilingualism and multiculturalism define the context in which individuals may enhance or inhibit ethnic identification and commitment to the ethnic group.

Rather than focusing only on the number of organizations existent in the ethnic community as an indicator of ethnic enclosure (Breton 1964), this thesis has demonstrated that the variable and contextual features of ethnicity are better understood by analyzing the various degrees of involvement exhibited by group members in and outside the ethnic community. The findings suggest that although the overwhelming majority of the interviewees have similar patterns of ethnic identification (95% indicated

some degree of affinity for Portuguese ancestry), their degree of involvement in the ethnic community and outside it differs substantially. Participation in the ethnic community tends to be lower among those with high job status than among those in less prestigious jobs (Table 42). An inverse trend was found regarding the degree of involvement in the Canadian society at large. The level of participation in activities organized outside ethnic boundaries is much higher for those in high job status than for those who occupy the lower ranks of the occupational structure (Table 43). Due to their high job status and high educational level, the professionals are able to interact freely with the ethnic community and with the larger society. Unlike those in less prestigious jobs, whose participation in the ethnic community is symptomatic of blocked participation alternatives in the mainstream of society, professionals are able to reconcile the two "worlds" into a continuum of multiple social and economic attachments. If the ideal "multicultural person" exists perhaps he/she is to be found among these individuals. With respect to the Portuguese, the ideally fully integrated Canadian would be someone who speaks English, earns a decent living, reads the Canadian press has some non-Portuguese friends and at the same time speaks Portuguese, sometimes reads the ethnic press, has a token membership in a Portuguese ethnic organization and defines himself/herself

as a Portuguese-Canadian.

But these represent a very small proportion of the Portuguese immigrant population. For the overwhelming majority who work in less prestigious jobs, the ideal integrated Canadian is just a myth. Although they may define themselves as Portuguese-Canadians their involvement in the Canadian society is marginal. Opportunities for full participation in the mainstream of society are limited by their socio-economic status. Lack of language skills, and low educational levels are major handicaps affecting their participation outside the ethnic group. Unlike the social networks of professionals which cut across ethnic boundaries, the range and scope of interaction of the less educated is confined to their families and to the ethnic group. To this extent, ethnic exclusiveness does not appear to be so much a question of choice but rather it seems to depend on specific socio-economic constraints. Lack of upward mobility and limited alternative forms of social interaction may constitute a major factor strengthening ethnic boundaries. For the disadvantaged ethnic attachments may prove to be rather instrumental in maximizing access to material and social rewards. Employment opportunities generated in the ethnic community (for example janitorial services, shop clerks), financial assistance from other Portuguese, support and reciprocal obligations are most important for these immigrants to improve their social and

economic position in the receiving country. This is not to say that ethnic commitment may be simply understood in terms of material interests. Cultural affinities also play an important role in strengthening ethnic attachments. This is evidenced both by the high degree of ethnic identification with Portuguese ancestry found among respondents as well as by the simple fact that the majority of them tend to confine their friendship networks to other Portuguese rather than to individuals of other ethnic groups with whom they may have closer links in terms of economic interests.

Furthermore, involvement in the ethnic community may also provide opportunities to enhance the self-concept of low status members. The organization of ethnic celebrations, religious festivities and the participation in the Parish Council of Our Lady of Fatima Church in Vancouver are much more than simple ethnic heritage maintenance activities. For some individuals, ethnic involvement satisfies the need for social recognition in a society in which they may feel anonymous and overlooked. For others, commitment to the ethnic group may provide not only emotional and social comfort but also it furnishes opportunities for these individuals to broaden their social networks and provides the underpinnings for a potentially successful business life. In this case, ethnic attachments may be best understood as a combination of affective ties and material interests.

To sum up, the findings show that for the best educated participation and membership in the ethnic community is only one among other forms of social interaction. Their universe of social relationships is wide and opportunities for maximizing material, social and emotional rewards are not necessarily circumscribed by the ethnic group. In certain contexts they are not members of any ethnic group. On the contrary they are simply lawyers, doctors, executives. In other contexts, they are consciously members of the Portuguese ethnic group. As a Portuguese executive in Vancouver puts it:

At work I am the boss. My Portugueseness is completely irrelevant. But when I am invited to Portuguese festivities then everyone sees me as a Portuguese. To tell you the truth in those situations I even feel more Portuguese.

This shift in ethnic identity is something that the less privileged can hardly afford. For these the ethnic group constitutes their point of reference and their locus of interaction. Movement across ethnic boundaries is particularly hampered by lack of education skills and knowledge of the English language which tend to contract their range of social and economic relationships. Thus allegiance to the ethnic group becomes an attractive alternative to the extent that interaction with others who share similar values, language and cultural traditions provides emotional, social and economic rewards which are

not easily available outside ethnic boundaries. In this context, participation in ethnic associations may not only strengthen ethnic interaction but it also points out the success of such organizations in comparison with others existing outside the ethnic community in maximizing expressive and instrumental rewards for the underprivileged.

However, ethnic exclusiveness has also its costs. Economically, concentration in dead-end jobs generated in the community (for example construction and janitorial services) may constitute an impediment to occupational mobility and self-improvement. Culturally, there is a tendency for the group to cling to traditional social and cultural patterns similar to those existent in the homeland when they left decades ago, which further isolates them from the country of origin and from the host society. Although the Portuguese immigrant wife has acquired a certain degree of economic independence in Canada, the husband still performs a dominant role in the Portuguese immigrant family structure (Anderson, 1976). Furthermore, parents tend to enforce traditional dating practices which constitute major sources of friction between young people and their parents (Anderson 1979, Alpalhao and Da Rosa 1980; Da Rosa and C. Brettell 1986). This cultural "freezing" is most evidenced by the nature of interaction in and outside the ethnic community. Whereas self-identification with the receiving society seems to increase over time (Table \*) there is no

progressive trend towards a decline in participation in ethnic organizations and commitment to the ethnic group. If length of residence seems to affect the subjective nature of ethnic identity (self-ascription), the objective features of ethnicity (in-group interaction) seems to remain unaltered in the first generation.

Furthermore, for the majority of the Portuguese ethnic exclusiveness is associated with lack of participation in the larger society. As the findings show there is no general increase, over time, in participation levels in cultural, social and political activities organized outside the ethnic community. In other words, although the majority of Portuguese immigrants in Vancouver may perceive themselves as "Portuguese-Canadians", structurally they remain at the fringes of Canadian society. This accentuates their feelings of insecurity and marginality leaving them defenseless towards a highly sophisticated society whose mechanisms they have not been able to fully grasp.

It would not be appropriate to assess the Portuguese immigrant experience in Vancouver only in terms of social alienation and marginalization. In spite of all the economic and social handicaps which the majority of Portuguese immigrants face, they have been able to overcome poverty and deprivation. For most of them one of the most immediate consequences of emigration has been an overall improvement in their standards of living. The statement of

a Portuguese immigrant woman in France reveals the other face of immigrants' experience which has little to do with maladjustment and is not peculiar to Portuguese immigrants in France but also characterizes the Portuguese presence in Vancouver.

Too often the films on television which are about immigrants end at the beginning. They show all the problems we have with language, finding jobs and housing, adjusting to new food and new customs. But that is where they stop, at the beginning not at the end. What I most want other people to know about us, and about other Portuguese immigrants is that we have succeeded, we have made a life for ourselves (Brettell, 1986:79).

This study has attempted to examine the conditions under which ethnicity gains salience. A full study of the complex phenomenon of ethnicity involves the examination of the historical, social, economic and political contexts in which ethnicity asserts itself. Such effort would have required many more years of study and would have also precluded a truly in-depth analysis of ethnic processes at an individual and community level which is the focus of this study. Given these constraints, we opted to emphasize the different socio-economic factors underlying ethnic manifestations.

Regarding the quantitative data, there are obvious limitations to the study which preclude broad generalizations. The first limitation is related to the size of the sample. Given its relatively small size it is



difficult to draw general conclusions on whether the variable nature of ethnic involvement found among the Portuguese in Vancouver apply to other Portuguese communities across Canada. Similar studies are needed to fully understand the dynamics of ethnic manifestations among Portuguese elsewhere in Canada. A second limitation has to do with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the sample: 1) all the respondents are first generation immigrants; 2) the majority have received their formal education in Portugal; 3) most have lived in Canada for more than twenty years. Such profiles hamper intra-generational analysis of ethnic attachments and ethnic identification. Future research should analyze the nature of ethnic attachments among the second and third generations in order to better understand the Portuguese experience in Canada. Finally, the statistical techniques of the present study were limited to descriptive analysis. More sophisticated statistical procedures like those used by Reitz (1980), for example regression analysis and multiple classification analysis, are necessary to unscramble the effects of education, occupation and length of residence on ethnic manifestations.

Despite these constraints, the study has pointed out some important features of the variable and contextual nature of ethnic identification and ethnic exclusiveness. Still the question remains to what extent is ethnic

identification and in-group interaction an effective mechanism for helping members of the Portuguese community to overcome barriers to upward mobility and full participation in the Canadian society. The findings show that the Portuguese ethnic enclave is associated with low educational levels, low job status, low social mobility and marginal involvement in the larger social system. A major implication that can be drawn from this study is that Portuguese ethnic exclusiveness does not guarantee full participation in the Canadian society, in fact, it may mediate against it.

The policy of multiculturalism which promotes the enhancement of cultural traditions of ethnic groups without taking into consideration the unequal socio-economic status of these groups and their members has as a net effect, the marginalization of ethnic groups and individual ethnics from the larger social system through a process of ethnic atomization. The majority of Portuguese in Vancouver are consciously or unconsciously part of this process.

Although the majority of Portuguese ethnic organizations in Vancouver have not been funded by multicultural programs, either because they are not eligible for public funds (for example religious associations) or because they lack information on the availability of funds, often these organizations are invited to participate in local multicultural events and festivities. These may range

from ethnic Christmas Tree Decoration Contests to ethnic folk festivals. The Portuguese ethnic group is thus encouraged to promote its heritage culture. So far there is little evidence that such policy programs have either contributed to the maintenance of Portuguese identity or to the integration of Portuguese group members in the Canadian society. In spite of multicultural advocacy of heritage maintenance as a means to improve confidence in one's own group identity, participation in such multicultural activities does not seem to make Portuguese group members feel more "Portuguese", it rather institutionalizes Portuguese ethnic distinctiveness. The policy of multiculturalism may, in fact, encourage ethnic marginalization to the extent that it hardens the boundaries between the Portuguese ethnic group and the rest of the Canadian society. If the policy of multiculturalism is truly committed to support the maintenance of heritage cultures then a genuine attempt should be made to implement programs that go beyond inoffensive cultural displays. The introduction of the Portuguese language in the curricula of local schools in Vancouver with high concentration of Portuguese students seems a crucial step towards the maintenance of Portuguese culture. Such measures would not only ensure the integration of the Portuguese language in the larger socio-cultural system, and by so doing overcome the stigmatization effects of Saturday language school but

it would also promote the maintenance of Portuguese culture among future Portuguese generations.

While the policy of multiculturalism advocates the upward mobility of ethnics, the means to attain full economic and political participation are still unclear. Economically, the Portuguese ethnic group has remained at the lower ranks of the occupational structure with few opportunities for upward mobility. Lack of skills, formal education and knowledge of the English language constitute major impediments to occupational mobility and self-improvement. Strangely, one of the four objectives of the policy of multiculturalism focuses on "assisting immigrants to acquiring at least one of the Canada's official languages in order to become full participants in Canadian life" (House of Commons, Debates, October 8, 1971), yet the implementation of language programs at the community level has been deficient if not ineffective. Scarcity of classes being offered and odd schedules have prevented adequate involvement in such language courses.

Politically, the Portuguese ethnic group has not been able to exert political influence through their voting behavior. Lack of cohesion among group members and an overall lack of mobilization have prevented them to exercise pressure on mainstream political institutions. Most recently, The Globe and Mail covered the election campaign for City Council in Toronto's Ward four, in an article

ironically titled "Portuguese Community Matures Politically Amid Scandal" (The Globe and Mail, November 2, 1988). Internal divisions within the community, personal disputes and jealousy permeated the election campaign of Portuguese candidates to Toronto's City Council. This incident is most revealing of the group members' inability to operate as an interest group. Exclusion from the political sphere where crucial decision-making processes take place not only weakens the ethnic group position vis-a-vis mainstream institutions but it also renders it vulnerable to political manipulation. Whether the Portuguese will be able to overcome their social, economic and political handicaps is the real test of whether the policy of multiculturalism is capable of mediating immigrants' integration into the mainstream of society.

By defining ethnic groups within a contextual framework in which cultural differences are emphasized and institutionalized through direct policies (bilingualism and multiculturalism), the dominant groups have been able to circumvent ethnic claims to economic and political power. To what extent is the "legislation" of ethnicity an effective mediating tool towards the goals of national "unity", "equality" and "harmony"? How should ethnics overcome their economic and political marginality? What are the potential alternatives to the multi-ethnic approach equated with the policy of multiculturalism? Answers to

these questions would, inevitably, call for a redefinition of the multicultural ideology which would have to recognize the unequal life chances of the different ethnic pieces of the grand mosaic. If, in fact, the present multicultural ideology is meant to be more than just a political artifact for co-optation then an effort would have to be made to address the existing relationship between disadvantaged ethnic groups and the lower socio-economic strata. For that, state policies would have to go beyond the normative multicultural rhetoric of equality of opportunity. The acknowledgement that the pieces of the Canadian mosaic are not equal would, undoubtedly, be the first step towards a more adequate political response to the challenges posed by the Canadian plural society.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

**PART I**

(Questions designed to gather demographic information on the interviewee).

Please check one of the following numbers:

1. Sex  
Male            1        Female        2
  
2. Age  
Under 20 years        1  
20 - 30 years        2  
31 - 40 years        3  
41 - 50 years        4  
51 - 60 years        5  
over 61 years        6
  
3. Marital Status  
Single                1  
Married               2  
Separated             3  
Divorced              4  
Widow(er)            5  
Other                  6
  
4. Number of Children in the Household:  
0                      1  
1 - 4                  2  
over 5                 3
  
5. Date of Arrival in Canada:  
  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
6. Place of Origin in Portugal (Please Specify):  
  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
7. What was the Major Reason Underlying Your Decision to Emigrate to Canada:
  1. Presence of Relative in Canada        1
  2. Economic Factors                        2
  3. Political Factors                         3
  4. Other                                      4

8. I Write:  
 Fluent English 1  
 Some English 2  
 No English 3
9. I Speak:  
 Fluent English 1  
 Some English 2  
 No English 3
10. I Have Attended (In Portugal):  
 Grades 1 - 4 1  
 5 - 7 2  
 8 - 12 3  
 University 4  
 Business and Vocational  
 Institutes 5
11. I Have Attended (in Canada):  
 ESL Courses 1  
 Vocational and Business Courses 2  
 Other Courses 3
12. My Father Has Attended:  
 Grades 1 - 4 1  
 5 - 7 2  
 8 - 12 3  
 Vocational and Business  
 Institutes 4  
 University 5

**PART II**

(Questions related to the occupation level of the interviewees)

13. What Type(s) of Work Did Your Father Do?
- 

14. What Type(s) of Work Did Your Normally Do in Portugal?

- Professional and Financial 1  
 Business 2  
 Skilled/semi-skilled 3  
 Agriculture/unskilled 4



15. What Type(s) of Work Do You Normally Do at the Present Time?
- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Professional and Management | 1 |
| Business                    | 2 |
| Skilled                     | 3 |
| Semi-skilled                | 4 |
| Unskilled                   | 5 |
16. What Kind of Work Have You Done Since Arrival in Canada?
- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Professional and Management | 1 |
| Business                    | 2 |
| Skilled                     | 3 |
| Semi-skilled                | 4 |
| Unskilled                   | 5 |
17. Do You Work in Unionized Jobs?
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No  | 2 |
18. What is Your Working Status at the Present Time?
- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Employment Full-time              | 1 |
| Employment Part-time              | 2 |
| Self Employed                     | 3 |
| Laid-off Temporarily              | 4 |
| Unemployed for More than One Year | 5 |
| Retired or Permanently Disabled   | 6 |
| Full-time Student                 | 7 |
| Housewife                         | 8 |
19. Which Figure Comes Closest to Your Total Family Income (combined incomes of all family members who live in the household for the past year)?
- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| Less Than \$10,000 | 1 |
| (10,000 - 19,900)  | 2 |
| (20,000 - 29,999)  | 3 |
| (30,000 - 39,999)  | 4 |
| (40,000 - 49,999)  | 5 |
| (50,000 or More)   | 6 |
| Refused to Answer  | 7 |
20. Have You Participated in Any of the Following Courses in Canada?
- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Professional Up-grading Courses | 1 |
| In-job Training                 | 2 |
| None                            | 3 |

**PART III**

(Questions related with levels of ethnic identification and in-group interaction - social, cultural and religious dimensions)

---

Please Check One of the Following Numbers:

21. Do You Usually Think of Yourself As:

- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Portuguese          | 1 |
| Portuguese-Canadian | 2 |
| Canadian            | 3 |
| Other               | 4 |

Please Circle the Number Best Representing Your View on the Following Statements (#22 and #23)

- |                      |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1. Strongly Agree    |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2. Agree             |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3. Not Certain       |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4. Disagree          |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5. Strongly Disagree |  |  |  |  |  |
22. To Learn Their Own Ethnic Language is Important For the Portuguese Children
- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
23. To Speak Only Portuguese Within the Ethnic Portuguese Community in Vancouver is Important
- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|

---

Please Check One of the Following Numbers:

24. When You Visit Friends in Their Own Houses These People Are:
- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| Portuguese           | 1 |
| Portuguese-Canadians | 2 |
| Canadians            | 3 |
| Other                | 4 |
25. Are You a Member of Any of the Portuguese Community Organizations in Vancouver?
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No  | 2 |

26. Do You Participate in Portuguese Festivals?  
 Regularly 1  
 Occasionally 2  
 Never 3
27. Do You Read Portuguese Press?  
 Regularly 1  
 Occasionally 2  
 Never 3
28. Do You Do Your Weekly Shopping at Portuguese Stores in Vancouver?  
 Regularly 1  
 Occasionally 2  
 Never 3
29. Do You Listen to the Portuguese Ethnic Radio Programs?  
 Regularly 1  
 Occasionally 2  
 Never 3
30. Do You Speak Portuguese at Home?  
 Every Day 1  
 Often But Not  
 Everyday 2  
 Occasionally 3  
 Rarely 4  
 Never 5

---

Please circle the number best representing your view on the following:

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Not Certain
4. Disagree
5. Strongly Disagree

31. I Prefer Church Services in Portuguese

1      2      3      4      5

---

Please check one of the following numbers:

32. Do You Take Your Family to the Portuguese Church?  
 Daily 1  
 Weekly 2  
 Occasionally 3  
 Rarely 4  
 Never 5

33. Are You a Member of the Portuguese Parish Our Lady of Fatima?
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Yes | 1 |
| No  | 2 |

**PART IV**

(Questions Relating to Social Interaction Outside the Ethnic Group)

Please check one of the following numbers:

34. What Language Do You Use When You Speak With Your Co-Workers?
- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| Only English           | 1 |
| Only French            | 2 |
| Only Portuguese        | 3 |
| English and Portuguese | 4 |
| Other                  | 5 |
35. How Regularly Do You Read English Press?
- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| Daily     | 1 |
| Regularly | 2 |
| Sometimes | 3 |
| Rarely    | 4 |
| Never     | 5 |
36. How Regularly Do You Attend Social Meetings Organized Outside the Portuguese Community in Vancouver?
- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Regularly    | 1 |
| Occasionally | 2 |
| Rarely       | 3 |
| Never        | 4 |
37. Do You Participate in Any Cultural Activity Other Than Those Organized By The Portuguese Community Associations?
- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Regularly    | 1 |
| Occasionally | 2 |
| Rarely       | 3 |
| Never        | 4 |
38. How Regularly Do You Attend Meetings About Political Affairs in Canada?
- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Regularly    | 1 |
| Occasionally | 2 |
| Rarely       | 3 |
| Never        | 4 |

## QUESTIONÁRIO

### PART I

As seguintes perguntas pretendem recolher informações de carácter geral sobre os entrevistados).

Por Favor assinale um dos números seguintes:

---

1. Sexo:

Masculino	1
Feminino	2
  
2. Idade:

Menos de 20 anos	1
20 - 30 anos	2
31 - 40 anos	3
41 - 50 anos	4
51 - 60	5
Mais de 61 anos	6
  
3. Estado Civil:

Solteiro(a)	1
Casado(a)	2
Divorciado(a)	3
Viúvo(a)	4
Outro	5
  
4. Número de Crianças no Agregado Familiar:

0	1
1 - 4	2
Mais de 5	3
  
5. Data de Chegada ao Canadá:

---
  
6. Lugar de origem em Portugal (especifique):

---
  
7. Quais as razões que o(a) levaram a emigrar para o Canadá:

1. Presença de familiares residindo no Canadá	1
2. Economia (nível de vida mais elevado)	2
3. Razões políticas	3
4. Outras	4
  
8. Eu escrevo:

Inglês fluentemente	1
Algum Inglês	2
Não escrevo Inglês	3

9. Eu falo:
- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| Inglês fluentemente | 1 |
| Algum Inglês        | 2 |
| Não falo Inglês     | 3 |
10. Frequentei em Portugal os seguintes graus de escolaridade:
- |                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| 1 - 4               | 1 |
| 5 - 7               | 2 |
| 8 - 12              | 3 |
| Universidade        | 4 |
| Institutos Técnicos | 5 |
11. Frequentei no Canadá os seguintes Cursos:
- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Cursos de Inglês               | 1 |
| Cursos Técnicos                | 2 |
| Outros Cursos<br>(Especifique) | 3 |
- 
12. O seu pai frequentou os seguintes graus de escolaridade:
- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| 1 - 4        | 1 |
| 5 - 7        | 2 |
| 8 - 12       | 3 |
| Universidade | 4 |
| Técnicos     |   |
| Institutos   | 5 |

## PARTE II

(a seguintes perguntas relacionam-se com o nível ocupacional dos entrevistados)

13. Que tipo(s) de trabalho tinha seu pai:
- 
14. Que tipo de trabalho fez em Portugal:
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Profissional e Financeiro                      | 1 |
| Comércio                                       | 2 |
| Trabalhador especializado e semi-especializado | 3 |
| Agricultura/não especializado                  | 4 |
15. Que tipo de trabalho(s) tem feito desde a sua chegada ao Canadá:
- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Profissional e/ou Gerência     | 1 |
| Comércio                       | 2 |
| Trabalhador especializado      | 3 |
| Trabalhador semi-especializado | 4 |
| Trabalhador não especializado  | 5 |

16. Que tipo de trabalho(s) faz presentemente:
- |                                |   |
|--------------------------------|---|
| Profissional e/ou Gerência     | 1 |
| Comércio                       | 2 |
| Trabalhador especializado      | 3 |
| Trabalhador semi-especializado | 4 |
| Trabalhador não especializado  | 5 |
17. Trabalha em empregos sindicalizados:
- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Sim | 1 |
| Não | 2 |
18. Qual o seu estatuto de emprego presentemente:
- |                                 |   |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Emprego full-time               | 1 |
| Emprego part-time               | 2 |
| Empregado por conta própria     | 3 |
| Temporariamente Desempregado    | 4 |
| Desempregado por mais de um ano | 5 |
| Aposentado ou Permanentemente   |   |
| Inválido                        | 6 |
| Estudante full-time             | 7 |
| Dona de Casa                    | 8 |
19. Qual o montante que melhor representa o rendimento total do seu Agregado Familiar (rendimento total de todos os membros do Agregado Familiar no último ano.
- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| Menos de \$10,000     | 1 |
| (10,000 - 19,999)     | 2 |
| (20,000 - 29,999)     | 3 |
| (30,000 - 39,999)     | 4 |
| (40,000 - 49,999)     | 5 |
| Mais de \$50,000      | 6 |
| Recusa-se a responder | 7 |
20. Participou em qualquer dos seguintes Cursos no Canadá:
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Cursos de formação profissional             | 1 |
| Cursos de especialização através do emprego | 2 |
| Nenhum                                      | 3 |
|   | 4 |

### PARTE III

(As seguintes perguntas dizem respeito ao nível de identificação e interacção dentro da Comunidade - aspectos socio-culturais e religiosos).

Por favor assinale um dos números seguintes:

21. Qual o conceito que tem de si próprio:

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Português      | 1 |
| Luso-Canadiano | 2 |
| Canadiano      | 3 |
| Outro          | 4 |

---

Por favor assinale o no. que melhor representa a sua opinião em relação às perguntas nos. 22, 23.

1. Concordo Completamente
2. Concordo
3. Incerto (a)
4. Discordo
5. Discordo completamente

#### ASPECTOS SÓCIO-CULTURAIS

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22. Aprender português é importante para as crianças emigrantes portuguesas:

1      2      3      4      5

23. É importante falar só português na Comunidade Étnica Portuguesa em Vancouver:

1      2      3      4      5

Por Favor assinale um dos seguintes números:

24. Quando visita amigos em suas casas estas pessoas são:

- |                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| Portuguesas     | 1 |
| Luso-Canadianas | 2 |
| Canadianas      | 3 |
| Outras          | 4 |

25. É membro de alguma das organizações portuguesas existentes em Vancouver:

- |     |   |
|-----|---|
| Sim | 1 |
| Não | 2 |

26. Participa em festivais portugueses:

- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Regularmente   | 1 |
| Ocasionalmente | 2 |
| Nunca          | 3 |



27. Lê jornais e revistas portuguesas:  
 Regularmente 1  
 Ocasionalmente 2  
 Nunca 3
28. Faz a maior parte das suas compras semanais em lojas portuguesas em Vancouver:  
 Regularmente 1  
 Ocasionalmente 2  
 Nunca 3
29. Ouve o programa de rádio português de Vancouver:  
 Regularmente 1  
 Ocasionalmente 2  
 Nunca 3
30. Fala português em casa:  
 Todos os dias 1  
 Com regularidade  
 mas não todos os  
 dias 2  
 Ocasionalmente 3  
 Raramente 4  
 Nunca 5

ASPECTOS RELIGIOSOS

( Por favor assinale o número que melhor representa a sua opinião em relação à seguinte pergunta: )

1. Concordo Completamente
2. Concordo
3. Incerto
4. Discordo
5. Discordo Completamente

31. Prefiro serviços religiosos em Português

1 2 3 4 5 6

(Por favor assinale o número que melhor representa a sua opinião)

32. A sua família frequenta a Igreja Portuguesa:  
 Diariamente 1  
 Semanalmente 2  
 Ocasionalmente 3  
 Raramente 4  
 Nunca 5

33. É membro da Paróquia de N.S. de Fátima:

Sim	1
Não	2

#### PARTE IV

(as seguintes perguntas dizem respeito à participação étnica na sociedade canadiana).

Por favor assinale um dos seguintes números:

34. Gostaria de saber que língua(s) usa presentemente quando fala com os seus colegas de trabalho:

Só Inglês	1
Só Francês	2
Só Português	3
Inglês e Português	4
Outras	5
Não tem preferência	6

Colegas de trabalho \_\_\_\_\_

35. Com que regularidade lê jornais ou revistas inglesas:

Diariamente	1
Regularmente	2
Por vezes	3
Raramente	4
Nunca	5

36. Com que regularidade participa em reuniões sociais organizadas fora do seio da Comunidade Portuguesa em Vancouver:

Regularmente	1
Ocasionalmente	2
Raramente	3
Nunca	4

37. Participa em qualquer actividade social ou cultural que não seja organizada pelas associações comunitárias portuguesas em Vancouver:

Regularmente	1
Ocasionalmente	2
Raramente	3
Nunca	4

38. Com que regularidade participa em reuniões de natureza política no Canadá:
- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| Regularmente   | 1 |
| Ocasionalmente | 2 |
| Raramente      | 3 |
| Nunca          | 4 |

SUGESTÕES:

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