Sociolinguistic (re)constructions of diaspora portugueseness: Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of French
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This dissertation demonstrates that notions of language and identity are not entirely about personal characteristics (what a person is born with, what is "in his blood"), nor are they entirely about agency (how a person chooses to present herself). Instead, they are largely about markets and about the multiple positionings of social actors within markets that are structured by ideologies of the nation state, immigration and the globalized new economy. This critical perspective challenges the normalized view that immigrant (diasporic) communities are simply natural social groupings or depoliticized transplantations of distinct ethnolinguistic units from their "homeland". They are, like language and identity, carefully constructed and managed social projects that are shaped by forces from within and from without.

In Canada, the conditions for the institutionalization and (re)production of ethnolinguistic differences, which also make and mark class relations, are strengthened by the state's multiculturalist policy. The Portuguese-Canadian community is one such ethnolinguistic market and the goal of this research is to examine which forms of portugueseness dominate the market, why and with what consequences for whom. Building from an ethnographic and critical sociolinguistic approach (Bourdieu 1977, Heller 2002), the qualitative data behind this research

was produced through a two-year ethnography, participant observations and semi-structured interviews drawing primarily from six second-generation Portuguese-Canadians and members of their social networks.

The findings suggest that the kind of portugueseness that dominates the Portuguese-Canadian market is one from Mainland Portugal; one that is folklorized, patriarchal, and that promotes (Mainland) Portuguese monolingualism and false cultural homogeneity. A consequence of this sociolinguistic structuration is a division between Azoreans and Mainlanders who make up two parts of the same Portuguese market; partners in conflict over the legitimacy and value of their linguistic and social capital. Furthermore, the inheritors of this market, the second and subsequent generations, navigate discursive spaces filled with contradictions that often marginalize them. Their experiences highlight strategic mobilizations of Portuguese language and identity, as well as the consequences of having delegitimized cultural and linguistic capital. In short, this dissertation highlights the productive tensions between structure and agency, between uniformity and variability, and between exclusion and inclusion.

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I dedicate this dissertation to my loving parents and to my love, Christina.

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Introduction

The relationship between language and society is extremely complex. Yet, in many ways, this relationship is often taken for granted because both elements seem natural and universal. Everyone speaks at least one language and everyone is part of some kind of social group. Language naturally underscores everything we do, and very little of what we do is done in complete social isolation. Thus, everything we do – language included – involves some form of social interaction. Trying to understand exactly how each of these practices works is what drives linguists and sociologists; trying to understand the workings of language and society together is what drives sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists. This dissertation is the product of an academic trajectory that began in the first camp (linguistics) and ended firmly in the second (sociolinguistics). The result is an examination of how certain ideas of language and identity can be used, by people in positions of power, to structure certain social groupings where some people are included and others excluded. More specifically, this dissertation explores the processes of sociolinguistic structuration within the Portuguese-Canadian community of Toronto and how people of Azorean descent and second-generation Portuguese-Canadians are positioned by dominant views of language and identity that are reinforced by Canadian multiculturalism.

This research is necessarily informed by my own sociolinguistic trajectory. It began when I was born in Toronto to working-class parents from Mainland Portugal who raised me in a Portuguese-speaking home and sent me to a somewhat bilingual (English-French) school environment, where I interacted with people from different ethno-linguistic groups in a middle-class environment. This trajectory shaped my interest in language and the relative success I had in studying Romance languages in high school led me to continue studying them in university, where I was introduced to the field of theoretical linguistics *en français*. The seed that eventually grew into this dissertation was planted in an M.A. course on *Langues en contact* which explored the results of English-French language contact in North America (i.e. *cajun*, mitchif, French-English bilingualism, code-switching, language maintenance, shift and loss, etc.). Having experienced the contact of English and Portuguese in my own life and in my ethnic community, I used some of the course's core analytical frameworks to look at the Portuguese-Canadian community in Toronto. Thankfully, that research paper raised more questions than it did answers and I set out to examine them further in my doctoral research. Rather than look at ideal speakers and at language in social abstraction, as does much of theoretical linguistics in order to define

universal patterns of linguistic order, I became interested in the less-than-ideal speakers and in language as social action in order to understand the structured patterns of social ordering.

What fueled my interest in deconstructing the sociolinguistic order of things were my personal experiences at home and in the public institutions of Toronto's Portuguese community. In both spaces I saw tensions around sociolinguistic diversity and the use of language as an instrument of power that included some and excluded others. However, these tensions almost always escaped public debate so as not to undermine the community's artificial uniformity. Allow me to share two quick examples. The first is one that unconsciously entered my life at a very young age: when I was growing up I would laugh when I heard someone in the street speak in what I was told was "Azorean (Portuguese)" or Acoriano. As someone of Mainland Portuguese descent, I grew up speaking a variety of Portuguese very close to the "standard" and "Azorean" Portuguese sounds significantly different. In Toronto, this regional variety of Portuguese is a conflated term that associates the very distinctive variety spoken in part of the island of São Miguel to all Azoreans of the Atlantic archipelago, as a way of marking their difference. Why did I find it so funny? How had I internalized a sense of superiority? What effect might my laughter have had on (young) people of Azorean Portuguese descent? The second example is from my adolescence when I realized that I could hardly find anyone of Azorean descent in my Saturday-morning Portuguese language class, in the folklore groups that I saw publicly performing their Portuguese "pride" or in the Portuguese-language media. These were the most identifiable Portuguese spaces for me at that time and the voices and the faces that I saw and heard representing the "good" ways of being Portuguese were overwhelmingly from Mainland Portugal. Yet these Mainlanders made up less than one third of Toronto's Portuguese community, whereas people of Azorean descent made up nearly 70% (Oliveira and Teixeira 2004). What was going on here?

Setting the scene

Statistically speaking, the number of Portuguese in Canada is not entirely insignificant. Between 1950 and 1988, the Portuguese Emigration Bureau maintains that Canada received 138,000 Portuguese immigrants, representing 10% of the 1,375,000 emigrants who departed from Portugal legally (Giles 2002:5). In 1991, the Canadian census counted more than twice as

¹ In Toronto, "standard" Portuguese is often conflated into "Mainland Portuguese", because it is commonly traced back to the cities of Lisbon and Coimbra in Mainland Portugal despite there being considerable linguistic variation within the Mainland.

many people who defined their ethnic origin as Portuguese, at 292,185, with Toronto (CMA) accounting for 140,910 alone (Statistics Canada 1993, based on total ethnic origin responses²). To complicate matters further, in 1993 the Portuguese consulate in Toronto estimated the total number of Portuguese in Canada to be approximately 500,000, with 385,000 in Ontario. This estimate remains unchanged in 2011. It includes estimates for undocumented migrants, the children of immigrants and those who may not have participated in the census (Teixeira 1995:74). In 2006, the Canadian census counted 410,850 total Portuguese ethnic origin responses, with just less than half of them (188,110) living in Toronto (CMA). These latest figures suggest that at least 1.3% of Canadians and 3.7% of Torontonians identify in some way as Portuguese.

Most of the working-class Portuguese in Canada have organized themselves, and have been organized through the state's economic and multiculturalist policies, into ethnic communities that are built to maintain a certain kind of Portuguese language and culture. On the surface, these communities allow the immigrants-turned-residents to draw from supposed ethnolinguistic allegiances and to work together to resist the assimilatory forces of the dominant Canadian society. Yet, these ethnolinguistic communities also serve the social and economic interests of the Canadian state by helping to manage difference as separate, unified wholes, rather than as part of an integrated mainstream society. Diasporic ethnolinguistic communities can also serve the interests of their ethnic homelands, like the Portuguese state in this case, by reproducing the homogenized nation in miniature transnational versions that are expected to participate (financially, politically, physically, emotionally) in the Portuguese (trans)nationalist project. In Canada, however, the Portuguese ethnic community is constituted much differently than in Portugal: Azoreans - who for centuries have been marginalized to the periphery of Portuguese history, economics and culture - make up the overwhelming majority.

With such a numeric advantage, one might have expected to find Azoreans in positions of power within Toronto's Portuguese community, but they are not. Not only are Azoreans largely absent from the spaces that produce portugueseness (i.e., Portuguese language schools, the Portuguese language media, the Portuguese consulate and the most prominent Portuguese ethnic associations and businesses), they are also largely seen as disassociating themselves from the institutionalized Portuguese community (except for the church and a few Azorean cultural

² Total ethnic origin responses include single and multiple ethnic responses (e.g., those who identified as Portuguese or as Portuguese-Canadian). CMA refers to Census Metropolitan Area, or a grouping of census subdivisions comprising a large urban area; it is explained in detail in section 2.3.5 with regards to Toronto.

associations). Mainlanders often criticize Azoreans for wanting to be more Canadian than Portuguese and for not passing the Portuguese language, culture and desire to return onto their children. At the same time, Azorean immigrants are also criticized for deviating from the standard linguistic and cultural norms of Mainland Portugal. The focus of this dissertation is to unpack some of the historical, political, economic and cultural differences that have divided the Portuguese in Portugal and that continue to fuel tensions that reproduce themselves across generations in Canada, where maintaining one's ethnolinguistic identity is also supported by the state's multiculturalist policy.

Another group of people that is often marginalized by questions of language and identity in the social ordering of Toronto's Portuguese community is the second generation, or the Canadian-born children of Portuguese immigrants. These young people live through, arguably, the highest expectations of maintaining a Portuguese ethnolinguistic identity while also integrating into Canadian society as active and productive citizens. The ethnolinguistic spaces created by and for the first generation, or the adult immigrants from Portugal, are often discursively legitimized as being for the sake or benefit of the second and subsequent generations. This discursive shift masks the symbolic and material capital gained or lost by those in positions of power in the first generation by deflecting the attention, veiled in altruism, to the presumed inheritors of the spaces. However, there are few young Portuguese-Canadians who actually frequent these Portuguese spaces; they remain largely monolingually and monoculturally Portuguese under the control of an older, traditionalist (Mainland) Portuguese elite. Since most second-generation Portuguese-Canadians speak very little Portuguese, often mixing English and Portuguese together, and since they generally lack the lived experiences of the traditions celebrated, they have little interest in participating. Against the backdrop of those who do not participate, the few who do invest in portugueseness, to whatever extent, offer a revealing window into the recent past, the present, and the potential future of the organized Portuguese community. They also reveal the tensions the community faces in defining "legitimate" portugueseness when the conditions that used to support the fixed and homogeneous definitions are starting to shift.

Brief review of the literature on the Portuguese in Canada

Prior to this research, attempts at exploring how and why Portuguese-Canadians (re)construct their performances of Portuguese language and identity have received little attention in the academic literature. The early research on Portuguese-Canadians emerged in the

early 1970s, when the Canadian multiculturalism policy was taking shape. In this light, the first reports and studies of the Portuguese community were part of a larger ethnic studies project funded by the state to understand and (re)construct "a history of Canada's peoples", by inscribing the "new Canadians" into the national and increasingly multicultural narrative of Canada. Reports such as Hamilton (1970) and Coelho (1973) were meant as resource tools for teachers and social workers in order to understand what life was like for the Portuguese community and what problems they faced as a result of "cultural conflicts." The pioneering work of Anderson (1971, 1974) and Anderson and Higgs (1976) provided the first large-scale historical and social survey of the Portuguese presence in Canada. Over the next decade, other researchers, mostly of Portuguese descent – like Fernandez (1979), Alpalhão and da Rosa (1980), Marques and Medeiros (1980), de Sousa (1986), and Teixeira and Lavigne (1992) – filled in the big descriptive Portuguese-Canadian puzzle with situated experiences of settlement and integration in individual provinces (especially Québec and Ontario) and cities (Montréal and Toronto). This research considered language and identity as fixed categories that were assumed to be present in the immigrant community and necessarily worth protecting. The "community" was constructed as a bounded whole, with essentialized generational positioning and little attention paid to internal divisions (based on language, region, class, education, gender, sexuality, race and other social constructs). The most important division was between "Portuguese new Canadians" and "old" Canadians.

In the 1990s, the Canadian multiculturalist policy began to shift from celebrating ethnonationalist culture and identity to neoliberal constructions of citizenship and individual economic integration brought about by the emergence of the globalized new economy (da Silva and Heller 2009). At the same time, as several Portuguese-Canadians graduated from university and pursued careers as academics, they questioned some of the previously fixed and stable categorizations of the Portuguese. The research on the Portuguese in Canada took a more critical turn as scholars realized that the internal divisions that had been glossed over earlier were continuing to reproduce themselves within the community. In this light, there began to emerge research that problematized issues of Portuguese-Canadian socio-economic status and academic underachievement, like Nunes (1998, 2003) and Januário (1992, 2003); issues of gender inequality, labour and class, like Grosner (1991), Noivo (1997), Giles (2002) and Miranda (2009); and issues of ethnic identity and race, like Pacheco (2004) and Teixeira (2006). Teixeira's work in particular spans the multicultural to the critical through work that examines questions of Portuguese-Canadian segregation and integration in housing, ethnic enclaves and

ethnic entrepreneurship (Teixeira 1996, 1999, 2002, 2006), and through his editing work which brings together historical, geographical, sociological, economic and linguistic work on the Portuguese in Canada (Teixeira and da Rosa 2000, 2009).

A critical view of language in the Portuguese-Canadian community is still largely missing. The little that exists is mostly in line with the Portuguese nationalist discourse and the policy of Canadian multiculturalism which start from a positivist view that languages are bound entities that are inherently worth maintaining (see Helms-Park 2000, Marujo 2003). In this light, "heritage" language loss is akin to a loss of ethnic identity and a blight on Canadian multiculturalism and Portuguese diasporic (trans)nationalism. My line of questioning, which informs this research, would be different: Why does that language need to be "saved"? Who defines what that language is? How? Why? Who benefits from the decision and who does not?

A critical view of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian identity is also underrepresented in the previous literature. Works by Oliveira and Teixeira (2004), Trindade (2007) and Gomes (2008) have begun to fill this gap and I see my own research as an important contribution to this discussion as well. In Oliveira and Teixeira (2004), the authors carry out an extensive quantitative survey of 354 Canadian-born and Portuguese-born youth aged between 14-34. Of those, 244 are from Toronto and 110 are from Montreal; 55% are of Mainland Portuguese descent and 45% are of Azorean descent. By way of a detailed questionnaire distributed through local Portuguese institutionalized networks, young people were asked about topics ranging from ethnic identification, to language use, from participation in Portuguese community events, to attitudes towards Portugal and Portuguese culture, and experiences of discrimination. The data also includes interview excerpts from focus group meetings. The results represent an important contribution to the field as they shed light on the complex, contradictory and fluid social trajectories of young Portuguese descendants through Canadian multicultural spaces. For instance, young Portuguese-Canadians say that language and culture are important, but they do not participate actively in the organized community or attend Portuguese language classes. They also prefer speaking English or French rather than Portuguese. And, most interestingly for my purposes here, more than 60% of the young people sampled from Toronto found that Azoreans and Mainlanders were different and that language is a key differentiator. But since the reader does not have the context behind the numbers or hear the experiences behind the anonymized voices, it is difficult to understand why they say what they do, what they

understand by the questions asked and the answers given, and what it actually means for them in their daily life.

The two masters' theses that were written during the course of my fieldwork - Trindade (2007) and Gomes (2008) - can be seen as more qualitative and situated contributions to the data presented by Oliveira and Teixeira (2004). Each of them interviewed eight second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth from Toronto in order to explore negotiations of Portuguese identity and belonging (or portugueseness). Both studies conclude that identity "formations" are flexible, multi-faceted and sometimes contradictory with little explanation of the regional and linguistic divisions within the Portuguese-Canadian community.

While my research builds on this previous research, it is also informed by different research questions. Unlike the last three studies mentioned, for example, my concern is not to test theoretical models of assimilation, integration, adaptation or acculturation which can never fully capture the conditions, the complexity, the constraints and the consequences of situated social interactions. Instead, my concern is to test Bourdieu's theory of the political economy of sociolinguistic interactions (1977) and to explore processes of structuration within a field that can be understood as a market, from a critical and ethnographic sociolinguistic perspective (Heller 2002).

Research questions

With this in mind, this study addresses research questions that can be loosely grouped around the structure and agency dialectic. With regards to structure, this research asks the following questions:

- What gets defined as "legitimate" performances of Portuguese language and identity, or of portugueseness? By whom? In which spaces? Why? With what consequences for whom?
- What discourses of portugueseness are constructed where? How? What are the conditions
 that produce these discourses? What are the resources that circulate within those
 discursive spaces?

With regards to agency, this research asks the following questions:

 How and why do members of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community – especially second-generation youth – negotiate and navigate these dominant discourses of portugueseness? How are they positioned by them? Do they contest them? Reproduce them? Redefine them? Why? With what consequences for whom?

Why are these questions important?

Behind these research questions, my goal is to explore the role of language in the construction of identity or social difference (and inequality) in the Portuguese-Canadian community of Toronto. However, these research questions and this goal can easily be applied to any ethnolinguistic group. More importantly, they shed light on the complicated theoretical and political relationships between language and identity in general: should language and identity be fixed and discrete wholes, fluid reconstructions or constrained social performances?

A structuralist and deterministic approach equates language with identity as whole, bounded systems and communities along the lines of the nation-state's homogenizing ideology of one nation, one people and one language. This approach reinforces the expectation that many people have (be they Portuguese or not) when they see my Portuguese name and assume that I speak Portuguese, that I identify myself as Portuguese and that I am automatically proud to maintain the culture. It also reinforces the assumption that all Portuguese people are the same and that they all speak and act the same way.

By contrast, a post-structuralist or social constructivist approach recognizes language and identity as discursive constructs that are multiple, flexible, contradictory and constantly being defined and redefined through social interaction. In this light, individuals can affirm their creative agency and challenge rigid or inflexible definitions which are, ultimately, social constructs themselves. Thus someone of Portuguese descent need not always identify herself³ as Portuguese; she may appropriate several identities at different times, in different interactions when different resources are at stake. Someone else may choose to identify himself as Portuguese even though he may not speak the language, know much about the culture or have any direct Portuguese family history.

Still, the theoretical approach put forward in this dissertation to analyze language and identity is one that can be described as critical or structured social constructivist (inspired by Bourdieu 1977, 1982; Giddens 1984; Gumperz 1982; Heller 2002, 2007 and Pujolar 2008, among others). It starts by recognizing that language and identity are indeed discursive

³ Believing that words matter and that language choice has consequences, I have chosen to avoid using the masculine pronoun as the default option in most gender "neutral" constructions in order to challenge male privilege. In some cases I alternate gendered pronouns just to keep the reader on his toes.

constructs, but it argues that these constructs, and the social actors behind them, are structured to some extent by the boundaries of unequal power relations in which they operate. Agency is present and social constructs are fluid, flexible and subject to change, but some of a person's characteristics (e.g. skin tone, accent, gender, etc.) and the real structural limits and constraints she faces in certain spaces or interactions have real consequences for what she can or cannot do. For example, while someone does not have to speak Portuguese or publicly profess their pride in Portuguese culture in order to identify himself as Portuguese, this person may, as a result, be excluded from certain resources mobilized by the Portuguese community or he may not be considered "legitimately" Portuguese or Portuguese-Canadian.

Beyond the specificity of examples drawn from the Portuguese-Canadian experience, this dissertation demonstrates that notions of language and ethnicity are not entirely about personal characteristics (i.e. what a person is born with, what is "in his blood"), nor are they entirely about agency (i.e. what a person chooses to be). Instead, they are largely about markets and about the multiple positionings of social actors (with their characteristics and their agency) within markets that are structured by state ideologies and by state policies of immigration and economics. This critical perspective challenges the normalized view that ethnic (immigrant) communities are simply natural or expected social groupings or that they are depoliticized transplantations of distinct ethnolinguistic units from their "homeland". They are, in fact, carefully constructed and managed social projects that are shaped by forces from within and from without.

Historically, the Canadian economy has supported the reproduction of ethnolinguistic differences by controlling who can enter the country, when, and with what access to which jobs. This resulted in a distribution of zones and statuses along ethnolinguistic and class lines that differed from the dominant Canadian society. The conditions for the emergence of institutionalized forms of these ethnolinguistic differences were strengthened by the Canadian state's multiculturalist policy. This policy produced ethnic associations and encouraged the development of homogenized ethnic communities, arguably as a means of managing and controlling difference (be it racial, ethnic, linguistic, class, religious, gendered, etc.). Institutionalized forms of these differences, like ethnic associations, became contested terrains where someone had to define a group identity or what counts as Portuguese, Chinese or South Asian. The result is that important resources (i.e. jobs, services, social status) became organized into ethnolinguistic markets that had to set aside internal divisions and heterogeneity in order to compete against other ethnic markets for limited resources from the (de-ethnicized) Canadian

state. The particular symbolic and material capital produced in each ethnolinguistic market is defined by certain types of actors, in order to privilege some people and to marginalize others. The Portuguese-Canadian community is one such market and my goal is to understand which forms of portugueseness dominate the market, why and with what consequences for whom.

The findings of my research suggest that the kind of portugueseness that dominates the Portuguese-Canadian market is one from Mainland Portugal; one that is folklorized, patriarchal and that promotes a standardized language, monolingual spaces and false cultural homogeneity. One of the consequences of the way this ethnic community is structured is a distinction between Azoreans and Mainlanders who make up two parts of the same Portuguese market, partners who are in conflict but who need each other. The spaces within this market – while constructed as fragile and threatened by demographic changes, cultural assimilation or ambivalence – still reproduce themselves in ways which position people on different sides of boundaries (i.e. social, cultural, linguistic, class, gender) depending on the legitimacy and the value of their (Portuguese) symbolic and material resources. The inheritors of this market, the second and subsequent generations, must navigate discursive spaces filled with contradictions that often marginalize them to some extent. The experiences of my participants reveal the strategic mobilizations of portugueseness and of azoreanness, as well as the consequences of having more or less cultural and linguistic capital that constrains or facilitates their multiple positioning and sheds light on the boundary-making process. In other words, this dissertation highlights the productive tensions between structure and agency, between uniformity and variability, and between exclusion and inclusion.

Research design

In an effort to answer the research questions above, I used a research methodology that can be described as qualitative and ethnographic involving a triangulation of semi-structured interviews, participant observation and textual analysis. This allowed me to contextualize, and then deconstruct, the competing and complex discourses of what should get defined as "legitimate" portugueseness at the community level, as well as the situated social practices of individuals negotiating with these discourses in specific spaces. Since these practices and discourses are multiple, often contradictory and subject to change, and since they have real and observable consequences in terms of a person's inclusion or exclusion from specific spaces and resources, I carried out an ethnography that allowed me to observe these processes unfold over time and space. From September 2005 to September 2007, I followed the trajectories of six

second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth between the ages of 18-23 (three men and three women, four of Mainland Portuguese descent and two of Azorean Portuguese background), and up to five members of their social networks, through multiple spaces where the definitions of portugueseness were negotiated. This critical sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller 1999, 2002) allowed me to link their linguistic practices and (re)constructions of identity to a detailed understanding of their social trajectories, relations and environments.

In total, I interviewed 47 people, for approximately an hour and a half each. I carried out nearly one hundred participant observations in various public sites (including activities at cultural associations, conferences, lectures, festivals, parades, exhibits, rallies, etc.) and observed my participants as they interacted with family members, friends, co-workers, etc. with the consent of all those involved. I also collected hundreds of pages worth of relevant textual material from Portuguese-language community newspapers, magazines, flyers, posters and reports.

In addition to the data generated through my ethnographic fieldwork, I also draw from my 32 years of lived experience negotiating with the dominant discourses of portugueseness in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community. Through the process of critical reflexivity I problematize my position as an insider-outsider and I highlight the instances when I introduce elements of my personal experience or my understanding of things within the community. This is particularly necessary when describing or explaining social phenomena that are absent from the literature on the Portuguese in Canada.

Research limitations

To many readers, the most obvious limitation of this research is its small sample size and its non-representativeness. I fully accept these constraints because I imposed them myself. My research goal was not to present a representative array of characteristics, but rather a rich and multi-layered selection of experiences. The small sample size of key participants was set between six and eight in order for me to have enough time to meet regularly with them and with the people in their social networks. The non-representativeness of my participants is also worth noting. Although the people in my study of Mainland Portuguese descent outnumber those of Azorean descent, I feel that I am still able to present a variety of complex negotiations of portugueseness that reveal the complicated workings of the dominant discourse. My participants are also non-representative in so far as formal education standards are concerned since they are all part of the small minority of Portuguese-Canadian university students. Their experiences of

portugueseness will likely differ in some ways from those young Portuguese-Canadians who never finished high-school and are part of the workforce. Different experiences, however, do not mean less interesting ones. While this study does not yield statistically significant generalizations, it does explore socially significant processes of inclusion and exclusion that merit further investigation.

Another limitation of this dissertation is that its focus on the constructions and the management of ethnolinguistic identity may have the unintended consequence of reifying the very concept and the importance of ethnicity as a form of social organization. Portugueseness is not the only lens through which my participants define themselves or are defined by others, nor is it always, necessarily, the most important. Indeed, not every second-generation Portuguese-Canadian invests publicly in her portugueseness; I look at some who do, to varying degrees, but these individuals need to be understood against the backdrop of those who do not invest in ethnicity. Portugueseness is, therefore, very productive – even negatively – in a Canadian society that is intentionally divided along ethnic lines, where ethnicity is intertwined with other social constructs, and in an ethno-cultural community that is deeply invested in the maintenance of its Portuguese market. Throughout this dissertation, in order to understand the political economy of ethnicity, I use language and ethnic identity as the main frames in which I paint the portraits of my participants. However, they could also be framed through different aspects of identity including gender, sexuality, race, politics or religion, for example.

Along similar reification lines, another unintentional consequence would be the conclusion that the social groups discussed in this thesis are homogeneous. Some may be discursively portrayed and constructed as uniform wholes, but in reality they all have internal multiplicity and heterogeneity. For example, even though I argue that "the Portuguese" should not be considered a homogeneous group, dividing them into two homogeneous and neatly distinct subgroups of "Mainlanders" and "Azoreans" is only a moderate improvement. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic tensions that I describe between both subgroups do not mean that everyone associated with one group resents those associated with the other. The social reality is much more complicated, with internal divisions in each of those subgroups, even though one can observe how and why the two have been constructed differently.

Questions outside the scope of this research

Having seen some of the potential drawbacks of my work, it is also important, for practical reasons, to limit the discussion surrounding the Portuguese-Canadian community and constructions of portugueseness by outlining topics that will not be covered in this dissertation. For instance, this dissertation will not directly address questions of academic underachievement among young Portuguese-Canadians even though it is a crucially relevant and troubling social reality in the community (for more on this see, Nunes 2003, 1998; Januário 2003, 1992; Ornstein 2000, and McLaren 1999, among others). Furthermore, this dissertation will not directly address questions of language shift, nor will it endorse any projects of language or cultural maintenance. Nevertheless, this study's findings may prove useful to language teachers and policy makers insofar as it examines some of the consequences of negative ideologies of language and identity which have implications for social cohesion and integration.

Dissertation layout

This dissertation is laid out in chapters that follow the research questions. Chapter 1 sets out the theoretical and methodological frameworks that underscore the kind of data that was collected and the ways in which it is presented and analysed. This approach draws from Heller's (2002) critical, sociolinguistic ethnography which combines the critical social theory of Bourdieu (1977, 1982) and Giddens (1984), among others, with the interactional sociolinguistics of Gumperz (1982) and an ethnographic methodology that contextualizes the social actor's symbolic and material capital (her social, linguistic and class habitus) and her positions in the social structure.

Chapter 2 applies a critical and class-based analysis in a re-politicized presentation of the histories of Portugal, the Azores, Canada and the Portuguese in Canada and how they all relate to the establishment and the structuration of Toronto's Portuguese community. Along with chapter 3, this historical background allows me to situate my participants' experiences in a competitive translocal market where access to legitimate resources is limited to those with the right habitus and sociolinguistic capital.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the ideologies that underpin the dominant discourses of portugueseness in Toronto, ideologies of nationalism, language, diaspora and class. It also explores how these discourses get (re)produced in key sites within the Portuguese community (home, church, school, Portuguese associations, media, etc.) and by whom.

Chapter 4 makes the shift from a macro-level analysis of social processes to a micro-level exploration of interactional dynamics by presenting the trajectories of the key participants and examining some of the ways in which they negotiate with and navigate through the dominant discourses of portugueseness. Why do they bother investing in portugueseness? What resources are at stake for them in which spaces? How do they contest or (re)produce some of the dominant discourses that marginalize themselves and others?

In chapters 5 and 6, the focus shifts more closely to in-depth, ethnographic case studies of the two most central key participants and how they, together with members of their social networks, perform portugueseness while contesting and (re)producing dominant discourses of legitimacy. The experiences of Pat and Maggie complement each other nicely in terms of participating in similar but significantly different community spaces with different forms of inherited linguistic and cultural capital: Pat is of Mainland Portuguese descent, whereas Maggie's parents are from the Azores; both have participated in the institutionalized Portuguese community to various extents and to varying degrees of success (i.e., Portuguese language schools, student-run Portuguese cultural associations, etc.); and both have experienced discriminatory discourses of othering, from within the Portuguese community and from without.

Chapter 7 examines the consequences of resisting and challenging the market's dominant portugueseness. It asks why youth of Azorean descent are often silent when it comes to speaking Portuguese in public. It also provides a few examples of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth contesting and reproducing the dominant performances of portugueseness at a public debate on cultural survival and at four community events organized by two Portuguese university student associations.

In the conclusion to this dissertation, I look at how the different examples of constrained agency and structural marginalization borne out by my participants' experiences are informed by the conditions that support Toronto's Portuguese market, as it is currently organized. The productive tensions surrounding the market's duality between Mainlanders and Azoreans (and the question of why Azoreans do not abandon the Portuguese-Canadian market altogether) leads to a reflection on alternative visions of portugueseness beyond traditional views of ethnonationalism and towards postnational constructions of language and identity.

Chapter 1

Theorizing and investigating language and identity

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the theoretical and methodological frameworks that underpin this research project. As we will see below, this research is informed by a critical, sociolinguistic and ethnographic approach (Heller 2002) that sees language as a social construct and speakers as social actors competing for limited and unequally distributed resources used to position people in specific spaces or markets. The first half of this chapter will explore critical theorizations of language, social interaction, identity and class. The second half will present the qualitative, ethnographic methodological tools I used to deconstruct and understand what and why my participants did what they did with their social and linguistic resources. The chapter closes with an outline of my participants' involvement and of my experiences in and out of the field.

1.1 Theorizing language and identity

If one considers identity as a process and product of social interaction, and language as a constitutive part of that process, then sociolinguistics provides important theoretical tools for the study of identity.

1.1.1 Sociolinguistics and social theory

Traditionally, sociolinguistics is divided into two main branches: variationist and interactional. Both look at language use in society, but each is based on different ontological perspectives on the nature of language.

1.1.1.1 Variationist and interactional sociolinguistics

A variationist approach is founded on a positivist ontological perspective which views language, or knowledge in general, as bounded, discoverable, measurable and objective. By contrast, an interactional approach is founded on an interpretivist ontological perspective which views language, or knowledge in general, as socially situated and actively constructed or produced through interactions.

According to Coupland (2001:10), variationist sociolinguistics "treats language (in fact, speech) as socially conditioned distributional patterning, rather than as locally motivated and, in

that sense, 'functional' social action." The variationist approach to language and society emphasizes the language system in the modelling of language and linguistic change, rather than focussing on individual change or social practice. In so doing, this approach codes language and society into categorical variables which can reduce and reify social realities such as gender, social class, age, ethnicity, language, etc. as socially and psychologically pre-defined and 'natural' entities. For Heller (1984), and other critical sociolinguists, the correlation between linguistic variation and predefined social variables does not easily explain why the linguistic and social variables are connected. Furthermore, this approach assumes that reality can be reduced to discrete variables that are homogenous and often equally weighted. As a result, variationist approaches are not meant to explain the choices that an individual makes between the sociolinguistic variants or variables they identify.

An interactional sociolinguistic approach emphasizes linguistic practices in locally situated social interactions (Gumperz 1982). Such an approach extends the scope of linguistic theories to the level of conversation or "communicative practice" (Hanks 1996) and sees it as "the real world site where societal and interactive forces merge" (Gumperz 1999:454). The interactional and ethnomethodological frameworks proposed by Garfinkel (1967), Goffman (1974) and Gumperz (1982), among others, lay the foundation for this sociolinguistic approach, which views language and identity as products of social interaction and as situated performances. Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethological framework considers interaction as being made up of goal-oriented moves which involve the speaker's "practical reasoning" of taken-for-granted background knowledge. From the study of "ethnography of communication", Hymes (1974) calls for an approach that goes beyond linguistic structure and that also considers function (or "speech events"). Goffman (1974) advocates for a close, detailed observation of situated interactions in order to understand how they are "framed". His conceptualization of "performance" sets the stage for "social actors" to construct identities, manage relationships and position themselves vis-à-vis others in specific discursive spaces.

To interact is, thus, to engage in an ongoing process of negotiation or "meaning making" by concentrating on shared but shifting interpretations (or frames) and taken-for-granted background assumptions (Gumperz 1999). In an interactional approach, meaning and language do not exist outside of interaction, but, rather, they are embedded *in* and created *through* interaction itself. Such "radical rethinking of the grounds of (structural) linguistic theory", to use Heller's words (2007:8), helped place "language as performance" at the centre of critical studies on language and

society, thereby shifting the spotlight from the linguistic system to the language speaker and the social system.

1.1.1.2 Post-structuralism

The aforementioned reconceptualization of language as interactionally constructed calls into question other (previously fixed) aspects of social reality like nation-states, communities, ethnicity, identity, etc. While these notions have long been important in conceptualizing the role that language plays in society (that is, in the construction of social organization and reality), they have specific genealogies, or political and intellectual heritage, that need to be unpacked because they are often taken for granted or "naturalized" (Williams 1983, Coupland 2001). Indeed, social groups and individuals have had their languages, their cultures, their boundaries and their identities uniformized, objectified and naturalized not only through political, religious and economic forces, but also by academic disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and anthropology as part of nationalist and colonial projects (Blommaert 1999, Heller 2002, 2007). With the emergence of the modern, liberal democratic nation-State in Western Europe during the late 18th and 19th centuries, language gained considerable power in shaping social identities. Whereas the monarchical state once drew its power from God, the democratic state based its legitimacy on representing a nation. In addition to the nation's defined borders (anchored historically to a specific territory), standardized languages were constructed and linked to uniformized cultures (and spaces) that came to be understood as being distinctive national and natural properties (Anderson 1983, Hobsbawm 1990). This imagined cultural and linguistic homogeneity reinforced the monolingual linguistic ideology of one nation, one language, one people (Blommaert 1999) – with France and Italy as (in)famous examples of this.¹

Yet with the rise of globalization, the knowledge-based new economy and the rapid circulation of people, capital, products and information across national and local borders, the once relatively uniform, stable and bounded concepts of language, identity and community (among others) are blurring and need to be re-evaluated. Indeed, these concepts are now seen as socially constructed, multiple, fluid and contradictory (Gal and Woolard 1995, Blommaert 1999, Heller 2002). Harvey (1990) maintains that this blurriness arises from the increased mobility and

¹ Heller (2007) argues that many social and linguistic disciplines were drawn into the scientific exploration and legitimation of nationalist, imperialist and fascist projects with regards to a group's internal diversity or its relations with other groups. She writes: "The post-War orientation to universalism and structuralism can be understood as a reaction to the ways in which ideologies of linguistics and anthropology were taken up in fascism" (2007:5). Whereas earlier studies of essential differences proved to be a dangerous project, it was countered by humanistic ideas that emphasized the common universality shared by all humans...effectively pushing many differences aside.

internationalization of capital in the early 1970s that has restructured the definition and distribution of resources (material or symbolic) and resulted in a "time-space compression". The networks and markets sustaining the rapid movement described above are morphing and multiplying, thereby reducing the spatial and temporal distances between them in an increasingly "smaller" but still unequally interconnected world. At the heart of globalization are discursive struggles over the positioning and repositioning of actors as a result of the changing conditions of production and consumption of goods and identities. For social researchers, the blurriness challenges the boundaries, the movement unsettles the stability, and the plurality complicates the uniformity.

The deconstruction of fixed and essentialized concepts such as identity, nation and language, and their reinterpretation as products of action or discourse, and as outcomes rather than pre-existent entities, is evidence of a paradigm shift in the social sciences: from structuralism to post-structuralism (or constructivism) (Pujolar 2008). However, while this paradigm shift allows for multiple (re)positioning, for example, it is not in and of itself enough to explain *why* people speak and act the way they do. Heller (2002), Pujolar (2008), and others, recognize that the strength of a post-structuralist interactional sociolinguistic approach is precisely its identification and analysis of social phenomena as constructed through local inter-*action* and therefore not fixed or permanent. However, its weakness is the analysis of larger and historical social formations, processes and power dynamics in and through which these interactions occur. Bourdieu (1982) identified a similar limitation and recommended that interactional sociolinguistics draw from a critical approach to social theory and ethnography or risk observing only that which is immediately visible in the interaction. Such a narrow focus could ignore the fact that the interaction consists of more than just the speaker and addressee; it also includes their social groups and their positions in the social structure.

Inspired by Bourdieu's social theory and his conceptualization of "the economics of linguistic exchanges" (1977), Heller (2002) and Pujolar (2008) argue that what has remained largely ignored within the aforementioned paradigm shift is "the political and economic dimension – or the political economy – of social practices and identities" (Pujolar 2008:5). This critical dimension will help explain why people choose their interactional moves: in other words, the reasons why they speak or identify themselves the way(s) they do, and not in any other ways.

1.1.1.3 Rethinking linguistic interaction in a critical model

A critical sociolinguistic analysis examines the central role that language plays in the process of social action because language is not simply a reflection of social organization; it is a central element of its structuration and of the construction of knowledge (Heller 2002). Such an analysis is based on an "integrationist" social theory (Coupland 2001) which combines macrosocial theories (of structures) to micro-social ones (of actions): the former are theories of social categorization and structuration (Giddens 1984); the latter are theories of social action that see the world as being constructed through local interactions and practices (Gumperz 1982); and both sets of theories are linked by Bourdieu's social theory (1977, 1982).

In the sections that follow, key concepts from Bourdieu's economic theory of linguistic exchanges will guide the discussion, including the notions of linguistic market, legitimate language, linguistic resources, symbolic power and symbolic capital. For Bourdieu, these concepts bring about a threefold reconfiguration of certain key concepts in theoretical linguistics (1977:646): 1) in place of "the" language (*la langue*), he emphasizes the *legitimate language* and instead of examining the *linguistic system* he deconstructs the *linguistic market* or *economy*; 2) in place of relations of *communication* he points to relations of *symbolic power*, thereby replacing the question of *meaning* with that of the *power* or *value* of speech; 3) in place of *linguistic competence* he stresses *symbolic capital* and *linguistic resources* which are intimately linked to the speaker's position in the social structure.

Understanding why the speaker enacts a certain sociolinguistic performance over another depends on what is being "constructed", by whom, how or by what means, in what context, with what resources, and with what consequences for whom (Heller 2002). Embedded in these questions, and the social actions behind them, are struggles of power, legitimacy, agency, categorization (difference) and structural constraint. One way of approaching these social, political, economic and fundamentally linguistic questions comes from anthropologists and sociologists such as Barth (1969), Bourdieu (1977, 1982, 1991) and Giddens (1984). All three of their approaches frame the struggles outlined above around the production, legitimation, circulation and distribution of *resources* (and power) within economic and symbolic fields. Barth (1969) refers to this as the ecology of resources. This distribution or ecology is not neutral, nor is it necessarily equal or democratic because individuals themselves are not equal. In his theory on social structuration, Giddens (1984) argues that the uneven distribution of social resources limits individuals' actions and results in social categorization or social inequality. Resources are therefore conceptualized as

the means through which power is exercised and social structures imposed. In his critical social theory, Bourdieu ties language and symbolic power together by drawing on notions of the "symbolic economy", a space he considers just as powerful as the financial economy, with its own markets, fields, capital and resources - whether economic (i.e. material, money, property), cultural (i.e. knowledge, skills, educational qualifications), symbolic (i.e. prestige, honour) or linguistic (i.e. speaking a "standard" or valued language variety).

1.1.1.4 Language in the symbolic economy: Power, value, legitimacy

Language is fundamental to the processes of this symbolic economy and of social structuration because it is itself a central means of interaction. It is through language that social difference and inequality are reproduced and contested. Furthermore, linguistic difference and inequality are also used as a means of social organization as they are tied to categorization and hierarchization (Heller and Martin-Jones 2001). In other words, the distribution of linguistic resources has real consequences because it is related to the distribution of material resources. The linguistic market, which is often taken for granted, is one of the most powerful within the symbolic economy because as Roberts and Sarangi (2001:174) point out, "every interaction has within it the traces of the social structure that it expresses and helps to produce". Every interaction, or linguistic exchange, also has the potential of being an act of power, especially when it involves social actors with unequal access to valued resources (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

What makes a resource valuable or relevant is its connection to certain frames of interpretation (Gumperz 1982). This interpretation, however, is culturally constructed and conventionalized and it needs to be socially situated. It depends on one's definition of what is "important," and on one's ability to control access to the definition and to the distribution of resources. Being included in or excluded from the definition and, consequently, any associated resource(s), is an act of power that is part of the process of social selection where an individual's performance, her resources, and her very being are evaluated for all kinds of competencies (linguistic, intellectual, social, economic, etc.) When Bourdieu (1977:653) examines an interaction, for example, he finds that "what speaks is not the utterance, [or] the language, but the whole social person [...] the whole social structure is present." Thus, the effectiveness of an individual's discourse - its power to convince a listener - depends in large part on the speaker's authority and position in the social structure. This authority, or lack thereof, is indexed by the way a person speaks and acts.

The valuing of language, and of the speaker, is the essence of Bourdieu's concept of *legitimate language* (1977:650):

[...] it is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the impostor (religious language/priest, poetry/poet, etc.); it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market (as opposed to insane discourse, e.g. a surrealist poem read in the Stock Exchange) and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms (what linguists call grammaticalness), except when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer.

Thus, a legitimate speaker is an individual with sufficient symbolic and linguistic capital to speak a language that is deemed the "standard" or "correct", and to speak it to legitimate interlocutors under specific social conditions. In other words, *who* we are, our "whole social person", constrains to whom we can speak, under what circumstances and how. Depending on the situation, people in positions of power can impose their language variety as the only legitimate one by unifying (or homogenizing) the linguistic market and by measuring or categorizing other different varieties against it. As we saw earlier, this has been an important part of the nationalist and intellectual projects of the Nation-State. As Bourdieu explains, "when one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of other modes of expression, and with them the values of their various competences, are defined" (1977:652).

1.1.1.5 Language ideologies

The discursive processes through which legitimacy and power are attributed to certain linguistic forms and practices are commonly understood in the field of critical sociolinguistics as dealing with *language ideologies* (Schieffelin et al. 1998, Blommaert 1999, Kroskrity 2000). Blommaert defines language ideologies as "socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions and expectations of a language, manifested in all sorts of language use and in themselves objects of discursive elaboration" (1999:1). These discourses or ideas about language are not neutral; in fact, they have real consequences for social actors because they help shape the processes of social difference and social inequality. Heller and Martin-Jones (2001:2-3) spell out the consequences of these processes in the following manner:

By exercising control over the value of linguistic resources [...] groups simultaneously regulate access to other resources (such as knowledge, friendship, or material goods) and legitimate the social order that permits them to do so by masking (that is naturalizing) their ability to do so. Debates over linguistic norms and practices are, in the end, debates over controlling resources.

The ideologies used to hold up these debates are often seen as ideas which people just "happen" to have. Questions about the origin of such ideas are often ignored or dehistoricized, and thus depoliticized, by defining it in linear or synchronic terms, without examining the underlying power relations (Williams 1983). Ideologies can be (re)produced by means of a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices in schools, public administration, business, advertisement, media, literature, art, music, jokes, stereotypes, etc. (Blommaert 1999). These reproduction practices can result – willingly or not – in *normalization* or *naturalization*, both of which are *hegemonic* patterns where ideological claims are perceived as "normal" ways of thinking and acting (Gramsci 1971). The works of social theorists like Gramsci, Foucault (1972) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), among others, argue that these ideological processes are accomplished through *symbolic domination* or *symbolic violence*. In other words, certain ways of thinking or doing are imposed by people in positions of power in a discursive way that masks the concrete sources of the domination by convincing everyone involved that the "rules" (defined by the privileged group in order to maintain their privileged position) are natural, normal, universal and objective and that it is in everyone's best interest to comply.

1.1.1.6 (Dominant) Discourses

Blommaert's definition of language ideologies above did well to stress that they are "objects of discursive elaboration" because discourse is central to the processes that produce social categories, relations and forms of organization – all of which involves the negotiation of different resources in social interaction (Gee 1996). A person's frameworks for making sense of the world and the social practices and identities of individual actors are produced through a set of signs (words, ideas, labels, etc.) known as *discourse* (Foucault 1972, 1979). In other words, a discourse is a way of representing and defining a particular reality through language. It contains meanings that are understood by a community of people and can be used to "identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network'" (Gee 1996:131). But making sense is "always a social and variable matter" (Gee 1996:90) and what makes sense to one community or individual may not make sense to another.

A *dominant discourse* is a discourse, or a certain way of thinking and talking about something, that dominates other classifications. Like a dominant ideology, a dominant discourse is typically regarded by most members of a society as "the truth", "the norm" or just "common sense" because it is driven by people in positions of power (such as politicians, journalists, academics, clergy, parents, teachers, etc.). As the dominant groups have the power to control and

institutionalize their perspective, their views become the normative expectations for the rest of society's beliefs and attitudes. Thus, by being continuously and repeatedly articulated by other members in society, and by serving as the basis of many other related discourses, the dominant discourses gain the status of "obviousness", or of being "taken-for-granted", and therefore enjoy a wide consensus. Those people whose belief systems do not fall within the dominant discourse are defined as marginal or deviant for rejecting or challenging the "accepted" or imposed norm. Dominant discourses maintain their dominance by defining the socially accepted terms of reference and dismissing or categorizing any alternatives. Consequently, these discourses become deeply rooted as unchallengeable knowledge, absolute truths (i.e. universal and objective), that should not be questioned - at least until the balance of power in society or in a specific interaction changes.

In the face of such "domination" (discursive and ideological), Blommaert (1999) emphasizes that an ideology or a discourse's hegemony does *not* imply total consensus or total homogeneity. On the contrary, ambiguity and contradiction may be key features of every ideology or dominant discourse, and an individual's attachment to one over another may be inconsistent and will depend on the specific interaction. In order to avoid the potential for overly-deterministic results, we need a more socially-situated analysis that identifies the actors, discourses, practices and contextual factors involved in specific processes. The following section on *habitus* explores this productive tension between dominant social structures and creative social agency.

1.1.1.7 Habitus

In trying to understand why people speak and act the way they do, and not any other way, another theoretical concept worth considering is Bourdieu's interpretation of the old philosophical notion of *habitus*: a social actor's way of being in the world or her "socially constituted nature" (1994:11). Loïc Wacquant (2005) provides a detailed analysis of this often contentious notion and, based on Bourdieu's works, he defines habitus as a person's lasting dispositions or trained capacities to think, feel, act and speak in certain ways that result from the interiorization or "sedimentation" of society, or individual and group history. These dispositions, which are learned from infancy, go on to guide the individual, beneath the level of consciousness, in her creative responses to the constraints and opportunities present in different contexts. Thus, habitus has

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² Bourdieu (1977:659): "In a person's speech habits – particularly those that are most unconscious, [or] at any rate least amenable to conscious control, such as pronunciation – the memory of his or her origins, which may be otherwise abjured [rejected], is preserved and exposed".

"built-in inertia", insofar as it tends to (re)produce practices patterned after the social structures that spawned them. In this way, habitus is both "structured", by past social interactions, and "structuring", because it influences current actions (Wacquant 2005:317). It provides an orientation for social actions rather than strictly determining them. Wacquant carefully points out that since habitus is not a natural but a *social* aptitude, it may vary across time, place, and most importantly across distributions of power. Furthermore, while a person's habitus is "enduring" it is "not static or eternal [...] dispositions are socially mounted and can be eroded, countered or even dismantled by exposure to novel external forces" (Wacquant 2005:317).

Bourdieu's concept of habitus can be reinforced by Bakhtin's (1986) notion of multiple voices or *polyphony* which involves a dialogical understanding of language where each utterance is inherently responsive: it responds to and incorporates previous utterances (historically and situationally located) while also anticipating possible responsive reactions, and thus becomes "multivoiced". Thus, language can be seen as inherently contextual, containing the voices and discourses of previous interactions, and habitus can be seen as the accumulation of previous "multivoiced" interactions.

In this perspective, all social practice or discourse stems from the inter-relation between habitus and specific social contexts, or what Bourdieu refers to as markets or fields of action. A market can be seen as "structured space of positions" where a system of interrelated positions is determined by the distribution and evaluation of resources or capital (Bourdieu 1991:14). In other words, habitus provides "a practical sense or 'feel' for the game" (Thompson 1991:27) and the markets are the playing fields. The "game" is a useful metaphor (also used by others including Bourdieu 1994, Heller 2001, etc.) because it contains many ways of interpreting social interactions: rules, resources, field, players, competition, winning, losing, challenges, etc. Roberts and Sarangi (2001) examined how the "game" was played out through interactional routines and the notion of habitus helped them understand some of the ways in which inclusion and exclusion operated. The linguistic capital required to perform well in the classrooms they observed, or in any other social institution, corresponds to the habitus of the dominant group who create and shape the rules and the markets of the game. The success of the dominant group is naturalized and called "intrinsic merit" rather than exposed as symbolic domination (Roberts and Sarangi 2001:176). The result is normally a vicious cycle in which the dominant group's powerful habitus is reinforced and reproduced while the dominated group is marginalized and marginalizes itself. Though this cycle is not entirely impossible to escape, the opportunities to break it may be few, and the methods to do so, difficult.

1.1.1.8 The possibility of agency

While the theoretical frameworks of Bourdieu, Giddens and Barth offer insights into the ways that linguistic interactions sustain our hierarchical and unequal society, these frameworks can also be criticized for being over-determining and for under-representing an individual's ability to resist, contest or modify the social structure (see, among others, Giroux 1983, Woolard 1985, Bernstein 1990; for a counter-critique see Lash 1993 and Bourdieu 1994). Concepts such as habitus, symbolic domination and the reproduction of social inequality can lead to potentially fatalistic interpretations and leave readers and researchers wondering about the real possibility of social change or individual agency in the face of such overwhelming structural constraints. The concern is a legitimate one because such interpretations can undermine a critical ontological position which prioritizes social action, discourse and social constructivism.

According to Giddens (1984), agency refers to the *capacity* or *ability* to act given the existing structural constraints. Although social categories and social order serve to maintain the dominant position of a particular group, the resources and the rules themselves are interactionally constructed, and so they are never permanently fixed or definite and they do have the potential to be changed. Expanding on the game metaphor, Roberts and Sarangi (2001) outline four possible "agentive" positions that the dominated group can adopt vis-à-vis the rules of the game; positions which are not mutually exclusive. First, the dominated group may not recognize "the game" at all and choose to follow the rules as a way of "bettering" itself. Others may see this as a passive or unwitting naturalization of the dominant group's ideologies. Second, the group may actively recognize "the game" and choose to follow the rules as a way of "bettering" itself. Third, the group may recognize "the game" and work within it to change some of the rules to its own advantage, for a certain period of time. Fourth, the dominated group may resist the dominant ideology and expose "the game" by revealing how the rules serve the interests of the dominant group.

Heller and Martin-Jones (2001:6) also point out that resisting and challenging the social order is possible:

While there are clearly ways in which no interaction can be said to start from scratch, nonetheless there is always some possibility (the extent of which always remains to be empirically established) for challenging and modifying the social order.

A similar approach that recognizes both structure and agency at work in the game of social interactions is put forth by Cameron (1998) in her feminist critique of language. On the one hand, she agrees with Bourdieu and Giddens that speaking or acting "outside the structure" is almost impossible, since all social practices are grounded in specific power-laden histories that are reproduced in current social conditions. On the other hand, she also argues that it is possible to speak or act "against the structure", thereby creating a discursive space in which to contest social conditions.

Still, an over-insistence on agentive social action can give the distorted impression that individuals can act in completely free and creative ways, with social positionings, resources and values recreated almost "on the spot" (Pujolar 2001). In fact, focusing exclusively on individual agency can also be seen as a strong neoliberal position whereby individuals are responsible for successfully navigating their own way through structural constraints with as little help as possible from the State. Failure to achieve some kind of individual success could then be constructed as a personal deficiency in some manner and not the result of unequal power relations in a hierarchized social structure.

This discussion of structure, agency and power relations is about boundary-making, and boundary-making is at the core of identity formation, as we will see in the next section.

1.1.2 Theorizing identity and class: From essentialism to the political economy

Hierarchies are built on boundaries that produce difference. These boundaries are defined by people in positions of power who establish a vertical relation in terms beneficial to themselves. This ideological ranking enables the social markers of the more powerful group (their language, identity, class, gender, sexuality, race, religion, etc.) to become less recognizable as "different"; instead, this group constitutes itself as the norm from which all others diverge.

1.1.2.1 Identity: Structured performance and constrained agency

A conventional understanding of identity is often framed by complementary notions of *sameness* and *difference*. Both notions allow individuals to mark themselves or be marked by others: "sameness" allows people to imagine themselves as a group with something in common, whereas "difference" separates those who consider themselves, or are considered by others, as dissimilar in reference to this group. This, however, assumes that identities are attributes of

individuals or groups, and that they are objective states, rather than being social processes and performances that arise from politically and economically situated interactions (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). The definitions and boundaries that distinguish sameness from difference are carefully constructed and defended by people in positions of power who want to limit access to the resources that they control. Thus, constructions of sameness and difference are part of the same boundary-making process where some are included and others excluded. In determining the unequal criteria of who fits where, definitions of the Self are made in contrast to those of the Other and this often involves essentializing the Other's differences.

In popular discourse, as well as in some academic scholarship, the lure of essentialism has entrenched the view that social identities and groupings are natural, inevitable, clearly delineated from one another, internally homogeneous and linked to distinctive social and linguistic practices (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). For a long time, the field of anthropology, for example, was based on this kind of essentialism (Barth 1969), be it through its 19th century quest to find biological correlates of race, or the tradition of Romanticism, motivated by the emergence of nationalism, to link language and ethnic identity in an almost biological bond (Bauman and Briggs 2000). In linguistic anthropology, for example, much of the early work on language and gendered identity essentialized the fixed categories of female and male linguistic practices ("women's language" and "men's language") by overlooking the amount of intra-gender variation and inter-gender similarity in language use (Gal 1991, 1995). The same can be said of many sociolinguistic analyses (see Cameron 1998, Cameron et al. 1992).

In reaction to these earlier essentialist and structuralist approaches, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) argue that recent works in sociolinguistics are now more interested in discovering how social identities come to be created *through* language, instead of being reflected *in* it. The shift from seeing language as reflective to constitutive of social change is an important one in sociolinguistic theory, but Rampton (2005) and Hambye (2009), among others, find that, since the 1990s, the field of sociolinguistics has placed too much focus on change and individual agency: "instead of trying to define the core features of any social group or institution, there has been a flurry of interest in fragmentation, hybridity, indeterminacy and ambivalence" (Rampton 2005:2). As was seen in section 1.1.1.8 above, a strictly constructivist approach can overestimate the "strategic" action of individuals and underestimate the "restrictive" role played by unequal social constraints in the processes of identity formation. Brubaker (2001:74) refers to this overestimation

as a "constructivist cliché" which he believes stems from an under-theorized conceptualization of identity:

Weak or soft conceptions of identity are often accompanied by terms which suggest that identity is multiple, unstable, changing, contingent, fragmented, constructed, negotiated, etc. These terms have become so familiar – not to say compulsory – in the last few years that it has become almost automatic to read (or to write) them. They run the real risk of becoming simple pretences, semaphores that index a position [within the field] rather than words that carry a meaning [my translation].

From a cultural studies perspective, work by Hall (1990) has helped theorize the "politics of identity" as a politics of position and positioning, of history and of power where identities have real, material and symbolic consequences. For Hall, identities are not fixed "essences", or universal and "transcendental" spirits that reside inside individuals; nor are they predetermined origins to which individuals can make a final or absolute return.

My definition of identity is as follows: strategic performances (positionings or constructions) in a specific market in response to the social and economic constraints that limit a person's access to symbolic and material resources.

Like Heller (2002, 2007), Pujolar (2001) and Hambye (2009), among others, I draw heavily from Bourdieu (1977) who argued that even though social constructions like language and identity are forms of *practice*, they are more often rooted in embodied repetition (*habitus*) than in deliberate action. Thus, while an individual's linguistic repertoire serves as an important resource for the negotiation of his identities within a specific interaction, it may also serve as a constraint which limits the identities he can assert because it is not entirely the product of strategic or deliberate choice that would allow him to freely decide which vowels to produce, for example. Individual agency is limited by the unequal distribution of linguistic resources which is also tied to the unequal distribution of symbolic and material resources. As we will see below, the class dynamics produced by the unequal distribution of resources is also closely tied to ethnic identity.

1.1.2.2 Conceptualizing class and ethnic identity

This section continues the look at boundary phenomena through social interaction, which underscores much of the theorization of identity and ethnic identity, and applies it to the boundary-making social process of class, which also involves an interaction between groups over unequally distributed resources (Barth 1969).

Although questions of class are not the main focus of this research project, they emerged in the data analysis process especially when examining the social, political and economic conditions that structured the entry of the Portuguese in Canada and the early establishment of the Portuguese ethnolinguistic community in Toronto. While the theorization of class in this section is admittedly incomplete, the fundamental works of Marx/Hegel and Weber inform many of the critical concepts that support my presentation and analysis, including the theories of social structuration (Giddens 1984), capital and the (political) economics of linguistic exchanges (Bourdieu 1977).

For Marx (1906), class is a relational concept: a class does not exist in isolation from other classes, but in relationship to them and in relation to the process of production. Class inequality stems from the unequal relations of production: those who control the means of producing goods are considered part of the upper or ruling classes, while the lack of control characterizes the lower (working) classes. In a Marxist approach, class is a central, dynamic concept. According to McAll (1992:217), "it is held to stand for phenomena that exist at the very core of social processes and that are independent of the will of individuals [...]."

The concept of class is expanded by Weber (1978) beyond the relationship of production to include social class and status. These concepts account for symbolic positionings that also need to be considered when deconstructing negatively and positively privileged social standings (McAll 1992). Similarly for Bourdieu (1977) the question of class inequality can be explained by considering both economic and symbolic practices. To this end, Bourdieu relies on the notions of capital and habitus, as seen earlier, where capital refers to the amount of material, cultural and symbolic resources a person possesses, and habitus refers to a person's internalized and structured way of being in the world which is a consequence of their social, economic and cultural socialization. In trying to understand the reproduction of class dynamics, Bourdieu introduces the notion of class habitus. This notion suggests that through the early process of socialization, growing up in the family and the surrounding social environment, social actors reproduce certain structural dispositions that result in the view that their position in the social order is natural and inevitable, without questioning the status quo. In a working-class habitus, for example, social actors believe that because of their lack of social or cultural capital, they are not able to participate in intellectual fields (like politics or education). Dominated groups are thus excluded from the act of governing, and they believe that a position of power is not for them as a result of some natural inability, as opposed to structural marginalization.

Such structural marginalization can be concealed and revealed by organizing difference along ethnic lines. Like class and identity, ethnicity is a boundary-making social process of interaction between groups over unequally distributed resources (Barth 1969). Weber remarks how, in any established class society, there is the tendency among classes to use ethnicity to mark the specific spaces they occupy and to protect the benefits and privileges of limited group membership (by excluding non-members). This process of ethnic marking is reinforced when subsequent generations are brought up within the semi-closed class environment. Thus, a class-divided society is inevitably structured along ethnic lines, creating ethno-class dynamics or what McAll calls the "ethnicity of class" (McAll 1992:222).

At the heart of the traditional Marxist approach to class is the notion of the functionality of ethnicity for capitalism. In the case of immigrant labour which is often imported to occupy low-paid positions, ethnic identity can easily be equated to working class status. This can create hostility between immigrant working class groups and the native or established working class over working conditions and access to jobs when the newcomers are likely to work under any conditions. The underlying economic factors that spark intergroup tensions can become associated with ethnic differences because of the congruence between ethnicity and class. Thus, ethnicity is central to maintaining divisions in the working-class; it makes it difficult for the different ethnic groups, constructed as class rivals, to become solidary and to fight for better access to resources and social inclusion. As McAll (1992:74) puts it, ethno-class dynamics "displace working class hostility from its natural enemy – the owners of the means of production – onto those who are seen to be class rivals." Ethnic identity is thus functional for capital, and those in positions of power can use it, or other social differences like language, race, gender or religion, to maintain a divided and preferably ill-informed workforce.

In McAll's (1992:222) theoretical formulation of class, ethnicity and social inequality, ethnicity is an integral part of class that both marks and masks it, depending on one's position in the social structure:

In North American society, where different waves of immigrants have found themselves contained within particular class brackets, the inequality and therefore the difference generated by the system and to which they are subject comes to be symbolized by the various visible, religious, linguistic or cultural markers that they have brought with them.

1.1.3 Concluding remarks

This section explored the critical sociolinguistic framework that informs my study. Fundamentally, it is one that prioritizes the role of language in constructing social systems and social structures through situated interactions, rather than a variationist approach that prioritizes linguistic systems and linguistic structures by relating language output to fixed social variables. Embracing a post-structuralist view, my theoretical approach does not simply equate language with identity, but instead it allows for their discursive deconstruction and reconstruction by social agents who have multiple and contradictory positionings. More than just post-structural, the theoretical approach I adopt is informed by critical social theory which recognizes that while language and identity are discursive constructs, they are also socially structured within boundaries of unequal power relations. Thus, in order to understand why individuals (agentively and constructively) enact a certain performance of identity or language over another, I must situate their interactions and their sociolinguistic habitus in Bourdieu's (1977) economic theory of linguistic exchanges that takes power, resources, capital, legitimacy and markets into consideration.

1.2 Methodology: A critical ethnography

The link between my theoretical framework above and the qualitative and ethnographic methodology I will outline below hinges on the best way to find the data I need to answer my research questions: What gets defined as legitimate performances of Portuguese language and identity? By whom? Why? With what consequences for whom? A triangulation of semi-structured interviews, textual analysis and participant observation will allow me to contextualize and deconstruct the competing and complex discourses of "What it means to be or to speak Portuguese" and the situated social practices of "How one does 'being Portuguese'." Since ideological discourses and social practices (like language and identity) have real and observable consequences in terms of a person's inclusion or exclusion from specific spaces and from access to symbolic or material resources, a methodological approach that is reflexive, qualitative and ethnographic will allow me to observe how these processes unfold over time and space while taking my own positionings into consideration.

This research project sprouted from an "intellectual puzzle" (Mason 2002) that emerged from my experiences growing up Portuguese-Canadian in Toronto. The most important puzzle pieces were laid out as research questions in the introduction to this thesis but, to quickly summarize them, they all deal with what I saw as a problem of sociolinguistic structuration within

Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community due to the unequal evaluation and distribution of linguistic (and other) resources. From what I had experienced, second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth and people of Azorean descent seemed to be largely absent from the spaces where the dominant definitions of portugueseness were produced, performed and protected. This raised a methodological question: *how* can I study this? Intimately linked to this question was a more theoretical one: *what* exactly would I be studying?

Answering these questions depends on one's ontological perspective or, in other words, the researcher's assumptions on the nature of the phenomena being investigated. As evidenced by the theoretical discussion above, the ontological perspective I adopt is post-structuralist, constructivist or *interpretivist*, as opposed to *positivist* (Heller 2002, Mason 2002). An interpretivist position views identity and language, or knowledge in general, as socially situated and constructed, rather than fixed and objective, or detached from social context (characteristics of a more positivist approach). Thus, the ideas that exist within the Portuguese-Canadian community about the ways that people speak and act (be they second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, people of Azorean descent, Brazilians, etc.) are not naturally-occurring, entirely predetermined or permanent "truths" to be discovered. They are the result of specific social practices, processes and interactions negotiated by social actors within spaces that are shaped by symbolic and material constraints which are empirically observable with the right methodological tools.

The following discussion of my research methodology from inception to implementation will answer the following questions: Why did I choose the research methods that I did? Exactly how did I use them? What worked and what did not? Why? What was my role in all of this?

1.2.1 Looking for the right tools

1.2.1.1 Questionnaires

When I first began thinking about how to study people's ideologies of language and identity, I thought of conducting a large-scale study with the input from as many young Portuguese-Canadians as possible. The research method that lent itself to that kind of study was a comprehensive survey or questionnaire. Upon further reflection, I realized that while such an approach would generate quantifiable, "hard" data and statistics (which are the hallmark of what many consider to be "real" scientific and academic research), it deviated from my ontological position in several important ways. For as much as written questionnaires can try to be clear, somewhat open-ended, contextualized and allow the respondent to be creative, most of them

cannot reproduce the complexities and unpredictability of a situated social interaction. Asking questions like "What do you consider yourself: Portuguese? Canadian? Portuguese-Canadian? Canadian-Portuguese? Other?" or creating hypothetical situations such as "What language(s) would you normally use to speak to *X* in a *Y* situation?" cannot, in my opinion, fully reflect the complicated, interconnected and often contradictory nature of social and linguistic positioning across multiple spaces where different resources are at stake. There are too many different variables to possibly predict or control and there is often very little room for flexibility in the answers or clarification between the questioner and the respondent regarding certain definitions, assumptions or uncertainties.

It is also difficult for the researcher to know why or how the respondent chose the answers she did, or to know what answers she would have given if her choices had not been limited by the researcher's options. Most survey questions and answers are rigid and non-negotiable; the questions impose a uniformity that does not necessarily exist among the respondents who each have different lived (and inherited) experiences. Furthermore, in order to produce generalizable data, the individuality of the respondents is erased or reduced to the most common denominators (male/female, age, socio-economic status). Finally, the context in which the questionnaire is completed is often unknown and of little importance in a strictly quantitative approach which values the results of the survey more than the process of reaching those results. Without knowing the (social, personal) conditions under which a questionnaire was filled out, the answers reveal a decontextualized performance that may or may not accurately reflect the respondent's lived reality, just as it may or may not reveal an idealized or hypothetical reality. Ultimately, a survey reveals a fixed snapshot of a (social or linguistic) process or time that is otherwise constantly changing according to different social interactions.

Administering a questionnaire can also be a highly artificial and academic endeavour (depending on the participant's formal schooling and literacy), where the researcher has already decided what is or is not worth talking about. Although I had certain topics and questions to raise with my participants, I wanted to hear their experiences in their own words and have them determine what was worth talking about. Therefore, instead of standardized questionnaires, I opted to use interviews, as one of my key research methods. But they too are not without their setbacks.

1.2.1.2 Interviews

In order to address some of the limits to the use of questionnaires raised above, qualitative researchers often conduct interviews with the people they are studying. However, there is nothing inherently qualitative about interviews. Speaking to someone does not guarantee a less positivist or quantitative approach than most written questionnaires. In fact, highly structured interviews can be like questionnaires read aloud in which the interviewer follows a rigid script and does not allow or invite deviations from a pre-determined order. For this reason, I used semi-structured interviews which allowed the interviewee to discuss and explore topics she found interesting or relevant; topics that the researcher could have otherwise ignored. (See Appendix A for a presentation of my interview guidelines).

Semi-structured interviews also provide the researcher with the flexibility to cater the questions to the specific experiences of the interviewee, by spending more or less time on certain topics. While interviews can also be artificial or academic conversations to some extent — depending on the relationship between those present — there is normally more room to negotiate and discuss one's opinions in an interview than in a questionnaire. My interviews were never scripted, and so they represent spontaneous interactions. Through interviews it is also possible to see or hear non-written forms of communication like hesitations, reformulations, code-switches, body language and physical appearance. Whether or not this extra-linguistic data is taken into consideration depends on the researcher.

Still, an interview provides an oral snapshot of a process (e.g. negotiating identities and languages) that varies with different social interactions. It needs to be treated as an account that is performed at a specific moment, in a specific manner, for a specific purpose and likely does not represent the described reality in all of its complexity. Although a semi-structured interview may allow for the contextualization of the interviewee and her responses, there is still a story that is being constructed and it may or may not accurately reflect the respondent's reality (see section 1.2.2.9.1 below for more on the limitations of interviews).

1.2.1.3 Observation

With regards to my research questions, a full understanding of the processes and consequences of social structuration required me to not only *ask* those involved how they perceive their social action, but also to try and *see* how they act in specific situations. This is where observation becomes an essential research method. Since interactions leave traces in time and

space, one can observe how individuals negotiate their way through the tangled web of social reality: Who is present/absent where? Who is allowed to speak? What language varieties are accepted? What positions are tolerated? How are people/positions/languages/etc. evaluated? In other words, one can observe the construction of social boundaries; people's use of linguistic, material and symbolic resources; people's trajectories through different spaces; and how people manage their social networks. Observational methods take the epistemological position that evidence of the social world can be generated by observing, participating in, or experiencing "real-life" settings and interactions.

Since not all knowledge and experiences are recountable in an interview or questionnaire, observations allow the researcher to understand the multidimensionality of interactions by being an observer as well as an "experiencer" or a participant. Rather than relying solely on an individual's retrospective account of a particular interaction, which, as I argued earlier, may never fully convey the situational dynamics of a specific setting, a researcher who has the opportunity to observe the interaction herself, *in situ* and in real time, gains a different, experiential perspective on what is going on. Participant observations can help the researcher understand the depth, complexity and roundedness of situated and specific social data, beyond a surface analysis of broad patterns. The question of what spaces or interactions to observe, how a researcher gains access to them and is positioned within them, will be explored below when I discuss the practical and reflective aspects of my data production. But before that, let me address a critique often raised against (participant) observation as a "valid" research method: the observer's paradox.

This paradox suggests that a researcher's very act of observing or her very presence and participation somehow tarnish that which is being observed because it introduces a foreign or artificial dimension to the situation. Such a view makes several assumptions worth unpacking. First, it assumes that there is a way for a researcher to observe something without being present, and that this (being "invisible") is somehow preferable. The paradox also assumes that there are such things as "pure" and "untarnished" observations. These assumptions are based on a positivist ontological position of the nature of the phenomenon being studied. Such a position sees things as detached from social context, as objective and bounded entities that exist on their own and can be discovered, excavated or collected. An interpretivist position, on the other hand, sees social reality as constructed or generated through situated interactions. Observations necessarily involve the presence of something (a recorder, a camera, etc.) or someone that will unavoidably have some kind of an impact on the interaction(s) observed. I think it is impossible to be a completely neutral

observer, exercising no influence on the setting and remaining completely "untainted" by experiencing or feeling what the setting is like. Thus, if one agrees that there is no such thing as an "untarnished" observation, and that all ethical observation is a product of interaction, then there is no paradox. Indeed, people have the right to know if they are being observed, and having a researcher try and detach or hide from the social context can be unethical.

An important question that the paradox indirectly raises, and which speaks directly to qualitative researchers, is the need for the researcher to understand her role in the observation, rather than trying to remove herself from it altogether. For this reason, critical qualitative researchers like Blommaert (1999), Heller (2002) and Mason (2002), among others, stress the need for *reflexivity* or thinking critically about what one does and why. This involves confronting one's own assumptions, and recognizing the extent to which one's thoughts, actions and decisions shape what one sees and studies (Mason 2002:5). Rather than being a detached witness, a researcher who embraces and critically reflects on her participation and experiences in a space can be seen as a participant-observer. The level of participation will depend on the intentions of the researcher, the access granted to her, and the position or positioning of the researcher and the people interacting in the same space. (See Appendix B for the observation guidelines used in this research project).

1.2.1.4 Ethnography

The research methodology used to generate the data for this project can be best described as ethnographic. Participant observation and interviews are the hallmarks of an ethnographic approach which tries to understand social organization, social activities and the distribution of symbolic and material resources in practice through prolonged and direct participation. Other research methods used in this kind of fieldwork include creating and collecting textual or visual materials (i.e. fieldnotes, newspapers, photographs, films, videos, etc.).

Rather than acquiring knowledge of the reality that ethnographers want to study from oral or written reports alone, or from isolated observations, ethnographers aim to be in the middle of the action, by (ethically) participating in social interactions over a certain period of time. Prolonged participation will help the researcher observe more than what is immediately visible in an interaction. The ethnographer will be able to observe the local "communicative ecology" of a specific discursive space (Duranti 2003) and specify the practices people use, when they use them, where they come from, how they relate to interactions that preceded or followed, etc. An ethnographic approach allows the researcher to follow the trajectories of social actors and social

resources across different spaces and to see and experience how things develop over time (i.e. how people negotiate and (re)construct their linguistic and identity practices). Such an approach allows the researcher to see the complexity and connection of processes, rather than a bounded whole or full picture. From a sociolinguistic perspective it explores "the history and geography of language" (Heller 2008:250). Ethnographies are not just about "giving voice" to participants or trying to tell their exact story; they are about providing an illuminating account from the researcher's perspective that explores social processes and generates possible explanations for why people do what they do (Heller 2008).

Ethnographic fieldnotes are important in describing and contextualizing aspects of social interaction which cannot be captured on a voice recording, or even on a video recording. These notes can express the ethnographer's subjectivity of being present and they can document other detailed information about the interaction (the use of time, space, links to previous interactions, questions raised, patterns observed, etc.).

Thus, the approach that I adopt for this research is a critical sociolinguistic ethnography (Heller 1999, 2002). This kind of ethnography explores webs of social relations that are made up of locally situated interactions constrained by the unequal production, evaluation and distribution of resources (symbolic and material) which depend on specific (but dynamic) social and historical conditions. By linking linguistic practices to a detailed understanding of speakers' situations, trajectories and environments, a sociolinguistic ethnography will help contextualize and properly situate interactional data that can be seen as agentive or constrained performances. For example, an observer who interprets an interaction in an isolated manner can see a speaker's particular choice of language as free and deliberate, but the same social action could also be read as the product of previous interactions or of the power relations which govern the social space in question. Similarly, an ethnography can shed light on an individual's discourse on identity by situating it specifically within his social trajectory which limits the forms of identification that are subjectively desirable but objectively accessible. Without such an in-depth perspective, a specific discursive construction of identity could be interpreted as a purely creative choice or transformation.

Having examined the usefulness of the methodological tools in my ethnographic toolbox, the following section will present the ways in which I used these tools and why.

1.2.2 In the field

1.2.2.1 Fieldwork overview

The data generated for this dissertation spanned two years, from September 2005 to September 2007. After my research project was cleared by the university's ethics review board, the first year of my fieldwork (September 2005-2006) was the most intensive period. During this period, I spent as much time as possible attending and participating in events within the Portuguese "community", identifying, interviewing and socializing with my key participants and the people in their social networks, and gathering Portuguese-language and Portuguese-themed print and visual texts. The second year (September 2006-2007) was less intensive, involving less direct contact with my key participants but still an active participation on my part in the public spaces where portugueseness was discursively constructed.

As mentioned earlier, I interviewed 47 people, for a total of 75 hours (or an average of 1.5 hours each), meeting them at locations of their choice. I carried out nearly one hundred participant observations in various public sites (e.g. club/association activities, conferences, lectures, festivals, parades, exhibits and rallies) and I observed my participants as they interacted with their family members, friends and co-workers with the consent of all those involved. I also collected hundreds of pages worth of relevant textual material from Portuguese-language community newspapers, magazines, flyers, posters and reports.

1.2.2.2 What spaces to observe?

Since my research questions focus on the construction of portugueseness and understanding why certain people are included and excluded from the dominant definitions, my first step in setting up this research project was to identify a variety of discursive spaces where the relevant discourses were produced and where specific identities were performed. Some examples of these spaces include: Portuguese-Canadian homes or families; Portuguese cultural clubs, associations, and centres; Portuguese-language schools; Portuguese-language media such as radio and television programs, newspapers and magazines; Portuguese cultural and religious events such as Portugal Day festivities, Portuguese regional festivals, concerts with musicians of Portuguese descent who nearly all sing in Portuguese, bull fighting, soccer celebrations, folklore dancing, religious processions, Portuguese-language religious services, etc.; the Portuguese consulate which hosts official visits from Portuguese dignitaries, book launches, art displays, award ceremonies and public lectures on top of the regular consular services offered; Portuguese-language businesses and

professional services such as banks, restaurants, grocery stores, sports bars, cafés, hair salons, retailers, lawyers, cleaners, travel agents, construction companies, etc. who target a Portuguese audience, sell Portuguese products and/or employ Portuguese descendants or speakers.

In the first two months of my fieldwork (September and October 2005), I attended as many different events as I could within the Portuguese communities of Toronto and Mississauga³ in order to see what kinds of performances of portugueseness were being organized by whom, and with which linguistic and cultural resources. I determined that, in general, there was a strong normative pressure to have legitimate performances of portugueseness be monolingual (i.e. in standard, Mainland Portuguese) and reinforce traditional ideologies of the Portuguese nation; that these performances were almost entirely frequented by older members of the "community" with very few Portuguese-Canadian youth present; and that those individuals most closely involved in the production of publicly legitimized Portuguese identity and language (i.e. radio and TV programs, cultural festivals, the Portuguese consulate, Portuguese schools, etc.) were primarily from Mainland Portugal. Thus, despite the overwhelming majority of Azoreans in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community (over two-thirds, according to Oliveira and Teixeira 2004), I did not see or hear many people of Azorean descent in positions of power that could "represent" the Portuguese community. In terms of my research methodology, I felt it was crucial to gain a deeper understanding of how and why cultural associations structure the Portuguese-Canadian market.

1.2.2.3 Choosing Portuguese cultural associations

Initially, part of my goal in observing the Portuguese-Canadian community's discursive spaces was to establish an ethnographic profile of two or three cultural organizations within it (with one in Mississauga and one or two in Toronto). After weeks of observation, I identified the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA) as a site worth profiling because it is the largest Portuguese club in the city, it organizes many different public events, it has a youth group and a folklore group and because it strives to represent every region of Portugal. In Toronto, I identified an Azorean Cultural Association (ACA) because of its large size, its performances of azoreanness and the involvement of a small but active group of youth. The other organization I identified in Toronto was the Portuguese consulate because it represents Portugal in its entirety and it has the symbolic and material capital to produce highly legitimized discourses of portugueseness.

³ Located in the western part of the Greater Toronto Area, Mississauga developed as a suburb of Toronto and then flourished into an industrialized, middle-class city that became the sixth-most populous municipality in Canada in 2001 (Teixeira 2002). For more on the city itself, see section 2.3.

I hoped that after speaking to the leaders of these three organizations and gaining their consent, I would be allowed behind the scenes to participate in some of their internal meetings and observe their decision-making processes.

In practice, gaining such privileged access to these sites proved to be quite difficult for a variety of reasons. First, I fell on some bad timing: all of these organizations were undergoing changes in leadership. Since 2005-2006 marked the arrival of a new Portuguese Consul General and new executive committees at the MPCA and ACA, it was, unfortunately, very difficult for me to communicate with the people in positions of power at these sites and so I was unable to secure their consent to observe the more private aspects of their organizations. Nevertheless, I continued to observe the public performances of portugueseness presented by each organization.

My difficulties in gaining access to the inner-working of prominent Portuguese cultural spaces forced me to rethink the associations I had initially selected. Since I found that relatively few Portuguese-Canadian youth participated in those traditional cultural spaces anyway, I shifted my attention to smaller less traditional Portuguese spaces where more young Portuguese-Canadians participated: Portuguese university student associations. As we will see in chapters 5, 6 and 7, these youth-driven discursive spaces are highly revealing, because they are not associated directly with any Portuguese cultural association, and I was curious to see how they would negotiate dominant ideologies of language and identity when it came to their performances of portugueseness.

Following this general overview of the institutional spaces I identified as ethnographic sites worth exploring, the next sections will focus on the social actors who participated in my study. As I wanted to examine a wide a range of lived social and linguistic experiences among second-generation Portuguese-Canadians, I did not limit my choice of participants to those who were actively involved in Portuguese cultural associations. I did, however, have to establish certain criteria as to whom I would observe for a little more than one year.

1.2.2.4 Criteria for choosing key participants

When I imagined the different kinds of participants I could solicit in my fieldwork, three distinct participatory roles came to mind. First, the "key participants" would constitute the core group of informants with whom I would interact most often. Next, I would have "network participants," or important people in the social networks of the key participants, to help contextualize their experiences and whom I would meet on a few occasions. Finally, "secondary

participants" would be people of interest with regards to their involvement in the Portuguese-Canadian community (from many different perspectives), with whom I would meet once or twice. For the specific involvement required of each group of participants see section 1.2.2.6.

With regards to my key participants, the people I spoke to and observed the most, I set an age limit of 18 to 25 years for the practical reason that I wanted young adults who did not require the authorization of their parents to speak to me or to participate in my study. With such an age group I assumed that my participants would still have contact with their parents and family, but also that they would have already established a strong social network (big or small), that they would be involved in different social settings (home, school, work, friends, ethnic community, society at large, etc.), and that they would be mature enough to describe (in some detail) the complex processes of (re)negotiating and (re)constructing their identities and language practices.

My selection of key participants also hinged on my construction of social concepts such as "Portuguese-Canadian" and "second-generation". I chose to limit my pool of key participants to those who were born in Canada because, through my own lived experiences, I was already familiar with the broad context. Since I wanted to compare the experiences of my key participants, I wanted to have them all start from a (relatively) similar position in the structure of the "community" where there were also members of the "first generation" and of the "1.5 generation". As you will recall, "first-generation" Portuguese-Canadians are those who, like my parents, were born in Portugal and immigrated to Canada as (young) adults. Most of these people came during the wave of Portuguese immigration from 1950 to 1980. In between the first and second generations is the "1.5 generation", that is, those people who were born in Portugal but who immigrated to Canada at a very young age, where they were raised and educated. These categories are, of course, difficult to define in practice and there is often debate among "second-generation" children of immigrant descent who see themselves as the "first generation" born in Canada or who prefer not to define themselves through their parents' migration.

The common socio-psychological assumption is that those born in Portugal ("first generation"), even if they were not raised there ("1.5 generation"), will have a greater attachment to that country – and by extension its history, culture, language, etc. – than those individuals of Portuguese descent born in Canada ("second generation") who cannot claim Portugal as their legal birthplace. Such an assumption underlies much of the tension that exists surrounding legitimacy and authenticity between Portuguese-Canadians in the Toronto area.

Indeed, another one of my selection criteria was meant to guarantee that my key participants had a certain degree of legitimacy and authenticity as "Portuguese-Canadians"; I required that both of a key participant's parents be born in Portugal. Since there is undoubtedly a socio-cultural and linguistic transmission that occurs between parent and child, and since my research questions look at the constructions, deconstructions and reconstructions of the dominant discourse surrounding what it means to be and to speak Portuguese, I wanted both parents to have been engaged with Portuguese discourse at some level. I assumed that growing up with Portuguese parents would expose my key participants to many of the ideological expectations on how to legitimately perform portugueseness. Despite this nationalistic restriction, there was still room for complexity: one parent could be Azorean, the other Mainlander; one could be first generation, the other "1.5"; one could be more/less Portuguese/Canadian than the other, etc.

With these background restrictions in place, the remaining selection criteria for my key participants were more flexible. Rather than impose a predetermined structure to my sample, I left the number of male and female participants open, much like the number of participants of Azorean and Continental descent or the number of those living in Toronto or Mississauga. Each one of these categories is undeniably important but I could not assign specific quotas to each before meeting potential participants because I wanted a diversity of experiences more than a diversity of participants. In the end, I found both. Before I briefly present the key participants who agreed to participate in my study, let me explain what their participation entailed, who else was involved and how I found them.

1.2.2.5 Finding key participants

As previously mentioned, the general absence of young Portuguese-Canadians in the spaces where the dominant discourse on portugueseness was (re)produced was quite revealing, and it spurred me to try and find some of them in order to understand if restrictive ideologies of language and identity had anything to do with what I thought was their "marginalization". Consequently, I tried looking for them outside of traditional Portuguese discursive spaces. My first thought was the internet: a complex, contradictory, and constantly changing space in which individuals can express a certain degree of agency, creativity and autonomy which might otherwise be prohibited in traditional spaces of the Portuguese-Canadian community. But where in the vast expanse of the internet would I find or be found by potential participants? My compromise was to create a recruitment flyer (see Appendix C) and post it on two public Portuguese-Canadian email listservs: one was run by a national Portuguese-Canadian advocacy

organization; the other was run by a Toronto-based Portuguese-Canadian social worker who created the online community in order to socialize with other (young) Portuguese descendants in the Toronto area. Although these spaces also constructed certain kinds of portugueseness, I found them to be spaces that were more diverse and inclusive than the "traditional" spaces affiliated with Portuguese cultural associations. Neither listserv was linked to a specific region of Portugal, nor did they impose any linguistic norms. Instead, both welcomed and encouraged open discussion and debate without heavy censorship (although any "hate" or "spam" messages were deleted by a moderator), and allowed individuals to participate without revealing their "true" identities.

In addition to these virtual spaces, I also posted recruitment flyers around university campuses in Toronto, especially libraries and communal, student spaces. I adopted this strategy out of convenience because I often found myself passing through these places and I assumed there were some Portuguese-Canadian youth (or friends of such youth) who could also pass through. I knew this strategy would yield few respondents given the high academic underachievement of Portuguese-Canadian youth and their underrepresentation on university campuses, but since these sites have nothing to do with portugueseness, I was very interested to see who, if anyone, would be interested in talking about constructions of ethnic identity.

The last strategy I adopted in trying to reach as broad and diverse an audience as possible was to post flyers along Dundas St. West in Toronto, also known as the main street of the Portuguese neighbourhood ("Little Portugal"), because I knew that many young Portuguese-Canadians live nearby and pass through it on a regular basis. With tape, stapler and pins in hand I walked along the street looking for store-front windows or message boards that had other public notices and flyers on display. Laundromats, church vestibules and grocery store entrances were safe places for me to advertise because there were often community notice boards available for public use. Also ideal were bus stop shelters and street lampposts which had similar boards or were just plastered with flyers. When I identified a Portuguese restaurant, sports bar, hair salon or bakery where I thought my flyer stood a chance of being displayed alongside other announcements, I asked the owner for permission. Of the eight businesses that agreed, the two that yielded the only concrete leads were Portuguese bakeries that let me advertise on the notice boards near the front doors. Despite the fact that many of these sites are Portuguese spaces, I believe they are less exclusive, less dominantly Portuguese, and more open to non-Portuguese

⁴ The other establishments that welcomed my flyers included one hair salon, two sports bars and three restaurants.

people than spaces such as the Portuguese consulate, Portuguese-language schools and most ethno-cultural associations.⁵

My recruitment flyer, which was by no means neutral, was designed to be informative, concise and somewhat attractive without being too costly to print (see Appendix C). On it were five questions surrounded by five flags, a short description of my research and useful information for potential participants. The following questions were emphasized: "Are you Portuguese-Canadian? Between 18-25 years old? What do you consider yourself? a) Portuguese, b) Canadian, c) Portuguese-Canadian, d) All of the above, e) Other. Do you need to speak Portuguese to be Portuguese? a)Yes, b) No, c) Depends. Do you want to explore more questions like these?" The five flags that adorned the top of the flyer were printed in colour and I hoped they would catch people's attention; they included the Portuguese, Canadian, Azorean and Madeiran flags as well as a black-outline of a white rectangle the size of the other flags with a question mark in the middle. This last unknown flag appeared directly beside the question "What do you consider yourself?" and was meant to problematize the ideology of the nation-state with which most people associate (ethnic) identities. Although the two main questions looked like they belonged in a questionnaire, I made a point of including open-ended answer options and then explaining the qualitative nature of the study in the short description.

1.2.2.6 Outlining participants' involvement

The flyer also made it clear that I was looking for a limited number of key participants: six to eight. I imposed this limit for practical reasons. Working with a small number of key participants would 1) give me the time and energy to immerse myself in their lives and experiences, including their social networks, while at the same time allowing me to 2) observe and participate in the "community's" different discursive spaces in which my participants may not take part, and 3) profile two Portuguese-Canadian cultural associations and their activities. During my first two months in the field (phase-I), I met with Portuguese-Canadian youth whom I approached or who approached me with interest in participating in my study. Following an hourlong semi-structured interview with each person in which I introduced myself, explained my

⁵ I explicitly did not consider using the local Toronto Portuguese-language media to cast my proverbial net in search of participants because I found that, based on my personal experiences and observations in the field, most Portuguese-Canadian youth do not willingly listen to Portuguese radio or read Portuguese newspapers. Moreover, were I to use any of these media outlets, I felt that I would be expected to speak (and perform) in "good" (standard) Portuguese rather than in English, the language in which I am most comfortable, or in my normal bilingual mixture of Portuguese and English (*portinglês*). I was also worried about my message potentially being co-opted by the dominant discourse which could construct me as a "defender" or "denier" of Portuguese identity.

research project, outlined the commitment involved, and briefly explored the person's social and linguistic life history, each person normally told me if she or he agreed to participate or not. The next phase (II) of the fieldwork spanned a six-month period (November 2005 - April 2006) during which I planned to interview each key participant three more times for at least one hour, and observe each of them in their normal routine (at home, at work, at school, with friends or in other social settings) at least once a week or twice a month for a couple of hours (or however long I was welcome) with the consent of all those involved. Observing these different settings allowed me to examine different interactions and relationships, different language practices and how different resources (symbolic or material) are called into play. The regular, but not daily, observations let me study the ways in which some interactions unfolded over time, without imposing my presence on the participant's social network.

In order to explore these social networks, I invited up to five people, with whom each key participant closely interacted, to be "network participants". These participants (26 in all) included family members, friends, colleagues from work or school, teachers, employers, etc. By observing their interactions with each key participant and interviewing each network participant at least once, I was able to explore many of the discourses, social actors and resources circulating within each key participant's social network, allowing me to contextualize the data I generated for them.

The final phase (III) of my active fieldwork, from April to September 2006, was less intensive as I kept in touch with my key participants on a (bi-)monthly basis mainly through email or by phone, in order to follow-up on important but underdeveloped themes identified in Phase II and to receive regular updates on some of the practices that I may have observed or heard about. During these six months I met with each key participant at least twice.

Another, smaller group of participants (15 in all), known as secondary participants, were those whom I identified throughout the year as persons of interest through my own observations in the field because they themselves, or an organization with which they were affiliated, had what I considered to be an active role in the construction of portugueseness. These participants included, for example, members of Portuguese-Canadian associations, Portuguese-language teachers and students, social workers in the Portuguese-Canadian community, among others. This group of secondary participants also included those who did not qualify as key participants or did not want to assume the year-long commitment required. Since I did not want to exclude anyone who was interested enough by my research project to contact me, even though only one of their parents were born in Portugal or because they were unable to meet me more than once, I always agreed to get

together with them and discuss their experiences surrounding Portuguese language and identity in an interview.

In all, the sampling approach adopted for this qualitative and ethnographic study was strategic and not representative. This dissertation makes no claims of being empirically generalizable. Instead, it aims to produce and thoroughly examine a relevant range of situated contexts which will allow for cross-contextual comparisons and support a well-founded argument. The sample was designed to encapsulate a significant series of experiences, discourses, characteristics, categories and spaces in relation to the wider Portuguese-Canadian community in the Toronto area, without representing it directly. A brief presentation of the key participants in my sample will follow below.

1.2.2.7 Overview of key participants

Since a more thorough presentation of my key participants, their social networks and their constructions of portugueseness will follow in the chapters ahead, I am presenting some of their "essential-ized" characteristics in Table 1 below in order to provide a quick overview of who they are and how they position themselves publicly in the Portuguese market.

Table 1: Overview of the key participants

Name	Age range	Gender	Parents' place of birth	Place of residence	Public performances of portugueseness	Social networks observed	Level of comfort speaking Prt.
Rui Duarte	early 20s	М	Mainland	Toronto	- Folklore and Prt school as child - Prt restaurants - Tutor for Prt children - Prt-Cdn National Congress	- Portuguese family - friend from Portugal - Azorean girlfriend - "Canadian" (non-Prt) friends	High (self-reported)
Fernando Lopes	early 20s	M	Mainland	Toronto	- Recreational soccer team - Occasional sports bar	- African-Canadian girlfriend - Portuguese family	High (self-reported)
Victoria Monte	early 20s	F	Mainland	Toronto	- Folklore and Prt school as child - Prt Day parade & events	- Prt family - Prt friends, volleyball - "Canadian" friends	Very high (self-reported)
Patricia Martins	early 20s	F	Mainland	Mississauga	- Prt culture club - Prt youth group - Prt student club - Folklore - Prt lg school as child - Prt lg teacher	- Prt family - Azorean boyfriend - Prt student club friends	Very high (self-reported)
Maggie Posada	early 20s	F	Azores	Toronto	- Prt (Azrn) church - Prt student club - Prt-Cdn National Congress	- Prt (Azrn) family - Azorean friends - Prt student club friends	Very low (self-reported)
Peter Araújo	late teens	M	Azores	Toronto	- Prt school & church as a child	- "Canadian" friends - Prt grandparents	Moderate (self-reported)

All of the participants will be presented in chapter 4, where some of the most revealing experiences from their navigations through the dominant discourse of portugueseness will be

explored. Chapters 5 and 6 will present ethnographic case studies of the second last two participants listed in the table above, Patricia and Maggie. These two young women, and the members of their social network, provided me with considerable access to their social interactions and, as a result, I was able to hear and watch how they negotiated with the dominant discourses through many of the contentious spaces within the structured Portuguese-Canadian market.

1.2.2.8 The politics of naming

When it came to choosing pseudonyms for my participants, I selected names that remained "faithful" to what I considered the "structure" and the "spirit" of the real ones without disclosing anything that might reveal my participants' true identities. In this way, if one of them were given a first name, or adopted another name on their own, which was identifiably Portuguese – like *Fátima*, *João* (vs. John), *Graça* (vs. Grace) or *Miguel* (vs. Michael) – then I would choose a name that contained some element of portugueseness. On the other hand, if the real name were more "anglicized" – like Jane, Dylan, Sandy or Kevin – then I would select an anglicized pseudonym. The decision to include anonymized last names for my key participants was based on the lived and observed experiences of categorization in which last names play a role in the identity "name game" by serving as semiotic "markers" of geographic location, historical power, etc. All of the pseudonyms for my key participants' family or last names remained identifiably "Portuguese" since they were all Portuguese to begin with. I replaced real last names that I thought were "common" in the Toronto area's Portuguese-Canadian community with other common pseudonyms, and less common names with less common counterparts. 6

In light of this discussion above, Maggie Posada's anonymized name is not insignificant. She was named after her paternal grandmother, *Margarida* - as a way of honouring her family and her Portuguese heritage. However, the name on Maggie's birth certificate does not have such a Portuguese "ring" to it; instead, it sounds much more British: Margaret. Why the change? Because "Margaret" is more Canadian. Her mother was born in the Azores but grew up in Canada from a very young age ("1.5 generation") and she experienced first-hand what it is like to be an "outsider", so she feared that children in school would mock her daughter if her name sounded too

⁶ A leisurely walk along the streets of Toronto's "Little Portugal" made up of "Portugal Village" and "Rua Açores" or a quick perusal of Portuguese-Canadian phonebooks (such as the Guia Comercial Português, a Portuguese telephone directory for businesses and individuals in Ontario and Quebec) will tell you that if you are looking for João or Maria's last name it is much more likely to be (da) Silva, (de) Sousa, Ferreira, Oliveira, Fernandes or Pereira than Felizardo, Jacques, Marujo, Lanalgo or Villaverde, to name but a few.

ethnic or different from the English norm. In her opinion, "Margaret" garnered less attention than *Margarida* and the abbreviated version "Maggie" was easily pronounceable in Portuguese and English.

1.2.2.9 What did not work out as planned?

Having quickly shed some critical light onto the politics of naming in the previous section, this section will shine some critical light onto the aspects of my fieldwork process that did not work out exactly as I had planned.

1.2.2.9.1 Gaining access to observe my participants

The biggest obstacle I encountered in carrying out my fieldwork was being granted access to observe and participate in different spaces of my participants' lives. For as much as I had hoped to experience each of them interacting with family, friends, colleagues and other social actors on a regular basis, this did not always happen. I should not have been completely surprised. The willingness to open up one's self and one's social network to a stranger, even though I was kind of like them (as a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian myself), requires a certain amount of time to establish a necessary level of trust. I worked very hard at establishing a good relationship with each participant, and creating a safe and non-threatening space where they could feel unpressured to do or say anything on my account. I understand that sharing one's personal thoughts and experiences with regards to identity, culture and language is a sensitive and intimate process. I was also not there to police, evaluate or judge their portugueseness which they might have assumed given my position as a researcher (and socio-linguist), as someone who was older than them and as someone with a legitimized Portuguese sociolinguistic habitus. In fact, I was open to experiencing anything that my participants were willing to share, whether or not it related directly to portugueseness.

In order to accommodate the different commitments that each participant had outside of my research, I built considerable flexibility into my personal schedule, as well as the fieldwork schedule that I had designed (with bi-monthly or weekly meetings). Although this research was a huge part of my life as a graduate student, I recognized that it was not necessarily a big part of theirs. There were times, for example, when I did not hear from my participants for over two weeks because of school, work or personal reasons. Knowing that they were busy and that they were doing me the favour of participating in my study, without any material compensation, I did

not feel comfortable constantly reminding them of the commitment they made as key participants – although I do wish that most of them would have invited me to join them and their friends more often. They had not signed a binding contract and I was not an unsympathetic, profit or data-driven employer. In the end, my fieldwork – like any other social interaction – was a process of delicate negotiation on the part of everyone involved.

A consequence of not always having access to my participants interacting with their social networks, or not always being able to record group interactions for practical or ethical reasons, is that I rely more heavily on my fieldnotes and my interview conversations with each of them individually. As mentioned in section 1.2.1.2, I understand interviews to be situated performances and retrospective accounts that are often incomplete. They are not the whole story, and as a critically reflexive researcher I am aware that what I produce is my version of the story.

I found it very challenging to observe some of my key participants with their friends and families on a regular basis, apart from Pat and Maggie, as well as Victoria to some extent. The key participant with whom I interacted the least was Peter. He was extremely busy with different political and scholastic activities that he asked me not to observe, and so I normally met him individually at his favourite Portuguese bakery. Whenever I was with a key participant and her or his friends and I was not able to record their interactions (e.g. at a volleyball game with Victoria and friends or at a soccer game with Fernando and friends), I would do my best to remember verbatim what was said and how, and then write it in my fieldnotes. That said, it was impossible to record everything to my memory and so my fieldnotes provide specific and general information that helped contextualize and inform my data analysis.

Were I able to do things differently, I would likely have asked my participants to perform auto-ethnographies by keeping journals or recording their own interactions or thoughts without me present. The practical reason why I did not include such methods of data generation in my research project was because I did not want to weigh them down with tasks in addition to the regular bimonthly or weekly get-togethers (participant-observations) and interviews. It was impossible for me to anticipate having such a difficult time trying to interact with some of them on a consistent basis, and not fair (or ethical) of me to change the rules of the game and add another data generation tool half-way through the study.

1.2.2.9.2 Accessing Mississauga

The other aspect of my fieldwork which I did not foresee being so difficult, but for which I also did not adequately plan, was finding participants from Mississauga. Time and transportation were my biggest constraints as I did not have a driver's licence or the means to travel around Mississauga quickly and cheaply. This may not sound like a major limitation, but when most of Mississauga's public (bus-only) transit stops running at 10pm or is very limited on weekends, it makes it very difficult to look for or meet up with potential participants. The fact that Mississauga's Portuguese community is not nearly as concentrated as that of Toronto meant that in order for me to observe institutionalized Portuguese spaces, I needed to travel great distances between them. While I made many trips to the Mississauga Portuguese cultural association, a few trips to two churches that serve the Portuguese community and visited a couple of Portuguese bakeries and restaurants, I did not find many second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth (i.e. except for Pat and her friends at the MPCA). I had hoped that by also casting my recruitment net in virtual waters (i.e. online listservs) and by word-of-mouth I could have found more participants from Mississauga, but I did not.

Were I to conduct future ethnographic work along the same lines in Mississauga, I would physically spend more time in the city and identify Mississauga high schools with large populations of Portuguese-Canadian students in order to speak to them and get an idea of their social trajectories. Indeed, had this research project been a site-based ethnography (i.e. of a school, a classroom, a team, a social group, etc.), I would have had more interactional data and possibly more access to people and spaces by virtue of my regular presence and participation.

Having explored my experiences in constructing this fieldwork project, let us turn to a discussion of my experiences outside of the field with regards to my interactions with the ethnographic data generated.

1.2.3 Outside the field

1.2.3.1 Recording and transcribing the data

The presence of my digital voice recorder during an interview always had some kind of an impact (no matter how small) on the interaction with my participants. My task was to try and understand that impact and minimize it when necessary. After asking for permission to start recording, I normally made a light-hearted meta-contextual comment that explicitly recognized the

recorder's presence, but one that also made the participants aware that they were in control. In order to ease our way into a comfortable conversation, I was normally the first person to speak on the recording by either continuing or paraphrasing a conversation that had begun earlier, or by raising the first topic of conversation. Typically, it did not take long before the conversation (re)gained a "normal" feel and flow, despite the fact that the recorder was always in plain view. When a participant or I felt that the presence of the recorder posed a problem or interfered with the ability to speak freely then I would stop it or one of us might suggest to "cut that part out" and so I would disregard that part of our conversation when transcribing it afterwards. This shift from recorded voice to written voice raises an important methodological question of how to represent the interaction textually – which is not as straightforward as it might seem.

Indeed, transcribing oral language is not a neutral process because it requires getting (personally) involved with something that someone else produced. The transcription process is, therefore, both interpretive and representational which raises questions about *what* is transcribed and *how* (Green et al. 1997 in Bucholtz 2000). When a speaker's social positioning is shaped by his or her language practices, then the researcher and the reader need as much information about the speaker's original discourse as possible.

Throughout this dissertation I negotiate between *naturalized* and *denaturalized* transcriptions of recorded or annotated speech (Bucholtz 2000). The first style privileges written discourse features, whereas the second retains links to oral discourse forms. The difficulty with a denaturalized transcription is that most readers are not used to reading a faithful representation of oral language in written discourse (e.g. with indications of pauses rather than traditional punctuation, without "cleaning up" false starts or reformulations, etc.), and so it may seem alien to them even though it best represents the specific linguistic practices used. (See Appendix D for the transcription style I used, based on Heller and Labrie 2003). Despite its "mechanical" design, I make widespread use of the denaturalized transcription style throughout this dissertation in order to maintain the speaker's original voice, especially when dealing with utterances that are longer than two typed lines or those that involved two or more speakers. Shorter utterances or excerpts are often incorporated directly into the main body of the text with quotations. A more naturalized

⁷ i.e. "Ok, here we go! [laughter] Remember, we can always stop this or turn it off altogether whenever you want" or "Don't worry about leaning in to talk to this thing [the recorder], it'll pick up your voice just fine". I also answered technical questions about the recorder in order to demystify it for my participants.

⁸ I completed all of the transcriptions myself, after first listening to the recordings and identifying the sections of most interest. Processing the recorded material alone was very time consuming but it guaranteed my participants' anonymity and allowed me to reinforce the interview excerpts with from my fieldnotes, thereby incorporating non-verbal aspects of the interaction as well as other situational data that might not have been captured by my digital voice recorder.

transcription style is also used to shorten very long exchanges (i.e. more than one page in length) and which I thought would have been difficult for the average reader to otherwise follow without some added descriptive and interpretive context surrounding the exchange. These contextual transcriptions read like ethnographic narratives in which I recount what I saw, heard, and felt, and through which I bring the reader along for a ride and immerse him or her in what I experienced.

Indeed, a transcriber's imagined readership plays a fundamental role in determining the ways in which the recorded speech is represented. With my imagined scholarly and Anglophone reader in mind, I tried to ensure easy legibility when representing speech that mixed English and Portuguese. In situations where there were short code-switches, I leave both languages (with my translations) in the main body of the text. In situations where a speaker spoke more Portuguese than English, I include the original version in a footnote and a translated version in the main text in order to maintain the flow of the text and to save the reader the visual gymnastics of jumping down to the footnote for the English version or having to decipher a crowded number of bilingual lines in the main text. I recognize that in doing so I am not giving my reader credit for the ability to negotiate a bilingual text, and that by "sanitizing" the complexity of the original exchange I am carrying out a somewhat political act that may be seen as marginalizing its significance. This was not my intent because, as we will see below, I take the ethical treatment of my participants and their data very seriously.

1.2.3.2 Ethical implications (in and out of the field)

The ethical treatment of my research participants – be they key, network or secondary – involved much more than anonymizing their real names and removing any identifiable pieces of information from their interview transcripts or descriptions. It began with my university's ethics review board examining and approving my proposed research methodology. In the field, all private interactions involved the informed and consensual participation of the individuals and organizations concerned. Public performances, events and texts, on the other hand, were free for anyone to observe without the expectation of privacy, and as part of the public domain I did not need to announce or explain my presence. Everyone involved in my research was informed of their right to refuse to participate in any observation or interview session in part or in full, and even to withdraw from my study at any given time, without any justification or negative consequences. The only foreseeable risk involved in my research study was the possible recognition of a participant's identity. As a result, I respected the wishes of those participants who asked me that I not observe them in certain activities or talk about certain topics. Every reasonable effort was made

to assure the participants' anonymity: pseudonyms were used for every person and organization I mention in this dissertation (unless stated otherwise); ages, titles, and locations were also generalized. Nonetheless, some participants or organizations may still be identifiable to some readers. In a community as small as that of the Portuguese-Canadians in the Toronto area, there are some unique, famous and long-established organizations and members whose identity may be recognizable even after I eliminated most of the revealing information (i.e. an association of Portuguese-Canadian ball hockey players may still be identifiable regardless of a name change, especially if it is the only one of its kind). In these cases, extra care was taken.

Other ethical issues raised by my research have less to do with the mechanics of the project, and more to do with how my findings (and my positioning) may be interpreted by others. Since my research takes a critical look at sensitive issues that are at the core of what it means to be Portuguese (i.e. language and identity), and since it identifies groups that I believe are marginalized (i.e. young people and people of Azorean descent), I am concerned about the ways in which people (in positions of power) within the Portuguese-Canadian community may react to my findings. I anticipate that many individuals and organizations within the "community", especially those who strive to maintain and preserve the Portuguese language and culture, may have a positivist stance towards my research and assume that I have a moral, ethical or ethnic obligation to do the same. For instance, in the many times that I spoke about my research to old(er), first generation, members of the community, and I described my work by saying that it looked at questions of language and identity among second-generation youth (without bringing up concepts like language ideologies, legitimacy, resources, or social structuration), the reaction was virtually always the same: a pat on the back for a job well done, followed by a knowing or wary glance and a hushed lament that it is such a shame (for them) to see Portuguese-Canadian youth turning their backs on "their" Portuguese culture.

Those people who interact with my thesis will realize that it does not prescribe how the "ideal" Portuguese-Canadian youth should speak or act. I am not an ideological mouthpiece for an imagined prideful "Portuguese" youth. Instead, I am taking a critical interpretivist look at how young people construct, negotiate and resist traditional definitions of portugueseness in specific discursive spaces. As a result, my research aims to render explicit the discourses and ideologies of language and identity and it may be seen as an attack on the interests of particular groups or institutions. My intent is not to personally attack anyone, but to attack the broader social and linguistic ideologies that can inform a person's actions. The questions I ask about what counts as

"good" Portuguese, as "legitimate" speakers and who is included and excluded are not neutral or easy to answer. They are loaded questions that reveal how language is used as a means of symbolic domination and social stratification. Ultimately, this kind of a discussion – which I think is necessary in order for the Portuguese-Canadian community to address the underlying tensions that destabilize the imagined homogeneity and uniformity behind the idea that "we are all Portuguese" – may not necessarily be what the "community" wants, or at least what many of those who "speak for" the community may want.

This research may also be criticized for airing Portuguese-Canadian dirty laundry in public, and for writing about a topic that is taboo: the Azorean-Continental divide. Divisions along linguistic, class and socio-cultural lines, among others, exist within and between every ethnolinguistic group and are by no means exclusive to the Portuguese. Nevertheless, some may argue that I am harping on divisions that do not exist, or that they think should not exist. Others may concede that such a divide existed among the first generation, but that it no longer exists in the second and third. I believe that my findings show otherwise. Still others may accuse me of creating or recreating the problem of sociolinguistic stratification by drawing attention to it, and that this may worsen things. I recognize that the very act of my discussing the problem reproduces it to some extent, but I do not think that ignoring it helps either. My critical approach may also lead some to challenge my views of portugueseness. This is crucially important because mine is by no means the last or definitive word on the issue. It is, rather, one of the roughly-edged pieces of the puzzle that tried to challenge several naturalized ideologies. My position as Portuguese-Canadian of Mainland descent cannot be erased, although I can now challenge many of the ideologies that I naturalized growing up. For as much as I may empathize with what I believe is the historic marginalization of Azoreans in Portugal and in Toronto's Portuguese market, it does not make me Azorean. So who am I? The question of positioning is central to this study and in the section below we will see how I position myself in my research.

1.2.3.3 Reflexivity (in and out of the field)

A critical ethnographic approach allows the researcher to enter the experiential process of data construction, thereby locating her in the research. It is critical, therefore, for me to situate my experiences and personal history within this research. Indeed, this research has been shaped by the facts of my life, most of which can, shockingly, be summed up in the following list. I am the Canadian-born son of Mainland Portuguese immigrants who were raised in a rural village and completed only four years of formal education. During the Portuguese Colonial Wars, they lived

for a short time in Mozambique, where my father was stationed in the Portuguese navy and where my brother was born. My father has family in Brazil. My parents long to return to Portugal. I maintain close ties with my Portuguese heritage, paint my beard red and green for important Portuguese international soccer matches, and get (unintentionally) stirred by the national anthem or a haunting *fado*. I can speak Portuguese well and *portinglês* even better. I know enough about the history and culture of Portugal to have informed debates about it; I have travelled and even studied there. I am a multilingual, heterosexual, white (or "off-white") male who was raised in Toronto in a working-class family that relied heavily on unionized cleaning jobs for income. I attended a semi-private elementary and high-school, I am a university-educated graduate student who believes in social justice and equality, studies sociolinguistics and recognizes some of his inherited ideologies (linguistic, racial, gendered, classist, ageist, ableist, etc.). I dated and married a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian woman of Azorean descent and I lived with my parents in a highly-racialized, lower-income neighbourhood in Toronto far from "Little Portugal" until my early thirties.

All of these experiences and practices influence the ways I make sense of what is happening in the world and in the Portuguese-Canadian community of Toronto. What does it mean to be more or less white? To be formally educated? To be from Mainland Portugula as opposed to the Azores? To get goose-bumps when listening to certain traditional Portuguese music? What does it mean to be Canadian when your brother is (legally) not, even though he has lived in Canada nearly his entire life? What does it mean to be colonized? To emigrate? To immigrate? To speak Portuguese well? To show one's pride in being Portuguese? What does it mean to work as cleaners and send your child to an elite school? What is equality? How does one see one's ideologies? What does it mean to have a traditional Portuguese wedding?

Cameron et al. (1992:5) argue that researchers cannot help being socially-situated actors; "we inevitably bring our biographies and our subjectivities to every stage of the research process and this influences the questions we ask and the ways in which we try to find answers." In many respects, this study is about me and trying to understand why I think, say and do the things that I do and that I did in the past; in this case, with regards to my being Portuguese. Why is it that, as a child, I used to laugh when I heard young "Azorean-Canadians" speaking Portuguese with a "thick accent"? Why was it only in university that I realized it was not an innocent joke and that it was indicative of a larger social problem?

The questions that I asked my participants were all questions upon which I had reflected myself (see Appendix A for my interview guidelines). My own linguistic and cultural experiences positioned me as an insider and an outsider. By virtue of my canadian-portugueseness, my participants and I shared, to some extent, similar lived experiences. Even if I had not lived the exact same experiences, I could imagine what many of them entailed (like dating someone who is not of Portuguese descent and who is a racialized minority) because of my familiarity with Portuguese-Canadian and Canadian discursive spaces.

One of the methodological implications that this shared understanding raised was that my participants did not always spell things out for me because they sometimes expected me (as an "insider") to know exactly what they were (not) talking about. So when some thoughts went unfinished or unsaid, they were normally followed by a pause and the tag question "You know [what I mean]?!" In these cases, it would have been insincere and possibly even rude of me to feign ignorance or to pretend I did not understand (like an "outsider") and break the flow of the conversation by making the person explain herself fully. However, the problem with "understanding" what the other person did not explicitly say is that it assumes that I correctly grasped the nuances of what she wanted to say – which I will never know to be entirely true unless she says so or I ask her. The strategy I adopted when I felt that my insider status would not allow me to openly question something that should be obvious to someone with shared experience, was to try paraphrasing what I thought went unsaid in the form of a supportive comment (to stress my solidarity) with a tag question (i.e. "Yeah, I know! It's like XYZ, eh?").

These shared experiences strengthened my relationship with my participants and may well have allowed them to open up about some things that would otherwise have been too specific or too laborious to explain to an "outsider". I also believe that positioning myself or being positioned by others as an "insider" facilitated my participation in certain performances of portugueseness, like being invited to dinner by a Portuguese family. More than any potentially successful culinary match between my lived experiences and the family's expectations of what a good "insider" should eat, I think one of the greatest advantages of being an "insider" is that I can understand the way other Portuguese-Canadians speak, especially those (younger people) who mix Portuguese and English together (*portinglês*) or those (older people) whose Portuguese pronunciation makes it difficult to understand their English.

Determining one's status as an insider/outsider depends on the specific interaction, the actors involved, and the resources at stake. While my portugueseness made my presence at public

performances of portugueseness relatively inconspicuous (e.g. a public lecture at the Portuguese consulate), I did not always want to be identified as an "insider". On one occasion, when an older gentleman, whom I knew to be someone who often proclaimed that Portugal was the best at everything (a claim that I do not share), asked me in Portuguese where I was from, I was confident that he meant "Where in Portugal are you or your parents from?" Since I wanted to resist what I thought was his pro-Portuguese bias (was he trying to gauge or judge my portugueseness in public?), I replied in Portuguese that I was from Rexdale (the neighbourhood in north-western Toronto where I live). The sudden switch in frame of reference (Portugal - Toronto) made it clear that I did not want to be positioned by him as an insider, but it could not entirely position me as an outsider because of my presence in a Portuguese space such as the consulate and because my response was in standard Portuguese. I am an "insider-outsider". We all are, in different contexts.

1.3 Conclusion

It is fitting to close this chapter on a reflexive note because critical reflexivity is at the core of the social theories and ethnographic methodologies that shape this critical sociolinguistic study. Investigating the unequal power relations that position certain actors and their performances of Portuguese language and identity as legitimate or not also requires a critical reflection of my own positioning. The theoretical concepts of agency, habitus, resources, legitimacy, structure, essentialization and erasure will help me to unpack the tangled web of social realities that are revealed not only by letting people narrate their own experiences, but also by observing how the social processes they describe unfold over time.

The following chapter focuses on a critical re-visiting and analysis of the historical, political, economic and sociolinguistic structuration of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community, as well as the dominant discourses of Portuguese nationalism and of Canadian multiculturalism which work to normalize the divisions that exist within communities that are constructed as artificially homogenous ethnolinguistic markets. This critical background information will allow me to situate my participants' experiences in a competitive translocal market where access to legitimate resources is constrained by conditions from within and from beyond the local market that make a certain kind of habitus and sociolinguistic capital dominant. Only then will I begin to understand why it is that some second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth invest in dominant performances of portugueseness and others do not.

Chapter 2

Contextualizing different markets

2.0 Introduction

The main goal of this chapter is to present some of the most revealing aspects of the histories of Portugal and of Canada as they relate to the establishment of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community and its constructions of portugueseness, both discursively and structurally. Although much has already been written about the history of Portugal and of the Portuguese in Canada (see among others, Anderson and Higgs 1976; Alpalhão and da Rosa 1980; Higgs 1982; Marques and Medeiros 1980; Grosner 1991; Nunes 1998; Teixeira 1996, 1999, 2002; Teixeira and da Rosa 2000, 2009; Noivo 2002 and Oliveira and Teixeira 2004), my purpose here is to critically revisit some of the most defining moments, symbols, ideologies and policies that have shaped what it means to be Portuguese in Toronto, but that are often taken for granted or go unchallenged by the "community" and the dominant groups. Who and what is included/excluded from the dominant historical narratives? Why? How did social realities like Conquest, Catholicism, Class and *Camões* shape the constructions of portugueseness, especially at the height of Portuguese immigration to Canada in the 1960s and 70s? How has the Canadian state and its policies of immigration and multiculturalism promoted and profited from dividing immigrants into discrete, homogenized groups? How has the Portuguese community in the Greater Toronto Area been structured and by whom?

This chapter will be divided in two parts; the first focuses on Portugal, the second on Canada. The first half (section 2.1) begins with a look at Portugal's "founding myths" and key elements of its "nation-building project"; it ends (section 2.2) with a look at the Azores, how they fit into the dominant narrative of Portugal's glorious past and what makes them different. Yet in that narrative, most of the complex and contentious aspects of Portugal's history have been removed from the essentialized version taught, celebrated and defended in Toronto's Portuguese community. No aspect is more glaringly absent, in my opinion, than the history of the Azores and its people. Considering that more than 60% of the Portuguese-Canadian community is of Azorean descent (Oliveira and Teixeira 2004), it is remarkable that so little attention has been paid to the inherited and lived experiences of those who make up the majority of the local population. Instead, there is an insistence on presenting a uniform image and a censored past, almost exclusively from Mainland (or Continental) Portugal, in the name of protecting

Portuguese national pride. By addressing this erasure, this first half of the chapter also presents an overview of the ideological context in which the first generation of Portuguese immigrants was born and raised.

The second half of this chapter (section 2.3) begins with a brief look at how the Portuguese fit into the Canadian nation-building project with its historically discriminatory immigration and economic practices that profit from and reproduce ethnolinguistic and class-based difference. The last part of this section explores the construction of the Portuguese communities in Toronto and Mississauga, with more attention paid to the capital of portugueseness in Canada: Toronto's "Little Portugal". Who were the Portuguese immigrants that came? What institutions were established and by whom? What role did Canadian multiculturalism play in this ethnolinguistic mobilization? What differences and changes exist within the "community"? Once complete, the critical historical overview presented in this chapter will help contextualize the deconstruction of the dominant discourses of portugueseness (Chapter 3) and situate the multiple but structured positionings of Portuguese-Canadian youth within an ethnolinguistic community that can be understood as a market (Chapters 4-7). In order to understand what is happening with the Portuguese in Toronto, it is useful to revisit the history of Portugal and situate the processes that have shaped the dominant forms of Portuguese identity.

2.1 Revisiting the history of (Mainland) Portugal

Most nations have an "origin" or "founding myth" that recounts an event in the past that has supposedly epitomized the "essence" or the "destiny" of an important group of people, and an event that still shapes a nation's collective identity (Heller 2002). For the United States, it was the American Revolution, for francophone Canada it was the conquest of New France by the British in 1759 and, in what follows, I argue that there are at least three founding myth moments that have shaped Portugal's identity and geography: the Lusitanian tribe's fight against the Roman Empire; the conquest of Portuguese land from the Muslims in the 12th century; and the golden age of Portuguese maritime exploration and imperialism beginning in the 15th century.

2.1.1 (De)constructing the "first" Portuguese, Portugal and its Empire

Portugal's "founding peoples" are difficult to identify because of the different tribes who have occupied the Iberian Peninsula over the last few millennia. Nevertheless, the dominant

nationalistic narrative highlights the Lusitanians¹ and what would become the Roman province of Lusitania (27 BCE to the fourth century CE) which corresponds, roughly, to Portugal's current borders south of the Douro river (near Porto, see Map 1 in Appendix E). Viriato, the leader of the Lusitanians, is widely considered the first "Portuguese" national hero for resisting Roman expansion (Silva 2010).

Fast forward a few centuries and the Christian crusade or *reconquista* against Muslim rulers in the Iberian Peninsula spawned the origins of the modern Portuguese State, and its eventual Empire. What started in the 9th century as the County of Portugal, in a small northern area (commonly referred to as the "cradle of Portugal") north of the Douro river, eventually expanded southward, becoming the Kingdom of Portugal in 1139-40, and securing the country's current borders – proudly reported by Portuguese nationalists as being the longest standing in Europe – by reaching the Algarve in 1249 (Marques 1972).

Inspired by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), a strong proponent of Portuguese expansionism, explorers such as Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama and Pedro Álvares Cabral spread Portuguese influence from Africa to India, and from Brazil to Japan. The 15th century discoveries of the Madeira and Azores islands extended Portuguese territory out into the Atlantic, which was vital in supporting the Portuguese maritime industry. By the 16th century, Portugal controlled a massive colonial empire with vast territories in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe), in South America (Brazil), and outposts in the Far East (Macau [in China], Goa, Daman and Diu [in India] and East Timor) – making the Portuguese the "pioneers of globalization" according to Rodrigues and Devezas (2007). Throughout this period, Lisbon became a thriving European market for "Oriental", Brazilian and African goods, natural resources and slaves. This "golden" era of Portugal's maritime expansion was celebrated by the country's greatest literary figure, Luís Vaz de

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¹ The related term *luso*, which is derived from Lusus, the Roman god believed to have fathered the Lusitanians and founded the province of Lusitania, is commonly used in Portuguese to describe "that which is from Portugal" (Silva 2010) [i.e. *a história lusa* – Portuguese history; *o escritor luso* – the Portuguese (male) writer; *a raça lusa* - the Portuguese "race"]. The term *luso* is also most commonly used in the word "lusophone" or, in other words, a Portuguese speaker, not necessarily from Portugal. The word *Lusofonia* describes a network of Portuguese-speaking countries. Interestingly, the term *Luso-Canadiano* identifies a Canadian of Portuguese descent and not a Canadian who speaks Portuguese. In order to avoid any potential confusion of *luso* as a linguistic or regional reference, I use the term "Portuguese-Canadian" rather than "Luso-Canadian", saving "luso" for words like "lusophone".

Camões,² in his epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads, 1572) which extols Portugal's pre-Muslim "origins", its subsequent imperial glory, heroism, European dominance and Christian values.

Over the centuries, however, the Empire's wealth was absorbed in luxuries by the Portuguese Court and the Catholic church, which resulted in a stagnant, mostly rural social structure that was largely feudal. Censorship imposed by the church and tight control by the ruling monarchies contributed to Portugal's isolation from Renaissance humanism and 18th century Enlightenment (Hamilton 1970, Alves 2000). But change would come. Dynastic disputes and political and economic conflicts with other European world powers destabilized the Portuguese Empire. When Brazil gained its independence in 1822, Portugal lost its greatest source of wealth and this set off a period of profound economic difficulties throughout the 19th and into the 20th century (Hamilton 1970, Gallagher 1983).

2.1.2 The Portuguese Republic and the Estado Novo

When the Portuguese monarchy was overthrown in 1910, a Portuguese Republic was established and its leaders worked to overcome the nation's financial difficulties and bring about long-needed improvements to education and social reform by separating church and state and by installing a parliamentary democracy (Birmingham 1993). This transitionary period, however, saw extreme political instability and civic unrest, and to make matters worse it seemed as though world politics and God were against it. The 1917 Marian apparitions at Fátima to three shepherd children sparked a religious revival among the general Portuguese population and opened the door for the Catholic church to regain control (Braz 2008). The new Republic also had to endure the agitation of participating in WWI alongside its oldest ally: Great Britain. The war intensified Portugal's financial crisis and, following a military coup in 1926 where the old conservative forces regained control, a young economics professor named António de Oliveira Salazar ascended to power. Salazar closed Parliament, cut social spending, raised taxes and set up a corporative state which he called the *Estado Novo* or New State. Within four years Portugal regained financial stability and political order, but at a crippling cost: political parties were suppressed, workers' rights curtailed, total censorship was introduced along with a secret police, mandatory elementary schooling was abolished (until 1950), Portugal's military presence in Africa was intensified in order to strengthen the "Empire", and the "puritanical" values of "Deus,

² Camões' contribution to Portuguese history, arts and culture is so strong that the Portuguese language is often associated with him as *a língua de Camões* (at least in Mainland Portugal and in the Portuguese diaspora).

Pátria e Família" (God, Nation and Family) were (re)indoctrinated into the masses (Grosner 1991:32, Gallagher 1983).

2.1.3 Political, economic and ideological control

Salazar's conceptualization of the *Estado Novo*, which can be situated within the rise of fascism in Inter-War Europe, reflected his view of the importance of paternal authority in the family, and the values of nationalism, Catholicism, sacrifice, tradition and stability (Cole 1987, Brettell 1982). Unsurprisingly, the ruling classes - the Catholic church, the military and the Portuguese elite (landowners, bankers and businessmen) - supported the dictatorship at first. The peasantry and working classes were largely excluded from social mobility and placated with the traditional and depoliticizing forces of "*Futebol*, *Fado* and *Fátima*³" as state-sanctioned national pastimes and measures of social control.

During World War II, while Portugal officially remained "neutral", Salazar was intent on bolstering and legitimizing the *Estado Novo*'s nationalist-imperialist mission. In 1940 he staged an Exhibition of the Portuguese World, to mark the 800th anniversary of Portugal's autonomy, in which the glories of the nation and its colonies were (re)constructed through a series of images, myths and symbols ranging from traditional folklore and pageantry, to the construction of a children's theme park (*Portugal dos Pequenitos*) with miniature versions of regional architecture and important monuments from the Portuguese Empire⁴ (Marques 1972, Corkill and Almeida 2009). After WWII, Salazar used religion to "bless" his regime and the decision not to enter the war by sending the statue of Our Lady of Fátima on a tour of the country and by commissioning the construction of a statue of Christ overlooking Lisbon inspired by the statue of Christ overlooking Rio de Janeiro (Braz 2008, Birmingham 1993). Both of these figures remain proud Portuguese national symbols to this day.

Furthermore, the *Estado Novo* used Camões, and his account of Portugal's imperial glory, to legitimize its 20th century colonial campaign and racial "superiority" in Africa by re-

³ Known as the "Three Fs" these elements of Portuguese culture served as a means of promoting nationalist propaganda at home and abroad in the "diaspora", where they remain central to performances of portugueseness. Football or soccer is Portugal's national game. Since the 1920s it has been the most popular form of mass entertainment and a powerful source of national pride, becoming like a second religion for most of the rural and working-class (male) society. *Fado*, from the Latin *fatum* or "fate", is known as the Portuguese national song. It is usually a dark and fatalistic lament of suffering, resignation, loss and longing or *saudade*. If *fado* is the national song, then *saudade* is the national sentiment. *Fátima* is a small town in central Mainland Portugal which holds the most revered and powerful Catholic site in the country. It is meant to rival the other Catholic pilgrimage sites in Europe, especially Lourdes, in France.

⁴ Interestingly, the park, which still remains a tourist attraction in Coimbra (Mainland Portugal), has the Azores and Madeira situated with the former colonies, which were known as the "overseas provinces."

branding the national hero as a hero of the Portuguese "race". The anniversary of Camões' death on June 10 had been celebrated as the Portuguese national holiday since the establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910; under the *Estado Novo* it became "*O dia de Portugal, de Camões e da Raça*" until 1974 (Costa 2004). Salazar invested heavily in this national holiday, promoting it as a commemoration of the Portuguese citizens killed "defending the homeland" in Africa as well as a celebration of the Portuguese military (Costa 2004).

Yet, Portugal's strong investment in fighting the independence movements in its African "possessions" drained more than half of the national budget up until the early 1970s, and isolated it from the post-war European integration movement (Cole 1987). Meanwhile, the mostly rural nation remained ravaged by hunger, tuberculosis, infant mortality, unemployment, illiteracy, political disenfranchisement and censorship, but the Lisbon government refused to provide any real measures of social reform (Birmingham 1993).⁵ It is no surprise then that the reign of the *Estado Novo* (1933-74) saw the largest mobilization of Portuguese emigration.

2.1.4 1974 and a new democratic Portuguese state

The fall of the *Estado Novo* in a bloodless revolution on April 25, 1974 marked a new era in Portuguese history. The former African colonies were granted their independence, democracy and civil liberties were restored throughout Portugal, the regions of the Azores and Madeira gained autonomous status, commitments to social reform and economic development were made while an underindustrialized nation was thrust into modernization and capitalist globalization. Like the period of the first Republic, the years immediately following the 1974 revolution were characterized by severe political and economic instability. The situation improved significantly in 1986 when Portugal broke the string of minority governments, elected its first civilian president in over sixty years, and was finally accepted into the European Economic Community (which became the European Union [EU] in 1993). Although Portugal still remains one of the EU's weaker nations, the modernization and diversification of its economy has slowly increased since the 1990s, and it has recently become an important destination for immigrants from the poorer regions of Eastern Europe, as well as from the former colonies in Africa and even Brazil (Melo 1997, Rocha-Trindade 2009).⁶

⁵ In 1960, for example, Portugal showed the highest rate of infant mortality and the lowest educational levels and per capita income in Western Europe (Gallagher 1983, Melo 1997).

⁶ In the summer of 2011, when this dissertation was defended, the economic situation in Portugal (as well as in Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain – the so-called "PIGGS") was in disarray following the global economic crisis and

The once proud nation of colonizers and emigrants is now welcoming (non-)Lusophone, or Portuguese-speaking, immigrants who are destabilizing the once tightly controlled discursive space of portugueseness at home. Nevertheless, Portugal continues to rely on two of its oldest exports for economic and global development: the Portuguese language and Portuguese emigrants. The Community of Portuguese Language Countries (or CPLP in Portuguese⁷) is a supra-national organization that emerged from the political void left behind by the former Portuguese colonial empire – creating a new transnational linguistic and political union in 1996. In addition, Portugal relies on its diaspora not only to help rebuild the "fatherland" (pátria) by sending remittances, but also by encouraging younger generations of Portuguese descendants to become citizens of Portugal (and Europe), and to return to "their ethnic home" as tourists, investors or residents. If such a direct pitch for Portuguese citizenship does not sell, the state also encourages Portuguese descendants to excel in life, wherever they may be, and to affirm a Portuguese identity so that they can bring honour to Portugal through their success. In an effort to recognize the symbolic and material importance of the diasporic communities, their transnational presence became discursively and ideologically tied with the nation following the socialist revolution of 1974 when Portugal Day celebrations began honouring "O dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades". The transnational Portuguese "communities" thus replaced the discriminatory reference to a Portuguese "race".

2.1.5 Concluding remarks

As members of the Portuguese transnational diaspora make sense of their inherited portugueseness, they will undoubtedly encounter some of the founding myths and moments discussed above. If they are able to look beyond a romanticized view of Portuguese glory and entitlement – which sets Mainland Portugal (or *O Continente* as it is often referred to in Portuguese) as the site of authentic portugueseness – then they will see how the Portuguese nation, like other nation-states, is built on ideologies of race, religion, language, class and other forms of domination. The traditional discourse of the Portuguese as brave discoverers crossing uncharted waters and working hard to establish themselves and their culture in foreign lands,

the implementation of severe economic austerity measures. Future research will tell how similar these conditions are to those of the 1950s and 60s when hundreds of thousands of working-class Portuguese men and women emigrated. ⁷ The member states of the *Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* are Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape-Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau and East Timor. Macau and Goa, also former Portuguese colonies, have applied for membership pending Macanese and Indian government approval respectively. Associate observer states include Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius and Senegal. Other states and regions interested in observer status include Galicia, Andorra, Malacca, Morocco, Philippines, Croatia, Romania, Ukraine, Venezuela, Indonesia, Australia and Luxembourg (for more information see http://www.cplp.org/).

while always longing to return home, is one of the dominant narratives that has not only shaped the nation's identity but also that of its diaspora. This narrative glosses over the oppression of racialized minorities as well as the religious, "civilizing" and economic mission behind Portugal's earliest global contacts. It also glosses over internal divisions within Portugal based on gender, class, language and region, among others fault lines, all in the name of constructing an artificially unified Portuguese market.

2.2 Revisiting the history of the Azores

In what follows, a critical reading of Azorean history will challenge the traditional homogenizing discourse of one Portuguese nation, one Portuguese language and one Portuguese people.

2.2.1 (De)constructing the Azores: Difference and distance

Up until the latter part of the 20th century, there were very few references made to the Azores in the Portuguese media and especially in history textbooks, which were heavily censored by the *Estado Novo*. As a result, the Azores have been largely excluded from the historical, nation-building narratives commonly taught to children of Portuguese descent (outside of the Azores). According to Oliveira and Teixeira (2004:141), those textbooks sometimes presented the islands alongside the other Portuguese colonies or "overseas possessions" (see Map 2 from de Sousa 1934 in Appendix F), which, they argue, reinforced stereotypes of Azoreans being backward and somehow inferior by racially depicting the islands as a "land of black people⁸". In fact, Oliveira (1996) found that many Mainlanders in Toronto, who had never met an islander before emigrating, thought that Azoreans were "black" like many Cape-Verdeans, Angolans or Mozambicans.

Yet unlike those former colonies, the Azores were uninhabited islands when they were discovered and claimed for Portugal in the early part of the 15th century. The south eastern most island of Santa Maria was spotted first, followed by neighbouring São Miguel. The third island to be discovered was Terceira and together with Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial, it makes up the central group of the Azorean archipelago. The western most islands, Flores and Corvo, were discovered by mid-century. The nine islands extend for 600km and although they were once

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⁸ This is my "generous" translation of the Portuguese expression *terra de pretos* reported by Oliveira and Teixeira (2004). While the word *preto* means "black", it also has racist connotations on par with "nigger". The non-derogatory term for "black person" is *negro*. The racist connotations of *preto* are also clear in the term *preto-guês* which describes a non-standard mix of Portuguese and African languages spoken in the former colonies.

commonly referred to as Portugal's "adjacent islands" (Rogers 1979), they are located approximately 1500km west of the Mainland and 3900km east of North America (see Appendix E). The largest and most populated island is São Miguel, and over the centuries it has competed with Terceira, the second most populated island, for administrative and economic importance.

Because of the Azores' geographical location, the islands helped maintain and support Portuguese maritime explorations and commerce within and beyond its "Empire" in Africa, India, Asia and the Americas (Chapin 1989). However, colonizing the archipelago proved challenging because few settlers were sold by the prospects of back-breaking work and unpredictable living conditions on small, remote islands hundreds of miles from home. Not surprisingly, the first settlers either came by force (i.e. Arab prisoners, African slaves, Portuguese criminals, political exiles, European refugees, Romani and Jews), or they were enticed by the promise of a new life (Rogers 1979). The overwhelming majority of settlers came from Mainland Portugal, primarily poor families from the rural northern and southern provinces, as well as some Portuguese priests, soldiers and administrators; but, there were small contingents of Flemish, French (Bretons), Spaniards and English who also came (Costa 2008, Chapin 1989). This mixed group of desirables and somewhat undesirables calls into question the founding myth that the Azores were populated by Mainlanders and that the islands have always been a "natural" extension of Mainland Portugal (and of the Portuguese "race"). The impact of this early diversity, especially Flemish (in Faial) and French Breton (in São Miguel), can still be seen and heard among many Azorean descendants today.

Three Flemish noblemen were among the first governors of the islands and they brought a few thousand "unruly peasants", some Flemish technology (e.g. windmills), resilient plants (e.g. woad and wheat), and even some religious traditions (Costa 2008). So strong was the Flemish presence in the Azores that the islands were once known as the "Flemish Islands", and today Flemish phenotypes (i.e. light hair, light complexion and blue eyes) can still be seen in the physical features of many Azoreans; this distinguishes them from the stereotypical Portuguese norm of brown hair/eyes and tanned skin (Santos 1995).

The French presence, by contrast, is much less documented, but many historians and linguists agree that some early settlers came from Brittany and they point to an area known as *Bretanha* in northwestern São Miguel as evidence (Chapin 1989). In addition, the very distinctive "French sounding" vowels (i.e. "ü" vs. "ooh" and "euh" vs. "oye") – which

characterize the variety of Portuguese spoken on the island (known as *Micaelense*) – are believed to have been influenced by a francophone presence.⁹

2.2.2 (Mis)managing the Azores' added value to Portugal

By extending Europe's western frontier, deep in the Atlantic Ocean, the Azores have offered Mainland Portugal a number of advantages since the 15th century. Over the course of centuries, the Azores have been an important destination for national and international whaling and fishing fleets, steam ships, naval bases, air travel, telecommunications, geographical and scientific research, tourists and more.

As was true of the Portuguese colonies, the purpose of the Azores was to provide the "fatherland" with commodities. In terms of agriculture, the islands' temperate climate and extremely fertile soil have been ideal for crop production and farming (even though much of the land slopes upwards towards volcanic peeks, and much of the sea coast has sharp plunging cliffs). Together with a strong fishing industry, the Azores became an economic force for the Portuguese Crown, providing it and other European markets with a steady stream of valuable revenue and resources such as textiles, dyestuffs, wood, wheat, wine, maize, flax, sweet potatoes, cattle, dairy products, pine trees, oranges, pineapples, passion fruit and kiwis (Alves 2000, Marques 1972). At times the Azorean production picked up the slack when Mainland Portuguese trade declined (Chapin 1989).

Azoreans themselves were also valuable human capital and expendable resources for the Portuguese Crown which enticed many of its citizens (Azoreans and Mainlanders) with land grants and material resources for their participation in the Brazilian colonial project from the 16th to the 19th centuries (Barbosa 2009, Birmingham 1993). Azoreans were targeted as ideal labourers and settlers in southern Brazil because of their success in establishing productive communities on their home islands. Even after the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade in the 19th century, many former slave traders continued their business by trafficking Portuguese immigrants, mostly Azoreans but also people from Northern Portugal, to be sold in Brazil as indentured labourers and prostitutes (Barbosa 2009:38, 89).

⁹ Dores (2009) argues that the palatalized *ü* sound is found not only in São Miguel, but also in Corvo and Pico and that its origin may be traced not only to France, but also to some parts of southern Mainland Portugal (Alentejo). Santos (1995) believes that the stronger Portuguese presence in São Miguel makes *Micaelense* sound "harsher" than the Portuguese spoken in the central, or Flemish-settled islands which is "softer" and "more sophisticated".

The flow of goods, services and people was unidirectional – away from the islands – and their profits stayed in Lisbon coffers, relegating the islands to an "impoverished, grossly overcrowded and [...] exploited hinterland position by the Lisboan elite who control[ed] the economy and governmental policy" (Smith 1980:80). Azoreans saw very little profit from the rich shipments that passed through their ports and waters, since it was forbidden to unload any cargo before arriving in the Portuguese capital (Chapin 1989:32). Even inter-island commerce was hampered by "customs requirements" that were enforced until 1960 (Costa 2008:301). Azoreans became frustrated with their inability to make local political decisions, amass any capital and improve their socio-economic status. Yet the unequal distribution of resources was of little concern to the ruling powers in Mainland Portugal.

The settlement of the archipelago and the land tenure system were controlled by governors appointed by a distant Portuguese Crown. These officials controlled all the local institutions of power, and they distributed the most fertile and accessible land among themselves and an aristocratic elite; this excluded the overwhelming majority of lower class islanders from any ownership (Chapin 1989). Landless peasants were thus forced into the "perpetual leasehold" of small patches under heavy taxation. This system – which spread throughout the Portuguese colonies and concentrated power within a small minority – lasted well into modern times in the Azores (Santos 1995). Such small patches of land impeded modern mechanization, larger-scale industry and upward social mobility; this in turn restricted Azorean economic development and the emergence of a middle-class. It was only after the 1960s that Portugal as a whole, but the Azores in particular, developed a service and knowledge-based economy (Costa 2008).

For centuries, life on the archipelago was a struggle with some of the worst living conditions in all of Portugal. Access to basic education beyond primary school was restricted to those with the means to send their children to the Mainland or elsewhere (Chapin 1989). During the *Estado Novo*, Salazar focused so much of his energy and the country's resources on maintaining the Portuguese Empire in Africa that there was little support for widespread industrialization in rural Mainland Portugal and even less in the Azores. By way of illustration, in 1950, the percentage of houses with electricity in the most urbanized centre in the Azores (Ponta Delgada) was 32% and those with bathrooms only 7%; by 1977 these figures had risen to only 53% and 22% respectively (Chapin 1989:74). Furthermore, it was not until 1976 that the

Azores were finally granted a university - more than a decade after Portuguese-run universities were established in Angola and Mozambique (Costa 2008). 10

2.2.3 Azoreans and Mainlanders migrating in different directions: Americas vs. Europe

Deplorable living conditions, problems of declining agricultural productivity and increasing population drove Azoreans and Mainlanders alike to seek better opportunities elsewhere. Apart from Brazil, however, these two groups generally migrated in different directions: Azoreans tended to look West (to North America), while Mainlanders went North, East or South. The benefit of being in Mainland Europe meant that Mainlanders could move northward or eastward to countries like France, Luxembourg, Switzerland, England or Spain in addition to migrating within the Portuguese colonial empire (e.g. Mozambique or Angola). Moreover, Mainlanders had the option of internal migration towards Portugal's urban centres (i.e. Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra), which limited the external flow of rural citizens. Such internal migration was not an option in the Azores, where urban development was not widespread and inter-island transportation was extremely limited (Costa 2008). What has also distinguished the two migratory patterns is the reported tendency for Mainlanders to return home after a few years abroad, whereas Azoreans, who generally migrate in large family groups, tend not to return to live in the Azores (Chapin 1989).

As the 18th century fishing and whaling industries grew, so too did Azorean emigration to the United States (US). American fleets relied heavily on Azorean provisions, ship repairs and crew members, and many of the Azorean men who worked on US boats did not return to their islands once they had docked in the US (Chapin 1989). This early contact and clandestine immigration to America developed into more legalized contract migration where Azoreans were recruited to meet the labour demands of an industrializing economy by working in California dairies, Hawaiian pineapple plantations and New England textile mills, for example. Waves of family reunification, chain migration and (il)legal migration eventually expanded the Azorean community in America (Williams 2005).¹¹

¹⁰ Salazar's "civilizing" mission in Africa involved discriminatory policies against the Azores. Prior to 1976, Azoreans, unlike their African counterparts, were not eligible for subsidies to attend Portuguese universities (Alves 2000), and Azorean goods that competed with exports from the African colonies were barred entry into Portugal (Chapin 1989). ¹¹ The early and strong ties between the Azores and the US are evidenced by the creation of a US consulate on the archipelago in 1795, just four years after a US diplomat was stationed in Mainland Portugal. To this day, the consulate in the Azores remains "the oldest continuously operating US consulate in the world" (US consulate 2010).

The construction of an American military base ("Lajes") in 1943 on the island of Terceira further cemented the ties between the US and the Azores. This relationship, which also clearly benefits Mainland Portugal, is a sore spot for many disgruntled Mainlanders who see it as "proof" that Azoreans are more "American" than "Portuguese" (see also Oliveira and Teixeira 2004). During World Wars I and II, the Lisbon government allowed the Allied Powers of Britain and the United States to set up refuelling and logistical bases on the islands in order to ensure national and international "security", as well as considerable financial and political security for Portugal. In fact, the Allied presence in the Azores proved to be one of the turning points in the 1943 Battle of the Atlantic, since the Allies could defend against German U-boat attacks and quickly move massive amounts of personnel and material across the ocean (US consulate 2010). Since then, the base has continued to prove useful not only for American missions (during the Cold War and conflicts in the Middle East, Iraq and Afghanistan), or for UN and NATO military and humanitarian operations (US consulate 2010), but also for Portugal's place in the world. 12

2.2.4 Azorean autonomy and azoreanness

The fact that a neglected and peripheral region of Portugal like the Azores was so prized by major world powers must have disturbed part of the nationalistic Mainland Portuguese rhetoric that constructed *O Continente* as the centre of attention. Any contempt was likely compounded by long-standing aspirations of Azorean autonomy, which date back to at least the 19th century (Oliveira and Teixeira 2004:137), or even rumours of the annexation of the Azores as a protectorate of the United States (Costa 2008). The movement for Azorean autonomy gained momentum alongside the rise of liberalism during the Portuguese Republic of 1910 and the anti-imperial ideologies of the World Wars. Finally, in order to appease the growing separatist sentiment (popularized by the *Frente para a Libertação dos Açores*¹³) and to maintain control over the islands (without which Portugal would be less of an Atlantic "power"), the 1976

¹² The Azores have much to do with Portugal's current place in the world. After WWII, the *Estado Novo* regime was tolerated by the allies (despite the fall of other dictatorships and colonial empires) because Portugal was white, anti-communist and had ties to the US and the British Commonwealth. One of those ties was the Azores. The US, which had supported the emancipation of former black colonies from European control, let Portugal develop and protect its African "possessions" in return for US military presence in the Azores. In fact, Portugal's invitation by the US in 1949 to be a founding member of NATO (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), and its 1955 candidacy to the UN, also presented by the US, are due in large part to the strategic military advantage provided by the Azores (Marques 1972, Birmingham 1993, Costa 2008).

¹³ The Front for the Liberation of the Azores (FLA), along with other autonomous movements, was allegedly supported by the Azorean diaspora, particularly in the US where some politicians feared the spread of Communism throughout Portugal after the political instability of the 1974 socialist revolution (Alves 2000, Chapin 1989, Marques 1972).

Constitution of the Portuguese Republic recognized the Autonomous Region of the Azores, with increased administrative, political and financial autonomy (Alves 2000).

In many ways, the realization of Azorean autonomy legitimized the distinct identity of its people. "Azoreanness" or acorianidade has been shaped by centuries of overcoming the isolated nature of the islands, managing the harshness of the land, weathering fierce storms, enduring earthquakes and eruptions, surviving starvation and disease, resisting pirate raids and European wars, surmounting economic hardships and political marginalization, and taking solace in religion. More than just a "feeling" of azoreanness, what I believe threatens Portuguese nationalists – especially those in the diaspora who feel responsible for maintaining a traditional and uniform portugueseness – are the ways in which azoreanness has become institutionalized and celebrated on the islands and across the diaspora. Azoreans have religious celebrations that are considered their own: the Feast of the Holy Spirit (Festa do Divino Espírito Santo) and the Feast of Christ of the Miracles (Senhor Santo Cristo dos Milagres). Since 1980, Azoreans have their own regional day - Dia dos Açores - which the Azorean Parliament recognized as the Monday of the Feast of the Holy Spirit (or Pentecost), usually in May or June. Rounding out the trappings of a mini-nation state, the archipelago has its own coat-of-arms, ¹⁴ anthem ¹⁵ and flag (Costa 2008). The flag is perhaps the most contentious aspect of acorianidade, especially in the diaspora where Azoreans and Mainlanders are more likely to interact, because it is often seen as a visual and symbolic assault on Portuguese nationalism and as a defiant manifestation of Azorean "nationalism". 16

2.2.5 Concluding remarks

It is clear that the Azores are more than just an extension of Portugal. While they share many things in common, there are significant differences: historical, political, economic, geographic, ethnic, linguistic and religious, among others. As we have seen in the section above,

¹⁴ The coat-of-arms has a heroic motto - *Antes morrer livres que em paz sujeitos* / "Rather die free than in peace be subjugated" - that I find could be just as relevant for a marginalized life under Mainland Portugal's control as it was for the period of resistance to Spanish domination in 1582, when it was first penned.

¹⁵ Originally known as the "Anthem to Autonomy", the earliest version was played in 1894 during the first proautonomy political campaigns. The current version, known as the "Anthem of the Azores", was approved by the Azorean parliament in 1979 with lyrics by the Azorean poet Natália Correia (Costa 2008).

¹⁶ The Azorean flag combines traditional elements of portugueseness and azoreanness. Unlike the red and green of the modern Portuguese flag (approved in 1911), the Azorean flag is blue and white. These colours date back to the 11th century beginnings of Portugal and have traditionally been the colours of the Portuguese monarchy. In the centre of the Azorean flag are nine golden stars in an arch over a golden goshawk (or *açor* - symbolic of the archipelago) and in the upper left corner is a Portuguese shield. The Azorean separatist party (FLA) has a similar flag without the Portuguese shield, but with the goshawk shielding the nine stars under its wings (Teixeira 1991).

the construction of these differences has often been based on marginalization and social inequality. The homogenizing discourse of nationalism glosses over these differences, but they continue to shape the habitus of Azorean descendants who are often made to feel inferior because of the ways in which their azoreanness does not stack up against the legitimized (Mainland) portugueseness. The danger in silencing these differences is that the symbolic domination can become naturalized as a new norm.

Complicated internal group divisions like this can be exacerbated in contexts of migration where foreign government policies often essentialize social categories as a way of managing and reproducing difference (so as to benefit the dominant classes). Despite the humanistic guise of cultural pluralism which runs through Canadian multiculturalism, as we will see below for example, the state's discourses and practices transform highly heterogeneous groups into homogeneous social categories that emphasize certain aspects of identity (like ethnicity) while ignoring others (like class, gender, etc.). The ways in which these discourses and practices operate with regards to the Portuguese-Canadian community will be the focus of the next part of this chapter which situates Portuguese immigration to Canada within a historical, political and economic context.

2.3 Revisiting the history of the Portuguese in Canada

The history of Portuguese immigration to Canada can be situated in a broader context of labour migration from underdeveloped parts of the world being used to meet the demands of capital and the upper classes in industrializing societies. Canadian immigration policy, therefore, is closely linked to the politics and economics of global capitalism that have defined some immigrants as welcome and others not (Giles 2002). In the post-war economic boom, seasonal and contracted immigrant labour was imported in order to fill the least desirable and most dangerous jobs in the Canadian economy. This resulted in further structuring the society along ethnic and class lines. Through overtly racialized policies up until the late 1960s, the dominant Anglo-Canadian elite restricted the entry and settlement of immigrants who came to Canada from "non-preferred", "non-white" countries on the basis of their "unassimilability" with the ideals of the Canadian nation-building project (Aguiar 2006:205). While most Europeans were welcome, immigrants from southern Europe (i.e. Portugal, Greece, and southern Italy) were the

last from the privileged continent to be granted limited access to Canada because of their perceived "backwardness" and insufficient whiteness.¹⁷

2.3.1 Restricting the Portuguese

For the purposes of this thesis, I will only focus on the Portuguese presence in Canada after 1950 because this period marks the start of large-scale and sustained Portuguese immigration. Before that time, both Canada and Portugal controlled the movement of people across its borders. Canada had a very restrictive and elitist immigration policy which "preferred" white immigrants originally from Great Britain, Ireland, France and the United States, and then from Northern and Eastern Europe (Grosner 1991, Melo 1997, Dench 2000). Southern Europeans, like the Portuguese, were excluded as "undesirable" in the same way as people of "colour" or racialized minorities (Marques 1992, Aguiar 2006). But in the period of post-war industrial boom, old-world prejudices were slightly reconfigured to satisfy the needs of capital as demand for agricultural and manual workers in Canada soared.

At the same time, the Portuguese colonialist state also controlled the movement of its people through a restrictive emigration policy, where passports and exit permits were only granted to those who could produce an authorized foreign (e.g. Canadian) employment contract (de Sousa 1986). This policy reinforced the political and economic vision of the Salazar regime by directing Portuguese emigration to the country's colonies. However, as the economic situation in Portugal worsened and as interest in migrating within the Portuguese "world" diminished — with many citizens choosing to avoid military conscription and the threat of revolt against the colonizers or others just willing to try and make more money by (illegally) migrating elsewhere — the government was forced to reassess its emigration policy in order to deal with the high unemployment rates and high population growth - especially in the Azores and in Northern Mainland Portugal (Chapin 1989).

2.3.2 Who were the first or "pioneering" Portuguese in Canada?

Portuguese official (and legal) migration to Canada began in 1953, when a series of bilateral economic agreements were signed between both governments (Giles 2002). The exact

¹⁷ Some Portuguese-Canadian scholars (including Noivo 1997, Aguiar 2000, and Nunes 2010) have argued that the Portuguese continue to be constructed as non-white in Canada society. In 2008, I myself saw the words "Portuguese = White niggers of Europe" spray-painted on the back doors of a church in Toronto's "Little Portugal."

¹⁸ Although very few Portuguese settled in Canada before 1950, there is evidence of Portuguese contact as far back as the 15th century (see Brazão 1964, Anderson 1974, Anderson and Higgs 1976, Alpalhão and da Rosa 1980, Teixeira and da Rosa 2000, 2009, and Barman 2004).

number of Portuguese immigrants that followed is difficult to determine because Canadian and Portuguese records do not always agree, ¹⁹ but Table A (in Appendix G) compiles a detailed presentation on the best numbers I could find from several sources (with data from 1946 to 1992). Determining the regional origin of Portuguese immigrants, which is part of my goal in unpacking the homogenizing discourses surrounding the Portuguese in Canada, is also problematic because the Canadian government does not process that kind of data. Nevertheless, historical research into the reports from Canadian Immigration services, the first contracts involving Portuguese workers, and qualitative research on the lives of these workers and their families, together with records from Portugal, give us some idea of who came from where and why (see Antunes 1973, Anderson 1974, Anderson and Higgs 1976, Marques and Medeiros 1980, Ribeiro 1986, de Sousa 1986 and Melo 1997). Table B (in Appendix H) provides a breakdown of the documented Portuguese immigration to Canada from 1950 to 1984 by regional origin.

Although the first Portuguese immigrants arrived *on* the same boat more or less, they were not all *in* the same boat: there were regional and socio-economic differences that divided them. The "founding myth" for the Portuguese in Canada dates back to May of 1953 and the very first contingent of Portuguese men to arrive in Halifax, Nova Scotia. These men, and those who followed them until the early 1960s, are referred to by many in the Portuguese-Canadian community as *os pioneiros*, or "the pioneers", since they are rightly credited with successfully establishing a Portuguese presence which paved the way for future generations of immigrants from Portugal. The dominant narrative is that these men – mostly from the Azores, but also from northern and central Mainland Portugal – were all poor, undereducated, manual labourers from rural and peasant backgrounds who succeeded in starting a new life in Canada with no more than their dreams, determination and a few dollars (see Marques and Medeiros 1980 for oral "pioneer" accounts that support this narrative). ²⁰ The reality is a bit more complicated.

¹⁹ Portuguese emigration records have only identified Canada as a destination country since 1956, three years after the first legal wave. Before then, the number of Portuguese immigrants to Canada was so small that Canada was grouped in the category of "other countries" (Ribeiro 1986). Canadian immigration figures tend to be higher than Portuguese ones (at least until the 1980s) and this may result from counting "unauthorized departures" from Portugal or "temporary" migrants/tourists to Canada. Whether or not the Canadian numbers are more accurate remains to be seen, but the criteria used by Canadian border agents and demographers to classify immigration appear to be more varied than the Portuguese data available. Categories like "Origin", "Birthplace", "Citizenship", "Last permanent residence", "Ethnicity", "Language", "Mother tongue", "Home language" and "Knowledge of language", among others, have been used to count immigrants, each time producing a different number.

20 Some contradictions to this almost mythical narrative went public in 1992 when two lengthy newspaper articles in The Toronto Star described the history of the Portuguese immigration to the city and to Canada. The first article was part of a series on Toronto's minority groups, including the Portuguese, and the author (simplistically) framed the early immigration as being entirely Azorean, and cast the later immigration as being of a different "breed" - primarily from the Mainland: "The largest numbers [of Portuguese] came [to Canada] during the late '50s and '60s.

Indeed, more than two-thirds of the Portuguese immigrants to arrive before 1980 came from the Azores, the rest came from the Mainland and a much smaller number from the Madeira islands (Ribeiro 1986). Yet even this needs to be problematized further because access to state controlled resources was unequally distributed in each region. Although the reasons for emigrating were generally the same across the country – the need to escape Portugal's high unemployment, its largely unindustrialized economy, the low standards of living, the disregard for public education, the political oppression and instability, the military service in the colonial wars, etc. – it is worth pointing out that until the early 1970s the Portuguese state preferred to allow islanders to leave the country since they were generally poorer and less involved in the African colonialist project than most Mainlanders (de Sousa 1986). Among the Azorean majority that settled in Canada between 1950-84, more than two-thirds came from one island: São Miguel. This island accounted for more than half of the archipelago's population, its largest urbanized centres, many of its poorest communities, and perhaps the Azores' most distinguishing characteristic: *Micaelense*, a local variety of Portuguese that is popularly known across the lusophone world as the "Azorean accent/dialect" or just "Açoriano" (Higgs 1982).

The small, but significant, minority of Portuguese immigrants from the Mainland is generally believed to have come from poor, underdeveloped areas in northern and central Portugal – without explicitly mentioning the more developed capital region of Lisbon (Marques and Medeiros 1980, Teixeira and Lavigne 1992, Giles 2002). This belief, however, is not entirely accurate as far as Portuguese (documented) emigration statistics are concerned. As the data in Table B (Appendix H) suggests, emigration to Canada from Mainland Portugal between 1950-84 is led by central Portugal with 14.5%, Lisbon with 10% and then northern Portugal with 8.6% (Instituto Nacional de Estatística cited in Ribeiro 1986:62-72). In other words, 25% of all the Mainlanders in Canada during the community's first 34 years came from the most urban, developed and powerful region of Portugal. Higgs (1982:6) argues that the better educated migrants from Lisbon and the other cities in the Mainland were likely to be more entrepreneurial

They fled the poverty of the islands – the Azores – where there was no hope of getting an education. Grinding poverty was their reality. Canada was the Promised Land. But later immigrants – those who came during the '70s – were a different breed. Largely from the mainland, they were educated and had money to invest" (Goldfarb 1992:A1). The second article, written by a leader in the Portuguese community, emphasized that all the immigrants were poor: "In spite of minor differences, (65 per cent of the immigrants came from the Azores islands with a small percentage from Madeira and the rest from mainland Portugal) they all had a similar peasant background – only a few artisans immigrating until the '70s [...]" (Marques 1992:G1).

A comparison of the average daily wages for manual (male) labourers from the Azores (São Miguel) and those from Mainland Portugal between 1969-77 suggests that before 1972, an average Mainland labourer earned more than twice his Azorean counterpart and 30% more in 1977 (Chapin 1989:84).

and middle class than the majority of their largely undereducated, working-class countrymen (especially from the Azores). Of course, not every *Lisboeta* (Lisboan) is a rich, upper-class, powerful entrepreneur or politician, but discovering this significant number challenges the romanticised myth of struggling, rural and equally disadvantaged Portuguese immigrants which is so engrained in the dominant discourse of canadian-portugueseness and perpetuated, to some extent, by Canadian multiculturalism which likes promoting stories of poor immigrant success.

Amidst the masses of "unskilled" Portuguese labourers brought in to work on Canadian railways lines, farms and mines, for example, the department of Canadian Immigration also ordered a small number of "skilled" tradesmen. Among the first immigration reports in 1953 – when 555 Portuguese were accounted for by the Canadian state (see Appendix G) – there were fifty tradesmen, all from the Mainland cities of Lisbon and Porto, who settled in major Canadian urban centres (Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa) according to research by Hawkins (1972, cited by de Sousa 1986:20). Would these men go on to become the "elite" or "leaders" of the Portuguese-Canadian community? In looking through Canadian labour contracts, Hawkins (1988:49-50) provides some more context behind the "bulk orders" of Portuguese labour from 1954-57: from the Azores at least 3000 workers were recruited, including less than 100 tradesmen, and from Mainland Portugal at least 2000 were contracted, including less than 100 tradesmen (cited in Giles 2002:26-17). Cited by de Canadian labour contracts, Hawkins (1988:49-50)

2.3.3 From hired labour to sponsored immigrants to a small professional class

The first wave of Portuguese immigrants to Canada can be characterized as a movement of hired, temporary labour. According to the Canadian Immigration data in Appendix G, approximately 17,000 Portuguese workers – primarily men who came alone, although many were married – were contracted throughout the 1950s. After fulfilling or fleeing their contracts, most of them headed to urban centres in search of better work, higher wages, more housing options, and stronger support systems from the Canadian state and from fellow Portuguese

"official" Canadian department of Immigration's report of 9470 Portuguese immigrants from 1954-57 (see Appendix G).

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²² There is some confusion surrounding the 1953 arrivals. According to Portuguese records they numbered less than 200, but Canadian records pin the total at 555 (see Appendix G). As for their regional origins, Portuguese-Canadian researchers (Marques and Medeiros 1980:26, Oliveira and Teixeira 2004:1) believe that 18 Azoreans and 67 Mainlanders arrived in May of 1953 followed by a group of Madeirans later that year. Another researcher, Hamilton (1970:65-7) claims that a group of 110 Azoreans were the first to arrive, but his sources are difficult to verify. ²³ While this accounts for nearly 5000 immigrants, more than 4000 remain unaccounted for if one considers the

immigrants who had begun organizing small communities during the late 1950s and early 1960s (Anderson and Higgs 1976).

The second wave was largely one of kinship reunification or "sponsored immigrants" (Marques and Medeiros 1980) which is when more Portuguese women began arriving, labelled as the "dependents" of men rather than workers (Giles 2002). In the early 1960s, as the demand for unskilled labourers in Canada declined, so too did the recruitment of workers from poorer countries like Portugal. Nevertheless, large-scale Portuguese immigration continued due primarily to the sponsorship system, whereby immediate family and relatives could be sponsored to join family members already established in Canada. Also known as "chain migration", this type of immigration was particularly common among Azoreans, who traditionally had large families, and it slowly relocated entire kinship networks (and communities) across the ocean (De Sousa 1986, Teixeira 1999). This kind of chain migration was less common among Mainlanders, however, whose families had different histories of migration (i.e. within Portugal, to Europe, to Africa), better chances of (limited) social mobility and a stronger desire to stay in or return to Mainland Portugal (Higgs 1982).

Throughout the 1960s, the total number of Portuguese immigrants neared 60,000 and while this migration helped Canada's post-war development by increasing the population, it also raised concerns about the quantity and quality of people coming in. Faced with an influx of unskilled sponsored immigrants with large extended families, Canadian immigration officials expressed concern about "the Portuguese movement"; more specifically about the Azorean movement which involved larger families and lower class immigrants (Hawkins 1972:50 cited in de Sousa 1986:29). As far back as the late 1950s, some Canadian officials complained that the Portuguese government pressured them to recruit primarily from the Azores instead of the Mainland where the pool of skilled labour was larger and the demand for family reunification smaller.²⁴

In response to these concerns, Canadian immigration policy began to tighten and shift towards a system that would evaluate an applicant's education, professional skills and other criteria to satisfy labour market demands. Coincidentally, Anderson and Higgs (1976) and de

²⁴ Hawkins (1972:50) quotes the following official Canadian report: "The Portuguese Government was obviously making efforts to concentrate our recruiting activities in the Azores [...and] the declining need for unskilled labourers in Canada could not continue to support the [same] type of movements [...] The several large movements of unskilled workers from the Azores showed signs of producing a disproportionate volume of sponsored immigrants [duplicating our experience in Italy]." In 1957, the number of backlogged Italian-Canadian sponsorship cases had reached 52,000 (Dench 2000).

Sousa (1986) report that the early 1960s saw a small number of highly skilled Portuguese professionals and middle-class entrepreneurs arrive and settle in Canadian cities (i.e. Toronto and Montréal). There, the authors believe they eventually structured the current Portuguese communities by establishing cultural associations and ethnic businesses such as restaurants, real estate agencies, driving schools and travel agencies. Although de Sousa (1986) does not refer to the size or regional make up of this elite group, Portuguese emigration data in Appendix G indicate that, from 1961-66, the number of Mainlanders immigrating to Canada, which had previously been around 30%, rose to virtually 50% alongside the number of Azoreans. Furthermore, Anderson and Higgs (1976:50) maintain that this small cohort of middle-class Portuguese men disassociated themselves both geographically and socially from their workingclass compatriots. Shortly upon arrival, many moved to the suburbs and away from the concentration of working-class Portuguese people and cultural associations in downtown urban centres. Since the majority of middle-class and well-educated Portuguese immigrants were from the Mainland, according to Anderson and Higgs (1976), the middle-class disassociation they describe is an example of class differences intersecting with regional differences at a time when Portuguese communities were starting to take shape in major Canadian cities.

Before going on to look more closely at the structuration of the largest Portuguese community in Canada, i.e. Toronto, it is crucially important to situate the construction of this ethnic community within the broader context of the Canadian state's multiculturalist discourse. This discourse, which today defines Canadian identity, emerged in the late 1960s in reaction to questions from French Canadians, First Nations peoples and immigrants about their positions within the (Anglo dominant) Canadian nation-building project.

2.3.4 Multicultural management

As the number of immigrants to Canada grew in the post-war era, so too did pressure for the protection of their rights, their demands for citizenship and for fuller integration into Canadian society given their part in building a modernizing country that was historically "founded" by the French and the English. This pressure led to a new way of understanding Canadian society, one that was based on the idea of multi- rather than bi-culturalism.

In 1963, a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was ordered by the federal government to report on the state of the two dominant and official cultures and languages at a time when divisions in the country were growing and Québec nationalism was on the rise.

The Commission was also asked to consider the contributions of the more or less marginal cultures and languages associated with the immigrant groups (McAll 1992). With regards to Canada's immigrant groups, they were found to have enriched "Canadian culture" and so their cultural and linguistic roots should be safeguarded from assimilation. This recommendation resulted in an ambiguous relationship between biculturalism and multiculturalism, where immigrants were encouraged to integrate into one or both of the dominant societies and languages, without losing their own cultural identities. The spaces of power within Canadian society remained bilingual and bicultural, but a parallel system of spaces in the arts, religion and family life was created for the distinct ethnic groups (McAll 1992). However, power was not equally distributed between any of Canada's ethnic groups, not even its two "founding" ones. In an effort to garner support from immigrant Canadians and counter Québec sovereignists, the Liberal government of Prime Minister Trudeau began to reframe Canada as "multicultural within a bilingual framework" (Burnet 1978). By 1982, the Canadian Constitution Act had entrenched the "preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" within the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, without the endorsement of the Québec government (Government of Canada 1981 in McAll 1992:167). This official recognition of multiculturalism raised the discourse to mythological new heights, making it a "fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity" (Government of Canada 1988 cited in McAll 1992:167).

Canadian multiculturalist policy implies a belief that everyone belongs to a culturally and spatially unique (i.e. homogeneous) community and should be able to participate equally in a democratic society. But, as we have seen with the Portuguese in Canada, not all immigrant groups were/are recognized, accepted and dealt with the same way. The essentialist divisions that underlie multiculturalism isolate groups along ethnic lines and allow the state to mask divisions of race, gender and class into homogenized ethnic identities while rarely revealing the ethnic identity of dominant "Canadian society" as if it were a separate, predetermined and depoliticized entity. In fact, the popular mosaic ideology of Canadian multiculturalism "reaffirms we-they distinctions that have shaped Canadian immigration policy since its inception" (K. Anderson 1991:218 in Giles 2002:121). Both multiculturalism and immigration have created a discursive system that promotes discrete and containable ethnolinguistic groups and that hides the reality that these people are part of the nation-state in which they have immigrated, worked and lived. By promoting a framework of separate ethnic groups, these groups compete against each other for limited state resources in order to have their ethnolinguistic identity recognized as widely as possible. The Canadian state wanted to mark and market its multiculturalism and have

the world recognize its social accommodation, and so it financed cultural preservation and intercultural sharing through the promotion of ethnic presses, cultural associations and festivals. Thus, the struggle against cultural assimilation (i.e. the loss of immigrant languages and identities) becomes prioritized over struggles against social inequality and marginalization in Canadian society.

The mobilization of ethnic identity or the creation of symbolic ethnic capital through multiculturalism can be understood, as Kearney (1991) points out, as a strategy of resistance on the part of immigrants who want to be more than just material capital for the state and to break their marginality by joining a collectivity. Yet Porter (1965), Heller (1994) and Giles (2002), among others, argue that divisions along ethnic solidary lines shift attention away from broader-based solidarities where ethnic groups could try and resist the racial, gender and class inequities that marginalize them and their descendants. This shift serves the interests of the state because broader social problems can become constructed as individual ethnic community problems: for example, crime gets constructed as a "black" thing, substance abuse as a "First Nations" thing, and rundown neighbourhoods as "immigrant" things. Since the overwhelming majority of Portuguese in Canada has been working class (92% from 1963-1982²⁵), then portugueseness gets itself constructed as "working class-ness."

While veiled in a humanistic belief of cultural and democratic pluralism, Canadian multiculturalism legitimizes the creation and promotion of essentialized ethnolinguistic communities that are somehow meant to be on equal footing despite historical differences in dealing with Canadian immigration and integration. In what follows, we will explore how an ethnic community like the Portuguese in Toronto has been structured in response to such multiculturalist discourses.

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²⁵ From 1963 to 1982, Canadian immigration statistics suggest that 92% of Portuguese immigrant workers were in "non-professional" or working-class occupations (e.g. in service and recreation, agriculture, construction, manufacturing and mechanical labour, etc.) and that 7.3% worked in middle-class or "professional" occupations (e.g. managerial, administrative, technical workers, teachers, health professionals, lawyers, etc.) (Giles 2002:29).

2.3.5 First settlement in Toronto

In Toronto, ²⁶ which has always been home to Canada's largest concentration of Portuguese immigrants, the initial settlement area for the Portuguese community was established during the late 1950s in the west end of the central downtown district (see Map 3 in Appendix I). This part of the city, known as Kensington Market and Alexandra Park, appealed to the Portuguese because it was a low-income, working-class neighbourhood with an affordable housing stock (in various levels of disrepair) and well served by public transit. The Kensington Market area was also in close proximity to the city's garment industry, mid-sized factories, hospitals and major office buildings of the city where they could find work as cleaners, machine operators, kitchen staff and construction workers. Recognized as an "immigrant receiving area" (Teixeira and Murdie 2009), this neighbourhood had already served as a port of entry for other immigrants (including Jews, Italians, Hungarians and Ukrainians) who, over time, moved out and moved up, in terms of social class, searching for newer, more spacious houses in less crowded and arguably safer areas.

This Portuguese wave gradually displaced previous ethnic businesses and institutions with its own (each ethnic group maintaining a certain level of cohesion in order to fit the multiculturalist discourse while it served them), and Kensington developed a Portuguese residential concentration wherein even the houses themselves began to look "Portuguese". They were renovated and decorated with elements that evoked the old homeland: religious statues and ceramic tiles in the front of the house, colourful paint, flower and vegetable gardens, grape vines, etc. (Brettell 1977). Homeownership was a dream that many in Portugal could not afford and in Canada not only was it a sign of success, and a transition from "sojourner to settler" (de Sousa 1986), but it also could have been the earliest form of ethnic entrepreneurship since many of the first Portuguese homes became boarding houses for fellow immigrants. By 1962, Marques and

²⁶ There are various distinctions to be made when referring to "Toronto". Up until 1954, the "former City of Toronto" (also known as "Old Toronto") existed alongside the municipalities of Etobicoke, North York, York, East York and Scarborough. In 1954 all of these municipalities were federated into a regional government known as Metropolitan Toronto (which had the same boundaries as present-day Toronto). In 1998, Metropolitan Toronto was dissolved and the six municipalities were amalgamated into one, creating the City of Toronto. The "Greater Toronto Area" (or GTA) consists of the City of Toronto and the surrounding regional municipalities of Durham, York, Peel and Halton. The cities of Brampton and Mississauga, for example, are in the Peel Region. The "Toronto Census Metropolitan Area" (CMA), is smaller than the GTA because parts of Durham and Halton regions are not included. In 2006, Statistics Canada reported that the city of Toronto had a population of 2,503,281; the Toronto CMA had 5,113,149, and the GTA a population of 5,555,912.

Medeiros (1980:136) report that the Portuguese "colony²⁷" in west central Toronto accommodated some 10,000 Portuguese people. Less than a decade later, in 1971, that number had more than quadrupled.²⁸

In her study of the channels of employment within this early settlement of Portuguese in Toronto, Anderson (1971) found that construction work was dominated by Mainlanders and janitorial work by Azoreans. This regional distinction, which I have not seen developed elsewhere, had potentially negative consequences in terms of an immigrant's accumulation of capital and her relations of power within the fledgling community. In Anderson's view, a working-class immigrant's "networks of contact" were found to limit his/her job opportunities to those already occupied by family and friends. Anderson observed most Azoreans working in "trap" or dead-end jobs that did not necessarily lead to higher skilled positions; due to immigrant networks the newer Azorean immigrants fell into the same "traps". Mainlanders, on the other hand, were found to be much more successful in terms of job advancement in the community's formative years because construction jobs – seen as employment mobility "steps" – gave workers some room to grow, to diversify into other trades or to work in trade unions.

The following section will continue to unpack the history of Portuguese settlement in Toronto by providing a critical but general overview of some of the city's most important Portuguese ethnic institutions. That said, it is beyond the scope of this section to go into a thorough historical or comparative presentation, which I will leave for future research.

2.3.6 Ethnic businesses and institutions of power: Mainlanders in the lead?

As more and more Portuguese immigrants settled in Kensington Market and its surrounding areas during the 1960s and 70s, the demand for Portuguese goods and services grew. The most popular of these were bakeries, grocery stores, fish markets, restaurants, bars, travel and real estate agencies, driving schools, barber shops and hair salons, hardware stores and photo studios, among others. In her study of Portuguese-Canadian institutions and ethnic entrepreneurship in Toronto, Brettel (1977) describes how seemingly ordinary businesses like travel agencies gained considerable power and positioned their owners as community leaders.

²⁷ The authors' use of this term to refer to the Portuguese ethnic enclave seems odd in a Canadian context, but perhaps it is reflective of the dominant discourses of traditional Portuguese history and culture.

²⁸ The total number of Portuguese in Toronto in 1971 varies according to different sources/categories:

^{47,500} according to Anderson and Higgs (1976:57),

^{43,640} according to Statistics Canada census data, cited in Kalbach (1990:18),

^{39,560} people with Portuguese as a mother tongue in Metropolitan Toronto (Anderson and Higgs 1976:70).

Most travel agents also worked as notaries, translators, couriers, accountants and informal legal counsel since many Portuguese immigrants, who were unable to speak and read English and were also perhaps (functionally) illiterate in Portuguese, relied on them to make sense of what Canadian employers, government agencies and others wanted. Thus, travel agents were not only local entrepreneurs, but they also became power brokers and gate-keepers between the Canadian State and its social services, on the one hand, and the Portuguese community, both in Toronto and in Portugal.

Another example of a seemingly "ordinary" ethnic entrepreneur turned "extraordinary" is the story of the first Portuguese-owned business in Toronto: "Antunes' Restaurant" (Lo et al. 2002). More than just a restaurant, it was also a boarding house and community centre where Portuguese newcomers could access information about employment, housing and the immigration process. The owner, Mr Antunes, was a Mainlander and one of the first "pioneers" from 1953. Although he was from a peasant fishing town, he came to Canada with some business experience which earned him more social and financial capital than most of his fellow immigrants. After two years of working across the country, he settled in Toronto where he opened several important Portuguese establishments: a restaurant, an importing company, a couple of fish markets (including one outside of Toronto), and a bakery. In the 1970s, he opened an advertising company, a financial organization, a real estate firm and eventually moved to Mississauga. Mr Antunes also complemented his business ventures with significant cultural investments. He was one of the founding members of Toronto's first Portuguese cultural association, known as the First Portuguese Canadian Club (FPCC), which was established in 1956 and located near his restaurant. Mr Antunes served as the club's president as well as the director of its Portuguese-language school, which became one of the most prominent in the city. But he did not stop there. In 1968 he also helped establish a cultural association representing his home region in Mainland Portugal and served as that club's folklore group director for many years (Coelho 2004). The early success of Mr Antunes as a leader and representative of the Portuguese community likely influenced the career path of his son who is also active in the community and who worked in the Canadian financial industry (where he liaised with the Portuguese-Canadian market) before becoming a local politician.

For Portuguese cultural institutions, like those dedicated to a specific region of Portugal, a soccer team or a social activity, the main goals of the clubs are to help the first generation of

²⁹ This is a pseudonym I chose.

Portuguese immigrants feel less isolated in a foreign land and to help subsequent generations maintain the Portuguese language and certain cultural traditions. Although these cultural objectives may seem selfless, a club's survival also depends on its financial objectives and the business networks it can foster. By consolidating certain groups of people who are invested, to varying degrees, in a common goal, and by creating niche markets, club leaders and members are able to profit from each others' network and resources. Furthermore, the activities and cultural performances put on by the larger and more successful clubs help shape the images that Portuguese and non-Portuguese people have of the Portuguese-Canadian community through the production of multiculturalism. Consequently, the leaders of these ethnic clubs can also become, by definition, community leaders, multicultural agents and the privileged interlocutors between the Canadian State and the "community". The founders of the aforementioned FPCC, who were mostly Mainlanders, capitalized on their positions early on; many of them were ethnic entrepreneurs selling and promoting portugueseness, from Toronto's first Portuguese bookstore to its first (closed-circuit) Portuguese radio station (Coelho 2004).

Portuguese-language or ethnic media (which began with newspapers and radio, then later to television) also served a vital role in keeping a newly arrived, undereducated and largely illiterate population in touch with the most important issues affecting the local Portuguese community, the broader Canadian society as well as news, sports and entertainment from Portugal. Like the first cultural associations before them, the first incarnations of Portuguese ethnic media (print and radio) were largely dominated by a small group of Mainlanders. A professional command of written and spoken standard Portuguese was required, and, since most working-class immigrants from the Azores and the Mainland alike came with less than four years of formal education and spoke regionally marked varieties of Portuguese, they were not eligible for these positions. Based on my ethnographic fieldwork, there is an incredibly small percentage of Portuguese media personalities who speak a non-standard variety of (European) Portuguese (e.g. *Micaelense*, *Beirão* or *Nortenho*) despite the large number of people in Toronto who speak non-standard varieties from places like São Miguel, and central or northern Mainland Portugal. Moreover, I have observed that recent arrivals from Portugal to Toronto are often hired as new

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³⁰ Future research should take a critical look at the historical and influential construction of the Portuguese-Canadian community's institutions of power. This includes, for example, the control of financial capital in the early years of the community. Both Marques and Medeiros (1980) and de Sousa (1986) report that the FPCC created a Credit Union and Cooperative in the mid 1960s. What happened to these institutions and their leaders? What decisions might they have influenced in the development of the community? Another aspect worthy of future research is the diversity of Portuguese cultural associations and the cooperation and conflict between them (i.e. between and within different regions).

radio or TV hosts in order to provide "authentic" Portuguese programming, with little or no effort ever made to incorporate English (as a way of potentially attracting a younger Portuguese-Canadian or non-Portuguese audience). These media personalities, by virtue of their position behind the microphone, printing press or in front of the television camera, distinguish themselves among the Portuguese and non-Portuguese communities as local celebrities and ambassadors. The Canadian state capitalized on ethnic media as a way of reaching and shaping its ethnic groups, and the Portuguese were no exception. The Canadian Department of Immigration reportedly had a hand in Toronto's first Portuguese newspaper, *Correio Português*, which was started in 1962 by immigrants from Mainland Portugal (Marques and Medeiros 1980).

As Toronto's Portuguese community grew during the 1960s and 70s, not only did it establish its own commercial, cultural and professional services, but it also organized religious services which met more than just spiritual needs. Once lusophone priests could be found, the Catholic churches located near residential areas of high Portuguese concentration became community "institutions" serving as gathering places, sources of counsel and support, and stages where centuries-old traditions could be performed (Marques and Medeiros 1980). The religious celebrations, or *festas*, and the street-run processions that often accompany them are still some of the most identifiable transnational manifestations of portugueseness in Toronto. But not all Portuguese festivities are the same. Most are clearly associated with a specific region and among these, the Azorean celebrations are the largest. Interestingly, of all the institutions in the Portuguese-Canadian community, Catholic churches are arguably the only places where the local leaders (i.e. priests) are primarily of Azorean descent and where Azorean Portuguese can often be heard.

Throughout this discussion of the "institutionalization" of Toronto's Portuguese community, it is important to point out, as de Sousa (1986) reminds us, that only a relatively small percentage of Portuguese immigrants were directly involved with or participated regularly in the activities and the management of the cultural and business organizations in the early years of the community. Back then, like today, the majority of immigrants and their descendants were not regularly involved in cultural clubs or their often contentious administration because they were more preoccupied with the daily challenges at home and at work. Perhaps they also did not possess the resources (economic, socio-cultural, linguistic, gendered) that others deemed necessary in order to assume positions of leadership in the community. Yet, as we have seen above, it appears that a small group of men from Mainland Portugal were the ones most actively

engaged in controlling the prestigious and public forms of portugueseness. By contrast, early involvement by Azorean men in the aforementioned public institutions of portugueseness (except for the Catholic Church) does not appear to be as common, as successful or as well documented in the literature (see Anderson and Higgs 1976). I imagine that there were unreported Azorean success stories in the early structuration of Toronto's Portuguese community, but I also suspect that they were less widespread than the efforts of Mainlanders who could perform the standard, authentic Portugueseness that Canadian multiculturalism could consume and reproduce.

In the 1970s, the Portuguese-Canadian community underwent a transnational period of transition which complicated the traditional narrative of portugueseness up to that point: in Portugal, the country was transformed by the social democratic revolution of 1974, and in Canada, the community was trying to reconcile the celebration of 25 years of ethnolinguistic survival with the stark recognition of growing social, class and political problems - all within a multiculturalist framework. These transitional periods are the focus of the next section.

2.3.7 Identity transitions on both sides of the Atlantic

The move to Canada, whether legal or illegal, as labour migration or family reunification, represented a transition to an industrialized urban society for the Portuguese immigrants – where they occupied some of the lowest ranks and were relegated to the least desirable jobs. This transition also represented a shift from a conservative traditionalist discourse in Portugal to a neoliberal, globalizing discourse in Canada; a shift that most working-class Portuguese migrants were not prepared for or able to fully engage with. For the most part, they left behind sociopolitically isolated, underdeveloped towns and regions from the Mainland and the even more alienated islands. What they brought with them was a class and ideological habitus based on conservatism, male dominance, religiosity, colonialism, rurality and a fatalistic valorization of the peasantry and working-class – all reinforced by the Estado Novo. With the exception of a small minority of well-educated, politically active Portuguese immigrants, most Portuguese immigrants to Canada were likely far removed from the practical and ideological shifts that preceded and followed the social democratic revolution in Portugal in 1974. Anderson and Higgs (1976) found that the "community leaders", including the most successful entrepreneurs – whose business it was to produce consumable aspects of traditional portugueseness – generally either favoured or were not openly critical of the Estado Novo. After all, the first Portuguese clubs, associations and businesses in the emerging ethnic market needed to align themselves to some extent with the Portuguese state in order to access resources from the consulate in Toronto. In

any case, it is difficult to say how much the traditional and dominant constructions of Portuguese identity, reinforced by Canadian multiculturalist policy, have changed before and after the defining moment of modern Portugal.

Thus, while the revolution forced the Portuguese in Portugal to re-invent themselves, their country and their place in the world (on the road to post-colonialism, democracy and global capitalism), immigration forced the Portuguese in Canada to participate in a different process of identity construction, one in a minority and multicultural context. In this context, ethnic solidarity was a community-based survival strategy and a state-recommended way of structuring Canadian society, of hiding other differences under the cloak of essentialized ethnicity and a way of marketing Canada as a culturally plural and welcoming nation. Still, the pressures of multiculturalist uniformity and traditional Portuguese nationalism were confronted with a new way or, rather, another way of being Portuguese that emerged after 1974.

As the former Portuguese African colonies gained their independence, there was increased pressure on the Portuguese state to address the demands for Azorean (and Madeiran) regional autonomy raised by many in the Azores and across the Azorean "diaspora". Although Azorean identity had existed long before the 1976 official designation of the Azores as an Autonomous Region of Portugal, this political recognition legitimized an important part and an important difference in Portuguese nationalist discourse. This is especially true for the Portuguese diasporic spaces like Canada where Azoreans and Mainlanders interact frequently and share the same space, which is not so much the case in Portugal itself. The reaction by both groups in Toronto at the time of this legitimation of Azorean difference has not been well documented, to my knowledge, but I imagine that it maintained or exacerbated this long-standing division in the community. Many of the people I spoke and listened to over the course of my fieldwork had differing views on this matter (depending on how the debate was being framed and by whom): some (mostly Mainlanders), perhaps threatened, refused to recognize any special distinction for Azoreans; others (mostly Azoreans) felt emboldened by the right to affirm their identity and empowered to use their difference to challenge the traditional uniformity of

appeared in the Portuguese districts of Toronto and Montreal."

³¹ Archival research on this period, from local newspapers for example, is lacking but it would shed a fascinating light on this social division. One of the only references I found came from Anderson and Higgs (1976:172-3) and their observations from around 1974: "Azoreans in Canada echoed criticism of the way in which the Lisbon government ruled the islands, and pamphlets circulated which stated that the archipelago has as much right to decolonization as had the former African colonies. Bumper stickers reading: 'The Azores are for the Azoreans'

Portuguese identity; while a smaller group (from both groups) thought that there was room for some plurality within a Portuguese identity.³²

In addition to these intra-ethnic tensions that complicated the traditional narrative of portugueseness in Canada and abroad, the 1970s also saw social and class-based tensions become associated with Portuguese ethnicity in Toronto. The general invisibility and isolation in which the first waves of Portuguese had lived and worked was disrupted in 1970s' Toronto by two major events: labour disputes within the cleaning industry over workplace safety led by Portuguese female cleaners (Miranda 2009), and the city's first, horrific child murder where 12 year-old Emanuel Jaques, who worked as a shoeshine boy, was abducted, gang-raped, drugged and killed (Moniz 2006, Jenkins 2007). Suddenly the Portuguese community was front-page news, as was its working-class status, its gendered and generational economic capital and its focus on family, among other things. Other challenges that plagued the Portuguese-Canadian community at that time, and that continue today to varying degrees, are also shaped by social and class inequalities; some inherited over generations in Portugal and others resulting from inequalities faced in Canada. These include an alarming level of academic underachievement among Portuguese-Canadian youth who have one of the highest high-school drop-out (or "pushout") rates in Toronto and the province (Coelho 1973, Nunes 1998, 2003; Ornstein 2000; Januário 2003;), high rates of substance abuse and violence against women (SCHDVP 1991; Grosner 1991), a lack of civic participation and political representation (Bloemraad 2009), the exploitation and deportation of Portuguese undocumented workers and criminals (Aguiar 2000, 2009), low average income levels, jobs with minimal security and unemployment (Marques and Medeiros 1980, Nunes 1998, Miranda 2009), among others.

These problems are not specific to the Portuguese. However, many of them get socially constructed as "Portuguese" problems rather than "Canadian" ones. The geographic, social, racial and class divisions that are understood along ethnic lines help (the state's) dominant

³²Although a complete historical account of the socio-political situation in Toronto's Portuguese community is beyond the limits of this dissertation, it is important to point out that there must have been anti-fascist political activity in Toronto from the 1950s to 80s. Unfortunately, it has not yet been well documented. My hypothesis is that, among those who were politically active on the left, most Azoreans would have been concerned with self-government and autonomy, whereas most Mainlanders would have been concerned with installing a pro-democratic government in Lisbon. Indeed, most "political refugees" would have likely been Mainlanders who sought exile in western and northern Europe. Anderson and Higgs (1974) claim that anti-fascist activists, originally from France, settled in Montréal rather than Toronto. Not only was Québec a space for francophones, but it was also a space for anti-colonial discourse within Canada and it contested the essentializing and celebratory discourse of multiculturalism. Further research on this topic is required.

discourse shift the sense of responsibility and accountability onto individual minority groups and not onto mainstream society or the groups that control it.

2.3.8 Ethnic markets: Little Portugal = Rua Açores + Portugal Village

Many of the social and class-based issues outlined above also characterise the experiences of inner-city racialized minorities in North America. Although many may not consider the Portuguese in Toronto as a racialized or "visible" minority, the core of that ethnic community has traditionally been inner-city and working-class. In the early 1980s, for example, the Portuguese made up 8.3% of Toronto's inner-city population (Marques and Medeiros 1980). The Portuguese have also been one of the ethnic groups with the highest degree of ethnic spatial concentration (Qadeer and Kumar 2006), known as "ethnic enclaves" in urban geography or "ghettos" in popular discourse. While many Canadians (including Portuguese-Canadians) criticize the insularity of Toronto's Portuguese community as impeding its "integration" into white, middle-class, neo-liberal, English-speaking Canadian society, others commend the concentrated ethno-linguistic enclaves, like that of the Portuguese, as an effective multiculturalist strategy to maintain one's distinct language and identity (normally constructed in the singular because of monolingual nationalist ideologies). Both of these views on ethnic concentrations suggest that the Canadian state's mobilization of ethnic differences is used to both make and mark class with ethnicity, through policies of immigration and multiculturalism (Heller, personal communication, 2010).

Furthermore, in a neoliberal consumer culture, ethnic neighbourhoods can be profitable multicultural marketing strategies for the city of Toronto, the province of Ontario or Canada as a whole – which all want to be seen as accommodating. An ethnic neighbourhood can also be good marketing for the ethnic homeland (e.g. Portugal) which wants to be seen as globally relevant (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Indeed, Toronto's "little" ethnic landscapes (marked by ethnic street signs like Little Italy, Greektown, Little India, or Chinatowns) feature prominently in tourist maps as "unique" (and sanitized) destinations in which to exoticize and consume the "Other". But inside these exaggeratedly homogenous mini-nation-states is always change.

As mentioned earlier, the initial area of Portuguese settlement around Kensington Market (see Appendix I) became the core of that ethnic working-class community, but in the 1970s and 80s, the core expanded to the west and north because Kensington became overcrowded, immigration from Portugal soared (from 10,000 in 1961 to nearly 90,000 by 1981), and more

people had amassed enough capital to finance better homes. As the Portuguese moved westward, they settled in neighbourhoods previously occupied by Italians, and established a "Little Portugal" identified by "Portuguese" houses and ethnic businesses along Dundas St. W. and even on College St. near what was marked "Little Italy" (Teixeira and Murdie 2009).

Although commonly referred to as "Little Portugal", the ethnic street signs that serve as quasi-national borders actually distinguish two Portuguese areas: "Portugal Village" and "*Rua Açores*." According to a prominent Toronto magazine (*Toronto Life* 2007), the "Portugal Village" signs appeared first, in 1986, at the request of Portuguese businesses along the section of Dundas St. W. closest to Kensington Market. The following year, the "community" reportedly petitioned the city to add the "*Rua Açores*" street designation to a westerly strip of Dundas that is twice as long as "Portugal Village".

Like national boundaries, the ethnic street signs represent the politicized efforts of certain individuals and businesses to lay claim to an area of historical importance for a specific group, but the flow of different people and goods across such boundaries complicates their imagined homogeneity. "Portugal Village", which followed Kensington as the second core of the Portuguese community, eventually saw the "heart" of the community shift westward in the 1980s and 90s to the "Rua Açores" area (and beyond) as a wave of newer Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants moved westward from Kensington, and as the Portuguese established a critical mass of businesses and associations in the Dundas and Ossington area. Today, this still remains the heart of the ethnic community with Portuguese bakeries, fish markets, butchers, restaurants, clothing stores, travel agencies, auto-repair shops, hair salons, florists, funeral homes, churches, lawyers, doctors, social service agencies and bank branches from Portugal and from Canada that offer service in Portuguese.

Since its original settlements in Kensington and then in "Little Portugal", Toronto's Portuguese community has expanded in two general directions: first, within north-west Toronto along what Teixeira (2000:215) calls the "traditional immigrant corridor"; and second, out west to the suburbs in Brampton, Oakville and especially Mississauga. In what follows I will look at the development of the Mississauga Portuguese community and compare it to the Portuguese core in Toronto.

³³ As far as I know, the Portuguese are the only ethnic group in Toronto with street signs that defy the homogenizing ideology of nation-states by recognizing a national and regional allegiance, which in my view solidifies the distinction between "Azoreans" and "Portuguese". For instance, there is no "China-town" and "Little Guangdong" or "Greek-town" and "Crete Street" or "Little Italy" and "Corso Calabria".

2.3.9 Mississauga and a different kind of Portuguese community

The first Portuguese immigrants in Mississauga arrived as early as 1954, contracted from a rural village in São Miguel to work for a mushroom company (Teixeira 2002). By 1960, the company had established a small Azorean Portuguese enclave with most of the workers actually living on-site. Through family sponsorship and chain migration over the following decade, these early "pioneers" transformed the nearby area into a larger Portuguese (Azorean) community. In 1966, official estimates suggest there were up to 750 Portuguese in the city, a number which grew to nearly 1500 by 1971 and then ballooned to almost 9000 by 1981 (Teixeira 2002, Teixeira and Murdie 2009). Despite this rapid increase in Mississauga's Portuguese population, local Portuguese ethnic entrepreneurship and institutionalization did not develop as much as it did in Toronto because it was structured differently. Whereas Toronto had a small (Mainland) middle-class in the late 1950s and early 1960s promoting the development of Portuguese ethnic businesses and associations, the community in Mississauga at that time seems to have been overwhelmingly working-class. Furthermore, at that time, Mississauga itself was not as economically developed as Toronto. By the 1970s, however, a few Portuguese institutions began to appear in Mississauga as it developed into a somewhat affluent suburb of Toronto.

Among the most notable institutions that did appear, we find a religious and settlement organization, a Catholic church, a cultural association and a newspaper. The very first of these institutions in Mississauga was the Portuguese Canadian Integration Movement (*Movimento de Integração Português-Canadiano*) founded in 1971-2. A largely Azorean men's religious group that helped Portuguese immigrants with settlement issues, this association, which was one of the first community organizations to have Azorean leaders, was instrumental in establishing a chapel for the growing community to practice its Catholic faith (Teixeira 2002). In 1984, this same group worked with an Azorean priest to establish the first Catholic church built by and for Portuguese-Canadians (*São Salvador do Mundo*³⁵). The strong Azorean presence in Mississauga can also be felt in the city's only Portuguese cultural association, which was founded in 1974 by a group of Azoreans *and* Mainlanders. Unlike the multitude of different Portuguese clubs that existed in Toronto at that time, or those that emerged later in the 1980s, which tended to

³⁴ Unofficial estimates from Portuguese community leaders have pegged Mississauga's Portuguese population at 50,000 during the mid-1990s (Teixeira 2002) and again in the mid-2000s (Teixeira and Murdie 2009). According to Statistics Canada (2009), Mississauga has the third-largest number of Portuguese in Canada, with 24,700 (listed by ethnic origin single responses), behind only Toronto and Montreal.

³⁵ This church, Saint Saviour of the World, was constructed on the old land of the mushroom farm which employed so many Azoreans, and it was named after a church in São Miguel. In 1995, Mississauga's Portuguese community built another church (Christ the King Mission or *Cristo Rei*) which is closer to the city's current downtown core.

represent a specific region of Portugal, the Mississauga association strove to present a complete image of the entire Portuguese Republic (including Mainland Portugal, the Azores and Madeira). Lastly, in terms of Portuguese ethnic media, the industry in Toronto had Mississauga covered so there was very little development on that front except for one newspaper. *Portugal Ilustrado* was founded in Mississauga in 1978 and it is one of the few Portuguese newspapers in the GTA to be published by an Azorean – now only available online (Teixeira 2002).

Also during the 1970s, with the surge in immigration from Portugal, Mississauga became an attractive destination for those Portuguese-Canadians with some financial means to move out from the more established, but more crowded, and working-class community in Toronto. In the suburbs, houses were newer and bigger; there was less congestion, less crime, more trees, better equipped schools and a diverse range of job opportunities. There was also less of a tendency to concentrate in Portuguese ethnic enclaves, which suggests that this form of social organization could be more common among working-classes than middle-classes. As we saw earlier in section 2.3.3, Anderson and Higgs (1976) describe the arrival of a small middle-class, in the late 1960s, likely from Mainland Portugal, who preferred to settle in the suburbs (including Mississauga) away from Toronto's "Little Portugal". In his description of Mississauga's Portuguese community, Teixeira (2002:255) believes that those who left Toronto's Portuguese community in the 1970s were "white-collar professional and entrepreneurial Portuguese, with a sound knowledge of the English language." These "professionals" were likely Mainlanders rather than Azoreans according to Teixeira (personal communication 2010), but the make-up of this elite group is not clear.

In addition to this group of middle-class Mainlanders, there was also likely a group of Azorean middle-class "professionals" in Mississauga but there is very little data on this historical and regional question. Who were these two groups? What kinds of relations existed between them? How publicly invested were they in portugueseness? Were they making a conscious effort to disassociate themselves from the established Portuguese community in Toronto? Had they failed to succeed in Toronto's dominant (predominantly Mainland) Portuguese businesses and organizations? I suspect that there is a large Portuguese professional middle-class (primarily in Toronto's suburbs and predominantly from the Azores) who choose not to publicly identify as Portuguese because it brings them little capital in their markets and perhaps also because they or their families were marginalized on account of their Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital. The result is a division within the Portuguese market of the Greater Toronto Area.

Some Portuguese-Canadians (like those surveyed by Teixeira and Murdie 2009:198) complain that as Mississauga grew during the 1990s and 2000s to become the sixth largest city in country with the third largest concentration of Portuguese (Statistics Canada 2009), it should have developed an "institutionally complete" Portuguese ethnic enclave to rival Toronto's "Little Portugal." There are, however, good reasons to explain why this multiculturalist dream has yet to happen. Historically, Mississauga's small Portuguese population in the 1950s and 60s did not create enough demand for local Portuguese goods and services to compete with those offered by the nearby and more established community in Toronto. Since then, "Little Portugal" has controlled the market of portugueseness and, despite the "suburban exodus³⁶", many Portuguese still return to the traditional core (Teixeira and Murdie 2009). This convergence on Toronto explains the success of its ethnic businesses, especially Portuguese cultural associations and restaurants, and it gives many people the impression that Toronto is "more Portuguese" than Mississauga.

Another factor limiting the creation of a tight-knit Portuguese business and cultural enclave in Mississauga is the suburban layout of the city itself. The distinct separation between expansive residential neighbourhoods and large industrial zones, which characterizes much of it, does not lend itself to the concentration of small to medium-sized Portuguese businesses and multiple dwelling residences as found in Toronto's "Little Portugal". Furthermore, the often isolating suburban lifestyle that comes with a car culture or "auto-dependency" and the lack of pedestrian-scale communities normally results in less contact with neighbours and a weaker sense of street-level or neighbourhood solidarity. Lastly, the dearth of Portuguese institutions in Mississauga can also be explained by the absence of a densely concentrated Portuguese community, except for the suburban Portuguese ethnic pockets near the city's two Portuguese churches (Teixeira 2002). According to Teixeira, the general process of dispersion and the smaller case of "re-segregation", particularly among his study's Azorean participants, reveal the evolution of two distinct and separate Portuguese communities in Mississauga that reflect the "sometimes ambivalent relations between Portuguese immigrants and their community" (Teixeira 2002:257). All of these ambivalent relations may also be evidence of class dynamics where ethnic identity is more often used to distinguish the working-class than it is the middle or upper-classes. While the present study explores some of these "ambivalent relations" and the

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³⁶ Teixeira and Murdie (2009:200) reveal that by 1991 "more Portuguese were living in Mississauga than in ["Little Portugal"] and by 2001 the Portuguese population of Mississauga exceeded the broader West Central Toronto area."

structural factors behind them, further research into the Portuguese communities in Mississauga is required.

The works of Grosner (1995:15) and Teixeira and Murdie (2009:202-3) provide two important pieces of the socio-economic and demographic puzzle behind the Portuguese in Toronto and in Mississauga. Table 2 compares similar data from both studies comparing the two communities in 1991 and 2001.³⁷

Table 2: General characteristics of Portuguese in Toronto and Mississauga (1991, 2001)

	19	91*	2001**		
PORTUGUESE-CANADIANS	TORONTO	CORONTO MISSISSAUGA		MISSISSAUGA	
IMMIGRATION					
Born outside Canada	71%	60%	69.5%	59%	
Immigrated at age 20 +	62%	52%			
EDUCATION					
Less than Gr.9	50%	29%	47.1%	26.7%	
Finished High school	34%	44%	27.8%	37.0%	
EMPLOYMENT					
Management	4%	10%	5.8%	9.8%	
Manual labour	34%	17%	28.7%	18.1%	
(construction)					
INCOME M: male	M: \$29,557	M: \$38,100			
F: female	F: \$20,130	F: \$24,900			
H: household	H: (est.) \$49,687	H: (est.) \$63,000	H: \$59,995	H: \$80,210	

The census data presented above sheds light on why many people, like Marques and Medeiros (1980:114), believe that most of the Portuguese in Mississauga are "better integrated into Canadian society than those [Portuguese] in any other Canadian community". The figures suggest that, on average, Mississauga has more Portuguese people born in Canada than does Toronto, and that Portuguese-Mississaugans are much better educated than their Toronto peers nearly half of whom do not have a high school education. In terms of employment, the averages suggest that in 1991 there were more than twice as many Portuguese-Mississaugans working in middle-class managerial positions than Portuguese-Torontonians. A decade later, the situation has only improved slightly for Portuguese-Torontonians (from 4% to 5.8%). Working-class manual labour jobs were twice as likely for the Portuguese in Toronto than for those in Mississauga, and a decade later the scale was still heavily skewed towards Toronto. These and other social characteristics of Portuguese-Canadians have a direct impact on their average

³⁷ This table is loosely based on *Grosner (1995:15) and **Teixeira and Murdie (2009:202) in order to provide an idea of certain changes over time. Since the criteria used for each study were not exactly the same, precise comparisons between the two cannot be made. For example, what I categorized in this case as "Toronto" is really "Metropolitan Toronto" for Grosner (1995) and 23 census tracts around Dundas and College streets in "west central Toronto" for Teixeira and Murdie (2009). Nevertheless, the numbers do seem consistent with each other. For more complete tabulations see the original tables in Grosner (1995) and Teixeira and Murdie (2009).

household income level. In 1991, an average Portuguese household in Mississauga earned \$63,000 or 27% more than the \$49,687 their Torontonian neighbour received. By 2001, the difference between the two average incomes had risen by 34%.

Setting aside the differences between the Portuguese in Toronto and Mississauga for a moment, let us return to the presentation of the institutionalization of portugueseness in Toronto and survey some of the most prominent Portuguese spaces since the late 1970s.

Recent examples of the institutionalization of portugueseness in Toronto

The 1970s and 80s in Toronto saw a tremendous diversity and growth in the number of Portuguese ethno-cultural associations (regional, sporting and religious clubs) and ethnic media outlets that were discursively inspired and occasionally financed by the policy of Canadian multiculturalism. This encouraged the expansion of a contained ethnolinguistic market that saw a rise in the number of ethnic businesses, including more of the first businesses (e.g. bakeries, restaurants, bars, grocery stores, travel agencies), but also new ventures (e.g. clothing stores, auto repair shops, car dealerships, banquet halls, funeral homes, florists, hair salons) as well as a smaller rise in the number and variety of Portuguese professionals serving the community (e.g. lawyers, doctors, dentists, accountants, real estate agents, social workers).

For a quick representation of the "institutional completeness" of the Portuguese in Canada in 1993 and 2007 (see Table 3), Teixeira and da Rosa (2000:9, 2009:7) counted the number of Portuguese related organizations and divided the data into three broad regions defined by the concentration of Portuguese. As the data suggests, the province of Ontario, and the Greater Toronto Area in particular, dominate the Portuguese institutional landscape.

Table 3: Portuguese-Canadian institutions, by region 1993 and 2007

	Western	Western			Quebec	Quebec		
Type of	Canada	Canada	Ontario	Ontario	and	and	Total	Total
institutions	1993	2007	1993	2007	Atlantic	Atlantic	1993	2007
					Provinces	Provinces		
					1993	2007		
Business	365	400	3500	5000	750	719	4615	6119
Club/association	65	65	111	100	22	46	198	211
Prt lg school	10	7	32	20	5	5	47	32
Church	7	7	26	23	5	4	38	34

Although an even more detailed breakdown by region (in Canada and from Portugal) and by specific institutional type would be more useful to examine, this broad picture indicates that, in Ontario, specific constructions of portugueseness can be profitable (a 43% increase in

"businesses" from 1993-2007), while formal Portuguese language instruction is more difficult to maintain into the second and third generations (a 37.5% drop in schools). As far as Portuguese cultural associations in Ontario are concerned, the numbers in Table 3 suggest that the landscape has not changed significantly (a 10% drop in Portuguese clubs, as in churches). While this may be the beginning of an on-going and sharper decline, it is not as sharp as one might have expected given the decrease in immigration from Portugal, the steady geographic dispersion of once concentrated working-class Portuguese communities, the relative demographic decline of the first generation members who built the clubs, and the relative indifference towards them by members of the Canadian-born second and third generations (which will be discussed further in section 3.2.4 when I explore where and how the dominant discourse of portugueseness is constructed).

Furthermore, one might have expected a sharper decline in Portuguese cultural associations given the financial crisis of the recession in 1990s' Canada, the restructuring of the Canadian economy towards the expansion of a new globalized, knowledge-based economy and the shift from welfarism to neoliberalism. This shift led the state to change many of its funding policies, like those dealing with ethnolinguistic minority groups - in our case, the policy of multiculturalism (Harvey 2005, Heller 2007). The changes, which are well documented for the francophone minority communities in Canada, involved a shift from funding the protection and celebration of cultural minority groups to demanding their economic self-sustainability and development (da Silva and Heller 2009). In this light, one might expect that some of the smaller and less economically viable Portuguese cultural associations in Toronto, that were legitimized and possibly even financed to some extent through the policy of multiculturalism, would close or amalgamate. It will be interesting to revisit the data presented above in a few years to review the state of the Portuguese-Canadian institutional market.

In order to facilitate interactions with the Canadian state and compete for unequally distributed resources, the state encouraged its ethnic minority groups to create umbrella organizations representing the aforementioned ethnic clubs and businesses as proof of community unity and leadership, and as another way of managing internal differences.

In Toronto, the first and smallest of these umbrella organizations was a not-for-profit Portuguese community services agency uniting volunteers and social workers in 1978. In the business sector, a coalition of Portuguese-Canadian entrepreneurs was founded in 1981 in an effort to lobby all levels of the Canadian government and even the Portuguese government, to

some extent, on behalf of Portuguese-Canadian middle and upper-class capital. In the cultural sector, a provincial coalition of Portuguese clubs was founded in 1986, and although it does not represent every single Portuguese-Canadian cultural association because of conflicts over the coalition's leadership, its distribution of funds and its visions for large-scale community events, it still boasts a very long list of members and close connections with politicians.

On a national scale, it took considerably longer before an organization that "represented" and "defended" the interests of the entire Portuguese-Canadian community was established. This delay in creating an ethno-political interlocutor between the "Portuguese" and "Canadians", or the Canadian state, speaks to the difficulty in unifying difference (whose interests and voices would be heard or silenced?) and the difficulty in combining the goal of cultural celebration with a broader political and social engagement within a framework of multiculturalism. Finally, in 1993, the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress (PCNC) emerged. With or without the help of these organizations, serious efforts and gains have been made in terms of addressing many of the social challenges listed earlier. In Toronto there are local tutoring and mentorship programs for Portuguese-Canadian youth, Portuguese student associations in high schools and universities, academic scholarship opportunities, community-based social services for youth, adults and seniors, growing (unionized) support for workers, legal advocates, as well as business and political lobbyists, among others.

The Portuguese State has also been actively involved in the construction of Toronto's Portuguese community and of its Portuguese identity whether through financial investments or simply moral and symbolic support. The most visible and political manifestation of this investment is the presence of consular services, dating back to 1906 (Rodrigues 2010). In 1956 the service was elevated to a Consulate General³⁹ and, ever since, its mission has been to protect the interests of Portuguese citizens living in the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, and also to promote commercial and cultural relations with a particular emphasis on the Portuguese language and culture around the world is financed in large part by the Portuguese ministry of foreign affairs and its *Instituto Camões*, which appropriates the 16th century literary and nationalist hero as its ambassador

³⁸ Although it is beyond the scope of this current research project, a critical historiography of any one of these umbrella organizations, but especially the PCNC, would be of great help towards understanding the structuration of the Portuguese-Canadian community, the vision of certain leaders, the conflicts that arise between competing interests and regions (i.e. Azores vs. Mainland, Québec vs. Ontario vs. the rest of Canada), etc.

³⁹ From 1906-56, none of the Honorary Consuls were of Portuguese descent, but rather British and Dutch in origin. After 1956, nearly all of the Consuls General have been from Mainland Portugal; the only Azorean to ever hold the position was Dr António Patrício Bettencourt Viana from 1979- 84 (Rodrigues 2010).

(Rollo 2009). In Toronto, the Camões Institute funds Portuguese art exhibits, theatre productions, academic conferences, movie screenings and the appointment of two visiting language instructors at local universities on short-term contracts.

Other notable Portuguese state organizations which are involved in promoting, defending and selling Portugal and portugueseness in Canada include the following: the Council of Portuguese Communities (Conselho das Comunidades Portuguesas) is designed to work with the Portuguese State and its diasporic communities to address the needs of its citizens and descendants abroad, although it is relatively unexplored in Canada; the Agency for Portuguese Investment, Trade and Tourism (Agência para o Investimento e Comércio Externo de Portugal) does business in Canada and has an office in Toronto; and the Regional Directorate of the Azorean diasporic Communities (Direcção Regional das Comunidades) which promotes the celebration of Azorean culture and the maintenance of transnational ties. These organizations and others have helped bring artists, academics, politicians and entrepreneurs from all across Portugal to Canada in order to add authenticity and legitimacy to events organized by the local Portuguese communities.

The most prominent and public performances of portugueseness are those held for Portugal Day (June 10). In Toronto, thousands of people from across the GTA and beyond descend on "Little Portugal" to participate in or just watch a Portuguese cultural parade - which is one of the city's largest street festivals and one of the largest Portugal Day celebrations outside of Portugal - along with outdoor concerts, folklore performances, political speeches, religious ceremonies, sporting events, dinners and more events organized by local Portuguese cultural associations and businesses. This cultural and economic mobilization of portugueseness began as a one day/weekend event in June, grew into week-long festivities in the 1970s and 80s and into a month-long celebration over the last decade. In fact, the month of June has been officially designated "Portuguese Heritage and History Month" in Ontario since 2002, ⁴⁰ and in the cities of Vancouver and Toronto since 2005. Ceremonies officially recognizing Portugal Day in municipal and provincial Canadian governments have taken place for at least the last 30 years with Portuguese flag raisings, anthems, celebratory speeches, cocktails and photo opportunities. This upper class exercise in nationalism and multiculturalism raises the visibility of a unified

⁴⁰ This official recognition was spearheaded by a Conservative member of Ontario's provincial government, Carl de Faria, who immigrated to Canada from Mainland Portugal as a young man. Other special ethnic/racial/religious awareness months include the national recognition of February as "Black History Month" (since 1995), May as "Asian Heritage Month" (since 2002) and October as "Islamic History Month" (since 2007).

Portuguese community, but it also, arguably, has more immediate benefits for the leaders and the elite of the Portuguese-Canadian community and for politicians from Canada and Portugal. Most working-class Portuguese-Canadians cannot get time off work during the day to attend the ceremonies at the downtown government sites.

In closing this section on some of the more recent examples of institutionalizing portugueseness in Toronto, it is only fitting to include an example that complicates the homogenous image often presented. In June 2009, in addition to celebrating Portugal Day, with its usual pomp and pageantry, the Ontario government also officially celebrated "Azores Day". The President of the Regional Government of the Azores was on hand to lead celebrations of the archipelago's regional holiday with an official Azorean flag raising ceremony, complete with anthems, dignitaries, speeches, cocktails and photos. On the same visit, the President left a more permanent and official presence of the islands in Toronto with the inauguration of an Azorean governmental office dealing with regional (and even national) public administrative issues. Rather than set up this office in or near the Portuguese consulate, in the city's upper-class downtown core, the Azorean government chose to create it on the main floor of an Azorean cultural association in "Little Portugal". Not only do these examples highlight the heterogeneity behind portugueseness, but they also illustrate the strategic political and diasporic positioning that a once severely marginalized region is now asserting in the globalized new economy.

2.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this background chapter was to examine the historical, social, economic and political reasons why the Portuguese community in the Greater Toronto Area is structured the way it is. The point was to challenge discourses of homogeneity and to present some of the differences that are ignored. Are all Portuguese the same? Are some Portuguese better than others? Who were the first Portuguese immigrants to Canada? How was the Portuguese community set up or did it just appear? Questions like these matter because, fundamentally, they help reveal often hidden and unequal processes of drawing boundaries and of defining and distributing resources. This process underscores all aspects of social interaction and social organization (from modern nation states to small ethnolinguistic immigrant groups). Indeed, discourses of homogeneity can be manipulated by people in positions of power to silence difference and dissent in a heterogeneous group and to exhort some form of control over it as a single, fakely uniform whole.

We have seen this in Portugal, where citizens from certain marginal regions (like the Azoreans, among others) are excluded from the dominant nationalist narrative which favours specific regions of Mainland Portugal. This narrative can get discursively taken up when defining a homogenized Portuguese identity and be reproduced across generations and across borders. In this light, one of this chapter's goals was to peel back this essentializing ideology and historically situate the events and discourses used to construct (an essentialized) Mainland Portugal as the site of authentic portugueseness and those used to marginalize the Azores. It was especially important to revisit some of the defining moments in Azorean history and demystify some of their differences: why many of them speak (and may even look) differently, how the region was exploited and neglected for centuries, how their emigration destinations differed and how they became autonomous.

We have also seen how discourses of homogeneity have been used to manage difference in Canada. The country's historically racist immigration and economic policies wanted to keep the country uniformly white and European, and then reproduced ethnolinguistic differences as it "welcomed" racialized and other minorities to meet the demands of labour. Since then, Canada's multiculturalist policy has transformed (highly) heterogeneous groups into parallel "uniform" categories of immigrants and ethnics. The construction of "the Portuguese" as a homogeneous group of immigrants (and Canadian-born descendants) belies the fact that it is stratified by regional, linguistic, class and gender differences, among others. Each of these differences has structured the experience of the Portuguese in Canada. Although the analysis of gender in this chapter is somewhat superficial, it is important to remember that Portuguese women entered Canada under different circumstances from those of men, generally as their dependents and not immediately recognized as potential workers, thus affecting gender relations both inside and outside the household. Differences in class, education, economic resources and work experience among the Portuguese have varied depending on the needs of the Canadian labour market, but the overwhelming majority of them were in the under-educated and "unskilled" working classes, with a very small minority from the middle classes. These differences also depend on the immigrant's region in Portugal because Azoreans, who make up two thirds of the community, generally differ from Mainlanders in terms of linguistic, cultural, political and, to some extent, economic capital. In Toronto's inner-city, working-class, ethnic Portuguese community, these differences often led to regional tensions between Mainlanders and Azoreans who were meeting each other for what was likely the first time. However, these tensions were downplayed and managed, at least in public discourse, by those in positions of power within Portuguese

community, who tried to create a unified ethnic front in order to fit within the discourse of Canadian multiculturalism and of Portuguese nationalism.

The first "leaders" of Toronto's Portuguese community were likely a small group of middle-class Mainlanders who capitalized on their legitimized portugueseness and their previous work experiences or class habitus in Portugal to open the first Portuguese ethnic businesses and associations. These organizations went on to structure the current Portuguese-Canadian market, which still has to deal with the tensions outlined above, but which has now expanded into an "institutionally complete" market branded as a mini-diasporic-nation-state: "Little Portugal." There certain types of actors have profited from certain constructions of portugueseness in the larger framework of Canada's investment in multiculturalism and Portugal's investment in its diaspora. The following chapter examines these constructions of portugueseness as a dominant discourse and explores the sites where they get (re)produced.

Chapter 3

The dominant discourse of portugueseness

3.0 Introduction

The purpose of the dominant discourse is to naturalize power relations in situated social interaction so that those in positions of power are accepted as the norm. In the previous chapter we saw how discursive conflicts over social difference and inequality have been silenced or removed from the standardized presentation of dominant historical narratives. The case of the Portuguese in Canada, though in no way unique to these conflicts, serves as an illuminating example of how state politics of migration and economics in Canada and in Portugal have promoted and profited from dominant discourses of multiculturalism and of nationalism. These discourses homogenize socio-economically stratified groups and separate them along ethnic lines. Thus, in Canada we see how a Portuguese population, that was overwhelmingly Azorean and working class, became inscribed into a Portuguese market controlled discursively by a minority of Mainlanders and structurally by an even smaller minority of middle-class Mainlanders. This elite emerged as community representatives and leaders through the creation of Portuguese ethnic institutions that were legitimized by Canada's multiculturalist policy.

The focus of this present chapter is twofold. First, to unpack some of the ideologies behind the dominant discourses of portugueseness that are used to keep Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market structured the way it is. Second, to outline the spaces where the dominant discourse is (re)produced and to illustrate how the discourse is put into practice. The conclusion ties things together to see how specific discursive elements of portugueseness become dominant.

I understand the dominant discourse of portugueseness as a widely accepted or not openly contested set of rules and guidelines that regulate what it means to be Portuguese in Canada. In a sense, it is what is expected of Portuguese-Canadians when doing portugueseness. These expectations and (un)official rules are set by people in positions of power (i.e. politicians, journalists, teachers, parents, clergy, long-standing community members, successful entrepreneurs) who want to protect the resources they have (i.e. social, linguistic, cultural, economic). By defining their resources and their perspectives as the standards and the norms against which others are evaluated, those people in positions of power naturalize their order in the social hierarchy (through social structuration) as well as their control over the markets in

which these resources circulate. Thus, their views can become institutionalized and their perspectives can become the normative expectations for the rest of the "community's" beliefs and attitudes. In order to participate in the spaces that define or distribute these resources, individuals are expected to align themselves with the dominant discourse or risk being excluded from those spaces or social networks. The following section looks at how the related ideologies of nationalism, language, diaspora, class and labour inform the dominant discourse of portugueseness.

3.1 What makes up the dominant discourse?

Before unpacking the ideologies that lie behind the dominant discourse of portugueseness, a quick presentation of the discourse's most identifiable views would be helpful to set the stage. In order to describe what is expected of Portuguese-Canadians by people in positions of power in the relevant markets of Portugal, the Portuguese-Canadian community and mainstream Canada, a certain generalization is required to survey the discursive landscape. The remainder of the dissertation will provide the context and the details of the complex and connected processes that (re)produce, challenge or refute the ways the landscape is constructed.

Based on my lived experiences and my experiences in the field, I maintain that the dominant discourse expects Portuguese-Canadians to identify themselves as Portuguese (or at least as "Portuguese"-Canadians) and to appropriate Portuguese culture, language and history as their own. They are expected to speak Portuguese, as often as possible, to be proud of "their" Portuguese language and heritage, to pass the language and the ethnic pride on to their children, to express that pride by being active in the local Portuguese community (i.e. attend cultural events, frequent ethnic businesses, consume ethnic products, engage in traditional religious practices, etc.) and to return often – or long to return – to Portugal. Behind this simplified but central discourse lurk several interconnected ideologies, including those of nationalism, language, diaspora, *saudade* (longing) and class, among others, that need to be identified before we can understand the sociolinguistic positionings within Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market.

3.1.1 Ideologies of nationalism

As a child I remember how growing up "Portuguese" took a lot of work for me, for my parents and for "my" ethnolinguistic community. The most exhausting part was reminding myself and being reminded that I "am" Portuguese. Despite being "Made in Canada" I was also a

"Product of Portugal". I quickly learned that I was part of at least two nationalist agendas, but that the Canadian agenda allowed for some supposed flexibility through its official multiculturalism policy: the "Portuguese" blood that runs through my veins would still be accepted by the Canadian Red Cross. For reasons that were unclear to me at the time, I felt like I was enlisted in a diasporic branch of the Portuguese ethnolinguistic army and I happily obeyed. But I eventually learned that not all Portuguese-Canadians were fighting the same fight.

Firstly, not everyone can legitimately claim to be Portuguese. The strongest objective argument can be made for those whose parents were born in Portugal. Individuals who cannot trace their ancestry directly back to Portugal have a more difficult case to make. There is, of course, no guarantee that someone born of Portuguese parents will identify herself as Portuguese, when she may prefer to be Canadian, Portuguese-Canadian or something entirely different at any given time in a specific interaction. On the other hand, someone born of exogamous parents or with little or no Portuguese "blood" lineage may be counted among the new generation of Lusitanians in situations where the largest number of Portuguese descendants is sought or if the person can make a convincing ethnolinguistic argument (e.g. fluency in Portuguese, residency in Portugal, distant Portuguese relatives, admiration for the Portuguese culture). As a result, there is a discourse of "partial" portugueseness which informs categorizations such as "he's half Portuguese".

Within the Portuguese nation itself there are also discourses of "partial" portugueseness. Despite the nationalist ideology of Portugal as a united and homogenous state, the relatively small country is divided (socially, politically, economically, culturally and linguistically) between Mainland (or Continental) Portugal and the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and of Madeira. In an effort to erase these divisions, the dominant discourse of portugueseness is used to prop up and naturalize the nationalistic ideology that all Portuguese are united and the same ("Somos todos Portugueses!"). In this unity, however, the dominant construction of Portugal becomes that of Mainland Portugal - the political, historical and economic core of the country. Thus, the nationalist project of one nation, one language and one people clashes with the centuries-old legacy of isolation, oppression, regional tensions, cultural differences and linguistic variation that mark Portugal's history. In Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community, the most salient discursive constructions of regional difference are not only between the Azores and Mainland Portugal, which is the primary distinction, but also within each of those regions. Among Azorean-Canadians, for example, there are historic tensions between those from the

islands of Terceira and São Miguel, and even within São Miguel between the prestige of the capital city, Ponta Delgada, and the marginalized fishing town of Rabo de Peixe. Among those from the Mainland there is less overt tension reproduced within Toronto's Portuguese market, but clear social, economic and linguistic lines are drawn between the northern regions, the central and capital regions and the south. Those Portuguese people who were born or raised in Brazil or in former Portuguese-speaking colonies have even more complicated discursive constructions of Portuguese identity.

However, these regional distinctions in Portuguese nationalism are of little concern to the general Canadian public discourse. This outsider's perspective sees Portugal as the strip of land west of Spain (without its autonomous regions), and the Portuguese as a relatively homogenous group of people who all speak the same Portuguese. Indeed, the Canadian state's multiculturalist policy reinforces the dominant discourse of Portuguese unity by promoting a simplified image of the culture and its people in order to fit into and validate its compartmentalized "vertical mosaic" (Porter 1965).

3.1.2 Ideologies of language

Ideologies of language are deeply implicated in the creation of nationalist ideologies. Faster than producing legal proof of citizenship, the most identifiable "proof" of a person's supposed portugueseness is whether or not she can speak Portuguese. The nationalistic logic above dictates that Portuguese people necessarily speak Portuguese and that they speak the same fixed and stable variety of the language. With this in mind, one of the objectives of this study is to investigate the extent to which it is possible for individuals to self-identify as Portuguese without speaking the language or speaking the "right" variety. The dominant discourse of portugueseness does not just prioritize the general linguistic category of "Portuguese", however. It gives particular value to a specific variety of the language: European Portuguese. More precisely still, the dominant discourse recognizes that "standard" Portuguese is spoken in the regions of Lisbon and Coimbra in Mainland Portugal. All the other regional and international varieties of Portuguese are made to fall in line behind it, starting with other varieties spoken in Mainland Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe, East Timor, and in the Portuguese diaspora or elsewhere (see Pacheco 2004 for a critique of the lusophone linguistic and racialized hierarchy in Toronto).

Within Toronto's diasporic community, "Azorean Portuguese" is the linguistic variety that most complicates the hegemony of standard (Mainland) Portuguese, although, in Portugal today, the distinction between them may not resonate as much. I must stress that my understanding of "Azorean Portuguese" is informed primarily by the sociolinguistic context of the Portuguese community in Canada, more so than in Portugal. In Toronto, references to "Azorean Portuguese" – or Açoriano as it is most often called – generally signal the marked variety of Portuguese spoken by immigrants from (rural) São Miguel and in particular from Rabo de Peixe, even if the speaker has no actual ties to that island or town. Not all Azoreans or their descendants speak this marked variety or "accent" (see Bernardo and Montenegro 2003 for more information on *Micaelense*, the Portuguese spoken in São Miguel). In fact, there are numerous linguistic varieties between and within each of the nine islands including, of course, standard (Mainland) Portuguese, which is widely used. The practice of (Mainlanders) painting all Azoreans with the same sociolinguistic brush may not have started in Canada, but it was in communities like Toronto where it was put to use, as members of both speech communities met for the first time. In the Portuguese-Canadian social structuration that followed, where I argue that Mainlanders were in a position of power because their cultural and linguistic capital was legitimized by the Portuguese and Canadian states, the discursive practice of associating Azorean Portuguese with *Micaelense*, the most marginalized variety of European Portuguese, became a strategy of marginalization and advantage.

Indeed, the dominant discourse of portugueseness creates this Mainlander advantage by imposing the ideology of Mainland European Portuguese as the standard, and by inflating its depoliticized role as the origin or the foundation of globalized Portuguese. With the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire after 1974, the Portuguese state continued to use language and the iconic figure of Portugal's epic poet *Camões* as strategic rallying points to fill the sociopolitical vacuum left behind (Feldman-Bianco 1992). Portugal Day commemorations which, before the 1974, had celebrated the Portuguese "race" and had used Camões as a symbol of the Portuguese nation and race, became focused on the Portuguese diasporic communities as a way of maintaining global relevance by mobilizing diasporic markets and Camões as a mythical embodiment of the Portuguese language, culture and romanticized history. The links between the diaspora, the homeland and the language are also mythologized by another Portuguese poet, arguably the nation's greatest in the 20th century, Fernando Pessoa, whose work has fuelled the dominant discourse. He famously coined the phrase "A minha pátria é a língua portuguesa" ("My homeland is the Portuguese language"), which deterritorializes the Portuguese language

and brings the Portuguese homeland (or "fatherland") to every Portuguese speaker in a transnational imagined linguistic community. Pessoa's boundless linguistic *pátria* gained an institutional structure in 1996 with the creation of the *Comunidade dos Paises de Lingua Portuguesa* (*CPLP*), the Community of Portuguese Language Countries. Thus, the sense of belonging to a nation or to a colonial empire is reconfigured by a notion of belonging to a language (the vehicle of the nation and the empire), which is seemingly "benign" and more farreaching than the socio-political powers of the Portuguese nation state. This reconfiguration allows for, among other things, a mobilization of Portugal's emigrants abroad, in other words, its diaspora.

3.1.3 Ideologies of diaspora

Conceptualizing Toronto's Portuguese community as a diasporic market allows me to consider differential locations of power and to problematize notions of the global and the local, the majority and the minority, the historical and the temporal (Brah 1996). In this light, the previous chapter and the sections that follow provide a historical and local contextualization of Toronto's Portuguese market and how the dominant discourse of portugueseness is produced. Brah (1996:189) proposes a concept of diaspora that is embedded in a multi-axial understanding of power that highlights "the ways in which a group constituted as a 'minority' along one dimension of differentiation may be constructed as a 'majority' along another" (cited in Pacheco 2004:26). The Portuguese in Canada reveal several interesting dimensions of differentiation, but for my purposes here the most illuminating one is the internal differentiation where Azoreans make up a minority in the national Portuguese homeland, but a majority in the Portuguese-Canadian diaspora. Yet this diasporic market has traditionally been constructed as Mainland Portuguese, rather than Azorean, despite the overwhelming majority of Azoreans in Toronto. This differentiation leads me to question how the dominant discourse of portugueseness manipulates ideologies of diaspora (and nationalism) in order to reproduce itself.

The dominant discourse of portugueseness expects that when Portuguese citizens leave Portugal they will proudly sow the seeds of their Portuguese identity, culture and language abroad. In their new (and improvised) role as cultural ambassadors, these emigrants are urged by

¹ Although the *lusofonia* is officially institutionalized by the *CPLP*, there is also another international (continental) Portuguese linguistic association known as the *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (PALOP)* for Portuguese-speaking African countries. Research into these organizations and the international language treaties between Portugal, Brazil and other lusophone countries would be very revealing in terms of language ideologies, but it falls beyond the limits of this current project.

the Portuguese state to honour their *pátria* by putting into practice many of the nationalist and linguistic ideologies seen above. Individual reasons for leaving Portugal or socio-economic conditions in Canada take a back seat for the greater "cause". Portuguese politicians and leaders of the local Portuguese-Canadian market expect Portuguese emigrants to strengthen the diaspora by passing the Portuguese language and culture on to their children, and by supporting Portuguese spaces (at home, in the "community" and elsewhere) for them to speak and perform it as often as possible. In order to legitimize itself, the dominant discourse frames the sociolinguistic situation of the second and future generations of Portuguese-Canadians as a battle between Portugal and Canada, between Portuguese and English (in the case of Toronto). In the eyes of the dominant discourse, "good" parents are those who constantly remind their children "where they came from" and "what they are".

One dominant strategy used to convey this message to younger generations involves physically taking them across the transnational divide. Frequent vacations to Portugal encourage youth to interact with any remaining family, to directly discover the country and to have their own Portuguese experiences in the hopes that they will create a personal sense of belonging. Portuguese adults (and especially parents), who are already supposed to "belong", are expected to feel and vocalize a sense of longing or *saudade* for what and whomever they left behind as a sign of their portugueseness.² But here too there are practical differences in the "myth of returning" that depend, for instance, on which side of the Azorean-Continental divide one is on: most Azoreans feel less compelled to return to the islands because sustained family migration has brought so many of their family members to either Canada or the United States, whereas most Continental families in Toronto still have (many) family members in Portugal or elsewhere in Europe (see Chapter 2 for more on Portuguese migration patterns).

With all of my extended family in Mainland Portugal, for example, I learned to grow up in Canada with a sense of longing for a country and a culture I barely knew. I often wondered if the Portuguese government was in the business of capitalizing on that *saudade* and selling it to its diasporic communities through music, sport, publications and political visits. My parents and all the Portuguese adults I knew longed for everything and everyone they left behind, often feeling guilty for having left, and since I was one of the reasons why they left, I was expected to

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² Saudade is an important part of the Portuguese national identity (Feldman-Bianco 1992). Proudly touted as a word that is so uniquely Portuguese that it cannot be translated (reminiscent of the same logic that claims the Inuit have 100 words for "snow"), it generally means "longing", "melancholy" and "nostalgia". The respect that is shown to the word and its meaning create, in my opinion, an emotional, romanticized and depoliticized view of Portugal's rural and colonial past.

share in their mournful longing. As a result, I felt that in many ways I was "more" Portuguese than my family in Portugal (who did not have to suffer with the same *saudade*): I had heard more traditional Portuguese music, heard more stories about the "old days", and celebrated Portuguese national holidays and religious feast days more fervently than they did there.

The institutional organization of Portuguese language and culture in Toronto inscribed the transnational ideological "longing" for Portugal onto a localized "belonging" in Canada that was reinforced by the politics and funding of Canadian multiculturalism. The following section picks up on this process by looking at how ideologies of class and labour have informed the dominant discourse of what it means to be Portuguese in Canada. A closer look at the spaces where this discourse gets produced and the conditions that support them is the focus of the second part of this chapter.

3.1.4 Ideologies of class and labour

Considering that the vast majority of Portuguese immigrants to Canada were undereducated, working-class manual labourers allowed into the country to meet the demands of a growing capitalist economy, it is not surprising that most Portuguese, and Portuguese culture by extension, became associated with hard-working manual labour (see the archetypes of Portuguese cleaners and construction workers). In Canada's multiculturalist framework, ethnic identity and working class status are conflated, and distinguishing between them in public discourse risks revealing the unequal power relations that benefit the dominant classes. The result is a productive ambiguity. Take, for example, the public discourse of the Canadian Prime Minister, Paul Martin, in honouring the 2005 Portugal Day celebrations in Toronto. He wrote a letter to an association of Portuguese-Canadian clubs in which he reminded Canadians that the country has benefited "immeasurably" from the "diversity of its [Canada's] people", from the "special gifts of heritage and culture" inherent in each citizen. In particular, he stressed that the Portuguese have made "many and varied contributions" over the course of their history in Canada (ACAPO 2005:13). While the Prime Minister reinforced the theme of cultural celebration that is central to the dominant discourses of Canadian multiculturalism and portugueseness, he could neither elaborate on the ways in which Portuguese heritage and culture enriched Canada, nor specify the types of contributions made by Portuguese-Canadians.

In light of these dominant discourses, admitting that the most important contribution made by Portuguese-Canadians to Canadian society has been their working-class labour would

make for bad multicultural press from his national position and it would reveal how the state profits from connections between class and ethnicity. Indeed, Canada has been enriched by the economic contributions of the Portuguese from the 1950s onward when their manual labour was imported to work on railroads, rural farms, urban construction sites, in garment factories, hospitality industries, and elsewhere at times when "regular" and de-ethnicized Canadians did not have to do the work themselves. This work, which was mostly "invisible" in the previous decades, has increasingly garnered public attention in the local markets of Toronto and other major urban centres over the last 10-15 years with the growth of the construction industry and its trade unions. As a result, a working-class discourse of "having helped build Canada", its provinces and cities, has expanded beyond the confines of Portuguese dinner tables and sports bars and has now become more mainstream. In addition to being socially constructed as hardworking and industrious, Portuguese-Canadians are also viewed by Canadians as being generally family-oriented, honest, respectful, traditional and religious.³

These conceptualizations of the Portuguese are also very much in line with the ideologies of the socio-economically conservative period before, during and after Salazar's Estado Novo (1950s-1980s) during which most Portuguese emigrants fled the dictatorial regime, the crushing poverty and the ensuing socio-political instability. The dominant discourse of portugueseness at that time valued the peasant/working-class, the nation, the family, Christian morality, rurality and agriculture, simplicity, tradition and respect for authority. The Salazar regime's paternalistic, racist, anti-intellectual and apolitical ideologies became deeply entrenched in the Portuguese habitus. I would argue that having missed the shift from traditionalism to (post-)modernity, most of the Portuguese who immigrated to Canada at that time did not have to confront their internalized ideologies in the same way as those in Portugal did after the 1974 social democratic revolution. Furthermore, in Canada they were constructed as ethnic workers rather than as full members of the nation. As a result, some of the ideologies and practices internalized before migration were reinforced through migration and are used to make sense of negative workingclass social characteristics associated with the Portuguese in Canada: that they are un(der)educated, that all they care about is work, that they do not respect women, that they are close-minded, and more.

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³ Discursive constructions such as these were hotly debated and defended in public and in private when the Canadian state began deporting undocumented Portuguese workers and their families in 2006 (Gorrie 2006, Godfrey 2006). A thorough discussion of the ethno-class constructions of portugueseness in this debate falls beyond the limits of this text, but, having collected many newspapers, online discussion comments and fieldnotes, I plan to explore it in the future. For an example of Portuguese mobilization against deportations in 1996 see Aguiar (2009).

3.1.5 Concluding remarks

What makes up the dominant discourse of portugueseness (or any dominant discourse) are the idealized ways of being that people in positions of power impose as the norm on those under their control. These norms are made up of ideologies that try to naturalize certain discourses, which, in other words, involves protecting limited resources and privileged access to markets. Thus, ideologies of nationalism, language, diaspora and class, among others, involve practices of inclusion and exclusion. Some of the traditionalist ideologies and rural/workingclass practices were internalized by most early Portuguese-Canadian immigrants and reinforced through migration. This served to reify portugueseness in Canada and to make many Canadians believe that there was little more to the Portuguese than hard work, family, longing to return home and maintaining their ethnic language. For the Mainlander elite in this Portuguese diasporic market, these ideologies reinforced their positions of power because their sociolinguistic and class habitus positioned them as the "best" representatives of legitimate portugueseness as defined by Portuguese nationalism and Canadian multiculturalism. As such, this Mainlander elite expects the market and portugueseness to be structured around standard and monolingual Portuguese spaces that produce a folklorized and nostalgic (saudade-inspired) past and a sense of ethnolinguistic pride.

3.2 Sites where the dominant discourse gets (re)produced

The second part of this chapter presents the most important sites in Toronto's Portuguese market where the ideologies discussed above get (re)produced through dominant discourses of portugueseness. The sites are presented in an order that reflects an increasing interaction with, or investment in, public performances of portugueseness. The first three (home 3.2.1, church 3.2.2 and school 3.2.3) are the spaces where I think dominant discourses of portugueseness can reach almost all second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. The children of first or 1.5 generation Portuguese-Canadians will likely all interact with discourses of portugueseness at home, even if that interaction is short and leads to a complete rejection of anything Portuguese. If the child's parents are Catholic and they had her baptized, then there may have been some interaction with portugueseness along the way as well. It is also likely that, early on in the socialization process in the Canadian school system, children of Portuguese descent will be defined, in some way, along ethnolinguistic lines. Lastly, it is likely that this process will continue in other settings as

the child grows older, but with age, increased independence and socio-economic resources the child may be able to avoid such ethnolinguistic positioning (e.g. by changing her name or by investing in different markets). The rest of the sites presented in sections 3.2.4 to 3.2.9 may not be accessible to everyone of Portuguese descent, as they require varying degrees of Portuguese social and linguistic capital in order to participate. Even if a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian does not participate in any of the sites listed, it is very likely that she is aware of their existence and has chosen, for legitimate reasons, to avoid them. In this way, absence is also a way of interacting with the dominant discourse of portugueseness and the market it structures.

3.2.1 *Uma casa portuguesa...*in Toronto

It should come as no surprise that the dominant discourse surrounding portugueseness reserves special attention to the home, since it is a defining site for the socialization of ethnic cultures, identities and languages. But what makes a Portuguese home? The ideology of the Portuguese *casa* is described by de Pina-Cabral (1986) as the desire to return to the *casa* in Portugal (especially for Mainlanders). For those who cannot or chose not to return, the ideology of the casa can be used to recreate the traditional Portuguese home in the diaspora as a way of showing off their ethnic pride. In fact, that construction of the traditional home and of traditional portugueseness is set to music in a classic, nation-building fado song by Amália Rodrigues (1953) entitled *Uma casa portuguesa* (see Appendix J for the lyrics). Released at the time when Portuguese legal migration to Canada began, it is important to situate this song and its genre in the hegemonic socio-political context of Portugal's dictatorial regime (as discussed in section 2.1.3 with fado as one element of Salazar's "three Fs" social policy). Furthermore, it is also worth pointing out that Amália, as she is commonly known, was more than Portugal's national singer; she was a global icon for Portugal and for fado (the national song of love, loss and longing or *saudade*).

Uma casa portuguesa idealizes pre-industrial Portugal by exploiting themes of family, rurality, humility, nostalgia and poverty in an up-beat tempo that gives the song a reassuring, uplifting "feel". In the song, Amália extols the ("Christian") virtues of sharing one's limited possessions with joyful humility and simplicity. In addition to suggesting how "typical" or "good" Portuguese people should live, the song's refrain paints a clear picture of what a "good" Portuguese home should look like:

Four whitewashed walls, a light smell of rosemary, a bunch of golden grapes, two roses in the garden, an image of St. Joseph made of tiles [...]

For the Portuguese living in Canada's largest urban centre, what might a traditional *casa portuguesa* look like today? In many respects, the "peasant" characteristics described by Amália are reproduced in working-class neighbourhoods. Having a house with whitewashed walls would likely not be appreciated by the neighbours or the city council, but residents of Toronto in the 1970s and 80s could often guess that the person washing the sidewalk in front of his house was Portuguese! The number of backyard "vineyards" and vegetable gardens from that time have likely diminished, but with us remain the well manicured flower-beds and lawns, the long front porches for watching or chatting with neighbours, and the images of St. Joseph, St. Michael the archangel, Our Lady of Fátima, *Senhor Santo Cristo* and other Catholic symbols emblazed on tiles beside the front door.

Although these markers of ethnicity are not confined to the Portuguese (e.g. earlier waves of Italian immigrants set the path with interlocking bricks), these religious images are productive in the Portuguese market because they often reveal internal group divisions. They reveal class divisions, for instance, since Portuguese homeowners in upper-class neighbourhoods do not have such visible markers of ethnicity and religiosity. More importantly, they also reveal regional differences: an Azorean casa vs. a Mainland Portuguese casa. My ethnography of tiles suggests that images of Senhor Santo Cristo or St. Michael indicate the likelihood of a (previous) Azorean homeowner (probably from São Miguel). Tiles with Our Lady of Fátima or St. Joseph are more indicative of a Mainland Portuguese household. The use of ethno-religious symbols to mark one's portugueseness or azoreanness can extend beyond the home and even to a person's car. While rosaries hanging from rear-view mirrors and medals of St. Christopher cannot distinguish a Catholic Portuguese person from a Catholic Italian, for example, a red heart-shaped cushion with a small dove on it (representing the Holy Spirit or *Divino Espírito Santo*) is a clear indicator of azoreanness. All of these outward displays, be they reverential or gaudy, illustrate some of the creative ways that Portuguese-Canadians have found to publicly express their identity, especially among the older generation(s).

Still, the most recognizable public symbol of portugueseness is the Portuguese or Azorean flag and in order to be a "good" Portuguese person, the dominant discourse expects there to be one in every Portuguese home. As a marker of (trans)national and/or regional pride and local difference, the flag is used outside homes as well as on store-front windows and car windows; I have also seen it sewn on a knapsack, printed on a t-shirt, used as a skirt, tied around

a dog's neck as a bib, hung in a school locker, selected as wallpaper for a phone or computer, and tattooed on someone's body.

Another recognizable display of portugueseness is speaking Portuguese, and the home is the most privileged site for this. According to the dominant discourse, Portuguese should be the primary, if not the only, language spoken at home – especially between parents of Portuguese descent and between them and their children – in order to help Canadian-born youth acquire it. A "good" Portuguese home is also a space where people can consume portugueseness, be it through a multitude of food options, traditional music (like Amália) on the Portuguese radio, Portuguese soccer on the TV or internet, or through local or international Portuguese print media.

Lastly, *uma casa portuguesa* has also traditionally been a gendered space. The dominant discourse of portugueseness has long targeted women as homemakers and conveyors of culture. They have been expected to be good cooks, to prepare elaborate Portuguese meals, to keep a clean house (a skill that many think is "inherent" to them given the high number of Portuguese cleaning ladies), to carry out their personal, parental and spousal duties without too much complaining, to pamper the men in the family, to work outside of the house in order to make ends meet and to transmit the Portuguese language and culture to their children. Men, on the other hand, have traditionally been supposed to earn more money than women, work more physically demanding jobs and have most of the household control over such things as finances, driving and discipline. Having laid out this traditionally gendered view of the dominant Portuguese home, I must stress that while it may still be reflective of some Portuguese homes, it is not as common as it was in the 1970s and '80s.

3.2.2 The Catholic Church and religiosity within portugueseness

There is nothing inherently Portuguese about the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, Catholic spaces remain important sites for the (re)production of the dominant discourse of portugueseness. For those immigrants who left Portugal before the 1970s, Catholicism was really the only religion allowed. The Catholic Church was a powerful, conservative, monolithic and far-reaching institution that divided the country into parishes (*paróquias*), ran most of the schools, organized much of the social calendar (with different feast days) and helped shape Portuguese culture and values, which Salazar identified as "God, family and nation" (Braz 2008). Going back further, the Catholic Church was deeply invested in the most significant nationalistic moments in the history of Portugal, which are supposed to be sources of pride to young

Portuguese descendants: the conquest of the Muslims and the "establishment" of modern Portugal, the evangelization and racialized commercial enterprise of the first explorers during the "great era of the discoveries", colonization and the spread of Portuguese to teach the Bible, etc. Catholicism has also helped shape other important national symbols which figure prominently in the dominant discourse and performances of portugueseness, including two of the most popular ones on display in Toronto: the Portuguese flag (which supposedly has messianic references⁴) and the logo for the Portuguese national soccer team which has a cross (*a Cruz de Cristo*) similar to the crosses used on 15th century Portuguese caravels.

The social, linguistic, cultural, recreational role of the Catholic Church in the settlement process of the first generation of Portuguese immigrants to Canada was discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Despite being a site that is not frequented regularly by many Portuguese-Canadian youth, Catholic traditions have inscribed themselves into the dominant discourse and performances of portugueseness in Toronto. "Good" Portuguese families should identify themselves as Catholic, practising or not, and have their children baptized, communed, confirmed, married and buried in the Church in order to avoid any family vergonha (shame). Dating someone who is not Catholic can be very problematic – especially for the first generation. Involvement in church-related events (e.g. choirs, marching bands, religious processions, feast day celebrations, charity work, etc.) is also highly regarded as a way of keeping Portuguese cultural traditions and ("Christian") values alive. Such values – as essentialist as they may be – include respect for authority, discipline, suffering, marriage, family and heterosexuality, among others. Involvement in church-related activities also reveals internal divisions within the Portuguese market. As discussed in Chapter 2, most of the Portuguese priests in Toronto are of Azorean descent and there are large, important festivals that are almost exclusively Azorean (e.g. the feasts of the Divine Holy Spirit and the Christ of Miracles). Portuguese-language church services represent one of the few spaces where speakers of Azorean Portuguese are legitimized behind a microphone.

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⁴ I discovered this discursive gem while enjoying a meal at a local Portuguese restaurant. As we will see below in section 3.2.7, ethnic businesses can also produce the dominant discourse, and this restaurant has paper placemats that present facts about Portugal in English and Portuguese. One particular placement featured the history of the Portuguese flag: "In the coat of arms (known as the *Escudo*) the white shield has five smaller blue shields inside. This is the Armour of Don Afonso Henriques. Legend has it that in the battle of Ourique the crucified Christ appeared before Don Afonso Henriques and said: 'With this sign (the white shield), you will conquer!' The dots inside each blue shield represent the five wounds of Christ and the total, including the centre shield, represent the thirty silver pieces that Judas received for having betrayed Jesus Christ'' (*Bairrada Churrasqueira* - Flag lesson placemat, 2006).

3.2.3 Canadian schools, ethnic rivalries and portugueseness

Even though Canadian schools are not Portuguese spaces, they can be sites where dominant discourses of portugueseness are constructed and contested. Indeed, ethnolinguistic categorization is one of the recognizable and sometimes rewardable ways of social organization in the school setting. There are, for example, multicultural nights and festivals, talent shows, class projects and assignments in history, geography and language studies, and even some sporting activities in which ethnolinguistic identities take centre stage. When ethnicity is not being incorporated into the (extra)curricular activities at school, it is still present in the student body. As students compete for resources controlled by the school and for status between themselves ethnolinguistic positioning is a strategy available to them. Although my fieldwork did not include formal school settings (for methodological reasons discussed in Chapter 1), many of my participants explained that these spaces are productive sites of discursive tensions surrounding identity. The most common example of inter-ethnic rivalry is one that will come up throughout this dissertation and it involves the ethno-class dynamics between Italians and Portuguese in Canada. But debates over identity are not restricted to different ethnic groups. Intra-ethnic divisions within the dominant discourse of portugueseness also play themselves out in Canadian school settings where the descendants of Azoreans and Mainlanders jockey for position to determine which is better, and perhaps which group should represent the "Portuguese" in competitions with other ethnic groups. Since most second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth are not involved in the dominant spaces where portugueseness is constructed (e.g. Portuguese cultural associations, language schools or the Portuguese-language media), the Canadian school provides a space where Portuguese young people can interact with each other and with others.⁵

3.2.4 Portuguese clubs, associations and language schools

Another important site for the (re)production of the dominant discourse of portugueseness in Toronto is the general space created for and by Portuguese cultural or social organizations. In the context of a larger cultural association movement supported financially and discursively through Canada's multiculturalist policy, Portuguese cultural associations also are

⁵ Similar dynamics of ethnic rivalries and identity construction exist in workplaces such as the construction industry and factory work, among others, where cliques or teams of workers are divided along ethno-linguistic and class lines: Portuguese roofers, Brazilian bricklayers, Italian electricians, etc. Although these were sites that I did not access in my fieldwork, future research on the construction of portugueseness and the role of ethnolinguistic categorization in the organization of Canadian society's class structure could build on the work of Goldstein (1997) and Miranda (2009), among others.

sites where people can speak, hear, eat, watch and act out certain kinds of portugueseness as set out by the club leaders. In the beginning, these clubs met a very specific need: to provide a meeting place for a group of people who could not easily identify with Canadian society and institutions and for those who wanted to display a sense of pride and attachment to a particular region or aspect of Portugal. There were, and still are, clubs affiliated with the major Portuguese soccer teams as well as associations representing certain regions, provinces and cities in Portugal. In general, the spaces operate monolingually in Portuguese and (re)produce traditional and folklorized forms of portugueseness. The discursive mission of most cultural clubs is normally three-fold: 1) to maintain and develop the culture, heritage and traditions of a specific region of Portugal, or of Portugal as a whole; 2) to promote Portuguese culture, history and language to youth of Portuguese descent; and 3) to promote social and recreational activities for their members.

A critical history of the emergence of Portuguese clubs in Toronto is lacking, but, as we saw in Chapter 2, it appears that the very first Portuguese cultural organizations were created by Mainlanders and they produced performances of portugueseness that favoured Mainland Portugal. Azorean ways of speaking and of being were not legitimized by the dominant discourse as being "representative" of Portugal, this despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Portuguese in Canada are from the Azores. Thus, identities were produced and reproduced along certain lines of interest and power where those who had the necessary symbolic and material resources created different cultural associations within the Portuguese market. The absence of data in this area makes it difficult to know exactly what happened when and who financed what, but I suspect that, as the Portuguese cultural market expanded, there must have been competition over "who gets to represents who" and over access to the resources needed to sustain multiple groups.

As was the case with most institutions in Portugal at the time of immigration, the vast majority of the cultural organizations in Toronto were run by men. In many cases, these men were likely involved in Portuguese ethnic businesses as well, which blurred the lines between cultural and economic production and gave them certain positions of power. Giles (2002) found that women and members of the younger generations were largely excluded from similar positions of power. When women were slowly allowed membership into the clubs, their participation was at first restricted primarily to kitchen, service or secretarial work. Young people were expected to follow their parents to these clubs so that they could be socialized in

monolingual and traditional portugueseness, especially through folklore dancing and Portuguese language classes which are public ways of performing legitimate portugueseness. The more "Portuguese" clubs, and therefore the more prestigious ones, were those that held regular events including evenings of dinner and dancing (known as *bailes*), concerts, banquets, religious and national holiday celebrations, soccer matches, folklore dancing and language classes.⁶

From the perspective of the Canadian mainstream, which refuses to understand the variability within essentialized ethnic groups, it can be assumed that a high number of cultural associations indicates a high degree of "ethnolinguistic vitality" (Bourhis et al. 1981). Yet this perspective, which is reinforced by the ideologies of Canadian multiculturalism, assumes an internal cohesion among ethnic group members and carefully manages internal processes of regional, linguistic, gender and class differences. This perspective also assumes that if the number of Portuguese cultural associations decreases – as it has since the end of large-scale immigration from Portugal in the 1990s and also as a result of generational decline and geographic and socio-economic mobility – then the community's "vitality" diminishes. What is really diminishing, however, is the control held by people in positions of power. Faced with an uncertain future for the institutions that helped (re)produce their symbolic and material capital, the leaders of Portuguese cultural associations try and protect their market by discursively framing their spaces as being for the younger generations of Portuguese-Canadians. In practice, however, the Portuguese market has remained largely the same: monolingual, traditional and resistant to change.

The Portuguese language classes offered through these cultural associations are also lauded as signs of the community's ethnolinguistic vitality. Widely marketed as being open to all Portuguese-Canadian children, the language classes appear to be divided along regional lines. From the teachers, who are predominantly first-generation immigrants from Mainland Portugal, to the curriculum, which presents the standardized and Mainland-centric views of the Portuguese language, history and culture, these classrooms reinforce the traditionalist and homogenizing dominant discourse that legitimate portugueseness is Mainland portugueseness. Azoreans and azoreanness are not only discursively absent from these spaces, but they are also physically absent. In their study on Portuguese-Canadian youth, Oliveira and Teixeira (2004) found that less than 5% of students in Portuguese-language classes were of Azorean descent.

⁶ Many clubs also had soccer teams (first for adults, then also for youth), but in terms of cultural prestige this kind of

recreational activity came in third behind language classes and folklore dancing. That said, soccer has become a productive way of performing portugueseness that does not require much Portuguese linguistic or cultural capital.

In addition to Portuguese-language classes, the Portuguese cultural associative movement goes so far as to financially reward Portuguese-Canadian youth who can produce legitimate performances of portugueseness. By organizing essay-writing and scholarship contests where young people are asked to write about their Portuguese ethnicity and what it means to them ("Para mim, ser português é..."), the leaders of Portuguese cultural associations and businesses can promote and police specific kinds of portugueseness. From my own experiences in these contests and in conversations with other applicants, I find that there is normative and discursive pressure to produce a text that is not critical of the homogenizing, nationalistic narrative in order to increase one's chances of winning. Furthermore, it is also assumed by most of the students I spoke to that if the essay is written in Portuguese (instead of English) one stands a better chance of winning because of the "respectful" language choice and the relative scarcity of Portuguese submissions from a young population that is more comfortable writing in English.

Even more restrictive than the "correct" choice of language for the essay, however, is the fact that these contests have not always been open to every young person of Portuguese-Canadian descent. Over the course of my fieldwork, I discovered that up until the 1990s, several contests required that applicants prove that both parents were of Portuguese descent. This sent the message that children from exogamous unions were not Portuguese enough to know what it means to be Portuguese. This restriction was later loosened to allow children who had one parent of Portuguese descent. Finally, in the early 2000s, several essay-writing and scholarship programs opened the doors of Portuguese "descent" even wider by tracing descent through language and accepting applications from other lusophones (e.g. Brazilians, Angolans, Mozambicans, etc.). It remains unclear to me how many "non-Portuguese" people actually apply or win through this process of inscribing portugueseness onto others. In Chapter 7, we will examine these ethnic awards more closely, as they figure prominently in the community outreach work of two Portuguese university student associations.

The performances of portugueseness staged by traditional cultural associations are generally geared towards a very specific audience: the Portuguese. Although the spaces are technically open to anyone who wants to enter, my fieldwork uncovered very few interethnic events or invitations for cultural or linguistic Others to come and perform for or with the Portuguese. The very important exception, however, is the presence of Canadian politicians. Their strategic appearances at Portuguese cultural events underscore the state's symbolic and material investment in maintaining the production of ethnic difference and their ties with

community leaders. The presence of Canadian politicians at community celebrations, and their speeches in particular, turn these sites into complex discursive spaces where the state is also celebrated.

Take, for example, an award ceremony for an essay-writing contest, like the ones described above, where an important Canadian politician, Michael Ignatieff, was invited as the guest of honour (even though he has no direct ties to portugueseness). Mr Ignatieff is someone whose ethnicity is inscribable through his last name, but his whiteness, upper-class status and university education do not make ethnicity a barrier for social mobility. He can, as a result, access markets that are both ethnicized and de-ethnicized. In this particular case, his message to the young winners of the "What it means to me to be Portuguese" contest was in line with the dominant discourse of multiculturalism and of portugueseness which expects the children of immigrants to proudly speak their parents' languages. If they do not maintain that ethnolinguistic link, Mr Ignatieff warned them that they would be "making a mistake". A mistake that he "made" as a child and that he regrets as an adult because he lost the chance to speak to his father and his family in their native Russian. Here is an excerpt of his speech:

Don't make the same mistake as I did. Don't forget your language! Have pride in speaking and in writing it, even in this country, because what distinguishes us is this multiculturalism, it's the opportunity to be ourselves in the midst of so many cultures.

What Mr Ignatieff does not tell the awe-struck children, however, is that he could have learned Russian as a teenager or as an adult but that he chose not to, perhaps because speaking Russian or being Russian was not immediately beneficial in the markets where he was trying to position himself. In this interaction, he is essentializing the children's identity as an ethnolinguistic one against the backdrop of the mythical mosaic of multiculturalism that encourages immigrants and their descendants to be (and remain) different from the white, English-Canadian indistinguishable norm.

Another revealing interaction with portugueseness in these cultural associations involves Canadian politicians and their delicate dance around language in spaces that are constructed as monolingually Portuguese and very rarely as bilingual (Portuguese-English). The performance normally begins with the outsider's attempt to say a few words in Portuguese (*bom dia* – good morning/day, *é um prazer estar aqui* – it is a pleasure to be here, etc.), or with a "witty" comment about how their Portuguese lessons are not progressing fast enough or about how they love Portugal, have many Portuguese friends and plan to visit the country one day soon. Their efforts are usually well-received (or at least they pretend to be) by older Portuguese audience

members who laugh light-heartedly or sometimes break out into applause. Next, depending on the purpose of their speech (recognizing a special anniversary, marking a religious or national celebration, etc.), politicians will often say something nice about the Portuguese community in general, without providing many specifics. Their discourse rarely deviates from a prescribed script which produces grandiose platitudes extolling the Portuguese community's depoliticized "rich history", "vibrant culture", "proud traditions", "significant contributions to [the country/province/ city]", all of which "enhance Canadian multiculturalism" (as taken from various speeches). The leaders and active members of the Portuguese-Canadian community feel validated by comments such as these (which are usually accompanied by hand-shakes, photos and certificates), and the politicians hope that their symbolic words and gestures will stir up Portuguese support for them as evidenced by the many political messages and advertisements in the Portuguese ethnic newspapers, and the photos of politicians smiling alongside young children dressed in traditional folklore costumes.

3.2.5 Folklore, Rancho

"Music and folklore are integral parts of carefully preserved Portuguese culture. The popular songs are a 'richness' passed on from generation to generation" [my translation] (Lefebvre and Oryschuk 1985:164).

The link between the Canadian state and legitimized performances of portugueseness is more than just symbolic. While it is difficult to know exactly how much money Portuguese cultural associations have received over the years through the funding policies of Canadian multiculturalism, I did discover, for instance, that in 2001 a Portuguese association received \$24,300 from an agency of the Ontario Ministry of Culture for the "purchase [of] new costumes and musical instruments to enhance the quality and effectiveness of artistic performances" (Trillium Foundation 2002).

Folklore dancing, musical performance (in bands or as individual artists), soccer games and female beauty pageants have all become privileged means of selling performances of portugueseness to Portuguese-Canadians, young and old alike, and to non-Portuguese Canadians who see these performances and actors as safe to consume. Each activity reproduces specific discourses of portugueseness and are always prominently featured in the Portuguese-language media: the folklore costumes and dances are the same traditional ones from "the old country" and recreate a connection to a depoliticized, mostly peasant and rural past; musicians are all expected to perform Portuguese music when in Portuguese spaces or at least address the

Portuguese audience in their "native" language; and playing soccer can strengthen a young person's connection to Portugal where the sport remains the national passion and best hope for international "glory". Beauty pageants, which have nothing to do with portugueseness *per se*, present a gendered space for young women to participate, and gain distinction, in the (maledominated) "community". What connects the pageants to performances of portugueseness is that the winner ("Miss *XYZ*") must serve as an ambassador for her particular club at public events - this involves speaking (at least some formulaic) Portuguese.

The young Portuguese-Canadians who dance in folklore groups (or ranchos) produce what is perhaps the most powerful and iconic image of portugueseness for those members of the "community" who are invested in their ethnic culture and identity, as well as for those non-Portuguese publics who see it as a non-threatening, exoticized performance. The young dancers represent the ideologized "best of both worlds" with their feet planted in the current reality of Canada while dancing to the traditional, peasant-inspired tunes of traditional Portugal. Holton (2005:183) explains that the fascist regime of Salazar's Estado Novo (New State) used folklore as an instrument of nation building and social control (representing the "fourth F" along with fado, futebol and Fátima): the folklore dancers were "whirling national flags". In the diaspora, ranchos continue to patriotically celebrate the homeland by rebuilding it abroad. They help the transnational community forget their geographic isolation by watching the "future of the community" (the youth) traveling back in time and space, as if reversing their emigration. Depending on the affiliation or "mission" of the folklore troupe, some will represent a specific region of Portugal while others combine as many Portuguese regions, costumes and repertoires as possible. In general, I have found that folklore performances are more common among Mainlanders than among Azoreans. Azoreanness tends to be performed in different spaces that are somewhat removed from the direct control of dominant portugueseness; spaces such as religious festivals, marching bands and Azorean cultural associations.

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⁷ Portuguese-Canadian *ranchos* are normally associated with larger cultural clubs and are made up of amateur musicians and dancers who perform reconstructions of traditional Portuguese songs and dances from the late 19th century. The size of the rancho varies anywhere from 20 to 50 members including instrumentalists (guitars, accordions, drums, etc.), vocalists and, of course, dancers, who are normally paired up along heteronormative lines. The dancers are typically the youngest members of the group (second or third generation youth), the musicians are normally first generation men and the vocalists are first generation men and women. Since knowing how to speak Portuguese is not strictly required to learn the dance moves, many young Portuguese-Canadian performers can "get away" without speaking or singing in Portuguese. During the performance, the adult vocalists and the coordinator or teacher normally present the folklore group to the audience, explain their costumes and introduce the song/dance choices. Everyone on stage wears authentic traditional dresses, regional costumes and accessories (jewellery, pitch forks, hoes, baskets, etc.) that almost always come from Portugal – as do the musical instruments.

Parents who help get their children involved in *ranchos* are generally seen as fulfilling their duties as Portuguese parents and nationals by raising seemingly responsible, respectful and disciplined children and preserving Portuguese cultural values. Holton (2005:187) argues that *rancho* dancing encourages "conservative moral values such as monogamy, respect for authority, and celebration of an agrarian lifestyle abandoned by immigrants from Portuguese rurality to [North American] urbanism". It also helps keep young people off the streets and out of trouble while creating a safe cultural space for endogamous relationships and dating – especially for young girls whose courtship habits are often closely scrutinized by traditional Portuguese parents. Those parents who do not subscribe to any of the aforementioned "benefits" of *ranchos* and whose children do not participate in them can face criticism for not being "sufficiently" Portuguese or for not doing their part for the "cause". Perhaps they can get them a Portuguese passport instead.

3.2.6 Portuguese consulate and official representation

In the discursive battle of defining and legitimizing Portuguese identity in Toronto, no space is more legitimate in the eyes of the dominant discourse than the Portuguese consulate. Representing the Portuguese State, the consulate in Toronto oversees Portugal's federal policy and the promotion of Portuguese language, culture and history in the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba, but it is most active in and around Toronto. One of its main goals is to produce "good" Portuguese citizens. Since Canada and Portugal allow dual citizenship, Portuguese-Canadians, and especially those of the second and third generations, are strongly encouraged by the Portuguese State to acquire Portuguese citizenship. In practical terms, the number of registered citizens is used by the consulate to lobby for continued support from the Portuguese State which has certain obligations to its diaspora. Many parents who have their children registered as Portuguese citizens consider the legal documents as proof that their children are "officially Portuguese" and know "where they came from". There is perhaps more of an impetus for Mainlanders to register their children than Azoreans because their desire to return is traditionally stronger and they may have more direct ties to family, finances and property in Portugal than most Azoreans. For those first generation parents who still have family and property in Portugal, these official documents ensure that their children will be legitimate heirs. For most young Portuguese-Canadians, however, a Portuguese passport is more than a useful document for Portuguese land claims and civic participation, or for debates about legitimate portugueseness; it is also a key to opening the doors to the European Union.

Behind the doors of the consulate, however, the kind of portugueseness that is officially constructed is predominantly Mainland Portuguese especially in terms of the staff, which has historically included very few representatives from the Azores or Madeira. In fact, from what I observed, there may be more employees from the former Portuguese colonies (Macau and Cabo Verde) than from the Azores. The lack of a parallel but separate political infrastructure (like an Azorean consulate) has been used by people I met during the course of my fieldwork to argue that Azoreans do not have legitimate claims to any distinct status within Toronto's Portuguese community. Interestingly, however, in the last couple of years the Regional Government of the Azores has expanded its institutionalized presence in Toronto's Portuguese community by setting up a "citizen's bureau" at a local Azorean cultural association and also by investing heavily in performances of translocal azoreanness – going so far as to hold the celebrations of the regional holiday ("Azores Day") in Toronto in 2009.

The Portuguese state also invests in the teaching of Portuguese language and culture in Toronto universities by funding two visiting lecturers from the *Instituto Camões*. Like the constructions of the nation-state, the course offerings in Portuguese programs have traditionally focussed on the language, literature and history from the dominant (Mainland) Portuguese perspective. However, since the end of my fieldwork in 2007, I have observed a small but important discursive shift in the kinds of (European) Portuguese courses taught in Toronto universities. This shift is towards the creation of courses on Azorean history and literature, as well as the Portuguese diasporic experiences, which re-inscribes the voices and experiences of marginalized peoples into the dominant narrative and scholarly canon. Whether or not these courses are part of a plan by the Regional Government of the Azores to connect with its diaspora, with or without the help of the Portuguese State, remains to be seen.

3.2.7 Ethnic businesses

If promoting the dominant discourse is like selling portugueseness, then Toronto's Portuguese ethnic businesses are also discursive sites worth considering in the general layout of the Portuguese-Canadian social and linguistic market. As far the dominant discourse is concerned, selling portugueseness to the Portuguese community is catering to a built-in market: "good" Portuguese-Canadians are expected to support Portuguese businesses out of ethnic solidarity. An example of a long-established Portuguese industry in the business of selling arguably the most tangible "Portuguese experience" is the Portuguese travel agency. For Portuguese immigrants and Portuguese-Canadians, (semi-)regular visits "back home" are

expected of them as if to "recharge" or "refill" their portugueseness, to "reconnect with their heritage" or – my personal favourite – "to find themselves", as if they were lost and only Portugal could help them. Adding to the discursive power of these travel agencies is their elaborate store front displays of Portugal and of portugueseness with posters, photos, cultural artefacts and detailed vacation packages in order to entice passers-by to "discover" Portugal and remind the older members of their duty to satisfy their *saudades*. The images used to "sell" Portugal have changed very little since the 1970s and 80s. Beautiful beaches, "unspoiled" nature, lush vineyards, old architecture, historical landmarks, religious destinations and the contrasts between large cities (Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra, Ponta Delgada) and smaller countryside villages continue to be at the core of Portuguese tourism campaigns. The most recent marketing strategy appears to portray a more modern and upper-class destination by promoting golf courses, resorts, soccer stadia and the idea that Portugal is a gateway to Europe and Northern Africa.

Most other Portuguese businesses in Toronto serve the "community" locally. Restaurants, bakeries, bars, banquet halls, grocery stores, fish markets, furniture warehouses, construction(related) companies, auto body shops, hair salons and medical practitioners, to name just a few, all rely to some extent on the patronage of Portuguese customers. They also construct local discourses of portugueseness, like a restaurant that claims it is "the most 'Portuguese' in the city" or an importing company that sells the favourite products that "your avo [grandmother] used to use when you were a kid". Whether the product itself is Portuguese (anything from water to wine, cheese to seafood, cork to ceramics), or the service is provided in Portuguese (like a real estate agent, a car salesperson or a personal banker) the commodification and consumption of portugueseness is part of the service. Purchases made out of ethnic loyalty, personal Portuguese networks, perceived trustworthiness or simply out of "personal preference" all support local and global Portuguese markets.

For those businesses that want to attract Portuguese customers but cannot stage ethnocultural displays as elaborate as a Portuguese travel agency or restaurant, the most common strategy I observed is to display signs that sell their bilingual staff: "Fala-se Português / Portuguese spoken here." Car dealerships for multi-national automotive companies do not sell any Portuguese vehicles, but they can promote service in Portuguese with a lusophone salesperson on staff and Portuguese radio stations will often broadcast live from businesses such

as these in order to make the shopping experience that much more Portuguese. Other commodities used to sell portugueseness include flags of Portugal, Madeira and/or the Azores, the colours of the Portuguese flag (green, red, some yellow), the Portuguese cockerel/rooster, the crest of the national soccer federation, posters of Portuguese soccer players, 16th century caravels and even the one-eyed portrait of *Camões*.

3.2.8 Portugal Day celebrations

3.2.8.1 Performing identities

The most mainstream and public Portuguese cultural event in Toronto is the annual Portugal Day Parade held on/near the June 10th national holiday. In Portugal, this day is officially known as "The Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities"; in Toronto it is recognized as "Portugal Day" by the municipal and provincial governments. In celebration of this day, hundreds of thousands of people descend upon Dundas Street West, one of the most "Portuguese" streets in one of Portugal's largest diasporic communities, in order to participate in one of the largest celebrations of portugueseness in the world. Since 2001, the provincial government of Ontario has designated the month of June as "Portuguese History and Heritage Month", and the celebrations for Portugal Day in Toronto have long spanned more than just one day, which is why it is commonly referred to as "Portugal Week". The parade normally includes over fifty floats/entries and thousands of participants showing off different aspects of local and transnational Portuguese culture. It travels 16 city blocks along the main street in Toronto's "Little Portugal" that has ethnically marked street signs signalling "Rua Açores" and "Portugal Village".

Over the course of my fieldwork, the parade was always bookended by ideologically loaded but complementary scenes: the first emphasizing the "Portuguese" in Portuguese-Canadian, and the second emphasizing the "Canadian". The parade began with an enormous Portuguese flag carried by at least a dozen teenagers and children. Chosen from the different cultural associations, sports teams and social groups, these young people – whom I imagine were all born in Canada – represent the ideal of the dominant discourse as the inheritors and future bearers of the Portuguese culture in Toronto. Of all the floats and groups that walked along the street, the loudest reaction was always for the flag and its young heralds. To end the parade, the

⁸ An advertisement in a Portuguese-language community newspaper for a Japanese car dealership in Toronto proudly displayed the photo of a young man in front of the company's logo with a message highlighting the fact that there was a Portuguese salesperson to serve the (lusophone) reader and assist in the purchase of her next vehicle.

organizers invite local, national and international dignitaries (mostly politicians) from Canada and Portugal to walk the route as the last group in a show of solidarity and support for the Portuguese-Canadian community. This procession of *os políticos*, as my father calls it, is also a strategic investment on the part of the politicians whose volunteers run around the crowd distributing promotional material.

In between these two moments in the parade, there is approximately two hours worth of portugueseness to enjoy. The parade's main attraction is the participation of different Portuguese cultural associations and their folklore groups, coming from the Greater Toronto Area and nearby cities. This diversity allows the event to not only represent most of the regions of Portugal, but also a few different regions of the Portuguese diaspora in Ontario. That said, the Ontario association of Portuguese cultural clubs, which organizes the parade and the rest of the Portugal Day festivities in Toronto, does not represent all of the Portuguese clubs and associations, which means that some regions of Portugal or some aspects of portugueseness may be underrepresented in the parade. Personally, I find that the majority of cultural associations in the parade are from Mainland Portugal with relatively little representation from the Azores. "But the show must go on," say the organizers, and all of the cultural associations put in considerable effort to look their best for this public performance on Portugal Day. Some groups use elaborate floats to recreate traditional scenes from life in their region of Portugal (i.e. farming, fishing or religious scenes), while others recreate contemporary scenes. In 2006, for example, one cultural association built a replica of a new soccer stadium in the main city of their region and then had the club's girls soccer team sitting inside it. Still other cultural associations send out their folklore groups in full attire to entertain the public with their dancing and music. What little media coverage the Portugal Day parade receives in the local Canadian media, it has always captured images of young Portuguese-Canadians dancing in folklore costumes or waving from traditional decorated floats. The entries from these cultural associations are separated along the parade route by other groups, such as entire youth soccer teams who pound the pavement in their uniforms kicking around balls and talking to themselves, or marching bands which are often associated with churches with large Portuguese (and especially Azorean) congregations. There is also money to be made at the parade and so Portuguese ethnic businesses like bakeries, butchers, importers, car dealers, real estate agents and representatives from different ethnic media outlets are out in full force, as are Canadian businesses that serve the Portuguese-Canadian community or have many Portuguese-Canadian employees like the major Canadian banks and trade unions.

In 2005, one of the parade entries that most caught my attention was that of a small Portuguese language school. In my previous years of attending the parade I had never seen an entry that was basically parading the Portuguese language. A group of about twenty small children armed with balloons and Portuguese flags marched down the route behind the school's banner. Seeing this public tribute to Portuguese language acquisition or maintenance reinforced the language ideologies of the dominant discourse and it created a capital of distinction for the parents, teachers and students involved. The parade also included a few young people representing Portuguese students' associations in high schools and universities, but they were not met with the same "oohing and aahing" as the children from the small Portuguese language school. Nevertheless, these Portuguese-Canadian young adults are strategically positioned within the broader narrative of the parade: one year they were the first groups to follow the enormous Portuguese flag, and the next they went just before os políticos at the end of the parade. On the one hand, I suspect the goal is to show off the success of the newer generations who are in (post)secondary school and who are poised for even greater accomplishments. On the other hand, the goal is also to remind the youth of their symbolic importance to the Portuguese market and to ensure that the youth groups remain in good standing with potential ethno-cultural sponsors.

Another one of the parade entries that most caught my attention for stirring the nationalist ideologies of the dominant discourse was that of the Portuguese colonial war veterans. In 2005 their strong militaristic presence seriously challenged the quaint traditional and depoliticized image of Portuguese rurality and local regional customs. Dressed in army fatigues, many wearing Portuguese war medals, this group of only men marched orderly down the parade route as though they were war heroes, flanked by a Canadian military truck and a canon for effect. Never having seen a public performance of portugueseness from this controversial period of history (I was used to seeing navigators, fishermen, rural peasants or immigrants), I did not know how to react. The reaction from the people around me on the street was mostly indifferent, although perhaps slightly surprised. In 2006, I was even more surprised when I saw another former colonial entry included in the parade: a local Angolan association. They represented the first group of black people I had ever seen participating in the parade. Then, immediately following the Angolans was the platoon Portuguese colonial war veterans. This time around their Canadian military vehicle was adorned with placards listing some of Portugal's contested former overseas territories: Índia, Timor, Macau, Guiné, Moçambique, Angola. I found the immediate juxtaposition between these two groups in the parade quite puzzling. Why place representatives of the formerly colonized and the former colonizers one after another? Did either of the groups

ask for this? Was this a reaction to the presence of the Other? Was this an example of how naturalized the dominant discourse of the Portuguese empire and of the colonial project can be more than thirty years after its collapse?

The majority of the public at the parade constructs itself as Portuguese by wearing something related to Portugal (e.g. soccer jerseys, t-shirts, something in red or green) or by waving Portuguese flags or scarves. For many of the people watching, attending the Portugal Day parade is one of the few and easiest ways that they publicly perform their portugueseness. Whether they enjoy themselves or not remains to be seen, but their very presence raises the total participation count, and strengthens the argument of the event's mass appeal for its organizers.

The other key events organized during Portugal Week celebrations are much smaller compared to the parade and more focused on the specific themes of the Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades: the Dia de Portugal is proclaimed and commemorated with Portuguese flag raising ceremonies at Toronto's City Hall and at the Provincial Legislative Assembly; for the *Dia de Camões* there is a wreath laying ceremony at the bust of the Portuguese national poet (who reportedly died on June 10, 1580); and for the Dia das Comunidades there is a tribute to the first wave of legal Portuguese migrants to Canada (known as "the pioneers") at a monument marking the 25th anniversary of the Portuguese in Canada. The tribute to the pioneers takes place in a Toronto park where there is a replica of the markers used by Portuguese explorers to claim newly found lands for Portugal. In commemorating the legal arrival of the first Portuguese migrants, a discursive link is made with the arrival of the first Portuguese explorers and fishermen to Canada. Children from a local folklore group lay a wreath on behalf of the Portuguese-Canadian community while attendees stand around the monument as an honour guard saluting the remaining pioneers and community leaders and politicians pay them tribute. A similar honour guard of folklore members gather around the bust of Camões on a busy street corner in downtown Toronto's "Little Italy" in front of a building that housed the first Portuguese club in the city.

At Toronto's City Hall there is a stage set up in a public square where municipal and community leaders gather, along with representatives from numerous folklore groups in full costume, to witness the proclamation of Portugal Day and the raising of the Portuguese flag. A similar, but more formal (and upper-class) ceremony is held on the grounds of the Provincial Government. There, the most ethnically identifiable people – the folklore dancers, the Portuguese soccer supporters and the older women dressed in black – are not present, but the

community leaders, ethnic entrepreneurs, politicians, members of the Portuguese ethnic media and a few members of the public – all dressed in semi-formal attire – gather together.

3.2.8.2 Politicians in praise of portugueseness

The second part of this section presents excerpts from texts written by Portuguese and Canadian politicians from different levels of government in honour of the 2005 Portugal Day celebrations that reveal some of the more striking (re)productions of the dominant discourses of portugueseness and of multiculturalism.

In his public address, the Premier of Ontario, Dalton McGuinty, served up a generous portion of the traditional dominant discourse that tied portugueseness to the rest of the province's diversity as a source of vague, undefined "strength" and part of a "proud" collection of equal and essentialized differences. He did, however, specify that the traditional cultural performances during the Portugal Day festivities represent a significant tourist attraction for the province. Such praise validates the tension-filled cultural work of the "community leaders", which goes unnoticed by most Ontarians and Canadians during the rest of the year, and it encourages these leaders to continue organizing portugueseness in the same way:

Ontario's strength comes from its diversity. We are a proud collection of different ancestries, histories, languages and beliefs. The Portuguese Canadian community has enhanced our society on many vital levels. As members of that community, you continue to make Ontario – and Canada as a whole – an even better place to live. This year's festival – expected to be the largest of its kind in North America – is an ideal way for Portuguese Canadians to celebrate their rich culture, history and traditions. It is an opportunity for Canadians of all backgrounds to learn more about the outstanding contributions that Portuguese Canadians have made to our communities, our province and our nation (ACAPO 2005:23).

A message from a Portuguese-Canadian politician at the provincial level – Peter Fonseca representing a riding in Mississauga with a sizeable Portuguese population – attempts to break with the vague recognitions of the community's "important" contributions by providing some specific examples. Unfortunately for those who adhere to the dominant discourse of portugueseness, Fonseca's message was not written in Portuguese. This was a curious decision considering that he makes a noticeable effort to speak and write in Portuguese and English for public interactions with the community.

Each year, during the month of June we [Canadians? Portuguese?] come together to recognize all those of Portuguese heritage and celebrate our [Portuguese?] history, our rich culture and accomplishments. It is also a time for Portuguese-Canadians to teach others about our heritage and traditions. As a community we have taken many important steps forward and accomplished many things. Whether through our athletes, artists, musicians or entrepreneurs, Portuguese-Canadians have made many important contributions to the cultural fabric of Canada [my comments] (ACAPO 2005:39).

Himself an athlete, Fonseca recognizes some of the different roles in which Portuguese-Canadians have contributed to Canadian society, but he avoids naming any of the more common working-class contributions. Although he does mention entrepreneurs, his focus is on the "cultural fabric" of Canada. The ambiguity that I read into Fonseca's discourse hinges around his use of the pronouns "we" and "our" and his constructions of the audience and of himself. Who is coming together, is it Canadians? The Portuguese? Portuguese-Canadians? And whose history and rich culture is it? Portuguese? Portuguese in Canada? In any case, Fonseca was clear in publicly identifying himself as Portuguese and so for the Portuguese people in the audience any ambiguity did not matter.

A more careful navigation of "we" and "you" ambiguities was required for Rosario Marchese, a long-standing member of Ontario's provincial parliament who also represents a riding with a large number of Portuguese residents. Marchese is of Italian origin but he has worked with the Portuguese in Toronto for decades and he draws on a common Europeanness to identify himself somewhat with the Portuguese. The message he prepared was written in eloquent Portuguese which shows sensitivity to what is expected by the dominant discourse, and which must have warmed the hearts of his (older) Portuguese constituents.

Every year, hundreds of volunteers give their effort, dedication and good will to provide us with countless reasons to be proud and to celebrate cultural identity, an identity which covers not only the Portuguese in Toronto or in Ontario, but which includes us all [...] even though [we are] not of Portuguese descent. We all benefit from these efforts [...] which contribute to democracy in our society. [...] My best wishes for many more successful years [...] and for all the Portuguese of Toronto and of Ontario that during this week they fill our streets with colour, warmth, happiness and friendship (ACAPO 2005:41) [my translation].

The most striking discursive strategy in Marchese's message is his construction of a Portuguese identity that includes people who are not Portuguese, like himself. This is clearly a strategy that he uses to legitimize his participation in the Portuguese-Canadian community. Such a post-structuralist and agentive discourse of identity might work in certain contexts, where he is not competing over valuable Portuguese resources. In other contexts, however, such a broadly

⁹ "Todos os anos, centenas de voluntários contribuem com esforço, dedicação e boa vontade para proporcionar a todos nós inúmeros motivos de orgulho e razões para celebrar a identidade cultural, identidade esta que abrange não só os portugueses em Toronto e no Ontario [sic], como tambem [sic] nos inclui a todos [...] apesar de [nós] não [sermos] de origem portuguesa. Com estes esforços, todos beneficiamos [...] e contribui para a democracia na nossa sociedade. [...] Os meus votos para a continuação de muitos anos de sucesso [...] e para todos os portugueses em Toronto e no Ontario [sic] que durante esta semana enchem as nossas ruas com cor, calor, alegria e amizade" (ACAPO 2005:41). Some accents were likely lost when his letter was published.

inclusive definition of portugueseness may be rejected by the Portuguese as diluting or threatening their identity.

The last example of a Canadian political discourse that relates to the dominant discourse of portugueseness during the Portugal Day celebrations is from another non-Portuguese provincial politician, Tony Ruprecht, who prides himself on being a friend of every ethnic community in Toronto. ¹⁰ In a discursive move that shows a calculated knowledge of portugueseness, Ruprecht acknowledges the important historical and linguistic role of Camões in Portuguese culture. He also constructs an image of Portuguese-Canadian children (whom he portrays as just Portuguese) proudly engaging with and commemorating Camões' poetry. It is almost as if he were employed by Portugal's Cãmoes Institute:

Today, while we celebrate this national day, we are also very mindful of Portuguese children. What are they celebrating today? They are celebrating not only an important day in the history of Canada and Portugal but they are also celebrating a great, renowned poet. This man, Camões, has left a living legacy and, from ocean to ocean, left wonderful poetry that these children are commemorating today (Ruprecht, public speech, 2005).

3.2.8.3 Portuguese politicians positioning the diaspora

This last section on the political discourses connected with the celebrations of Portugal Day in Toronto highlights some of the opinions expressed by the Portuguese State with regards to its diasporic communities. To underscore the symbolic and material importance of the Portuguese diaspora, the government created a Secretary of State for the Portuguese Communities. In June 2005, the head of this diasporic branch of the government, António Braga, sent a message to the Portuguese communities as they celebrated their ethnic identity. In this message Braga spoke of the bonds that unite Portuguese citizens in Portugal and those abroad. These bonds are not only cultural and linguistic bonds, the likes of which Toronto's organized Portuguese community has been trying to preserve for over fifty years. The Portuguese state wants more than symbolic, cultural investments from its diaspora. Portuguese emigrants (or "compatriots who live outside the country") are called on to help Portugal grow economically, because "no one is spared or expendable in this crucial mission to develop the country"... not even those outside of Portugal. Braga also stressed the importance of a strong relationship between Portugal and the younger generations of Portuguese descendants around the world, a relationship that would promote politics and programs to stimulate growth and meet young

¹⁰ Ruprecht has written a book entitled *Toronto's Many Faces* (in at least its fifth edition) which reportedly profiles "each" ethnic community in the city (there were 70 listed in the 2001 edition) and where he claims to know "every genuine ethno-cultural leader and is in touch with them throughout the year" (back jacket of 2001 ed.).

peoples' needs in the areas of economics, politics, science and language learning. With regards to language, Braga reinforced its ideological link to nationalism by insisting that "the teaching and the spread of the Portuguese language are not only a priority but also a demand of citizenship". Thus, Portuguese-Canadians, young and old alike, Portuguese citizens or not, were constructed as being full members of the Portuguese nation and *pátria*, with valuable transnational resources, and enlisted on a "mission" to further develop their country: Portugal. Furthermore, Braga framed this new transnational plea to help Portugal in the light of that country's depoliticized historic role in bringing different cultures and peoples together. He writes:

On this occasion [...] of celebrating the day of a country with a particularly meaningful History, in terms of the tributes that it lent to the "meeting of cultures", between peoples, with the most diverse ways of life, I want to express my pride in a powerful community, spread across the four continents, that has honoured its country so much, through its work, its competence and its distinction (ACAPO 2005:15) [my translation].¹¹

Well versed in the politics of Canada and of Portugal, the Consul General of Portugal in Toronto in 2005, Emídio da Veiga Domingos, praised the Portuguese-Canadian community for its pride in being Portuguese and reminded everyone that the dominant discourse of portugueseness is not incompatible with Canadian multiculturalism. Portuguese descendants should have pride in Portugal's long (and depoliticized) history, its culture and language:

Being Portuguese is to belong to a Nation with approximately eight hundred years of existence and that was the first to begin the meeting between civilizations and its subsequent dialogues between cultures.

Furthermore, being Portuguese is having the uncanny ability to integrate yourself in any foreign society, thrive and impose yourself in it, without losing your identity, without denying your homeland nor diffusing your ethical values and your culture.

These are a few of the qualities that all the other people of the world recognize in us and that are important to preserve and spread in a multicultural society such as Canada's (ACAPO 2005: 19) [my translation].¹²

Finally, also in 2005, the Portuguese Ambassador to Canada, João Pedro da Silveira Carvalho, highlighted the importance placed on the transnational Portuguese "diaspora" in the

¹¹"Nesta ocasião [...] em dia de celebração de um país com uma História particularmente significativa nos «tributos que emprestou ao "encontro das culturas" entre povos, com os mais diferentes modos de viver, quero exprimir o orgulho numa comunidade pujante, espalhada pelos quatro continentes, que tanto tem honrado o seu país, pelo trabalho, pela competência e pela distinção."

^{12 &}quot;Ser português é pertencer a uma Nação com cerca de oito séculos de existência e que foi a primeira a inaugurar o encontro entre civilizações e o seu consequente diálogo entre culturas. Ser português é ainda ter a invulgar capacidade de se integrar em qualquer sociedade estrangeira, singrar e impor-se nela, sem perder a sua identidade, sem renegar a sua pátria nem deixar de difundir os seus valores éticos e a sua cultura. Estas são algumas das qualidades que todos os outros povos reconhecem em nós e que numa sociedade multicultural como a deste país importa preservar e divulgar."

Portugal Day celebrations. Reflecting on the Portuguese-Canadian community, he praised the collaboration he saw between people from every region of Portugal (from Madeira to the Azores, Northern to Southern Portugal) in an effort to highlight the nationalist ideology and perhaps to try and defuse any underlying tensions between them. The ambassador stressed that "unity in diversity" was not only Portugal's motto but also its "way of life for almost a millennium of existence." Focusing on young Portuguese-Canadians, the Ambassador told them that they were the future of Canada and of Portugal, because "Portugal is present wherever there are Portuguese" people, wherever there are Portuguese descendants, wherever Portuguese is spoken." These essentialized and depoliticized views are meant to inscribe Portugal into the lives of people who may not identify with it and create a need for them to invest in a portugueseness that has been sanitized of the contentious aspects of Portugal's imperialism and its modern underdevelopment. Feeling the need to further sell the importance and relevance of the Portuguese language in Canada, the Ambassador argued that since it is "one of the most spoken languages in the world," Portuguese is an important asset in a global world and workforce. Tapping into this asset is "added value" facilitated, he argues, through Canadian multiculturalism and multilingualism. He writes:

At the same time, the maintenance and the valorization of the Portuguese language are also indispensable for the harmonious development of our ties and relations with Portugal, for the preservation of the cultural identity and for the full achievement of collective personality. Furthermore Portuguese is increasingly becoming an important job skill and an added value in this our globalized World [...] Today, Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in all the World, it is the official language of over 200 million people in Europe, South America, Africa and Asia [...] We need therefore to take advantage of the Multicultural and Multilingual reality of Canada and spread the pride and the desire to learn and speak Portuguese (ACAPO 2005:17) [my translation].

This discourse of justifying the "value" of Portuguese by ranking global languages is very common. What is problematic, however, is determining the position that Portuguese occupies, on which scales, as defined by whom. Over the years, I have seen it as high as the fifth most spoken language in the world, but more recently it has dropped to seventh or eighth. The challenge is determining who counts as a speaker of Portuguese and if distinctions are made

Canadá e transmitir o orgulho e o desejo por aprender e falar Português."

¹³ "Simultaneamente, a manutenção e a valorização da língua portuguesa são também imprescindíveis para o desenvolvimento harmonioso das nossas ligações e relações com Portugal, para a conservação da identidade cultural e para a realização plena da personalidade colectiva. Acresce que o Português é cada vez mais um importante instrumento de trabalho e um mais valia neste nosso Mundo globalizado [...] O Português é hoje uma das línguas mais faladas em todo o Mundo, é a língua oficial de mais de 200 milhões de pessoas na Europa, na América do Sul, em África e na Ásia [...] Devemos pois aproveitar a realidade Multicultural e Multilinguística do

between "native" or "secondary" speakers, and also between the varieties of Portuguese. In former lusophone colonies like Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, East Timor, São Tomé and Principe, and even principalities such as Goa or Macau, Portuguese may still be an official language, but the local populations speak many other languages. With anywhere from 170,000,000 to 230,000,000 people reportedly speaking Portuguese across the world, it is clear that numerically Portugal (with its 10,000,000) is not leading the charge. ¹⁴ The "power in numbers" argument has long been won by Brazil and the lusophone African countries, but it is one that is also exploited by Portugal as the ideological source of Portuguese legitimacy.

3.2.9 Portuguese-language media

For ethnolinguistic minority communities, like the Portuguese in Canada, whose voices and experiences are underrepresented in or excluded from mainstream society, the ethnic Portuguese media becomes an important site for the construction of the dominant discourses of what it means to be Portuguese. At the same time, it is also an important site for the construction of state supported ethnicity and social difference.

From the start of its policy on multiculturalism in 1971 and then more formally after the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988, the Canadian government has financed ethnic media and supported the creation of organizations such as the National Ethnic Press and Media Council of Canada and the Canadian Ethnic Media Association. Since ethnolinguistic media is an important producer of the dominant ethnic discourse, then the Canadian government is also involved in producing ethnic discourse. I argue that the ethnic media serves at least four goals. First, to present the government's work to the ethnic communities. That way, even though a politician's visit to a Portuguese community centre may go unnoticed in the mainstream news, it will be covered (prominently) by the ethnic press. Second, to allow the businesses in the ethnic community to sell their goods and services to a market that is constructed as "built-in" ethnic supporters. This in turn helps finance the newspaper. Third, to cover events in the local

¹⁴ Calculating the number of global speakers a language has is extremely problematic, so I will not dwell on the point too much, although it would be interesting to deconstruct the numbers in future research. The World Almanac (2004), Gordon (2005) and the CIA world factbook (2007) list Portuguese as the sixth most spoken language in the world, while the Smithsonian Institution (2007) claims that Portuguese is in seventh place. Here is an excerpt from the Smithsonian's 2007 exhibit "Encompassing the globe: Portugal and the world in the 16th and 17th centuries":

The Portuguese voyages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to the first real interaction among almost all the world's peoples. [...] Portugal in 1500 had about 1.3 million people. Today, Portuguese is the seventh most spoken language in the world with more than 170,000,000 speakers. Portuguese forts, red tile roofs, music, words, and faces can be found from Africa to India to Malaysia to China.

¹⁵ Visit CEMA at http://canadianethnicmedia.com/ and the NEPMCC at http://www.nationalethnicpress.com/

community, highlight important ethnic institutions and leaders, and also to cover news from the ethnic homeland. Fourth, to cover a selection of Canadian news and international stories.

The ethnic media is in the business of turning a profit, and what has been selling in the Portuguese-Canadian community from the very beginning has been reproductions of the dominant discourse. This is not surprising when one considers that the local Portuguese media institutions are run by Mainland Portuguese who produce the dominant discourse. As a result, these spaces are structured by the ideologies we have seen up to this point: the default language is set at monolingual standard (Mainland) Portuguese; the default audience is set at mostly older, male, first generation Portuguese-Canadians; the voices and perspectives of Azoreans are largely marginalized (but the ethnic newspapers allow for some inclusion); the voices and perspectives of second-generation Portuguese-Canadians are ignored (because they are constructed as deficient Portuguese speakers and no effort has been made to restructure the market as bilingual).

The remaining sections of this chapter present each of the main branches of Portuguese ethnic media: print, television and radio. Particular attention is paid to Portuguese-language newspapers because they represent the largest of the three media markets and are, perhaps, the most tangible of the three products insofar as the reader can interact with the printed text over a longer period of time than, say, a TV news report or radio program.

3.2.9.1 Portuguese-Canadian newspapers: Picturing front page material

In Toronto there is no shortage of Portuguese-language print media. Over the course of my fieldwork (from January 2005 to December 2006) I collected hundreds of copies of newspapers, magazines, flyers, pamphlets, catalogues and even Portuguese phone books in an effort to see what kinds of portugueseness was produced where and by whom. Table 4 below provides a general overview of the content (e.g. sports, religious, business, or broad coverage) and of the target audience for each of the publications I collected. Many of these newspapers have very limited circulation and some have merged or disappeared altogether. Not included in this list are magazines or special editions published for a special event (e.g. festival programmes, anniversary commemorations for cultural associations, etc.).

Content of material:	Target audience:	Titles: [* = no longer exists]
Broad coverage (local,	Portuguese market	Sol Português, Nove Ilhas, Voice,
national, international, sports,	Post Milénio (which combined O Milé	
entertainment, etc.)		+ O Milénio Stadium* + The Portuguese Post*),
		Mundo Português(*)
Broad coverage	Brazilian market	Brasil News, Gazeta Brazil, Brazil Newspaper,
		Jornal da Gente, United Languages,
		The Brazilian-Canadian Newspaper(*)
Sports + some broad	Not specific, but more	Team, Flash, Jornal da Copa (limited run),
coverage	Portuguese	Stadium*
Religious + some broad	Not specific, but slightly	Família Portuguesa (Portuguese)
coverage	divided (Braz & Port)	Colheita, Última Hora (Brazilian)
Gender-specific + some	Not specific	Eles & Elas, Jornal da Mulher
broad coverage		
Business	Not specific	Jornal Negócios

Table 4: Overview of Portuguese-language newspapers in Toronto (2003-2007)

In order to get a feel for how the dominant discourse is (re)inforced or (re)produced by the Portuguese-language print media in Toronto, I conducted a brief examination of four of the most prominent newspapers and went through 251 issues classifying the stories that made the front page. The results are listed in Table 5. The rationale for looking at the front page stories was that they were the most likely to have an immediate impact on the general Portuguese-Canadian public. I determined the most prominent newspapers as those with the widest circulation across the Greater Toronto Area (i.e. distributed in Portuguese bakeries, food stores, banks, etc.), a significant number of pages published per copy (at least 20), a large staff and considerable paid advertising (which reflects a broad "appeal"). In total, I gathered 74 issues of three Portuguese weekly newspapers (*Sol Português*, *Post Milénio* and *Nove Ilhas*) and 29 issues of the most prominent Brazilian newspaper (*Brasil News*). ¹⁶

Sol Português, also known as "Portuguese Sun" on the cover even though the publication is not bilingual, is one of the two most important newspapers in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community. It has the largest and widest distribution, the most number of total pages (avg. 38) and the most advertising (15 pages worth). The front page is normally divided into four or five article blocks, which allows *Sol Português* to cover a considerable number of different topics.

The other most important newspaper is *Post Milénio*, which is a fusion of two older newspapers that were in circulation until September 2006: *The Portuguese Post* and *O Milénio Stadium*. *The Portuguese Post*'s front page included anywhere from two to four articles, and in

¹⁶ I collected fewer issues of *Brasil News* because it is published bi-monthly and because it is not always available in the same places (and in the same quantity) as the Portuguese newspapers. As a result, my fieldwork collection of *Brasil News* only extends from March 2005 to November 2006. This is equivalent to 58 issues if they were published weekly. Had I not missed three months, I could have accumulated 35 issues or the equivalent of 70 weekly newspapers.

total the paper averaged 30 pages, eight of which were for ads. Despite being known as the "Weekly Bilingual Newspaper", the only English part of *The Portuguese Post* was a four page section called "Construction News" which dealt with labour issues, immigration and finances. *O Milénio*, on the other hand, devoted its entire front page to only one cover story. This explains why there were significantly fewer topics covered in the analysis of front-pages — a total of 147 vs. 287 for *Sol Português*. *O Milénio* averaged 32 pages in all with ten pages worth of ads. When these two newspapers merged to create *Post Milénio* the new publication went with a one cover story front page format. The total number of pages increased to 40, bringing it more in line with *Sol Português* and it increased its marketing capacity with an average of 13 pages worth of ads. Continuing with the (very limited) "bilingual" tradition of *The Portuguese Post*, *Post Milénio* continued to publish the "Construction News" although it was reduced to one or two pages. Occasionally, other pages appear in English including one page on Canadian/US sports (basketball, baseball, etc.) and another page for "Portugal in English", a supplement that profiles an aspect of Portuguese tourism or popular culture.

The other two newspapers I looked at were *Nove Ilhas* and *Brasil News. Nove Ilhas* (which translates as "Nine Islands" and refers to the archipelago of the Azores), is much smaller in comparison to the previous two, but it is unique in that its title and its origin are focused on the Azores. *Nove Ilhas* has on average 20 pages, and the front page is divided into four different stories. *Brasil News* (whose title mixes Portuguese and English) is the most widely distributed Brazilian newspaper in the GTA. Its front page presents three to four articles, while the entire publication averages a total of 28 pages, twelve of which are made up of ads.

In a general survey of the kinds of stories promoted by each newspaper chooses to promote, I classified the different topics profiled on each of the front covers since that is what readers see first. Table 5, below, classifies the stories and images that end up on the prestigious front page. Table 6, further below, examines how often young people appear in front page stories relating to the Portuguese-Canadian community.

	TOPICS: Number of stories and percentage of total							
NEWSPAPERS:	Community Prt-Cdn	Portugal	Toronto/ Ontario	Canada	Int'l	Other - holiday	Other – Lusoph.	TOTAL stories
Sol Português (76)	158 [55%]	39 [14%]	44 [15%]	26 [9%]	9 [3%]	3 [1%]	8 [3%]	287
Post Milénio (78)	75 [51%]	24 [16%]	18 [12%]	8 [5%]	13 [9%]	8 [5%]	1 [1%]	147
Nove Ilhas (70)	89 [31%]	91 [32%]	34 [12%]	8 [3%]	49 [17%]	6 [2%]	7 [3%]	284
Brasil News (29)	Bra-Cdn 38 [39%]	Brazil 25 [26%]	20 [20%]	4 [4%]	6 [6%]	3 [3%]	2 [2%]	98

14%

6%

9%

3%

2%

Table 5: Content of newspaper front pages by topic (2005-2006)

22%

44%

TOTAL TOPICS:

The results summarized above are not surprising, insofar as front-page public displays of these ethnic newspapers do what they set out to do: 44% cover the news from the local ethnic communities (column 1) and 22% cover news from their countries of origin, Portugal and Brazil (column 2). Stories relating to the city of Toronto and the province of Ontario (column 3) are also given some prominence, significantly greater than Canadian, International and other news stories (in columns 4-6). Interestingly, none of the newspapers devoted much front page coverage to other lusophone communities in Toronto (column 7). The fact that neither "Brazilians" nor the "Portuguese" pay much attention to a significant linguistic/cultural Other is suggestive of the ambivalent nature of the dominant discourse of Portuguese/lusophone solidarity (especially on the local scale of Toronto). There simply is very little institutional or "cultural" contact between both groups (i.e. there is no "Portugal-Brazil" cultural or business association), and so the newspapers find little worth publishing in that regard.

By far the most commonly found front-page stories on Portuguese ethnic community newspapers are those pertaining to the local Portuguese-Canadian community (column 1). In this category, *Sol Português* comes in first with 55% of its cover stories dedicated to the "community" with *Post Milénio* in a close second at 51%. *Nove Ilhas*, on the other hand, comes in at a distant third with only 31% of its cover stories profiling the local community. It appears that this more "Azorean" publication is less focussed on promoting portuguese-canadianness and, instead, provides considerable coverage of news stories from the Azores, Mainland Portugal and the international community. Might this more balanced approach in coverage be due to the marginalized position of azoreanness in the dominant constructions of local portugueseness in Toronto?

Upon closer examination of local coverage of these different constructions of portugueseness, this sample suggests that nearly two-thirds of it (65%) focuses on Portuguese cultural festivals and events, that 20% feature stories politics, awards, local infrastructure and individual profiles, and that 15% cover religious celebrations. In unpacking "cultural festivals and events", the overwhelming majority of those front page articles publicize events held at local cultural associations (e.g. anniversary celebrations, fundraising galas, folklore performances, fado concerts, Portuguese-language schools, etc.). Other events held beyond the space of Portuguese cultural clubs are also covered, although they occur much less frequently, such as art exhibits, book launches or public conferences (at the Portuguese consulate, at Toronto City Hall, in a public library, etc.). The overwhelming attention given to events that reproduce traditional aspects of portugueseness reinforces the dominant discourse that these are by default, or just "naturally", the most important things for the community to see and do.

When the front covers of these newspapers portray young Portuguese-Canadians involved in traditional aspects of portugueseness, more first generation members of the "community" take notice. Through my fieldwork and my own personal experiences in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community, I found that front page colour photos of children dressed in Portuguese folklore, religious or even sporting outfits garner the most reaction from the readers who are mostly first generation. Presented by the dominant discourse as "the future of our community", these photos are strategically used to produce images of Portuguese "pride" and of a vibrant youth movement involved in portugueseness despite the general absence of Portuguese-Canadian youth from traditional spaces and the general absence of their personal narratives with regards to their experiences in Portuguese and Canadian spaces.

Table 6 illustrates how, on average, more than one-third of the front page stories about the Portuguese-Canadian community have a young person on display. Be it a Beauty Queen shaking a politician's hand, a young Portuguese-Canadian musician making her singing debut in the community, the ever-popular young folklore dancers, an award-winning Portuguese heritage essay writer, little "angels" in a religious procession or jubilant soccer fans – Portuguese-language newspapers celebrate young people who perform an approved kind of portugueseness.

Table 6:	Presence of yo	outh in front-p	age stories related	d to the ethni	c community
I WALL OF	Tresence or j	outil ill litelite p	age stories related	a to the cullin	o comming

Newspaper	Prt-Cdn community	Youth		
		# and $\%$ of total		
Sol Português	158	49 [31%]		
Post Milénio	75	26 [35%]		
Nove Ilhas	89	32 [36%]		
Brasil News	Braz-Cdn community	15 [39%]		
	38			

For a more in-depth look at how the dominant discourse of portugueseness is textually (re)produced, the following section will look at a couple of examples of articles drawn from one of the most prominent Toronto Portuguese-language newspapers.

3.2.9.2 Newspapers: (Re)producing the dominant discourse through text

To begin, *Sol Português* was selected because I find it has the widest appeal in the Portuguese-Canadian community and also because one of its main reporters, Fernando Cruz Gomes, is well known for waxing poetically about the importance of Portuguese culture, history and language. In short, I think that both Cruz Gomes and *Sol Português* serve as influential producers of the dominant discourse of portugueseness in Toronto.

Cruz Gomes' writing style incorporates a very distinctive technique that reinforces the ideological content of his writing: he capitalizes the first letter of keywords in order to mark the importance of their Meaning, especially in relation to dominant discourses of portugueseness. Cruz Gomes also often constructs the reader as a willing participant in his discursive project by using the possessive adjective "our" or *nosso/a* before these capitalized Concepts. Thus, the Portuguese Homeland (*Pátria*) takes on a greater magnitude than its diminutive homeland counterpart, just like Flag does in relation to flag, or (the Portuguese) People and people. Geography becomes much more expansive and significant than geography; Folklore is elevated to greater heights with its capital letter and "our Youth" almost grow in stature in contrast to their lower case cousins (youth). Here is an example of this discursive practice in a sentence: "More and more, Portuguese is, in fact, a Language of the Future¹⁷" (Cruz Gomes 2005b:12). This stylistic technique elevates the status of the Portuguese language from the very start of the article and reinforces its importance.

 $^{^{17}}$ My translation of the original: "O Português é, de facto, cada vez mais, uma Língua do Futuro".

The reference to the Portuguese Language above is found in a newspaper article entitled "Learning to be 'more Portuguese' without ceasing to be Canadian¹⁸", and it describes the graduation celebration of young students attending a Portuguese-language school in Toronto. The title alone suggests that Portuguese-Canadian youth should not let their canadianness get in the way of developing their portugueseness. Cruz Gomes begins the article by highlighting the importance of maintaining the Portuguese language which he deems fit for "the labyrinth of great things that must be preserved" (Cruz Gomes 2005b:12). In support of this ambitious statement, Cruz Gomes cites the speech of a Portuguese former Minister of Education who visited the same Portuguese school in 1989 and stressed the structural link between language and identity: "Students come to learn much more than a language; they come to learn something very simple, but profound and emotional – how to be more Portuguese!" In turn, Portuguese parents, in line with the dominant discourse, are expected to affirm their portugueseness by passing on the language and culture with pride and without fear so that their children do not become more Canadian than Portuguese. This discourse explicitly supports the notion that while it may be possible to be Portuguese without speaking the language, fluency in the right kind of Portuguese will enhance one's portugueseness. Furthermore, the idea that learning the right kind of Portuguese is "simple", "profound" and "emotional" portrays all those who do not speak or act accordingly as being obtuse, shallow and unpatriotic. Portuguese parents, who are automatically enlisted in the fight for Portuguese linguistic and cultural survival by the dominant discourse, are branded as fearful (cowards?) and cultural traitors if they do not pass on the "right" values to their children. No attention whatsoever is paid to different ways of being or speaking Portuguese, or to the devastating power of language ideologies that label certain ways of speaking (i.e. Azorean Portuguese, *portinglês*) as being "less" Portuguese. Nor is the dominant discourse willing to consider that many parents might choose not to pass onto their children their way of speaking that is deemed by others as "bad" Portuguese – especially in an immigrant context like that of Canada where Portuguese (standard or not) is not the "Language of the Future".

As for the Portuguese school graduation ceremony, Cruz Gomes recounts how he was filled with enthusiasm when four students read some of the work they had done over the school year, namely essays on what being Portuguese meant to them. One of them, a young man in grade 9 of whom Cruz Gomes proudly foretold "This kid will go far!", reminded the audience that being Portuguese is far more than associating with traditional performances like eating cod

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¹⁸ My translation of the original: "Aprender a ser 'mais português' sem deixar de ser canadiano".

fish, collard soup or even singing *fado*. Interestingly, only two weeks earlier, the same four students who were chosen to speak at this event were awarded top prizes in the Essay Writing Contest sponsored by a Portuguese business association and the provincial government's Ministry of Citizenship on the very same topic, and the same four students won in the Portuguese category no less. Clearly, they had produced performances of Portuguese language and identity that the "community" wanted to publicly reward.

Another newspaper article from Cruz Gomes that illustrates the dominant discourse of portugueseness at work is one entitled "Folklore invades a high traffic shopping mall in Toronto¹⁹" during the 2005 Portugal Day festivities. In this particular instance, Cruz Gomes was in a shopping centre located near Toronto's Portuguese community to report on performances of portugueseness by young members of the "community". Inside the mall were two stages set up for different public performances of portugueseness: one in the food court, featuring young Portuguese-Canadian singers, and another in the open "square" in front of Wal-Mart, featuring folklore groups. Faced with the impossibility of being in two places at once, Cruz Gomes had to decide what to watch. He chose the event that was "more Portuguese": the folklore.

Reflecting on the event as a whole, Cruz Gomes (2005a:32) discursively constructed the audiences as being proud and happy consumers of portugueseness. He assumed that the thousands of people who packed the mall were all excited by the youthful performances of Portuguese identity. As (non-Portuguese) passers-by looked on and asked "What is this?" Cruz Comes took this as evidence of their interest in Portugal or "in the Country that those young people represented, in our [Portuguese] things." After watching the youth folklore groups from nine different Portuguese cultural associations perform, he disagreed with the commonly held belief that children's folklore groups are disappearing and that young people are not interested in traditional representations of portugueseness:

[Even if people say] that there is no willingness [among young Portuguese-Canadians to participate in the community], that the older generation stay the course and that the young people...do not show up, the truth is that there were many people who went to that shopping mall just to see and hear the Folklore Groups. And in the Festival of Children's Folklore, one is able to see that young people are getting involved in the whole mechanics [of it] (Cruz Gomes, 2005a:33) [my translation].

Yet many questions remain unasked and unanswered in terms of the positioning of the audience members and the young folklore dancers. Did the public come just to see the children? To shop? To do both? Did they come because their own children were dancing? How did he know that

¹⁹ My translation of the original: "Folclore 'invadiu plaza' de grande movimento em Toronto" (Cruz Gomes 2005a).

non-Portuguese people were interested? Why were the children involved in folklore? Will they continue participating in the "community"?

In the same article, Cruz Gomes included interview excerpts from two Portuguese people that he met in the mall. First, a woman who drove in all the way from Brampton, having heard about the event on the radio, just to see "all this wonder [maravilha], with our young people becoming interested with the same thing in which we, the older people, have long been interested." Interestingly, this woman first visited the food court stage with the young Portuguese-Canadian singers but she chose to spend more time at the folklore stage because "this [folklore] is more us [Portuguese]", adding that the young singers were talented, but many sang in English. Still another man who lived nearby said he heard the folklore music from afar and came to show his support because "it is an activity in which we should all invest" (Cruz Gomes, 2005a:33). Both interviewees reproduced the dominant discourse of portugueseness. The first implied that singing in English was not very Portuguese and that folklore is more traditionally Portuguese. The second person sounded a "call to arms", arguing that ritualistic performances of traditional portugueseness with young people need the support of the entire community.

3.2.9.3 Portuguese-Canadian television

Over the course of my fieldwork, there were on average 9.5 hours a week of Portuguese-language programming on public television in the GTA. Those who tune in regularly are mostly first generation Portuguese immigrants who are fluent in Portuguese and enjoy keeping up to date with the major news headlines in Portugal and around the world or simply enjoy Portuguese-language entertainment. Most of the Portuguese viewers also enjoy the Brazilian soap-operas that make up more than half of the total weekly Portuguese programming (5 hours). Interestingly, Brazilian soap-operas, and not Portuguese ones, are the most popular and the most widely available in the lusophone world. They may be one of the few spaces where the use of Brazilian Portuguese does not raise the ire of those who promote European Portuguese as the better of the two. It may also be that Brazilian Portuguese is not generally looked down upon in the context of soap-operas because it serves an entertaining purpose and does not pose a "real" threat to the legitimacy of European Portuguese.

The other largest portion of the Portuguese-language television programming is the weeknight ethnic news broadcast which represents a weekly total of 2.5 hours. Much like any other Toronto newscast, there are stories from the local, provincial, national and international

perspectives as well as the local weather forecast and sporting news. What makes the newscast "Portuguese" are a) the reporters, who speak almost exclusively in standard (Mainland European) Portuguese, b) the commercials, which are often dubbed in Portuguese, and c) a limited amount of Portuguese-related news, mostly pertaining to Portugal (the weather, the major sports headlines and at least one major news story), but occasionally from the Portuguesespeaking world or from other Portuguese diasporic communities. At the time of my study, only one of the news team's six on-air members was Brazilian (he worked as a "street" reporter), everyone else was of Mainland Portuguese descent and no one spoke in Azorean Portuguese. Over the course of my fieldwork, two young Portuguese-Canadians were hired as part-time workers for the newscast. The purpose behind their hiring, which broke with tradition and has not been repeated since, is unclear: were they hired to try and attract a younger demographic? To please the eyes and ears of the regular viewers? While these younger "reporters" covered more non-traditional news stories (interviews with the general public on the street, community events, entertainment, sometimes even sports), they were more of a "hit" with the older generation(s) who enjoy watching and listening to a young person speaking "proper" Portuguese and performing portugueseness in public - than they were with the younger generation(s) who, for the most part, do not watch Portuguese news or who may resent being compared to the way the young reporters speak and act. In chapters 5 and 6, we will explore the tensions between young Portuguese-Canadians who perform more socially accepted forms of portugueseness than others, and how the local Portuguese-language media often excludes or derides young people who cannot speak standard Portuguese and heaps lavish praise on those who can.

In terms of specific Portuguese-Canadian television programming that reproduces the dominant discourse of portugueseness, the weekly series known as *Canadá Contacto* is the most significant. The program's objective is to celebrate Portuguese-Canadian "success stories" and share them with viewers located primarily in Canada, but also in Portugal, throughout the "diaspora" and elsewhere over the internet. *Canadá Contacto* is part of a series of "*Contacto*" programs produced by the Portuguese national broadcasting company (RTP) and that profile places where there is a large Portuguese emigrant population. ²⁰ These programs create a global Portuguese "mediascape" (Appadurai 1990) that helps preserve an imagined stability of Portuguese identity by "connecting" the local stories with audiences in Portugal and throughout

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²⁰ These include *Macau Contacto*, *Goa Contacto*, *Timor Contacto*, *Brasil Contacto*, *Venezuela Contacto*, *Africa do Sul Contacto*, California *Contacto*, New England *Contacto*, New Jersey *Contacto*, *França Contacto* and *Europa Contacto*.

the world. The series title also harkens back to the era of Portugal's maritime empire-building and the positivist discourse of "contact" with the local peoples. Centuries later, Portugal is setting sail through another medium to re-establish similar connections and affirm some degree of global relevancy.

Canadá Contacto follows a fairly fixed format: the host (a young, attractive Portuguese-Canadian who speaks standard Portuguese fluently and embodies the "contact" between Portugal and Canada) introduces the episode from a particular location of interest in Canada, and sets up three or four reports that highlight the story of someone or something with ties to portugueseness. The reports cover a variety of topics: anywhere from a Portuguese community in Winnipeg to a Portuguese-Canadian artist in Vancouver; from a folklore group in Oshawa to a Portuguese entrepreneur in Montreal; from a young third-generation Portuguese-Canadian athlete to a chef explaining how to prepare a specific Portuguese dish in a Toronto Portuguese restaurant. Each story explains the person's achievement, her connection to portugueseness (familial or otherwise; i.e. a Portuguese great grandmother or an extended stay in Portugal), and how her Portuguese identity plays a (hopefully "major") role in her life and/or future plans (i.e. family, travel). The entire program is in standard (Mainland) Portuguese and the interviewees are strongly encouraged, if not coerced, to speak Portuguese, even if they make mistakes, speak "poorly" or mix Portuguese and English. English is only accepted as a last resort and is translated with Portuguese subtitles when aired. Ultimately, the program promotes people who are proud to be Portuguese or of Portuguese descent, whose achievement(s) can be seen shared by the entire "community", the diaspora and the *Pátria*. Every segment closes on a patriotic or nostalgic note with the narrator describing a positive affirmation of what being Portuguese means to the people involved (or their families), thereby driving the point of the dominant discourse home, even if the individuals never say as much in their interviews.

3.2.9.4 Portuguese-Canadian radio: The "voice" of the community?

Long before there was Portuguese-language television programming in the GTA there was radio broadcasting with news from Portugal and weekly Portuguese soccer matches. As the "community" expanded beyond Toronto's "Little Portugal" where people (mostly men) used to congregate at Portuguese sports bars and store fronts to hear the Portuguese radio, the demand for local radio programming grew with it. At the time of my fieldwork, there were 94 hours of weekly Portuguese-language public programming on the radio: 64 hours for CIRV – 88.9fm and

30 hours for CHIN – 100.7fm. A critical discursive analysis of the types of songs played, of the Portuguese language varieties spoken and of the general comments made by announcers and listeners alike would make for a very revealing study of the (re)constructions of portugueseness, but this falls beyond the limits of my current research.

Of the two main radio stations with Portuguese programming listed above, CIRV is the most prominent (hence influential) with more than twice the staff and hours of Portuguese programming than CHIN. As its slogan suggests, CIRV claims to be "the voice of the community" ("A voz da comunidade"). This, of course, begs the question: "Whose voice?" or "Which community?" The voice that I hear speaks in standard Mainland Portuguese and the only time I hear "Azorean Portuguese" over the radio is when someone from the "community" calls in to request a song, participate in a contest or interact with an invited guest. CIRV is also a voice that represents the first generation of Portuguese immigrants while celebrating and promoting traditional discourses of portugueseness. Having grown up listening to CIRV at home, I know I have heard more "traditional" Portuguese music (i.e. fado, música popular, música pimba, and Portuguese music from the 1950s to the 1980s) than cousins of my age in Portugal. This is the kind of music that CIRV's audience, people like my parents, and its Portuguese business sponsors want to hear. Songs that deal with themes of longing (saudade), the emigrant experience, the homeland, or playful representations of a simpler life before emigration relate to the dominant constructions of portugueseness more so than contemporary Portuguese hip-hop, rock and pop which deal with different themes and often use slang or even English.

The young Portuguese-Canadians I encountered in my fieldwork all have a difficult time relating to Portuguese radio. For them it is a monolingual space that is targeting their (grand)parents or the older members in the community. Their age group is not represented by the announcers nor are their voices or preferred styles of music heard over the airwaves. What little airtime there is on CIRV for young voices is dedicated to local musicians (usually young women) who launch or develop their musical careers by singing in Portuguese at community events. Their success in this closely guarded ethnolinguistic market is almost guaranteed because the older audience adores young performers who seem "proud" of their language and heritage and willing to maintain it. What the older generation might not see, or refuses to admit, is that the young performer's investment in portugueseness may simply be a means to an end: a way to get on stage, earn some experience, record an album or two and then move on to the mainstream market (as did Nelly Furtado and Shawn Desman, two young Portuguese-Canadian artists who

have succeeded in the mainstream music industry and rarely sing in Portuguese). Regardless of their intentions, young Portuguese-Canadian performers are celebrated by the "community" leaders and through the ethnic media as cultural heroes and role models for other young people.

In order to connect the diaspora with the Portuguese nation, CIRV regularly broadcasts news reports and soccer matches directly from Portugal. Still, Portuguese-language radio in Toronto continues to promote the old three or four F cultural policy of Salazar's Estado Novo: futebol, Fátima, fado and folclore. Fado and folclore are musical genres that are given considerable airtime because of their symbolic connection to Portuguese identity. Although there is no specific religious program on the air (i.e. no broadcasting of religious services), there are many songs with religious lyrics that are played on a regular basis and Portuguese religious feast days are always recognized on air. In between songs, in interviews or in their monologues, CIRV's senior announcers often romanticize the traditional elements of portugueseness: the glory of Portugal's history, the greatness of Amália, the beauty of a língua de Camões, the richness of Portuguese culture, etc. They even serve as language teachers or enforcers on those very rare occasions when a young Portuguese-Canadian phones in (either to wish a family member a happy birthday or request a song for someone). Over the span of my fieldwork, I may have heard a child phone in less than five times. None of the interactions went by without the announcer commenting on the child's fluency in Portuguese. On a few occasions, the announcer corrected the child's pronunciation by repeating the correct word(s) on air, or by expecting the child to approve or repeat a paraphrased or translated version of what he said in portinglês. I recall a specific on-air interaction that made me feel uncomfortable because the announcer refused to end the short conversation on an English note and so she insisted on correcting the child's colloquial use of "yeah" ("yes" instead of sim) which nearly all Portuguese-Canadians have incorporated into their Portuguese/portingles:

Child: yeah

Announcer: não é 'yeah' é 'sim' / diz là! [It's not 'yeah' it's 'sim'. Say it!]

Child: sim

Announcer: pois é! [That's it!]

Pleased with having made her point, the announcer reproduced the desire of the dominant discourse to see and hear this child grow up speaking standard Portuguese as if it were a compliment to the child and his parents: "You're going to grow up, be a big boy and continue to speak Portuguese and make your parents very proud!" [my translation].

3.3 Conclusion

From the Portuguese air waves, to the dance floors of Portuguese cultural associations, to the kitchen floors of Portuguese homes, this chapter has presented some of the most important sites where the dominant discourse of portugueseness gets produced in Toronto. It has also exposed some of the ideologies that make up the dominant discourse: the essentializing ideologies of Portuguese (and Canadian) nationalism, of the Portuguese language, of the Portuguese diaspora and ideologies of class that construct internal and external boundaries in the Portuguese-Canadian market and Portuguese ethnic identity. With this important background presented from a bottom-up and from a top-down perspective, this concluding section will take some of the most prevailing discursive elements of portugueseness and see how they became dominant in Toronto. How did the Mainlander norm become the dominant one? How has the pride of affirming a Portuguese identity been reinforced? How did the element of rurality and class become so commonly associated with portugueseness? And, finally, how is the power associated with speaking (standard) Portuguese maintained?

The historical, political, economic, social and linguistic conditions behind the prevailing idea that Mainland Portugal and Mainland Portuguese form the basis of dominant constructions of portugueseness were addressed in chapter 2. There we also saw how Canadian economic, immigration and multiculturalist policies support the reproduction of ethnolinguistic differences and the emergence of institutionalized forms of these differences into ethnic markets. The Canadian state's investment in multiculturalism produced a space in which ethno-cultural associations, like those of the Portuguese, could emerge. These associations, which, as we have seen, represent the institutional foundation of the Portuguese-Canadian market, became important sites where specific social actors could define what counts as Portuguese. Since a Mainlander's linguistic and cultural habitus is generally closer to the standard of the Portuguese nation-state than is the habitus of an average Azorean in Toronto, it appears that Mainlanders have monopolized the means of production of portugueseness in the trans-local market. Those few Mainlanders among the first waves of immigration who had more economic capital or middle class (upper-working class) experience than their compatriots became the first institutional "definers" or leaders of the Portuguese community. They created the first Portuguese cultural associations, radio stations and ethnic businesses that structured the early Portuguese market. Mainlanders control most of the Portuguese-language community schools and most of the Portuguese folklore groups. The official "voice" of the Portuguese community

(heard on the radio, in the consulate, in front of the classroom or on stage at public events) is spoken in a variety of Portuguese that is associated with the Mainland. Furthermore, local visits from Portuguese politicians, specifically from Mainland Portugal, during Portugal Day celebrations or other important cultural events, promote a nationalist ideological discourse of pride in Portugal's language, culture and history that is more favourable and identifiable to Mainlanders than it is to Azoreans.

The expectation that second-generation Portuguese-Canadians show the ethnolinguistic pride associated with the dominant discourse of portugueseness is reinforced in several ways and spaces. Prizes, both financial and symbolic, are awarded to Portuguese-Canadian youth who participate in essay writing competitions run by Portuguese-language schools, cultural associations or even business groups on "what it means to be Portuguese". Most of the funding comes from local Portuguese businesses or entrepreneurs who want to be seen supporting (positivist) constructions of Portuguese identity and language among the youth. On occasion, different levels of the Canadian state may provide financial assistance as well, as a way of investing in multiculturalism and of winning the praise of Portuguese community leaders. More frequently, however, Canadian politicians bestow symbolic capital (in the form of certificates and letters) to members of the community who are recognized for their volunteer work and dedication to the Portuguese community. In all of these situations the Portuguese-language media is usually present to capture the moment and reinforce the person's contribution as an example for others to follow. For instance, whenever Portuguese-Canadians, young and old alike, take to the streets to celebrate an important Portuguese national sporting victory (usually soccer) or to publicly commemorate Portugal Day, the ethnic media is there, and occasionally the "de-ethnicized" Canadian media as well, to reproduce moments that reinforce the discursive element of ethnolinguistic pride. We also saw how local Portuguese newspapers prominently feature young Portuguese-Canadians on front-page stories about traditional Portuguese cultural celebrations even though relatively few attend or are involved in traditional cultural associations.

Many of the "old-world" cultural performances organized by these associations like folklore dancing, traditional music and meal preparations, and religious celebrations with street processions - all of which are discursively legitimized by Canadian multiculturalism - can strengthen the discursive element of Portuguese rurality. This element is also reinforced by the socio-economic reality that most Portuguese immigrants to Canada up until the 1980s came from rural, peasant and working-class backgrounds. Their concentration into working-class ethnic

enclaves like Toronto's "Little Portugal" has facilitated the reproduction of some "rural" aspects of home in Portugal: *azulejo* tiles by the front doors, homes painted in "Portuguese" red or green, Portuguese flags hanging from windows, stone statues depicting Portuguese soccer symbols, and old Portuguese men and women dressed in black sitting on their front porches and only speaking Portuguese. In some respects, these displays of portugueseness are being discursively reconstructed by the city as exotic examples of inner-city multicultural authenticity that tourists can "discover". The same, however, is not necessarily true in upper-class neighbourhoods where ethnicity is masked by socio-economic status thereby underscoring specific ethno-class dynamics.

Multiculturalist discourses have also allowed Canadian politicians, like those in section 3.2.8.2, to publicly valorize the contributions of working-class ethnic groups, like the Portuguese, along cultural lines instead of trying to explicitly reference their difficult, labour-intensive economic contributions to the de-ethnicized mainstream society. Those politicians who do mention the work carried out by the Portuguese do so very carefully. Some praise the community, often constructed along male lines, for having helped "build" the city, the province or the country. Others salute the Portuguese hard work ethic and adventurous "spirit", akin to the ideologized Portuguese navigators and colonizers who imposed Portugal's capital, culture and language around the world.

Indeed, it was Portugal's colonialist project that helped make speaking Portuguese such an important part of the dominant discourse. For the diasporic community in Toronto, the structuration of its ethnolinguistic market into predominantly monolingual Portuguese spaces reinforces the dominance of that discursive element. It also reinforces the power of those who can speak it the "best", i.e. most Mainlanders, over those who speak it differently, i.e. many Azoreans and most second-generation Portuguese-Canadians. Speaking Portuguese, as close to the standard as possible, will facilitate one's access to the resources of the central spaces that control the production of portugueseness in Toronto (i.e. the consulate, the cultural associations, the ethnic media, the language schools). Although few Portuguese-Canadian homes remain monolingually Portuguese spaces (because of children, grandchildren, school, work, socialization, telecommunication), they still remain principal sites for the production of the dominant discourse of portugueseness. The Canadian state is also invested in the Portuguese language through its funding for multilingual ethnic media sponsored in part by the Ministry of Canadian Heritage and Canada's multiculturalism program, and also for the funding of

multilingual education in schools. The Portuguese state, for its part, invests in maintaining the Portuguese language across its diaspora through the work of the *Instituto Camões* and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the hopes that Portuguese descendants will want to connect (financially, politically, intellectually, emotionally) with Portugal and increase its transnational market.

In the following chapter, the analytical lens shifts from the dominant discourse in general to the situated experiences of six second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth and how they negotiate with and navigate through the dominant discourse of what it means to be Portuguese in Toronto. Do they invest in portugueseness? Why? How? What resources are at stake for them in which spaces? What discourses do they (re)produce or contest?

Chapter 4

Investing in and negotiating Toronto's Portuguese market 4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw what the dominant discourses of portugueseness are and how they get constructed in Toronto, in which spaces and why. This chapter examines some of the reasons for investing in portugueseness and how that is facilitated or restricted by certain ideologies of language and identity. More specifically, these questions of investments and discursive negotiations are explored through the perspectives and experiences of secondgeneration Portuguese-Canadians, most of whom are on the periphery when it comes to control over the dominant means of Portuguese cultural production. Still, investing in portugueseness (to whatever extent) can be productive from a critical political-economic perspective that reveals the Portuguese-Canadian community as a stratified market. The first main part of the chapter (section 4.2) outlines some of the symbolic and material return on the participants' Portuguese cultural and linguistic investments. It reveals how investing in Portuguese or portugueseness can help ensure family and ethnic solidarity, which, in turn, can provide a social safety net and support network; such an investment can also lead to socioeconomic mobility through financial, political, academic and special-interest resources that circulate in ethnic networks of business, music, sport, scholarships and more. This section also raises questions about who has access to which resources. The last part of the chapter (section 4.3) examines how these second-generation Portuguese-Canadians navigate and negotiate the discourses that can limit a person's access to resources by defining who counts as a legitimate Portuguese-Canadian, what counts as legitimate Portuguese and who counts as a legitimate speaker. These discourses are reinforced by ideologies of gender, race, ethnicity and language that will be unpacked as the participants reproduce and contest the more divisive elements of the dominant discourses of portugueseness.

Throughout this chapter it will be important to understand the investments in and negotiations with portugueseness against the backdrop of silence and of those who do not participate publicly. Although this research does not feature those who do not invest in portugueseness at all, their absence helps us to better comprehend those who do invest (see also chapter 7). Some young Portuguese-Canadians may not invest in it because they do not have the right sociolinguistic capital, others may not invest in portugueseness because different forms of capital are more important in the markets of which they (want to be) a part. What kind of

Portuguese sociolinguistic capital, then, do my participants have? How does this capital help or hinder them in Toronto's Portuguese market?

4.1 Presenting the participants

This section quickly profiles the key participants in this study (including myself) and outlines the most revealing ways in which they invest in portugueseness. Their experiences will allow us to move from the macro-level of social discursive processes to the micro-level of interactional dynamics in order to see how the dominant discourse works on the ground and how it gets reproduced, contested and renegotiated. The principle behind the order of the participants presented below is the same principle behind the debates over who counts as legitimately Portuguese in Toronto's market: the regional and linguistic differences between Mainlanders and Azoreans. The first four participants (Rui, Fernando, Victoria and Patricia) are of Mainland Portuguese descent and the two participants that follow are of Azorean Portuguese descent (Peter and Maggie). I include myself as the seventh key participant (of Mainland Portuguese descent) and my wife as the eighth (of Azorean Portuguese descent).

4.1.1 Rui Duarte

At the start of my fieldwork, Rui was in his early twenties and lived at home with his mother and youngest sister in a very Portuguese neighbourhood in Toronto, not far from the traditional "core", where many of the neighbours and local businesses were Portuguese. Growing up, Rui's parents instilled in him and his siblings a strong sense of pride in being Portuguese by maintaining a traditional Mainland Portuguese home: Portuguese was the language spoken with the family, the children all have dual citizenship (Portuguese and Canadian), they attended Portuguese-language school every weeknight after "regular" or "English" grade-school, they all danced in a folklore group until their early teens and they attended many cultural events in the Portuguese community. When Rui, as a young teenager, lost his father, the Portuguese that he and his siblings had already acquired was enough for them to continue speaking Portuguese at home with their mother, even if at times it was a mixture of Portuguese and English (portinglês).

Having grown up in an inner-city community and seen the hardships endured by immigrant families and their younger generations, Rui was very sensitive to the social and class problems that plagued Toronto's Portuguese community: academic underachievement, youth crime, difficult working conditions, negative stereotypes and discrimination. Perhaps inspired by his two older siblings, who both work as teachers, Rui and his youngest sister, Ana Luisa, were also studying to

be teachers. Rui was determined to become a positive role-model for Portuguese-Canadian youth, either in front of the classroom as a teacher, or in a courtroom as a lawyer. To further both of these goals, Rui worked at a local community centre and he volunteered for an anti-racism NGO as well as a Portuguese-Canadian education advocacy group. His personal interest in social justice and his success in school empowered him to question traditional power structures whether in Portuguese, Torontonian, Canadian or global contexts.

As the demands of high school and then university grew, Rui stopped participating in traditional Portuguese cultural events at the community level, preferring instead to perform his ethnic identity in a more personal setting (at home with his family and with friends). Nevertheless, he was still interested in what was going on in the "community", which is why he subscribed to a Portuguese online listserv (where he saw my recruitment flyer). Another source of community information, which, more importantly, also served as a source of recreation, was a Portuguese bar just steps from his house. A gathering place with a varied clientele (from construction workers to local politicians, and entrepreneurs to retirees, Portuguese or not), this bar was a favourite hangout place for Rui and his friends who enjoyed its relaxed and unpretentious atmosphere. Rui would often go there to talk politics, watch sports, listen to live jazz or enjoy a good coffee or beer and just "shoot the shit".

Among Rui's closest friends, several are of Portuguese descent, including his girlfriend at the time who is of Azorean descent. She had never been as involved in the "community" as Rui, nor did she speak much Portuguese. By contrast, one of his best friends, João, was a proud, outspoken and outgoing young man who had recently immigrated to Canada from Portugal (making him part of the 1.5 generation). Spending time with João, who is fluent in Portuguese language and culture and very articulate in English, made for very interesting conversations on anything from ethnicity to politics where Rui enjoyed playing devil's advocate and teasing João about the dominant discourse of portugueseness (e.g. the tension between Brazilians and Portuguese).

4.1.2 Fernando Lopes

"What's in a name?" Just as Juliet famously wrestled with this question, so too did one of my participants, Fernando Lopes. Originally, and still officially, named "Fernand" after a French-Canadian friend of his father, Fernando prefers using a more "Portuguese" version of his name because he does not identify with anything French-Canadian or francophone. At the start of my

study, Fernando was in his early twenties and lived at home with his parents and teenage sister in Toronto. His parents were born in the North of Mainland Portugal, but his mother was raised in Angola while it was still a Portuguese colony. In Toronto they settled down north of the traditional Portuguese "core" but found work in occupations that were predominantly Portuguese at the time: cleaning and hospitality services. Although the Lopes family was not actively involved in the institutionalized spaces of portugueseness within the community, apart from the Catholic church and sending their children to Portuguese-language classes, they made a great effort to maintain their home as a Portuguese space and occasionally returned to Portugal during the summers while Fernando was a child. Portuguese was the language spoken at home, but as he progressed through "English" school and his younger sister grew up, they both began to speak more English; this resulted in a rich mixture of Portuguese and English (portinglês). Fernando attended schools with large populations of Portuguese-Canadian students where he met many of the friends with whom he is still close today. Like Rui, Fernando is passionate about issues of social justice, including those affecting the Portuguese-Canadian community. As a result, he volunteered at a mentorship program for troubled youth, and at two after-school homework programs (in the Portuguese and the broader Torontonian community).

While he may not belong to any Portuguese cultural association, dance in a folklore group, or regularly attend church any longer, Fernando has found other ways to affirm a Portuguese identity. From what I observed, soccer was a meaningful way to express his portugueseness whether it was by playing on the pitch with a group of mostly Portuguese friends, or by watching it on TV with his father. Unlike any other second-generation Portuguese-Canadian I had ever met, Fernando also expressed his portugueseness through the strings of the *cavaquinho*, a small Portuguese ukulele-like guitar. He bought one on a family trip to Northern Portugal in his late teens and he told me that it reflects his appreciation for life and culture in Portugal. Fernando's girlfriend, Kate, also has a distinct appreciation for Portuguese culture. Although Kate is not of Portuguese descent – she is of mixed ethno-racial background ("half-black, half-white" in her words), part African, English, French, Dutch, Jamaican and Persian, among other nationalities – she often affirms a Portuguese identity because she wants to have more solid and clearly defined ethno-cultural roots...like Fernando has, in her opinion.

4.1.3 Victoria Monte

Victoria was in her mid-twenties at the start of my fieldwork and she lived at home with her Mainland Portuguese parents in the traditional core of Toronto's Portuguese community. Like many other Portuguese parents, Victoria's father works in construction and her mother in the cleaning industry; but her parents also own another house in "Little Portugal" which they rent in order to earn extra income. Victoria's older sister is living the traditional Portuguese-Canadian "dream"; she is married to a Portuguese man, has two small children, and lives on her own while maintaining close ties to her family. Indeed, Victoria has a large and closely-knit extended family, including several young cousins her age with whom I observed her play beach volleyball over the summer. Growing up, casa Monte was a traditionally Portuguese space: everyone spoke Portuguese (and primarily Portuguese, not English), they vacationed in Portugal, they regularly attended Portuguese cultural festivities across the city, they were members of a Mainland Portuguese cultural association, Victoria and her sister danced in a folklore group, and they both attended Portuguese language school. However, years later, as a young adult, Victoria's involvement in traditional "community" spaces changed. Although she grew up with many Portuguese friends at school and in her neighbourhood, she was no longer close to most of them. Furthermore, Victoria's Portuguese circle of friends dwindled after dating and breaking up with a few Portuguese-Canadian young men. Vowing never to date another Portuguese-Canadian man, she fell in love with a young man of Indian descent (Neelesh) whom she met in Montreal, and from there she quickly expanded her social network to include more "international" friends.

After university, Victoria began a career as a health-care worker in a hospital not far from home, and in which her Portuguese language skills were useful when interacting with (older) lusophone patients. Tired of the traditional Portuguese spaces that produced out-dated images of Portugal and where few women and young Portuguese-Canadians were involved, Victoria socialized with other Portuguese-Canadian youth through a now defunct online community (run by her Portuguese-born friend Miguel) and she enjoyed inviting her non-Portuguese friends to attend Portuguese cultural events that were geared to a more mainstream Canadian audience, like professional concerts and film festivals, not folklore dancing or community amateur musicians. In general, Victoria takes pride in Portuguese culture, history and language, but she resents many of the strict, gender-based traditional rules surrounding dating and socializing that are imposed on her by her parents.

4.1.4 Patricia Martins

I first saw Patricia (Pat) in a local Portuguese language newspaper. Then I saw her at a couple of events organized by Portuguese cultural associations in Mississauga and Toronto. Finally, when I saw Pat in a Portuguese university student association, I knew I wanted to hear her story. In her early twenties, Pat lived in Mississauga with her parents and younger sister. Her parents, who were born in Mainland Portugal, were very involved in the organized Portuguese-Canadian community of Mississauga and Toronto. They were active members of the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA), where they enrolled her and her sister in the folklore, youth groups, beauty pageants and other social events. Pat was also one of only a few young people to successfully complete the entire Portuguese-language programme offered by the MPCA's school. As a result of this formal instruction, and from speaking Portuguese at home with her family while she was growing up, Pat speaks the standard language fluently. She also inherited her father's love of Portuguese history and literature, and she honed that passion in university where she majored in Portuguese and Political Science. Pat's mother was born in Portugal but raised and educated in Canada from a very young age. She speaks English fluently and admits that were it not for her husband she would not be very active in the Portuguese community. In many respects, Pat thinks that she is more Portuguese than her mother. Pat was a leader in her high school's Portuguese club, and then she became a leader of the MPCA's youth group, before assuming a similar leadership position at her university's Portuguese student association. She danced in the folklore group until her late teens, volunteered in other public and private aspects of the MPCA, and even worked as a Portuguese-language teacher in the club's school. Beyond the MPCA, Pat has volunteered for an association of Portuguese-Canadian entrepreneurs as well as on the campaigns of prominent Portuguese-Canadian political candidates for provincial and federal elections. Pat has many Portuguese-Canadian friends and her boyfriend, Tim, who is partly of Azorean descent, is the foil to her portugueseness: he barely speaks Portuguese, was never involved in public performances of the dominant discourse of portugueseness, has strong family ties to azoreanness and had a mixed Canadian and Portuguese upbringing, although he identifies himself as Portuguese. An in-depth look at Pat's (and Tim's) negotiations with portugueseness is presented in Chapter 5.

4.1.5 Maggie Posada

Maggie (or Margaret) was in her early twenties when she agreed to participate in this study. She lived in Toronto with her younger sister and her parents, who were both born in the Azores (São Miguel). Maggie insists that her family is "not typically Portuguese". Her maternal grandfather, who immigrated to Canada in the early 1950s, worked all across Western Canada and considers himself a "cowboy"; instead of enjoying Portuguese music and entertainment he listens to Johnny Cash and enjoys watching American wrestling on TV. Her mother, Connie (Conceição), was born in one of the poorest villages in São Miguel (Rabo de Peixe) and moved to Canada as a child. As a result of being raised and educated in Canada, Connie speaks English fluently and she almost considers herself more Canadian than Portuguese. In Toronto, Connie's family did not live in a Portuguese neighbourhood and after she married her husband (who is also Azorean) they never became very involved in the traditional spaces of Portuguese cultural (re)production, except for the church and celebrations of Azorean religious feasts. Maggie and her sister never joined a folklore group and at home, the language most often spoken was English. For a very short period of time, Maggie was enrolled in a Portuguese-language school, but, when the teacher started discriminating against her on account of her Azorean Portuguese, she quickly dropped out. Although Maggie understands Portuguese and can speak it minimally (e.g. with her grandparents), she avoids speaking it in public and prefers speaking English. Maggie's English skills have served her well in school where she has had considerable academic success. In high school she was a self-proclaimed "nerd" who did not associate with the school's Portuguese club. This disassociation was not out of lack of Portuguese pride, but out of frustration with the old-fashioned and restrictively traditional representations of the culture. Furthermore, these representations rarely included positive images of the Azores in her opinion. Maggie was also frustrated by the social problems that plague Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community (i.e. academic underachievement, crime, drug and spousal abuse) but which, in her opinion, fail to garner the attention they deserve because the community is "too focused on tradition".

When Raquel, one of her best friends, who was herself born in the Azores, recommended that Maggie check out a Portuguese university student association, she was reluctant to go because she thought it would be more of the same. It was a little bit different. A couple of years later, Maggie became one of the leaders of the club and she used her position to raise awareness of the educational and social problems in the "community" as well as to promote a non-traditional view of portugueseness through the club's activities. During my fieldwork, Maggie was no longer

actively involved in the club because she felt that her hard work had gone unappreciated by other club members and by important members of the Portuguese-Canadian community. She suspected this was because of the way she chose to identify herself. In short, Maggie has a "love-hate" relationship with the Portuguese-Canadian market and the way people define her portugueseness. Her experiences and her social network will be examined more closely in Chapter 6.

4.1.6 Peter Araújo

In his late teens, Peter was the youngest of my participants; he was just starting university when he agreed to join my study. Born into a small Azorean family residing in Mississauga, Peter is an only child who grew up and lived with his grandparents in Toronto, where he went to school, just west of Little Portugal. With his grandparents he spoke mainly Portuguese at home, attended Sunday church on occasion and, for many years, spent his Saturday mornings in one of the city's most prominent Portuguese language schools. Beyond this investment, however, Peter did not participate in any Portuguese ethnic associations nor did he have many close friends of Portuguese descent while growing up. In fact, in Portuguese school he remembers being openly mocked by his mostly "Mainlander" classmates for not fitting the dominant Portuguese mould: he did not sound "typically" Portuguese (he has a slight "Azorean" accent), he did not "look" Portuguese (Peter is uncharacteristically tall for someone of Portuguese descent), he did not socialize with Portuguese people (nearly all of his friends are non-Portuguese), nor did he regularly attend Portuguese language masses that his peers were forced to attend by their parents. Furthermore, what separated Peter the most from other Portuguese-Canadian young men was that he excelled academically from an early age. He attended a prestigious inner city public high school where he was respected for being among the top of his class and where he developed a love of theatre, music, politics and law. At university, Peter continued to excel academically and socially: he was accepted into very competitive programs, he assumed leadership positions in student government, and he participated in a diverse range of clubs and associations including theatre, choral and political groups. He did not, however, participate actively in the Portuguese university student association, nor did he study Portuguese. Further investment in the Portuguese cultural market was not a priority for him because, in my opinion, he had already acquired sufficient cultural and linguistic capital growing up. Instead, Peter focused his time and energy on working toward his professional aspirations: becoming a politician, a diplomat or a lawyer. Or all of the above.

Nevertheless, Peter's future career will likely be marked in some way by his ethnicity on account of his Portuguese-sounding last name ("Araújo"), if nothing else. Indeed, Peter's ability to mobilize some kind of legitimate Portuguese identity may prove useful in his career and not just in his family network. Even the politicians for whom Peter volunteers recognize that his portugueseness is an asset, especially in predominantly Portuguese or immigrant areas where he is often asked to canvass door-to-door. The young Mr Araújo knows more than enough about the Portuguese language and culture to be able to perform the identity "correctly", as he showed me whenever we met: whether it was by choosing to meet me in a Portuguese bakery and ordering Portuguese items, by highlighting his descriptions of ethnic celebrations with the correct Portuguese words, or even by punctuating his eloquent English discourse with playful Portuguese interjections, which echo his grandparents and the traditional discourse, instead of their English equivalents.² And if his portugueseness is ever called into question when he "makes it big", Peter's achievements in the Canadian mainstream (his academic success, awards, large social network, political ties, social mobility) would far overshadow any perceived Portuguese "lacuna" by virtue of the prestige and symbolic capital he could bring to the Portuguese-Canadian community.

4.1.7 Emanuel da Silva

In many respects I am the first and the last key participant in this study and, since my experiences have shaped the way I look at and question what it means to be Portuguese, it is only fair that I describe some of the most salient aspects of my Portuguese-Canadian identity and how and why they came to be. I was born in Toronto to parents who emigrated from a small rural village in central Mainland Portugal. My father served in the Portuguese Navy during Portugal's Colonial Wars in the late 1960s and early 70s where he was stationed in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. My mother joined him after being married by proxy during the war and my older brother was born in Mozambique (which made him a Portuguese citizen). Once my father's military service was complete, however, my parents did not want to raise a young family in fascist Portugal and so they decided to emigrate to Toronto where a friend of theirs was already living. In Toronto, my family settled in the core of the traditional Portuguese community where my parents found work in the cleaning industry. Working different shift-work, including weekends, then eventually moving out of "Little Portugal" in search of more space and not

¹ **P:** "[...] it was your typical sort of Portuguese family affair: the *vinho* (wine) flowing aplenty, the *frango* (barbecued chicken) was there, the *bacalhau* (codfish) and the *marisco* (shellfish, seafood) was there, and all that" ² i.e. "*Nossa Senhora de Fátima!*" or "*Aie Jesus!*" vs. "Oh my god!" or "Oh Jesus/Christ!"

having any family members nearby for support or socializing meant that my parents were never really involved in Portuguese cultural associations. They were, nevertheless, co-presidents of the da Silva cultural association and my upbringing was "very" Portuguese: Portuguese was the language spoken at home (or portingles as my brother and I grew older, and as my parents became more "comfortable" with their adopted surroundings), the radio was always tuned into the Portuguese station, the longing or saudade-filled stories about "o nosso cantinho" ("our little corner" of Portugal) were constant, and a sense of pride for Portuguese history, culture and traditions was instilled in me from a very young age. My mother likes to remind me that she would have "instilled" even more in me, were it not for the limit that the Canadian government put on names in the late 1970s; there was no room for "da Cruz" in Emanuel Ângelo Pereira Martins da Silva and so the burden of the cross (cruz) was lifted from my shoulders. My entire extended family lives in Portugal and we stayed in close contact with them by phone and through semi-regular visits (once every few years) for a month in the summer or for family emergencies (i.e. deaths). For my part, I studied Portuguese for a couple of years in elementary school on Saturdays (if being made to recopy Portuguese texts could be considered "studying"), then more comprehensively in university which later inspired me to spend a summer (and earn a credit) studying in Mainland Portugal (at the University of Coimbra). Growing up, I had very few Portuguese friends at school or in my neighbourhoods (which were predominantly Italian or multi-ethnic). The fact that I attended an upper(-working)-class semi-private school for eleven years also meant that my school experience was considerably different than that of the average working-class Portuguese-Canadian youth. There was very little bullying, the students all worked at an advanced level, had high grades and were not discriminated against by their teachers.

I did, however, internalize some Portuguese discriminatory practices. As a child, I quickly learned that not all people of Portuguese descent spoke the same. People from the "Azores" – a part of Portugal I rarely saw on a map – spoke in a way that was somehow "funny" because it was not the way that my family and friends (from Mainland Portugal) spoke. Since I had very little contact with "Azoreans" I was never able to challenge the innuendos or the (not so) subtle barbs that I would hear thrown about (by "Mainlanders") when talking about "them". It was not until university that I began to think more critically about what was being said of (and done to) Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean descent. My critical understanding was broadened even further when I met, and eventually married, a young Canadian woman of Azorean descent.

Her presence brought the (not so) hidden ideological debate between Azoreans and Mainlanders closer to home; in fact, right into my home (as we will see in section 7.1 below).

In addition to claiming Canadian, Portuguese and Azorean identities, my wife can also claim to be partly *Québécoise* as her mother was born and raised in Québec to Azorean Portuguese parents. My father-in-law was born and raised in the Azores (more specifically the island of São Miguel) until he met his wife, who had returned to the island with her family, and went with her to Canada to join many of his family members. In Toronto they first settled in the traditional core of the Portuguese community, and although they, like many other family members, moved north and west, the entire (extended) family is still a very close network. Since most of my wife's extended family had left São Miguel for Canada or the US, her parents rarely travelled back to the Azores, and they never expressed a strong desire to return there for good. They had come to Canada to stay and they were intent on being Canadians...of Azorean Portuguese descent. The family in Toronto was so tight that there was little time that was not spent with them or neighbours, and as a result, my wife's family – like mine – was never very involved in the organized Portuguese community, although they did attend a Portugueselanguage church and participated in religious feasts that were popular in the Azores. Still marked today by the experience of walking in a religious procession as a wing-less angel, my wife remembers growing up hearing Portuguese spoken at home and with family. However, as she grew older, progressed in school and spent more time with her legion of cousins and non-Portuguese friends, she spoke English almost exclusively. Then, when she was still in her teens, my wife's father died. Suddenly the "most" Portuguese person in her house was gone; her mother lost, among other things, her Portuguese interlocutor, and henceforth the sociolinguistic dynamic, which was already bilingual, shifted entirely to English.

4.1.8 Concluding remarks

It is clear from the overview of the key participants in this study that each of them is invested, to some extent, in portugueseness. No one has rejected it outright. Given what we have seen in chapters 2 and 3, it is not surprising that the person who is the most involved in Toronto's institutionalized Portuguese community is Pat, someone of Mainland Portuguese descent. But to say that people of Mainland Portuguese descent are always more active in the community than people of Azorean descent is not true. Mainlanders may have privileged access to important spaces in the Portuguese market because their habitus is in line with the dominant discourse (that they define, for the most part), but that does not mean that all of them are always involved in the

community. Nor does it mean that Mainlanders are "prouder" than Azoreans to be Portuguese. Neither Fernando, Rui, Victoria nor myself (all "Mainlanders") find it necessary (or beneficial) to participate in institutionalized public performances of portugueseness although they/we have the legitimate capital to do so. Others, like Peter, Maggie, Tim and my wife (all "Azoreans"), have acquired sufficient linguistic and cultural capital to navigate certain Portuguese spaces but not all. Peter got what he needed from living with his grandparents and a couple of years of Portuguese school to use his portugueseness to his advantage in the field of politics and does not need to participate actively in the Portuguese market. Maggie's trajectory is more complicated because of her struggles with being included then excluded from dominant discursive spaces. At the end of my fieldwork she was no longer participating actively in the community, but the question remains as to why she tried for so long. Constructions of "pride" and of "investment" need to be situated in specific interactions in order to reveal the complicated negotiations of power and resources that are involved. This is the focus of the following two sections.

4.2 Why invest in portugueseness? What resources are at stake?

The purpose of this section is to explore some of the most common reasons why young Portuguese-Canadians do what they do with their Portuguese identity and language. In other words, what do they gain by investing in portugueseness? Following Bourdieu's economic theory of linguistic exchanges (1977), I begin by deconstructing the value of the interactions I observed in order to reveal the resources (symbolic and material) that structure different markets and position social actors within a particular social structure at a specific point in time.

In an attempt to explain some of the reasons why people do what they do, I run the risk of over-simplifying their intentions and trying to quantify what may be unquantifiable. I understand that there are many different reasons, often contradictory and changing, behind a person's actions, and that there are many different resources at stake in every interaction. The categorizations below are not meant to be fixed or restrictive, but should rather be seen as interrelated themes that emerged from my participant observations and interviews which focus on specific moments of larger, fluid and complex social processes. Moreover, the division between symbolic and material capital is not always easily identifiable because the two are so closely linked.

4.2.1 To access or mobilize symbolic capital through...

There are many different reasons why young Portuguese-Canadians choose to invest in a Portuguese identity and language. The dominant discourse of portugueseness would have you believe that they do it because they inherently know that being and speaking Portuguese is "a part of who they are", that it is "in their blood", or because they naturally feel compelled to defend "their" language and culture as just "the right thing to do." The following section takes a more critical look at some of the potential reasons that drive my Canadian-born participants to invest in portugueseness. What do they get out if it? Why do they do it?

4.2.1.1 Family solidarity

Since all of my participants learned how to speak Portuguese as a first language at home with their family, it is no surprise that the most common reason why they continue to speak it (at whatever level they can) is for family solidarity and to be able to communicate and relate to their parents, grandparents and extended family (especially if they still have family back in Portugal). Peter Araújo's case is perhaps the most striking of the six in this regard because he was living with his grandparents, who do not speak English very well. In his case, as in others, the ability to speak some Portuguese provides access to networks of support and may also help ease some intergenerational conflict by solidifying the connections between first and second-generation Portuguese-Canadians and by reinforcing the young person's in-group membership (as "one of us").

For many Portuguese-Canadian youth, speaking Portuguese may just come 'naturally' after years of practice (or out of obligation) and, thus, trying to find any justification for still speaking it may seem difficult or contrived ("It's just what you do!" was the most common initial response I received). Nevertheless, behind this seemingly instinctive performance, there may be symbolic capital to be gained by children and parents for adhering to the dominant discourse's expectations of a Portuguese-Canadian home (i.e. trying to make it a monolingual Portuguese space, at least when interacting with members of the older generation).

Having children who can speak Portuguese (and speak it well) can be a source of great pride for parents and children alike as capital of distinction in competition with other Portuguese parents in the market who see it as evidence that they have raised "good" Portuguese children and fulfilled a large part of their "responsibilities" as Portuguese descendants. I witnessed an example of such Portuguese parental pride in an interview with Rui, his mother and sister. When

Rui's sister was describing her involvement in a Portuguese folklore group, she switched from English to Portuguese in order to say the name of the *rancho*. At that point, her mother interrupted and told her to speak in Portuguese so that my voice recorder would have proof that she could speak the language well. This request caught everyone else off guard, but Rui's sister complied as we hear in the excerpt below:

R. Mom: eu quero que tu falas português que é para ficar ali gravado / que é para tu saberes! (I want you to speak Portuguese so that it stays recorded there / so that you know!)

[...] **R. Sis:**

'k well / [nervous laugh] it's really weird now -- for me to start speaking

E: -- that's alright [falling hand gesture] [...]

R. Sis: *eu (e)stava no rancho mas comecei agora com a* [XYZ] (I was in the rancho but now I've started in the [XYZ])

R. Mom: eh good! [applauds and laughs]

E: very good [laughs] and how long / like há quantos anos é que a [XYZ] existe? (how many years does the [XYZ] exist?)

R. Sis: um / eu acho que já é nove anos? (I think it's already been nine years?)

Rui's mother's request broke the sociolinguistic order that we had established earlier, wherein the young people spoke in English but code-switched in Portuguese when speaking to her. I sympathized with the sister being put on the spot and coaxed to perform in Portuguese for what I believed to be my sake. As an outsider to the family, but an insider to the Portuguese-Canadian market, I was questioning young people's performances of portugueseness and perhaps Rui's mother thought that I could also potentially be judging the young people and their parents. Despite my efforts to reduce the pressure on her to switch languages, Rui's sister continued the conversation in standard Portuguese. Rui's mother was so proud of this successful performance, that she broke out into applause but congratulated her daughter in English – which further underscored the exaggerated nature of the switch and the understanding that English was the unmarked language in our conversation. I switched languages in my response in order to normalize Rui's sister's switch, but also to show everyone that I too could perform legitimate portugueseness. My parents would have applauded.

Indeed, my parents would have likely asked me to switch from English to Portuguese in an interview as well, since they are very proud (and somewhat boastful) of the fact that I can speak standard Portuguese fairly fluently, that I have studied the language, history and culture of Portugal and travelled there on several occasions. They like the symbolic capital it brings them whenever they bring it up with other Portuguese parents or with leaders of the community. In fact, even my mother-in-law boasts about my portugueseness when she tells her Azorean friends that I speak "correct" (Mainland) Portuguese, that I am Portuguese (rather than "Canadian of

Portuguese descent") or that my parents are from *Lisboa* – which mythically represents the entire Mainland. This exaggerated Portuguese positioning inflates the small village in Mainland Portugal where my parents come from, which is just as small as my mother-in-law's village in the Azores, to the prestigious Portuguese capital city.

Personally, whether it is with my parents, with my wife's family or with anyone who shines an overly positive Portuguese light on me, I generally tend to downplay my legitimate portugueseness so as not to distinguish myself from other second-generation Portuguese-Canadians who may not have the same sociolinguistic habitus as me. The fact that I acquired a "standard" accent, and that my parents happened to be born in Mainland Portugal are forms of unearned privilege that should not make me better or worse than any other person of Portuguese descent. I also dislike the implied praise that is bestowed on my parents for fulfilling their Portuguese parental "duty" in the eyes of the dominant discourse because of the implied scorn that befalls "bad" Portuguese parents and their children. Finally, I realize that, like my participants, there are forms of capital other than portugueseness that are more important in the markets I attend to (i.e. the university, the academic job market). I do not identify myself solely on the basis of my portugueseness, nor am I trying to define my participants solely on the basis of theirs. What I am trying to do is understand how that portugueseness is constructed and how it is used to enable or constrain people's agency within Toronto's Portuguese market.

Among those second-generation Portuguese-Canadians whose proficiency in Portuguese is not up to the ideological standard, many invest in other performances of portugueseness (i.e. dancing in a folklore group, participating in religious or cultural celebrations, playing in a marching band, playing soccer) as a means of gaining favour with the older members of their families and people who are invested in the Portuguese market. Pat's sister, for example, "makes up" for her very limited knowledge of Portuguese by participating in the folklore group, the youth group and the beauty pageant of the Portuguese club that her family attends regularly. In doing so, not only does she increase her family's symbolic capital, but she also gains experience that might be useful for her ambitions in the entertainment industry. Maggie may not participate in any of the aforementioned dominant Portuguese practices, but, when she was growing up, she regularly attended the Portugal Day parade in Toronto and occasionally walked in religious processions and pilgrimages as a favour for her mother and a way of accumulating symbolic capital.

4.2.1.2 Ethnolinguistic solidarity

Beyond the symbolic capital of fitting in with their families, my participants, like many Portuguese-Canadian youth, invest in portugueseness for the symbolic capital of fitting in with others who do the same, thereby positioning themselves in solidarity with others who are in a larger, localized and transnational "imagined" community (Anderson 1983). That is, by performing a certain portugueseness they gain a certain access to networks, resources and relationships with others who also invest in it or who have shared some similar experiences growing up (partly) "Portuguese".

For instance, being able to recognize and respond to Portuguese expressions, references and jokes helped Fernando create a support group with his mostly Portuguese soccer teammates who shared, among other things, advice on jobs. Being able to communicate in Portuguese united Victoria and her mostly Portuguese beach volleyball teammates and gave them an element of surprise that their "Canadian" (English-speaking) opponents could not understand. Growing up Portuguese-Canadian in Toronto and learning a cultural performance with other second-generation youth helped Pat, Rui and Victoria gel with their respective folklore groups and earned them considerable symbolic cultural capital by producing one of the most recognized forms of portugueseness in the Portuguese and multicultural market. Self-identifying at some level as "Portuguese" was the common denominator between Pat, Maggie, and other student members of their university Portuguese associations. This earned them some capital of distinction in the Portuguese market, as responsible role-models in terms of academic and cultural production, and in the university market, as a way of gaining volunteer experience that can help them position themselves favourably in competitions for employment or scholarships.

In some cases, other people can try and position an individual as ethnolinguistically solidary based on her habitus and assume an investment that is not necessarily reciprocated by the individual. This is the case for Victoria whose portugueseness can get mobilized by others in her workplace: a Toronto hospital with many Portuguese-speaking patients. There she is occasionally called upon to use her Portuguese language and cultural capital to communicate with patients whose English is limited, all this without receiving any extra compensation or training for her sociolinguistic skills. Victoria is often reluctant to take on the additional role of language broker because she finds the interactions stressful and pressured. Yet, when she has

³ Even those teammates who were not of Portuguese descent performed their own kinds of portugueseness by learning a few Portuguese expressions or being familiar with many of the jokes or references (to food, regions, etc.).

helped resolve a communication breakdown, she admits that the symbolic capital she earns in the Portuguese ethnic market and in the hospital market is very emotionally rewarding. Take, for example, the case of an elderly Portuguese stroke victim who was unable to communicate properly in his already limited English and even in Portuguese. When he began soiling himself, the staff thought his incontinence was due to a bladder problem, but when Victoria met the patient and his wife she learned that the problem was one of communication: the elderly man could not tell the staff that he needed to use the toilet and so he held his bladder and bowel movements until he no longer could. Victoria helped resolve this painfully embarrassing situation by creating a bilingual sign that the patient and his wife used to explain his needs to the hospital staff. As far as Victoria knows, her special sociolinguistic care with clients has gone unrecognized by her superiors at work but I imagine that she will eventually receive some form of commendation if she continues.

Examples of investments done out of ethnolinguistic solidarity or for symbolic capital, like the one described above, can mark the actor as a kind of Portuguese-Canadian role-model who is able to use her linguistic or cultural capital to help others while positioning herself favourably in different markets. Other young Portuguese-Canadian role-models are those who, like my participants, pursue and promote post-secondary education while identifying themselves as being of Portuguese descent. Each in their own way, my participants can be seen as bringing symbolic (and material) capital to Toronto's Portuguese market and also gaining a capital of distinction from it because of how their perceived cultural and academic success challenge some of the negative statistics and stereotypes of Portuguese-Canadian youth as academic underachievers. Some, like Fernando and Rui, chose to "give back" to "their" community by mentoring Portuguese-Canadian children (which gives them valuable volunteer experience that could be of use in getting hired as a teacher, for example); others, like Pat and Maggie, reached out to Portuguese-Canadian youth through university student associations; and still others, like Peter and Victoria, serve as success stories for the younger members of their extended families (i.e. cousins, nephews, nieces, etc.).

Investing in ethnolinguistic solidarity may also be what is required by the Portuguese market in order to participate legitimately, and to be seen by others as participating legitimately, in certain Portuguese spaces. Speaking up at a traditional Portuguese cultural event, or addressing an audience of first-generation Portuguese-Canadians, for example, normally demands a convincing performance of portugueseness. Something as common as (correctly)

ordering a custard tart at a Portuguese bakery (which, as we will see in section 6.2.3, is not as mundane as it might seem), or communicating with a Portuguese-speaking server at a restaurant are means of "fitting in" that can help the interactions run smoothly and save face by avoiding any embarrassing mistakes.

Portuguese ethnic entrepreneurs and club leaders are not the only people looking to profit from ethnolinguistic solidarity. Politicians, of Portuguese descent or not, know that appealing to portugueseness and trying to "fit in" with the ethnic community is a good strategy to win votes. The structure of the ethnic media and ethno-cultural associations grants them a platform to address the Portuguese market and nearly all of them perform some kind of symbolic portugueseness by saying a few words in Portuguese or by referring to Portuguese and Portuguese-Canadian stereotypes (i.e. Portugal's glorious past, Portuguese-Canadians' stoic working-class status, their love of soccer/football, etc.). For its part, the elite of the Portuguese-Canadian community is always looking for "charismatic" and well-educated Portuguese-Canadian youth who are or can become ethnolinguistically solidary and consider running as political candidates who will represent the "community". In section 4.2.2.2 below we will see which of my participants fit this role.

Another investment in portugueseness as ethnolinguistic solidarity that leads to a capital of distinction from fitting in, but also from fitting out, are the ethno-nationalist street parties that take Toronto by storm during such events as international soccer competitions. The exuberant and embellished celebrations that follow important victories of the Portuguese national soccer team provide an interesting and public example of youthful in-group solidarity and performances of portugueseness. In these cases, however, I do not find that the young people are trying to mobilize symbolic resources in order to impress those in positions of power within the community. Nor do I believe that their actions are done purely out of love or pride for Portugal. Instead, I think the driving force behind the outlandish celebrations – which include stopping traffic for an impromptu street party, running and screaming through the streets dressed in Portuguese colours and waving huge flags, adorning cars, homes, pets and everything else with nationalist symbols, honking horns, blowing whistles, cheering loudly, drinking heavily, teasing other ethnic communities and their teams (i.e. Italians) or taunting police officers who try and contain the rowdy behaviour – is all about letting loose and flouting the normal limits of socially acceptable behaviour in the mainstream Canadian market. These celebrations are tolerated and even encouraged in order to highlight Toronto's "vibrant" multiculturalism.

Unlike most public performances of portugueseness, these soccer celebrations are not tightly controlled by the community's dominant institutions and almost anyone (especially with the "right" jersey or flag⁴) can participate, regardless of Portuguese language ability or cultural investment. Still, with every celebration, the local Portuguese media covers the events and portrays images of a second-generation that is proud of its Portuguese heritage, and is passionately and publicly expressing its portugueseness for all to see. In this light, the local market tries to reassure itself of its survival by arguing that Portuguese culture and perhaps even the Portuguese language by extension can be seen to be thriving.

4.2.1.3 Ethnolinguistic rivalry

The example of Portuguese soccer celebrations reveals another reason why many young Portuguese-Canadians invest in portugueseness: in order to distinguish themselves from Italian-Canadians. This ethnic (or ethno-class) rivalry will be discussed below, as will other forms of ethnolinguistic rivalry including the divisions within the essentialized Portuguese-Canadian market and the essentialized global lusophone community.

All of my participants agreed that there is a strong rivalry between Portuguese descendants and Italian descendants in the Greater Toronto Area and they each admitted experiencing some kind of related taunting at one point in their life. This rivalry boils down to a competition between two traditionally working-class ethnolinguistic markets over a limited number of resources offered by the Canadian state (i.e. access to jobs, housing, education, social mobility). The competition between them is intense because their class differences are overshadowed by many ethno-cultural similarities (i.e. both are south-western Europeans, speak Romance languages, share a largely rural past, share common phenotypes, are predominantly Catholic, enjoy wine and soccer, among other things). In Canada, both groups were first brought to serve predominantly as manual labour and, in Toronto, they occupied many of the same working-class jobs and neighbourhoods. There are, however, important differences between the Italians and Portuguese in Canada, especially with regards to their histories of immigration and subsequent social mobility (Iacovetta 1993, Harney 1998). Since Italian immigration predates, outnumbers and had more socio-economic diversity than that of the Portuguese in Canada, it is

considerable controversy with some within the community claiming that they were unpatriotic and blasphemous.

⁴ This may not be as straightforward as it seems, especially when people of Azorean (or Madeiran) descent challenge the dominant discourse of Portuguese unity by waving Azorean or Madeiran flags. In 2008, a "hybrid" Portuguese-Azorean flag appeared on the local market for decorating car windows with the Portuguese flag on one side and the Azorean flag on the other. This hybrid flag and the competition from the other regional flags caused

not surprising that Italians reached positions of power much faster and in greater numbers than the Portuguese (see also sections 5.3.1.4 and 6.3.2.2 below). But since many Portuguese immigrants worked under or alongside Italians as manual labourers, a playful but often prickly antagonism emerged as both groups fought to protect their limited resources. Years later, in different contexts, the vestiges of this historical rivalry continue to be reproduced in Toronto schools, playgrounds and neighbourhoods (even online on Facebook⁵) by the children of these immigrants with each ethnic group contending that their (ancestral) country, culture, resources and descendants are the best.

None of my participants were antagonized more often by Italians than Patricia for investing so publicly in portugueseness. In high school, for example, she recalls how the insults would intensify during (inter)national holidays, major soccer or sporting competitions, class projects on ethnic heritage or school celebrations of multiculturalism. During "Multiculturalism Week", for example, Pat's school used to be decorated with flags representing the students' different ethnic origins. When young people of Portuguese and Italian descent began taking out their frustrations on each other's national symbols, the school authorities imposed a rule prohibiting the removal and vandalism of flags. Prohibiting attacks on a person's character, however, was much more difficult to police. In her case, Patricia's affirmation of portugueseness remained unshaken despite these "attacks". In fact, it grew stronger, as she describes in the following excerpt:

P: I got a lot of times derogatory comments about being Portuguese and what that meant / and like to the point where I'm like "What do you want me to do? [...] I can't just say I'm not Portuguese anymore!' like [...] "I can't hel- (help it) I'm Portuguese! I'm not going to be ashamed to be Portuguese!" You can't / just because you're Italian and you're convinced that Italians are better than the Portuguese you can't go and like / make me feel like I'm not // worthy to be here / like don't! and that got me really upset

E: and would it make you be more Portuguese?

P: yeah! Of course it would! It got me so mad right?!

Pat's legitimate Portuguese habitus, which was partly the cause of these attacks, is what helped her resist them as well because she had absolute confidence in her portugueseness.

That same confidence, however, is not shared by everyone in Toronto's Portuguese diasporic market, nor in its lusophone linguistic market. Investing in one's portugueseness allows an individual to position herself more or less favourably and to earn symbolic capital in the

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⁵ Facebook.com is a social networking website with hundreds of millions of active users. Some of the online groups that relate to the rivalry between people of Portuguese and Italian descent, include "We all know Portuguese are better than Italians <3" and "POW!! (Portugal Owns WOPS)" [accessed on July 10, 2009].

globally stratified Portuguese linguistic market. The ideologies that surround the different varieties of Portuguese language are intimately linked to Portugal's colonial history and the implementation of its linguistic imperial policy. As was alluded to in chapters 2 and 3, a commonly held and essentialized view of the sociolinguistic hierarchy of World Portugueses (like that of World Englishes) has at its pinnacle the most 'authentic' and the 'standard' variety: European Portuguese. More specifically, the top rung is reserved for Mainland Portugal, the ideological birthplace or "source" of Portuguese. On the second rung, for ethno-nationalist reasons, is "Azorean" Portuguese, but more precisely *Micaelense* or the variety spoken on the island of São Miguel which is essentialized to represent the entire archipelago and which is often derided as not really being "Portuguese". On the third rung is Brazilian Portuguese could easily top the list if the number of speakers and global (economic) influence were taken into consideration, but which remains the understudy of the "real" Portuguese spoken in Portugal, according to the dominant discourse of portugueseness. Coming in on the last rung is African Portuguese which, although its phonology resembles that of Mainland European Portuguese more than Brazilian Portuguese (Mateus and d'Andrade 2000), has the least amount of symbolic capital of all the major varieties of Portuguese because its speakers are the most unlike the Portuguese: they are multilingual, racialized minorities and struggling for economic and political stability following decades of colonial rule. In Toronto, this hierarchy remains intact, despite the majority of Portuguese-Canadians being of Azorean descent. The presence of Brazilians and smaller numbers of Angolans and Mozambicans in recent years (Teixeira 2006) can be seen as a threat to the perceived linguistic homogeneity of the Portuguese market that has been built and protected by the Portuguese-Canadian elite since the early 1960s. The degree to which these recent and racialized lusophone communities are included or excluded from the Portuguese-Canadian market is worth future research (see Teixeira 2006 for research into the discriminatory housing experiences of Angolans and Mozambicans in Toronto).

The same competition over limited resources, and over who gets to define and control what counts as "legitimate" portugueseness, is at the heart of the tensions that divide Portuguese-Canadians between "Mainlanders" and "Azoreans." Most of those in positions of power within Toronto's Portuguese market try to downplay the internal divisions and project the image of a united front without addressing any of the historical issues of social and linguistic marginalization discussed in chapter 2. Furthermore, these attempts at sanitizing the debate often reproduce the very ideologies that divide the community; even in the discourse of the second-generation, as we will see in the excerpt from Pat below. In one of my conversations with her,

Pat tried to minimize the divisions between Azoreans and Mainlanders by comparing them to the national/regional tensions in Italy (once again the point of reference). In doing so, she defended the symbolic and material capital that she and her family have accumulated in the Portuguese market thanks to their legitimized habitus.

P: like we [the Portuguese in Toronto] see controversy between the Azoreans and the Portuguese but in the end you're all Portuguese! / whereas in Italy you're Sicilian you're / you know [you identify closely with your region of Italy] / 'cuz they were like all different Nation-States that just ended up unifying into one

While her argument is historically accurate - Portugal and Italy's national debates are distinctly different - her plea for a more practical Portuguese national unity ("in the end you're all Portuguese!") is betrayed by the nationalist discourse that keeps it divided: she refers to Mainlanders as "the Portuguese" in contrast to the Azoreans whose difference keeps them marginal. Unlike the nation-states that made up Italy, the Azores – and azoreanness – are seen as not having a legitimate claim for special recognition, despite their autonomy. In Chapter 6 we will see how Maggie and her Azorean-born friend Raquel take pleasure, and earn symbolic capital of distinction, in affirming their stigmatized "Azorean" Portuguese despite also being marginalized by it.

4.2.2 To access or mobilize material capital through...

As we have already seen, investing in portugueseness can have more than just symbolic value; recognized performances of "legitimate" portugueseness can also have material value. While none of my participants set out to make a fortune based entirely on their ethnic identity, affirming a Portuguese identity has served many of them well - both within and outside Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market. The following sections present some examples of how my participants gained access to financial, political, academic and other resources by investing in some kind of portugueseness.

4.2.2.1 Financial resources

The easiest examples to highlight in this section are those cases where a performance of portugueseness resulted in financial compensation (be it large or small). Pat's paid job as a Portuguese-language teacher at the cultural association of which her family was a part illustrates how material capital and family solidarity motivating her performance of portugueseness. One of Pat's best friends, Vanessa, who also worked with her in the Portuguese-language school, combined her portugueseness with her other skills to find work in a Portuguese bank and in her

father's construction company. Julia Fonseca, a secondary participant of Mainland descent, also had a job where speaking Portuguese was important – she worked in a retail store that served a predominantly Portuguese clientele – and she too grew up helping her father who ran a small business that served Toronto's Portuguese market.⁶ It is worth noting that the three examples of young people who work in or with Portuguese(ness) are all of Mainland descent and have parents whose work is also closely tied to the Portuguese-Canadian community. This illustrates how the inter-generational reproduction of sociolinguistic and cultural capital can facilitate legitimate performances of portugueseness and thereby position these young people favourably in the relevant markets.

Another way to gain material (and symbolic) capital from portugueseness is through community ethnic scholarship programs. Established by different Portuguese or Portugueserelated organizations (cultural, political, business), these financial scholarships are meant to recognize and promote the pursuit of academic excellence among young Portuguese descendants. Yet, apart from acknowledging good grades and volunteer work in general, these programs also authenticate and reward Portuguese social and linguistic capital. The eligibility criteria for most of these Portuguese community scholarships require legitimate performances of Portuguese identity: the applicant must vouch for her Portuguese heritage, write a composition/essay usually related to the Portuguese experience in Canada and describe her volunteer experience (which is often expected to be tied to the Portuguese community through a club or organization). In this way, the winners, like the people in positions of power who selected them, are guaranteed to have made a contribution that was deemed legitimate to the greater Portuguese-Canadian community. The winners are then photographed with the sponsors, exalted in the local Portuguese-language media and expected to participate or associate with the scholarship granting organization in the future. Rui, Pat and I have each won a scholarship from a Portuguese business association, and both Rui and Pat have since joined the association in the hopes of expanding their professional networks. Maggie also won a community-based scholarship but it was from a labour union and, although many of the members and sponsors were of Portuguese origin, the scholarship itself had nothing to do with portugueseness.

Yet another way for young Portuguese-Canadians to translate their sociolinguistic resources into material capital is on the concert stage and other venues for cultural celebrations. None of my participants had the desire to become professional musicians, but if they had they

⁶ Julia, a Canadian-born, second-generation Portuguese-Canadian in her early twenties, was one of the most active of the secondary participants involved in this study. Her experiences are profiled in sections 4.3.2 and 7.1 below.

might have landed a gig performing at one of the many cultural associations, dinners, dances and festivals organized in Toronto's Portuguese community. The only requirement would be that they sing a few songs or say a few words in Portuguese. With so many Portuguese cultural events taking place across the city, the leaders of the Portuguese-Canadian community are constantly searching for young talent to fill the local stages and air-waves in an attempt to present an image of youthful renewal and energy. For the young people themselves, while it may be embarrassing and "uncool" to be seen (by their Canadian-born peers) performing campy Portuguese songs in front of an audience of older Portuguese people, it is a way to get experience and perhaps eventually launch a career in Portuguese, English or both. Just ask Nelly Furtado!

4.2.2.2 Political resources

After considering some examples of how investing in portugueseness can yield a direct financial return, this section explores how such investments can help a Portuguese-Canadian to access political resources that could serve as a career strategy. With a community as large, as institutionally complete and as geographically concentrated as the Portuguese in Canada (see the demographic statistics for Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, London, Kitchener, Hamilton, Winnipeg etc. in Appendix K), there is a political need to have the Portuguese represented in the various levels of government. The question then becomes, who does the Portuguese community select to represent itself and why? The answer to this question will depend, in part, on the perceived legitimacy of the candidate's performance of or attention to portugueseness. Whether the candidate be of Portuguese descent or not, she or he will likely make some kind of investment in portugueseness in order to win over the hearts and minds of Portuguese voters; it could be by saying a few words in Portuguese, by making references to Portuguese culture and history, by supporting or recognizing a local Portuguese cultural event or association, by surrounding oneself with Portuguese-Canadian volunteers or partners, etc.

Peter Araújo was one such volunteer. Who better to knock on the doors of elderly Portuguese residents than a tall, handsome and intelligent Portuguese-Canadian young man, with a big smile and a strong handshake, who lives in the neighbourhood with his grandparents and who just happens to speak Portuguese and English (and French and German and...)? Peter's portugueseness was a valuable asset when he went canvassing door to door for a political candidate running in an inner-city Toronto neighbourhood with a substantial Portuguese population. In addition to being very well educated and politically engaged, Peter's ability to speak and understand different languages helped him move up from a volunteer position to a

staffer. Peter's involvement in politics, which began in high school as part of a youth association, has increased dramatically since his first canvassing job and he is ideally positioned to assume even more important duties in the future.

While Peter first made his political contacts through a political party association, Pat made her first political contacts through a Portuguese cultural association. Her involvement there from a very young age has given Pat the opportunity to meet many important politicians (from Canada and from Portugal) who have come to honour and be honoured by the Portuguese club. As someone who represents the youthful vitality of the Portuguese-Canadian community, its bi-/multi-lingualism and -culturalism, Pat has publicly interacted with many dignitaries at community events, cultural festivals, business gatherings, etc. Unsurprisingly, these experiences have driven her to volunteer on the campaigns of several local political candidates.

A formal investment in portugueseness like acquiring Portuguese citizenship can also be seen as mobilizing a political resource on a global and local level. Half of my key participants (Rui, Pat, Maggie) have dual Canadian and Portuguese citizenship which not only grants them certain rights within Portugal, but – more importantly for them – it allows increased mobility and ease of travel within Europe and to other countries with which Portugal has good relations (i.e. Brazil, where Canadians need a visa to enter). At the local level of Toronto's Portuguese community, having Portuguese "papers" is akin to a holding a trump card in the game of identity politics. If someone openly challenges the legitimacy of Maggie's claim to portugueseness because of her azoreanness, for example, her Portuguese passport gives her the state-sanctioned legitimacy she needs to tell that person to shut up. Whether or not Maggie can name all of the kings of Portugal or the first President of the Portuguese Republic is an academic debate that will be discussed in the following section.

4.2.2.3 Academic resources

Speaking or performing the 'right' kind of Portuguese can also be a strategy for young Portuguese-Canadians to mobilize academic resources. These resources are not immediately material but they can certainly position someone favourably for future careers or other financial opportunities.

Of all my participants, only Pat and Julia (both "Mainlanders") studied Portuguese at the university level and both of them had excelled in Portuguese school as children, in addition to being raised in Portuguese homes and having acquired and spoken Portuguese comfortably from

a very early age. Why did they continue to study Portuguese at the university level? Was it out of love for *a língua de Camões*? Out of ethnic or family solidarity? Perhaps. But they also loved getting good grades. Pat and Julia both knew that because of their sociolinguistic habitus they stood a good chance of raising their grade point average and improving their odds of getting admitted to a graduate or professional program by taking university Portuguese courses that a) were filled with students who had far less experience than them, and b) covered less material than they had seen in the senior levels of Portuguese school which are recognized by the Portuguese Ministry of Education. I myself minored in Portuguese because I "love" languages, but also because I knew it would be a relatively easy program despite not having nearly as much experience as either Pat or Julia. In the end my plan worked and my overall grades were good enough to get me into graduate school.

Another way in which investing in portugueseness can help mobilize academic resources is when volunteering at a Portuguese association (be it in a folklore group, youth group or student tutoring program, for example) can help pad one's application to various academic and professional programs or jobs (i.e. teacher's college, law school, graduate school, etc.).

4.2.2.4 Special minority-status resources (special consideration)

In the previous section we saw how one's participation in Portuguese cultural activities could be "rebranded" as volunteering - even if, for example, one's participation in the folklore group was initially involuntary - and how this volunteerism might be useful in supplementing applications to certain programs that recognize extra-curricular, social or cultural activities as evidence of a "well-rounded" person. Indeed, there are also situations when affirming a particular identity may entitle someone to receive special consideration...even a Portuguese-Canadian identity. By virtue of the Portuguese community's gross underrepresentation in institutions of higher learning in Canada, for example, identifying oneself as Portuguese may increase one's chances of being accepted if the institution or program has strong equity priorities and practices "affirmative action" by recognizing the historical situation of underrepresented and underprivileged minorities. In this case, the capital of distinction works for the institution which wants to be seen as diverse and welcoming, and for the applicant who wants or needs special accommodation. In the case of my participants, Fernando and Rui highlighted their portugueseness as being worthy of special attention in their applications for law school and teacher's college, in the hopes that it would increase their chances of being accepted. Both of

them were accepted into their highly competitive programs, but neither knows if they received any kind of special consideration because of their ethnicity.

4.2.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter began by introducing the second-generation Portuguese-Canadians whose practices of portugueseness inform the core of this study. This last section explored some of the ways in which they invest in portugueseness and what they get out of it. In order to understand a person's social and linguistic performances as an investment or as a positioning, it is useful to read the community as a market. It also helps to understand individuals as social actors competing within different markets for unequally distributed resources and capital. The reasons why my participants invest in portugueseness are multiple and strategic, but they are also structured by their individual habitus and the social constraints of situated interactions. They do not all invest in portugueseness for the same reasons or in the same ways. This multiplicity complicates the essentializing focus of the dominant discourse which tends to romanticize the second generation's investment(s) in portugueseness as motivated primarily by their pride in "being Portuguese". Some invest in it in order to earn symbolic and material capital from family solidarity and in-group solidarity with their Portuguese-Canadian peers in order to benefit from support networks, but they might also do it to "fit out" in situations where they can profit from the capital of distinction that their positioning affords them. Other reasons for their ethnolinguistic investments are to secure material capital and socio-economic mobility, be it in terms of financial or political resources, or indirectly for academic gain or special status recognition.

In order to get something out of portugueseness, individuals need to interact and negotiate with it. These negotiations are not always straightforward because they involve competition between actors for limited resources and so they involve discursive tensions. The following section explores some of the more divisive discourses of Portugueseness and the ways in which the second-generation participants navigate around or through them, especially those dominant discourses regarding gender, ethnicity, race, language and regionalism. These discourses will be examined, firstly, through the lens of dating which raises questions about the legitimacy of a non-Portuguese partner, about traditional gender roles and about negative ideologies of language and identity. Secondly, ideologies of language will be explored more closely through discourses of what counts as legitimate Portuguese and who counts as a legitimate speaker.

4.3 How do youth contest and/or reproduce some of the more divisive dominant discourses of portugueseness?

4.3.1 Discourses of gender, ethnicity and race as seen through dating

According to the dominant discourse of portugueseness the most legitimate form of courtship among Portuguese descendants is heterosexual and intra-ethnic or endogamous. The goal is to produce offspring and increase the number of Portuguese (descendants) so as to ensure the sustainability and potential growth of the Portuguese market in Toronto, in Canada and across the diaspora. Fundamentally, having both parents of Portuguese descent (and perhaps even from the same region, class, etc.) is believed to increase the likelihood of a "smooth" and complete transmission of cultural, linguistic and other social experiences from one generation to the next. Yet, this ideal is far from the reality in transnational diasporic communities such as that of the Portuguese in Toronto where there is tremendous ethnolinguistic diversity. None of my participants had partners whose families were from exactly the same region in Portugal: two had partners from different regions of Portugal (i.e. "Mainlanders" dating "Azoreans"), and two others had partners who were not of Portuguese descent at all (one was of South Asian descent, the other of Afro-Canadian descent). Were it not for those exogamous partnerings, I perhaps would not have dealt with questions of race beyond discussions of Portuguese nationalism, colonialism, or the discourses surrounding different varieties of Portuguese (i.e. from Africa and Brazil). The traditional and homogenizing ideal of Portuguese courtship brings the question of race and the construction of the Other close to the Portuguese-Canadian home all in the name of cultural survival. But such a goal also masks ideologies of gender, which underlie the traditional "legitimacy" of marriage, homemaking and childrearing.

Of course, assuring the survival of an ethnic community or maintaining a racial balance are not always the most immediate concerns for young people who are looking for someone to date. Indeed, such reasoning must have caught Fernando by surprise when, as a young child, he was sternly dissuaded by his father from dating a Canadian black girl because of the non-white (and presumably "non-Portuguese") appearance his future children might have on account of her: "You don't want to date girls like that, son. Imagine what your children will look like!" More than language, race destabilizes the performances of legitimate portugueseness by marking the body as an Other before the voice can ever betray any implied allegiance. This question will be explored further in section 4.3.2.2 below with the ideologies of Brazilian and African Portuguese. Fernando's parents (his father especially) are not unlike my own parents or many

other first generation Portuguese parents who would like to protect the Portuguese resources and markets that they and the leaders of the community have worked hard to construct and maintain. The way they see it, having an ethnolinguistic outsider join the family, especially someone who looks more "non-Portuguese" than does your "traditional" south-western European, for example, threatens to dilute or even disrupt the expectant transmission of portugueseness onto the future generations and, as a result, it can also be seen as a sign of "poor" Portuguese parenting for not assuring a level of cultural continuity.

Needless to say, there is no guarantee whatsoever that a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian couple will provide any kind of Portuguese cultural continuity; or that an exogamous couple will result in the dilution or disruption of the subsequent generation's Portuguese identity. A more detailed analysis of the complexities therein (and questions of multiculturalism, multilingualism, integration, assimilation, etc.) falls beyond the scope of this thesis, but the experiences of my participants, like Fernando, provide some interesting insights. As a young adult, Fernando told his parents for the second time in his life that he was in love with a Canadian black woman named Kate. This time he was not met with the same response from his childhood, but he knew that his father's concern had not completely disappeared either. At the same time, Fernando knew that his parents wanted him to be happy. Fernando's mother, having grown up in Angola, was more supportive of her son's choice, as was his younger sister who had yet to encounter this "problem" herself. Indeed, Kate was not much of a problem at all.

When Fernando's girlfriend met his father, she could see that he was surprised that she was not "as black" as he might have expected. Kate is of mixed racial background and her skin has a light brown complexion. At first, Mr Lopes made her nervous, but Kate did not blame it on questions of race, instead she explains "that's just because he's [Fernando's] dad." As she and the family got to know each other better, their relationship strengthened and everyone's comfort levels grew. Now, when Kate goes over to *casa Lopes* she is hanging out with his sister or laughing it up with his mother. Kate even started studying the language and identifying with Portuguese culture! What brought this on? Kate had a strong desire to (re)create a sense of self and a sense of historical and cultural belonging that she felt she lacked but that Fernando and his family had in abundance.

⁷ If anything, Fernando's parents became less concerned with the colour of Kate's skin than with her more specific dietary needs (first she was vegetarian, then a compassionate carnivore) and her life plans (she did not want to marry or have children), which went against Portuguese culinary and religious traditions.

K: among mixed kids you get lots of different colours and even mixed kids pit each other against other mixed kids [...] and I'm not saying it doesn't happen in other cultures or races / but more often than not I believe that if you're Portuguese / Brazilian / Irish what have you / growing up is easier knowing at least where you came from

Kate's complex process of identity (re/de)construction stems from her belief that, unlike her friends, she has, in her words, "no real cultural identity" because of her mixed background. As a result, she lacks an "intrinsic sense of belonging" and knowledge of "where I'm from and who I'm from and how that has affected where I am and why I am." Kate does not feel entirely at home in Canada, nor does she identify as "black" or "white". And even though she has retraced parts of her family tree (to Jamaica, Bermuda, France, Holland, England, and Persia among other parts of the world, so that she can look at a map and say "I'm from there" or "At least part of me is from there"), she feels it is both a comfort and a curse because she cannot choose one of the places or cultures as being "home". She envies Fernando's deep-rooted Portuguese cultural identity and she wants to share in his portugueseness in order to better understand him and to create a space for herself.

Victoria was the only other key participant dating a non-Portuguese person: a young man of Indian descent named Neelesh. Unlike Fernando, Victoria never introduced Neelesh to her parents as her boyfriend during the course of my fieldwork. Afraid of how her parents would react if they knew that she loved someone so "un-Portuguese", Victoria chose to keep her relationship a secret and referred to Neelesh as just one of the male friends from her university circle of friends. She knew that her parents wanted her to date a nice young man of Portuguese descent, but the problem was that the young Portuguese-Canadian men she had dated over the years were not so nice. Victoria complained that her ex-boyfriends and many young men of Portuguese descent living in the "Little Portugal" area were often narrow-minded, controlling, immature and arrogant womanizers who were, for example, interested in money, soccer and good looks rather than education, equity and world culture. Many of them lacked a drive to better themselves, expected the women in their lives (especially their mothers, but also their girl friends) to cater to their every need and they felt threatened by assertive and empowered women. Victoria, like many other young Portuguese-Canadian women including Pat and Maggie, found that "Canadian" or non-Portuguese young men tended to be better educated, more respectful and open-minded.

Not only did Victoria struggle to overcome the male chauvinism that she felt characterized a large segment of the young Portuguese-Canadian male population, but she also struggled with the strict gender roles imposed on her by her parents. As long as Victoria was single and living at home, she felt that her parents were suspicious of her (actions) and that she might bring shame or *vergonha* to the family by not adhering to the social norms that defined what it meant to be a "good" Portuguese young woman: being respectful of paternal/parental authority, being pious, pure and chaste, helping around the house, and not being seen out late at night or with young men, etc. Growing up, these norms were not too difficult for Victoria to follow, but now in her mid-twenties she felt trapped and embarrassed by them, so much so that she sometimes wants to renounce her ethnic identity and be "anti-Portuguese".

V: sometimes I just wanna be anti-Portuguese! I think I do it on purpose / I really want to bend the rules 'cuz I think sometimes they're just so dumb / like who cares?

The easiest way for her to "bend the rules" was to lie to her parents. If she met up with a young man for coffee, or if she travelled outside of the city with friends (including single men), Victoria would tell her parents that she was always with her girl friends. She resented the persistent line of questioning that followed her to the door every time she left the house: Where are you going? With whom? When are you coming back? Why? Why so late? Why so far away? Be careful! Victoria complained that it was as if she lived in a transplanted, traditional Portuguese rural village where her business was everyone else's business, where women were still supposed to wear black for months and years after a death in the family and where the highlight of a young Portuguese woman's life was a big, traditional wedding to a Portuguese man. Victoria's sister had lived up to her parents' cultural expectations by having a "Portuguese" wedding, and then raising a "Portuguese" family; Victoria wanted none of it. Instead, she was focused on her career as a health-care worker and enjoying life by meeting different people and travelling. She was still proud to be Portuguese, but she simply did not want to perform the identity through prescribed gender roles. She was not alone.

The other two female key participants in this study, Pat and Maggie, also had issues with implicit and explicit gendered expectations. Pat knew that her parents (especially her father) wanted her to find a Portuguese partner. Considering how involved Pat was in Portuguese spaces (at the cultural club in Mississauga, in her old high school and now in university or other community institutions) the chances of her finding a young man of Portuguese descent - perhaps someone with similar investments in portugueseness - were high. Still, she swore to herself that she would "never date a Portuguese guy!" or at least not a "traditional", "typical hard-ass" or "super Portuguese" guy. In high-school, Patricia saw herself as "miss independent", who would not let herself be stopped or controlled by any man...especially not a Portuguese-Canadian

young man. Like Victoria, and many other Portuguese-Canadian young women, including my own wife, Pat was turned off by many negative characteristics that she attributed to "typical" or "macho" Portuguese guys. These characteristics include being disrespectful with their girlfriends, mothers and sisters; not wanting to pursue or value higher education; "blindly following in their fathers' (working-class) footsteps"; caring more about their car, their looks and their wallets than about expressing their sensitive emotions or about their relationships with women; and an arrogant and flashy pride in being Portuguese. In light of these characteristics, which Pat admits are somewhat generalized, she was drawn more towards young Italian-Canadian men – not that they are any less culturally arrogant or flashy – but because they generally seemed to be more confident, better educated and slightly higher classed than their rivalled Portuguese counterparts. She also admits that by wanting to date someone of Italian descent, Pat found a way to challenge her father's traditional portugueseness which has shaped so much of her life (as we will see in Chapter 5):

P: I liked an Italian guy / which is odd to say because / you know / [because of the Italian-Portuguese rivalry] but it was more like [I was] tryin' to stick it to my dad!

In the end, Patricia brought home a young man named Timothy, born of a Newfoundlander mother and an Azorean father. How would Tim fit with the ideologies of the ideal Portuguese cultural pairing? In some respects, he had the best of both worlds (Portuguese and Canadian)...although his identity was not easily defined. An accomplished university student with a career in finance and with social interests that aligned directly with the Canadian mainstream (he grew up playing hockey, baseball and golf), Tim was not like most Portuguese-Canadian young men. But he did grow up in a large Azorean-Portuguese family where he learned a little bit of the language and a lot about "Portuguese values", which he defined as family, tradition and respect. These values and a strong work ethic endeared Tim to Pat's father and although Tim had never been involved in a Portuguese cultural association, and spoke very little Portuguese, he could understand some of the language and has been willing to attend Portuguese cultural events with Pat's family.

Aware of the dominant discourses of portugueseness, Pat has a difficult time determining Tim's ethnic identity because it depends on the different markets with which he interacts. In the following excerpts, all drawn from the same interview, we see how Pat's definitions of Tim's ethnic identity vacillate from him not being Portuguese (in the Portuguese cultural market defined by her father), to being half Portuguese (in the market defined by her family), to being

fully Portuguese (in a university market where there are few Portuguese descendants). In the first excerpt below Pat begins by describing Tim in relation to her father's expectations.

P: he [Tim] wasn't Portuguese, and that's something my dad had to accept / but it kinda just fell into place [...and in the end] they [her parents] got lucky in a sense 'cuz he's half Portuguese! he may not speak it [Portuguese] / but he was still brought up with it

Since Tim speaks hardly any Portuguese and was not raised in a traditional Portuguese home he did not have a very Portuguese habitus in Pat's father's eyes. But as Tim and Pat's relationship deepened, Pat (and her mother and sister) argued that there was sufficient portugueseness in Tim's habitus (through his Azorean upbringing and limited Portuguese comprehension) to satisfy her father and upgrade Tim's status to "half Portuguese".

Nevertheless, the argument that Tim is not "entirely" or "very" Portuguese was not always such a bad thing for Pat. When she compared him to typical "hard-ass" Portuguese-Canadian young men, as she called them, who were "very" Portuguese and thought that Portugal and being Portuguese are the best and the only things in the world, Tim's non-portugueseness made him more open-minded, more cultured and less like the stereotype. This distinction may also be reflective of a class difference between Tim, whose formal education and career in finance put him in the "cultured" middle-class, and those "hard-ass" guys who are constructed as salt of the earth working-class labourers with a basic formal education.

P: I don't see Tim as being <u>very</u> Portuguese / right? [...guys like him] don't preoccupy their whole life with it / because being Portuguese is not their sole identity [...] whereas some of the hard-ass guys are talking / and even some of the girls out there / like Portuguese is their <u>only</u> identity

By contrast, Tim's full portugueseness comes through when Pat uses him as a shining example of a Portuguese descendant who defied the stereotypical norm of Portuguese-Canadian young men by excelling in school, valuing education and being passionate about personal and professional development.

P: I needed [to date] somebody who had drive and I saw that in Tim which surprised me 'cuz / he was Portuguese!

Just as Tim's multiple identities challenge the dominant discourse's fixed definitions of portugueseness, so too do Maggie and her mother who, as we will see in chapter 6, are outspoken, independent women who question all kinds of traditional roles: whether it is complicating the traditional image of Azoreans from the most stigmatized place on the islands (*Rabo de Peixe*, *São Miguel*), challenging the ideas of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian cultural, political and religious elite, or critiquing traditional Portuguese gender roles.

From early on in her marriage, Maggie's mother, Connie, did not depend on her husband for financial support or social mobility because she had her own job, her own car and she did many things by herself. Connie also speaks English much better than her husband and, thus, she is responsible for most of the couple's English interactions in public. At home, both parents share the decision-making powers as well as the daily responsibilities like cleaning the house or preparing the meals. The fact that Connie has such non-traditional roles in and outside of the home does not go unnoticed by older members of the Portuguese community, like the old women with whom she socializes at church. Maggie has heard these women insult her mother by referring to her as a *macho-fêmea* (a transgendered person, or a "shemale") because of the way that she has bent the dominant gender roles. Compared to Connie, how would second-generation Portuguese-Canadians fare when dealing with older Portuguese people or a traditional Portuguese discourse who might felt threatened by their non-traditional actions or different points of view?

Maggie's best friend, Raquel, who is a very outgoing and outspoken young woman born in São Miguel, has also been the target of such sexist discrimination because she would not conform to the docile and silent role expected of her by the dominant discourse. Some of Raquel's ex-boyfriends of Portuguese-Canadian descent were intimidated by her confident use of Portuguese (she spoke it better than all of them and quickly befriended their parents), by her extensive knowledge of Portuguese culture and history, and by her formal schooling (in Portugal and in Canada). They went as far as demanding that she sound "less smart" ("Don't do that! I don't like the way you talk!") and Raquel admits that she sometimes had to "dumb herself down" to make her ex-boyfriends happy and appear more docile. Today, she avoids dating men of Portuguese descent altogether.

Maggie has had little or no experience dating Portuguese-Canadian men herself, but she also had very little pressure from her parents to date or marry someone of the same ethnic group. Instead, the pressure came, as it did for her mother, from one of the sites of the dominant discourse of portugueseness: the Portuguese church, and the old Portuguese women who often socialize there. Since Maggie had never dated any Portuguese boy from the church, or brought any of her past boyfriends to worship with her family, some of the older Portuguese women began to openly question Maggie's sexuality as she grew older and remained single...as far as they knew. Others in the church community wondered if Maggie was a lesbian since she is such an independent woman, like her mother, a fierce feminist and a vocal opponent of different types

of discrimination that she saw in and outside of the church. For instance, she took issue with the traditional heteronormative and male-dominated structure associated to church-related social functions. Maggie openly criticized the appointing of religious festival leaders (once restricted only to married couples in order to maintain the ideal image of "the family") and the structure of communal meals during festivals. In fact, one of Maggie's bitter childhood memories harks back to one such meal where she was told to sit down and wait for the men to eat before she could serve herself. Maggie's "stubbornness" as a child or her anti-conformism now as an adult defies the "proper" or "traditional" norms governing how Portuguese, and particularly Portuguese women, should behave. Consequently, many of the older Portuguese women – who probably resented the fact that Maggie was so unlike them: she spoke limited Portuguese, was highly educated, socially mobile and cared little about immediately starting a family – often scolded her and warned that her attitude would keep her from getting married because "no man [presumably Portuguese] will put up with that [attitude]!" As regressive as this attitude may sound, it was at least partially confirmed by Raquel's experience as we saw earlier.

Maggie, however, was inspired by these regressive attitudes, feeding off their negative energy. She respected those people in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community who suffered more scorn than she did, especially those who were brave enough to openly identify themselves as homosexuals and still try to be involved in the community. As one of the student representatives for her university's Portuguese association (PUSA1), Maggie attended monthly meetings organized by an umbrella organization of Portuguese cultural associations and she told me how she witnessed the out-spoken and provocative president of a Portuguese gay association be openly mocked and shunned by most of the other members who were part of the maledominated elite of the community. She wished that she were as outspoken and as controversial as that gay man: "I wish I could scream 'I'm a lesbian!' just to get some of that hate."

In the end, in comparing the ways in which Maggie and Pat's outspokenness have been received by others, Maggie did "get some of that hate" and it may well be related to the ways her portugueseness is perceived in markets defined by the dominant discourse of portugueseness.

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⁸ Openly identifying oneself as a queer Portuguese-Canadian has only become slightly less taboo in the last several years because of the tolerance shown in Canadian society with the recognition of gay marriage and the growth of queer communities. In Portugal, however, the laws and society in general were staunchly Roman Catholic with gay marriage and abortion both illegal. (On June 5, 2010 Portugal legalized same-sex marriage). For the Portuguese in Canada, a traumatic event that entrenched a sense of homophobia from very early on was the shocking 1977 rape and murder of a 12 year-old Portuguese-Canadian boy, Emanuel Jaques, by two gay men in Toronto's old "red light district". After Jaques' murder the Portuguese community began to mobilize itself and, together with other local residents, they pressured the city to clean up the drug and sex trafficking that was taking place in that part of town.

Maggie is disparagingly branded as a "lesbian" by members of the first generation who resent the fact that she is not actively seeking a Portuguese mate, that, instead, she is focusing on her education and career, and that she openly criticizes some of the more traditional aspects of the dominant discourse of portugueseness (whether it is the linguistic discrimination that youth of Azorean descent often face, the essentialized performances of Portuguese culture that do not appeal to or include most Portuguese-Canadian youth, or the old-fashioned gender stereotypes described above). Pat, on the other hand, is just as focused on her education and career as Maggie, she never wanted to date someone of Portuguese descent either, and she is also critical of the gendered stereotypes associated with the dominant discourse of portugueseness. Yet Pat is not mocked in the same way. Chapters 5 and 6 will explore in greater detail how the Portuguese social and linguistic capital of Pat, Maggie and their social networks limits or facilitates their access to specific resources in Toronto's Portuguese market. For this discussion here, it is clear that the audiences are different in each case. Maggie is being judged by some of the most traditional and least formally educated members of the Portuguese community in the only dominant space in the market that she can legitimately access: a church. Pat, on the other hand, is judged by a wide range of middle to upper-class community members (cultural, political, business and professional leaders) in a variety of markets. Their performances of portugueseness in each case are also different. Pat speaks "legitimate" Portuguese, she teaches the language, she participates actively in Portuguese cultural associations where she has organized traditional performances of Portuguese identity, her parents are also respected within the Portuguese community and many in that market share Pat's aspirations of her becoming a politician with close ties to the community some day. While Maggie could also become a politician in the future, she would likely not be viewed as favourably by the Portuguese community's traditional (Mainland) elite. Her limited Portuguese skills in standard Portuguese, her "Azorean" accent and her mixture of Portuguese and English (portingles) could potentially be seen as shortcomings. The ideologies used to support that marginalizing argument will be explored in the following section which examines discourses of legitimate languages and legitimate speakers.

4.3.2 Competing discourses of language and ethnic identity

Given the dominant discourse of Canada's humanistic multiculturalism and the socialization of Canadian youth in spaces that are supposed to be accepting of multilingualism and a multiplicity of ethnolinguistic identities, one might have hypothesized that second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth would have moved beyond the rigid and traditional

ideological structures constructed by the older generations to more globalizing, fluid conceptualizations of language and identity. However, this hypothesis would risk ignoring the ethno-class stratification of Canadian society and the reality of unequal power relations and competition over limited resources. What I found was that even though my participants had all experienced some difficulties in speaking Portuguese (some minor, others major), and even though they were comfortable switching between different registers of English, most of them did not "accept" or "legitimize" the more marked, or less standard, varieties of Portuguese (i.e. Brazilian Portuguese, "Azorean" Portuguese from Rabo de Peixe, etc.) or even the variety of Portuguese I think is most commonly spoken in Toronto: *portinglês*. Despite being (relatively) far from the reach of the Portuguese State, and far more at ease in English than in Portuguese, all of my participants recognized that proper or standard Portuguese refers almost exclusively to the variety spoken in Mainland Portugal (especially in Lisbon or Coimbra). Furthermore, despite often criticizing the restrictive elements of the dominant discourse of portugueseness, most of my participants occasionally reproduced the same discourses of "real" and "standard" Portuguese that were used to marginalize them. The purpose of this section, therefore, is to illustrate just how complicated and contradictory such discourses can be and to identify the ideologies and the resources that legitimize certain discourses over others. We begin with what I argue is the most widely spoken variety of Portuguese among Portuguese-Canadian youth: portinglês.

4.3.2.1 Ideologies of portinglês

I define *portinglês* as the mixture of Portuguese and English in a sentence or in a single word and Table 7 below provides some common examples that were produced by my participants. It is beyond the scope of this section to discuss the history and the linguistic characteristics of this language variety (see the work of Lang 1887, Pap 1949 and Blanco 1984 on *portinglês*, "portenglish" and Portuguese-American speech or immigrant language), but it is important to point out the widespread use of *portinglês*, or of bilingual (English-Portuguese) speech, among the Portuguese-Canadian community of the Greater Toronto Area. As the result of raising Canadian-born and educated children, and of working, living and socializing in English-speaking environments, it is very common for Portuguese immigrants and their descendants to incorporate some English words, expressions or pronunciations when speaking Portuguese.

Table 7: Examples of *portinglês* with English and Portuguese translations.

Portinglês	ENGLISH	PORTUGUESE
parkar (parcar) o carro	to park the car	estacionar o carro
freezar, a freeza	to freeze, the freezer	congelar, o congelador
sheckar (checar)	to check	verificar
fixar	to fix (repair)	arranjar
o garbiche	the garbage	o lixo
o basemento	the basement	a cave
o jusse	the juice	o sumo
o tráfico	the traffic	o transito
o ático	the attic	o sótão
a knife	the knife	a faca ⁹
o stóre	the store	a loja
o bossa	the boss	o patrão
o traque	the truck	o camião
uma guma	a (piece of chewing) gum	uma chiclete
о тара	the mop	o esfregão
o farme	the farm	a quinta
isso é muito nice	that is very nice	isso é muito lindo/bom/
não tenho that much fome	I am not that hungry	não tenho (assim) muita fome
	(I do not have that much hunger)	
fazer um apontamento	to make an appointment	marcar uma consulta

Although *portinglês* is spoken and understood by the vast majority of the older and younger generations of Portuguese-Canadians, it is rarely ever written and not widely considered a legitimate form of Portuguese-English bilingualism, nor is it officially considered a variety of (diasporic or dialectalized) Portuguese. Most people just refer to it as "bad" Portuguese because it destabilizes the monolingual nationalist ideology of one nation, one language and one people (Blommaert 1999) and, as a result, they do not even dignify it with a name. *Portinglês* is a technical term¹⁰ that is not commonly used by Portuguese-Canadians themselves and it is a linguistic phenomenon which has yet to be really studied in Canada. Would my participants talk about *portinglês* when I asked them to describe their linguistic repertoires?

My hypothesis was that every single second-generation Portuguese-Canadian person I spoke to would admit to occasionally mixing Portuguese and English because they all reported to be more comfortable speaking English rather than Portuguese and because they were so

⁹ Since the Portuguese word for knife closely resembles a strong expletive in English, many Portuguese families use the English word when speaking in Portuguese so as to avoid any embarrassing slips of the tongue.

¹⁰ I have heard other terms for *portinglês* including "portenglish" (an English term), *immigrês* (a Portuguese term which is used more broadly to describe the mixture of Portuguese with other languages that Portuguese emigrants adopt, like English) and *pretoguês* (a derogatory Portuguese term used to ridicule the Portuguese spoken by black people – where *preto* means "nigger" – or to describe any use of Portuguese that is deemed to be non-standard). ¹¹ This comes in stark contrast to its Italian-Canadian "cousin", *italiese*, which is widely recognized, studied and legitimized by researchers at the University of Toronto. See, for example, the *G.P. Clivio Online Dictionary of Italiese* (www.utoronto.ca/iacobucci/italiese.html), edited by Professors D. Pietropaolo and S. Bancheri. This also fits more broadly into sociolinguistic questions of code-switching and borrowing (see Poplack 2004, among others).

immersed in English-Canadian (and American) culture. I was wrong. Many of them did, but some did not. Those who confessed their "sin" and admitted to code-mixing did so with some hesitation and shame, but those feelings of unease generally subsided when I told them that I did it too and that I thought it was a pretty creative way to speak. This group included people of Mainland Portuguese descent, like Rui and Fernando, as well as people of Azorean descent, like Maggie and Peter, who had each grown up with varying degrees of investment in public performances of portugueseness. The minority who denied speaking *portinglês* were young people of Mainland descent – Pat, Victoria and Julia – whose life trajectories were each dominated by legitimate Portuguese spaces until, at least, their late teenage years. Not only did these three young women claim to keep their languages separate, they took great pride in correcting others – especially those born in Portugal – who could not do the same.

Julia travels to Mainland Portugal almost every summer, with or without her family in Toronto. As a result of the frequent contact with Portuguese pop culture, Julia has become a big fan of Portuguese hip-hop and rap which introduce her to "cool" new words, including loanwords from African Portuguese or from African languages. She likes them so much that she tries to incorporate them into her Portuguese repertoire when she is back in Toronto – a move which increases her symbolic capital and sets her apart from other Portuguese-Canadian youth who are not likely to be as up-to-date (or interested) in contemporary Portuguese popular culture. Yet despite this willingness to mix African and European Portuguese, Julia does not approve of the kind of mixing that characterizes *portinglês* which she sees as a dilution of "real" Portuguese. She is quick to point out that commonly used words like *parcar* and *garbiche* are not legitimately Portuguese. Furthermore, she seems to have no patience for people whose first language is Portuguese but who occasionally switch to *portinglês*. This includes her mother who, while in Portugal on vacation, will occasionally use a "lusified" English word to refer to something that is part of her daily reality in Canada (like referring to "juice" as *jusse* instead of *sumo*) – as illustrated in the following excerpt:

- **J:** my mom will go to Portugal and be like to my cousins uh / "qual é o jusse que queres?" right? ("what juice do you want?)
- E: mhm
- **J:** and they're just looking at her / I'm like "\u00e1 m\u00e4e! m\u00e4e! (Oh mom!) it's not juice it's sumo!" / and she's like "oh yeah! it's just 'cuz it's so many years away from it (raising intonation) that the language gets mixed"

Although the reaction to language mixing in Portuguese hip-hop and in her mother's linguistic repertoire is different, Julia is mobilizing a capital of distinction which places her as

the privileged or legitimate speaker in each case. First, in the market of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian youth culture, Julia's knowledge or use of African (Portuguese) slang can give her "cutting-edge" symbolic prestige that her peers will likely not possess. Second, in the market of dominant portugueseness (in Toronto or in Portugal), which is a space dominated by older Portuguese people, the act of a young person correcting an older person's Portuguese disrupts the "natural order" of language dominance and it earns the young person social and linguistic prestige.

Like Julia, Victoria speaks Portuguese fluently and was very involved in the Portuguese community growing up. She too laments the fact that most Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto speak *portinglês* and she "can't stand it!" She once got into an argument with her mother, retold in the excerpt below, after her mother used the word *freezado* (which is *portinglês* for "frozen"). Victoria could not or refused to understand what she meant.

V.M: she said a word like *freezado* (frozen) which is not real / and I didn't know what she was talking about / and then she got mad cuz I didn't understand / and then I said "Isn't the real word *congelado*?"

E: -- (laughs) yeah

V.M: -- and then she goes "yes" and I said / "so then don't get mad at me cuz I didn't understand you" (laughs)

Whether or not Victoria actually understood the word *freezado* is not as important as the discursive stand she is taking (and the symbolic capital she is earning) against her mother in a symbolic ethnolinguistic market where monolingual Portuguese is valorized. Earlier in that same interview, Victoria told me how she resents her mother's overbearing control on her (social) life. With this context in mind, I interpret her correction of this very common *portinglês* word as a potential way of getting back at her mother for her insistence on Portuguese traditional values by insisting on another Portuguese traditional value: language.

Such linguistic scrutiny or prescriptive policing is not just the domain of people of Mainland Portuguese descent who have the privileged sociolinguistic *habitus* that "embodies" the standard. Someone like Maggie, who does not speak Portuguese very well, can also criticize the use of *portinglês* by native Portuguese speakers, as she does with her grandmother, whom she has reprimanded for switching words like *garbiche* instead of *lixo* (see section 6.2.3). This interactional posturing shows that Maggie, although she may be an Azorean-Canadian of *Rabo de Peixe* descent, knows the rules of the dominant linguistic game and that she can enforce them, which serves as a reminder for others that she is not the only "deficient" speaker.

A privileged space for this kind of linguistic policing is the Portuguese language classroom. In her experience as a Portuguese language teacher for small children in a Portuguese cultural association, Pat assumes a position of power (as we will see in Chapter 5). Part of her job involves correcting *portinglês*, but what makes it somewhat difficult for her is the close bond that many of the children in her class have with the words and with the people they learned them from: their parents and families. Telling a young girl that *tráfico* is bad Portuguese, even though her mother may say it all the time, calls her mother's competency into question. Interestingly, not only did Pat have to deal with defenders of *portinglês* in her classroom, but she also had to deal with one on a daily basis: her boyfriend, Tim. The little Portuguese that he learned growing up in a Newfoundlander and an Azorean home was a mixture of English and Portuguese, which he called "hybrid" (to go along with his "hybrid" identity¹²). Although he rarely ever speaks to Pat in Portuguese or in "hybrid", Tim does like to occasionally tease her by siding with her students who defend the words their parents taught them and by marvelling at the pervasiveness and the creativity of *portinglês* – where adding a Portuguese suffix (or "flavour") like *-ar*, *-co*, and *-o*, could transform an English word into a Portuguese one. Magic-o!

In an attempt to understand why many Portuguese parents speak *portinglês*, Pat and Julia both come to the same conclusion: those Portuguese people have been outside of Portugal for too long. This argument hinges on the homogenizing nationalist ideology that Portugal is the untarnished source of authentic and legitimate Portuguese language, culture and identity. This is the same dominant discourse that attempts to create the "need" among Portuguese emigrants and their descendants to return or else risk losing (parts of) themselves, their language, history, culture, etc. Implied in all of this is that those born in Portugal should have an innate ability to always produce and to always want to protect the sociolinguistic capital they acquired (even if it was a marginalized variety). Finally, this ideology also assumes that the sociolinguistic market in Portugal is uniform, fixed and constant.

In their desire to maintain and protect portugueseness in Canada, the agents of the dominant discourse in the local market want to maintain Portuguese language, culture and identity as uniform as possible because they control the legitimate means of production. The growing use of *portinglês* represents a threat to that imagined stability and it explicitly incorporates the very forces that the discourse is trying to combat: the English language and Canadian (North American) culture. *Portinglês* can also undermine the influence of the

¹² For more on code-switching and questions of multiple identities see Poplack (1980, 2004), Zentella (1981) and Auer (1998), among others.

Portuguese state on its diaspora and the essentializing view of Canadian multiculturalism, both of which protect and produce the ideal of standard (Mainland) Portuguese as one of the unifying forces for local and transnational Portuguese markets. In the conclusion to the dissertation we will consider what the Regional Government of the Azores is doing with Portuguese language in its diaspora. In the context of Toronto, the practical reality is that *portinglês* is a common practice that operates in the shadow of the dominant discourse and allows Portuguese-Canadians to mobilize both languages and identities. In the following section, the language ideological debate shifts to other, more legitimate, varieties of Portuguese that compete with the standard Mainland European variety: namely Brazilian Portuguese and the Portuguese spoken in Angola.

4.3.2.2 Ideologies of Brazilian and African Portuguese

Although the main focus of my interviews was on my participants and how they positioned themselves and were positioned by others as (not) being Portuguese, there were several times when the positioning of other lusophones, or Portuguese-speakers, came up and it often involved issues of language ideologies. This section explores these ideologies and unpacks some of the ways in which varieties of Brazilian and African Portuguese and their speakers are discursively constructed by the dominant discourse of portugueseness in Toronto and by some second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth.

In this regard, Julia's sociolinguistic trajectory is particularly revealing because she works with two Angolan women in a small retail store and they often speak Portuguese to each other and to the customers. In the last section we saw how much Julia enjoyed hearing African-Portuguese mixed into Portuguese hip-hop music; now in the following excerpt Julia describes what it was like working and speaking in Portuguese with her Angolan colleagues.

- **J:** two of the girls [at work] who speak Portuguese they're from *Angola* (pronounced in Portuguese) / and I love hearing them speak right? it's jus' / I think it's beautiful that our our language has uh reached so many people
- E: ri:ght
- **J:** and their accents I love too
- E: mhm?
- **J:** but it's funny cuz it seems like <u>they</u> speak more Portuguese than <u>I</u> do ("surprised" tone) / even though / like I dunno how to say it jus like / my parents are <u>right from</u> Portugal / and they immigrated here an' I guess well / I'm second generation!
- E: ok
- **J:** whereas / um they may have come right from *Angola* where the language is is Portuguese / but

¹³ A detailed look into the colonial and sociolinguistic histories of the Portuguese-speaking countries around the world (the *Lusofonia*) is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in the future I hope to work on a critical sociolinguistic study of the globalization of Portuguese and the creation of international lusophone organizations like the *CPLP* (*Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa*) and the *PALOP* (*Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*).

they speak it so fluently like even with us! [Portuguese-Canadians] / but I kind of think well like wait / we're at work why are we even speaking in Portuguese?

E: right

J: we shouldn't be / like if I call in and say I'm sick sometimes I feel like / <u>I:</u> even have to speak Portuguese because <u>they</u> always speak Portuguese (laughs) you know? So it's funny

As seen above, Julia begins by making sure that I understand that she enjoys ("loves") hearing her Angolan co-workers speak Portuguese. Then she evokes the dominant neo-colonial discourse of how "beautiful" it is that the Portuguese language, with which she associates herself and perhaps even myself ("our language"), has reached so many people, alluding to the once vast Portuguese Empire. The depoliticized ideology of this organic spread of the language erases any violence or opposition. But Julia references the relations of power as she distinguishes between "our language" and "their accents" as she positions herself closer to the standard than her coworkers. She reiterates that their accents are lovely, but I could feel that she was building up to a contrast.

The contrast is between Julia and her Angolan co-workers with regards to their positions in sociolinguistic markets where she feels that her habitus should prevail. Reflecting on the specific context of speaking Portuguese at work, Julia is surprised that her Angolan co-workers "seem" to speak more Portuguese than she does. That this would surprise her, considering that her co-workers were born and raised in a country with Portuguese as the official language, suggests that her nationalist ties to legitimate Portuguese are in question. Julia found this situation "funny" or strange, I argue, because she was used to having her fluency in standard Portuguese (and her investment in portugueseness) assure her a position of power in the Portuguese-Canadian market, especially among Portuguese-Canadian youth who, for the most part, speak little Portuguese. Now that her dominance or her capital of distinction is being questioned, she does not back down, opting instead to cast some doubt over the Angolans' greater use of Portuguese ("it seems like they speak more"). Indeed, up until relatively recently, the dominance of Portuguese-Canadians (and especially those of Mainland descent) in Toronto's lusophone market went unchecked. But with immigration from other lusophone countries growing slowly but steadily, the linguistic market is getting crowded. In fact, this crowding is encouraged by Canadian multiculturalist policy which directs working-class Brazilians, Angolans and Mozambicans towards the Portuguese ethnolinguistic community in order to benefit from lusophone service agencies, despite the fact that they speak different varieties of Portuguese.

Julia tries to distinguish herself from the lusophone crowd by contrasting her parents' migration trajectory with that of her co-workers. The fact that she emphatically traces her lineage "right from" the source of Portuguese legitimacy, via her parents, is used to justify her second-generation status as being more connected to the legitimate language than her co-workers who cannot trace as straight a line to the land of Portuguese authenticity because of their colonization.

The last way that Julia delegitimizes the Angolans' position of linguistic power is by juxtaposing their multilingual work environment with the mainstream Anglophone Canadian work environment: why should she have to speak in Portuguese when calling in sick to work, for example? This creative strategy allows Julia to turn the sociolinguistic tables on her Angolan coworkers who speak more Portuguese than her by expecting them to speak more English. In this view of the market, Julia's canadianness and her fluency in English are valued by the legal norm, and provide her with capital of distinction that marginalizes her co-workers, even though the three of them were hired partly because for their Portuguese-English bilingualism.

Although Julia does not explicitly racialize her black Angolan co-workers, part of the reason why she "loves" their accent and hearing them speak may be due to a certain exoticism. This is not surprising given the heritage of Portuguese colonialism and the fact that the Portuguese-Canadian community has remained mostly white for over 50 years. In the excerpt below, we see how Julia, like many others, is "amazed" and even "shocked" whenever she sees racialized minorities speak Portuguese.

- **J:** I'll be on the streetcar let's say and I'll see two um / African-Americans speaking in Portuguese / I'll be like wow and I'll look an' I'll be like that's so cool! (laughs) you know?
- E: yeah
- **J:** but it's kind of amazing cuz you can't really you don't really know anymore who / who can or not because there's / there's so much immigration to to Canada and in Toronto / um that even even like Brazilians like cuz there's white 'n black Brazilians
- **E:** mhm?
- **J:** so it's it's / kinda shocking to see

Language ideologies are closely tied to other ideologies of nation-states, race, ethnicity – and here that becomes apparent when Julia says "you don't know anymore who can or not (speak Portuguese)" because it suggests that at one time it was clear: white, European people spoke Portuguese and they spoke the most legitimate kind of Portuguese since they were in a position of power as colonizers. The legacy of Portugal's colonial project lives on in the traditionalist discourse of many first generation Portuguese immigrants – even if Brazilian independence came centuries before that of Portugal's former African colonies in 1974 – with the idea that a legitimate Portuguese speaker and the boundaries of portugueseness do not immediately include

Brazilians and/or black (African) people. This is why it is shocking yet exotically "cool" to see and hear them speak Portuguese. Interestingly, the legacy of racism in the United States is such that even blacks in Canada can be constructed as "African-Americans."

The politics of language and race are not lost on Peter Araújo, a gifted Portuguese-Canadian student of Azorean descent whose life is consumed by politics. In one of our interviews we discussed the changing nature of sovereignty before and after WWII, and Peter criticized the UN for maintaining an overly rigid and outdated model of "Westphalian sovereignty" that does not easily recognize and account for the transnational mobility and plurality that exists in the world today. We also discussed how such plurality is difficult to negotiate in countries and cultures that were shaped by colonialism, like Portugal. The excerpt below illustrates how Peter negotiated some of this ethno-racial plurality himself: first, he asked an Indian friend whose last name is "Dias" if she had any ties to Portugal, and then, he shared some thoughts on Brazilian Portuguese.

P.A: so I said "Laurel / are you is your name Portuguese?" She says "Yeah" / "Oh cool! You don't really look Portuguese" 'cuz she's you know darker skin / and she says "Oh it's 'cuz my mother is Goan" [...] so she [Laurel's mother] speaks Portuguese like we do [...] I thought that was pretty cool

E: yeah that is cool

P.A: so there are all these you know / spin offs of Portuguese / I'm sorry I have a serious problem with the Brazilian language I don't like the Brazilian language / it's a bastardization of Portuguese

E: you've been holding that back, eh?! (surprised laugh)

P.A: I have I have / I'm sorry (laughs) / I have to get this out in the open / ok I hear it on TV / you know my my grandfather gets the Brazilian channel / this isn't Portuguese!

E: (laughs at his theatrical confession)

P.A: we don't talk like that! / it's almost impossible for us to understand what the hell they're saying

E: it certainly can be difficult

P.A: and they can't call this Portuguese / I am sorry / there's a serious problem and this has to be dealt with right here and now / we cannot continue to call this language Portuguese / Portuguese is spoken in Portugal Brazilian is spoken in Brazil it's that simple (bangs table) ok? / it's a bastardization it's a dialect it's whatever you want to call it

The unexpected shift from calmly discussing the spread of Portuguese language and culture to India and around the world, to theatrically ranting about Brazilian Portuguese as a "bastardization" of "real" Portuguese caught me off guard. It did, however, fit with his very dry sense of humour and flare for drama. Peter voiced the often disguised, but always boiling, traditionalist and colonial Portuguese language ideologies which set the variety spoken in (Mainland) Portugal as the only standard and dismisses the other varieties. Tellingly, this uncensored reproduction of the dominant discourse came mere moments after Peter criticized the

UN for its overly rigid and outdated view of sovereignty and its inability to recognize the plurality of an increasingly globalized world. The contrast was striking. Peter's "simple" conclusion that Portugal and Brazil should have their own language (Portuguese and Brazilian) reproduces the homogenizing nationalist language ideology of one nation – one language – one people.

Maggie, on the other hand, feels that she has to fight against the essentialist ideology, and general ignorance, that leads people to believe that Brazilians speak Brazilian or Spanish. While she understands the argument for identifying Brazilian Portuguese as Brazilian, she is still in favour of keeping it Portuguese because of the indelible mark that the colonizers left on Brazil...for better or worse.

M: how many people say "Brazilians either speak Brazilian or Spanish"? (laughs)

E: wow / do they say that they speak Brazilian?

M: they're always so surprised when I tell them "No / they speak Portuguese!" [...] I mean you could make the argument that they <u>do</u> speak Brazilian because it is <u>slig</u>htly different than Portuguese / but no I mean they <u>are</u> Portuguese / and they're / I mean they're different from us but I think looking at their culture and and how they do things it is heavily influenced by / the people that colonized them / right? whether that's a good thing or a bad thing you can't deny it / our imprint is there and it'll always be there

The tension between variability and invariability that Maggie describes above (i.e. Brazilians speak and are different from the European Portuguese, but they also have been permanently shaped by the Portuguese), is developed briefly in the excerpt below from Sara Miranda. As we will see, Sara playfully problematizes the naturalized definitions of what counts as "real" Portuguese or even "real" English.

E: so do you think you have to speak Portuguese to be Portuguese?

S.M: none of us speak Portuguese anymore (laughs) so? / I would say / and we all consider ourselves Portuguese so / I don't think it's a huge deal like / languages change right? [...] so you're never gonna actually get Portuguese-Portuguese like / I remember talking to my Brazilian friend and him going "We speak the real Portuguese you guys some sort of weird European variation" / then I go "the weird Portuguese? / the weird European variation is the real Portuguese" [...] my mother is kinda like / "if you're gonna speak real Portuguese [then] speak real Portuguese! / why are you doing a variation?" / and I'm like "oh mother you don't even speak perfect English!" / "you speak like this Canadian English you say eh / and sometimes you mix in some Portuguese / do you think you're gonna go to England and they're gonna understand a word you're saying?"

¹⁴ Sara is a secondary participant whom I met at a Portuguese university student association event. She was born in Toronto to Mainland Portuguese parents and is in her early 20s. She speaks Portuguese well but speaks *portinglês* most often at home, she grew up dancing in a *rancho* but that does not mean that she dances to the beat of the dominant discourse. In fact, she argues that ethnic markers like Portuguese and Portuguese-Canadian, with which she identifies herself, do not say anything about her as a person but rather where she and her family are from. She is

also very critical of "anything that promotes a unity that isn't complete" or an ethno-cultural unity that pressures its members to "buy only Portuguese things", for example.

This excerpt highlights the complicated navigation of discourses of linguistic legitimacy across different markets. When her Brazilian friend challenges the dominance of the "weird European variation" of Portuguese, Sara mobilizes her Portuguese symbolic capital and refutes Brazil's claim for Portuguese supremacy. But when Sara's mother asks why anyone would want to speak a variation of Portuguese when they could speak the "real" European variation, Sara mobilizes her capital of distinction and challenges her mother's definition of "real" - equating it with impossible perfection. After all, her mother does not speak perfect English, so why must anyone else try and speak perfect Portuguese or "Portuguese Portuguese"? Furthermore, Sara argues that Portuguese-Canadians will never speak "real" Portuguese, because of the displacement from Portugal and the language mixing with English. Once again, the link with nationalism is prioritized. Yet, for Sara, this does not stop anyone from identifying as Portuguese because languages change. Languages do indeed change, but the power relations behind them do not change as easily. The following section takes a closer look at the power behind "the weird European variation that is the real Portuguese" by comparing two of its most polarizing discursive varieties: the anti-standard spoken in Rabo de Peixe in the Azores, and the mythical standard associated with Camões.

4.3.2.3 Ideologies of European Portuguese: *A língua de Rabo de Peixe* or *de Camões?*

This section rounds out the presentation of Portuguese language ideologies with a view of the Portuguese Republic itself, as seen from second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. The question of what counts as legitimate Portuguese and who counts as a legitimate speaker has already been discussed throughout this thesis, but the data below present an interesting perspective on the question. We will hear from two Azorean-Canadians speaking about the most delegitimized variety of Portuguese (from *Rabo de Peixe* in São Miguel in the Azores) and a Mainland Portuguese-Canadian who pushes *Camões* off of his linguistic throne.

We start with Peter, whose family is of Azorean descent from the island of *Terceira*, and not from *São Miguel* where the majority of Azorean-Canadians come from. In describing a traditionally Portuguese family function (i.e. celebrating a baby's baptism), Peter identifies the rivalry which exists between the archipelago's two largest islands, especially along sociolinguistic lines. In his family's network, this rivalry is personified by an uncle from *Rabo de Peixe* who married into the family. In the excerpt below, Peter, who has been himself discriminated against for speaking Azorean Portuguese by his Mainland peers at a Portuguese

language school, takes aim at the most linguistically stigmatized speakers in all of Portugal: those from *Rabo de Peixe*. The name of the working-class fishing town is commonly translated by Portuguese-Canadian youth as "fish ass" rather than "fish tail".

P.A: my aunt is from *Terceira* / and my uncle's from *Rabo de Peixe* so we make fun of him all the time

E: (laughs) becau::se?

P.A: he's from / the ass of a fish!

E: (laughs)

P.A: and he's got the accent too / so uh / we all we make fun of him constantly (laughs) poor guy I I / it's weird that he keeps coming to our events cuz / -- it's all we do

E: -- but he's family what choice does he have? (laughs)

P.A: exactly (laughs) / you have to s-/you have to put up with it / no but uh // he's a / they're they're both Portuguese and uh they're not like *über*-Portuguese but they're Portuguese enough

Although few second-generation Portuguese-Canadians, like Peter, are likely to have ever been to *Rabo de Peixe* or to understand the historical socioeconomic transformations that have taken place there, the town from São Miguel continues to take on epic proportions in the dominant discourse of portugueseness as the archetype of all that is wrong with the Portuguese language (and culture). That such an ideology is reproduced by the children of Portuguese immigrants shows the enduring power of language ideologies and the appeal for the capital of distinction earned by pointing out someone worse off than themselves. Furthermore, the "weird" fact that Peter's uncle continues to participate in the family market where he is constantly mocked, mirrors to some extent the "weird" sociolinguistic fact that many Azorean-Canadians continue to participate in the Portuguese market despite being mocked by others. This questioning, along with the backdrop of silence against which it needs to be considered, will be addressed in the conclusion to the dissertation.

How would someone who is actually of *Rabo de Peixe* descent react to "her" accent being publicly derided? Maggie, whose family is from the marginalized fishing town, has actually been there herself a few times and she has a very positive connection to the place that can be "blamed" for the way she speaks Portuguese. In fact, she takes great pride in knowing that her "marginality" complicates the dominant discourse of portugueseness and she enjoys pushing its boundaries. She enjoys the looks of surprise and shock on Portuguese people's faces when she proudly traces her roots back to *Rabo de Peixe*. Although I never observed Maggie shock anyone, I did see a more subdued form of her protest. At the 2007 Portugal Day proclamation in a public, political setting in Toronto, Maggie proudly refused to wear anything traditionally "Portuguese", like a red or green article of clothing, except for a small pin from the *Rabo de*

Peixe municipal government on her coat. But is she as proud of the stigmatized variety of Portuguese spoken in *Rabo de Peixe*?

In the following excerpt, Maggie vividly recalls one of the first visits to her family's hometown. She felt as if she were in a third-world country and that the locals' speech was so bad that it could not even be considered a language, never mind Portuguese:

M: kids running around the streets naked / people not used to indoor plumbing / and then these people speak in Portuguese it's not even / Portuguese it's "euh, euh, euh!" [in an exaggerated "Azorean" accent] they're not even speaking a language / I can't understand what they're saying

Maggie summed up exactly what most first generation Portuguese-Canadians (especially Mainlanders) say when they describe *Rabo de Peixe*. That she is able to produce the same disparaging discourse shows that Maggie is very aware of the dominant internal divisions with the Portuguese market. And while distancing herself from the "incomprehensible drawl" earns her symbolic capital for being in line with the dominant discourse, that same drawl is part of the messy authenticity that endears her to the town. It is as far from the sanitized standard as one can get in Portugal, while still being in Portugal.

On the other end of the Portuguese language ideological spectrum, stands a 16th century literary figure so tall that his shadow still covers Portugal today and so powerful that he continues to exert ownership of the language. *Camões* is commonly referred to in Portugal, and across the diaspora, as the father of Portuguese; it is "his" language or *a língua de Camões*. In Toronto, the public discourse of Portuguese politicians, language teachers and ethnic media personalities continues to reinforce this metaphorical link. Sara, who in an excerpt above was questioning constructions of "real" Portuguese, challenges this dominant discourse which mythologizes the language and creates a reference point far removed from the average Portuguese-Canadian, especially among the younger generations. Hearing the Portuguese language media describe adolescent singers in the "community", for example, as performing in "*a língua de Camões*" can leave many young people scratching their heads. Sara points out that the language *Camões* actually spoke would barely pass for Portuguese today, so instead of being the protector of an idealized "pure" Portuguese, he should be the leader of linguistic change. Sara thinks it is time to end the association with *a língua de Camões* in every day discourse because *Camões* "is dead!"

E: do you know how many times I still hear people say a língua de Camões?

S.M: (laughs)

E: like when a new young artist is on the radio "Oh wow 11 year-old Michelle Whatever is singing in *a língua de Camões*" / I'm like "Buddy?! *A língua de Camões* -- has been [...]

S.M: -- is dead!

This argument can be seen as an effort to refocus Toronto's Portuguese market more locally and appeal to a younger audience.

4.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to link the macro-level social processes of the dominant discourse seen in chapter 3 with the micro-level of social and linguistic interactional dynamics of a select group of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. The point was to highlight two fundamental elements that structure an individual's situated performances of language and identity: resources and legitimacy. The first main part of the chapter explored why these young Portuguese-Canadian youth bothered investing in portugueseness at all, by looking at the strategic resources that were at stake in different spaces. The second main part examined who counts as a legitimate Portuguese-Canadian or Portuguese person, and what counts as legitimate Portuguese. All of these questions, and the interactions that complicate them, can be understood in the context of a predominantly working-class ethnolinguistic community that is structured as a market.

A critical look at the resources circulating within the Portuguese-Canadian market suggests that the reasons why Portuguese-Canadian youth invest in portugueseness are not entirely out of selfless "pride" or "natural" tendencies as the positivist argument of the dominant discourse suggests. There are in fact many symbolic and material resources that can be accessed or mobilized depending on an individual's habitus and the specific constraints of the interaction. Investing in portugueseness can solidify bonds of family and ethnic solidarity that ensure a support or safety network, it can lead to accessing financial, political, academic and special minority-status resources, and it can yield symbolic capital of distinction that sets an individual apart for being a "good" Portuguese-Canadian or a Canadian with good additional ethnolinguistic qualifications.

We also saw how second-generation Portuguese-Canadians were able to navigate and negotiate contentious discourses of portugueseness surrounding ideologies of language, gender, ethnicity and race. Examining these discourses is important because they can be used by people in positions of power within the community to include and exclude these young people and members of their social network. What emerged, however, is an even more complicated

discursive process that highlights the need for studying situated social interactions. Many of these young people, who are marginalized from positions of power within the markets that control the means of Portuguese cultural production, can still assume positions of power in specific interactions by marginalizing others with the same dominant discourses that are used to marginalize themselves.

Thus, while most Portuguese-Canadian youth speak a non-standard bilingual mix of Portuguese and English (*portinglês*) instead of standard Portuguese, few of those I interviewed considered it a legitimate way to speak, nor did they openly identify with it. Instead, many prided themselves in pointing out and correcting other people's common use of *portinglês*, especially Portuguese parents and adults who are expected to be the "legitimate speakers". Several of the participants also reproduced "old-world" colonial Portuguese language ideologies that exoticize and delegitimize the varieties of Portuguese spoken in Brazil and Angola. By affiliating with the dominant discourse these young people may be protecting their access to a small part of the local (and global) Portuguese market and signaling their good portugueseness and ethnolinguistic solidarity. In fact, if the price or the resource is right, even those who are marginalized by negative intra-ethnic or regional language ideologies can reproduce the same marginalizing discourse to dominate others from the same region (i.e. Azoreans from different islands or cities marginalizing each other).

Approaching the question of legitimacy from the structured practice of dating revealed some strategies that the participants used to negotiate discourses of gender, ethnicity and race. In the face of the expectation for Portuguese-Canadian women to date intra-ethnically, all the women I spoke to rejected this discourse and tried to avoid dating Portuguese-Canadian men because of negative constructions of machismo, male chauvinism, ethnic arrogance and anti-intellectualism. I argue that this also represents a rejection of certain dominant discourses of working-class portugueseness. The exception among my participants is Pat's boyfriend Tim who can be constructed as "not really" Portuguese, "half" Portuguese and "fully" Portuguese. Victoria feels compelled to hide her Indian boyfriend from her parents so as to avoid any debate on ethnicity and race. Maggie avoids dating Portuguese-Canadian men altogether and, as a result, has her sexual identity called into question by the old Portuguese women at church. Although humiliating, she finds this marginalization somewhat motivating on a personal level because it gives her negative capital of distinction that she tries to use in some traditional Portuguese spaces in order to challenge the dominant discourse.

Having presented the narratives of how some of the participants invest in and negotiate the dominant discourses of portugueseness above, the following two chapters will explore how the production and the contestation of these discourses gets put into practice through the lived and inherited experiences of two participants in particular: Pat and Maggie. Since I argue that not all Portuguese-Canadians can invest in portugueseness in the same way and that it depends on their habitus, which positions them more or less favourably in the Portuguese market, then the purpose of the next two chapters is to unpack the complex and interconnected layers that make up the habitus of two young women who provided me with considerable access to them and their social networks. Continuing the micro-level analysis of interactional dynamics through a critical ethnography will contextualize the narratives that I heard and it will allow me to observe how social processes unfold over time. Such an approach can begin to deconstruct the reasons why these participants do what they do and then, later, with what consequences for whom. It will also reveal the fluid, multiple and contradictory processes of structured identity construction. Indeed, the sociolinguistic experiences of Pat and Maggie highlight two very different Portuguese-Canadian habitus that illuminate some of the most important differences between the dominant constructions of Mainlanders and Azoreans. The fact that Pat and Maggie have participated in some of the same spaces within the Portuguese-Canadian market, to varying degrees of success, makes the comparisons and the contrasts between them that much more revealing. In short, the ethnographic case-studies of Pat (in chapter 5) and Maggie (in chapter 6) will provide the reader with in-depth and multi-layered analyses of a) how social, linguistic and cultural capital gets defined and how these social actors are able to mobilize it in the stratified Portuguese-Canadian market and of b) how these practices reveal areas of discursive tension or struggle and the conditions that produce them. We begin by looking at Pat because her performances of portugueseness are mostly in line with the dominant discourse outlined in chapter 3.

Chapter 5

Patricia: Mobilizing the right kind of portugueseness

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter we gained some insight into how and why different second-generation Portuguese Canadians invest in and negotiate with the dominant discourses of portugueseness that structure Toronto's Portuguese market. In this chapter our critical ethnographic attention shifts towards an in-depth look at the participant who publicly invested the most in portugueseness: Patricia Martins. The goal is to understand what shaped Pat's habitus and what her experiences, as well as those of her social network, can tell us about the construction of portugueseness. In other words, this chapter seeks to explore not just how Pat constructs Portuguese language and identity, but why she does it, when/where she is able to do it, and what this tells us about the ways in which the Portuguese market is structured.

As we will see in the sections below, Pat's constructions of portugueseness occur against the backdrop of the market's dominant institutions: Portuguese cultural associations, the ethnic media, Portuguese language schools and classes, Portuguese ethnic businesses and a Mainland Portuguese family. I argue that the legitimized social and linguistic habitus she acquired at home and in the spaces mentioned above has positioned her favourably in the local Portuguese market as well as in the market of Canadian politics, university and certain areas of the workforce where her portugueseness and "community service" affords her a capital of distinction.

The first part of the chapter explores Pat's social network: her family, her boyfriend and one of her best friends. The purpose of this section is to situate Pat's positionings within the larger context of her network: how is she positioned by them, and how does she position herself with regards to them? One might have expected that someone with as dominant a Mainland Portuguese habitus as Pat would be surrounded by people just like her, but this is not the case. Apart from her father, who positions her as a future leader in the Portuguese-Canadian community, my ethnography reveals that some of the closest members of her social network have identity constructions that challenge the dominant discourse: her mother, who was raised in Canada, often considers herself more Canadian than Portuguese; her younger sister, who was born in Canada, participates in the Portuguese market without speaking very much Portuguese, and her boyfriend, Tim, is "half" Azorean and "half" Canadian. Pat's best friend Vanessa is someone who, like herself, is of Mainland Portuguese descent and was positioned in the same

dominant ethnolinguistic institutions, including working in Portuguese as a language teacher and a representative of a Portuguese bank. How did Vanessa's constructions of portugueseness compare to those of Pat? How does Pat react to the positionings of her father? How does Pat position herself against the others? In which discursive spaces? Why?

In the second part of this chapter (sections 5.2 and 5.3), the focus shifts towards Pat and the mobilizations of her Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital. These sections help answer two of the research questions that guided my critical ethnographic fieldwork: who counts as a legitimate Portuguese speaker, and who counts as a legitimate Portuguese-Canadian? Here again we will see how the dominant institutions in the Portuguese market position her performances of language and identity. Moreover, we will also explore how her constructions of Portugueseness change or are received in different (non-Portuguese) markets by different (non-Portuguese) audiences.

5.1 Patricia and her social network

This section begins with a general overview of Pat and five important members of her social network. Over dinner (section 5.1.2) we will hear more from Pat, her parents, Maria Helena and Germano, her sister, Nancy and her boyfriend, Tim. The last section (5.1.3) looks more closely at Pat's best friends: Tim and Vanessa.

5.1.1 Introducing the main social actors

Patricia's involvement in my study did not begin in the same manner as my other participants. In fact, when one of the people who had originally agreed to participate in my study dropped out a few weeks afterwards, I needed to find a replacement as quickly as possible. With little time to lose, I looked at the young people in my fieldwork sites: Portuguese university student associations, ethnic clubs, businesses, media, etc. Then one day, while flipping through the weekly Portuguese-language newspapers my father had brought from his visit to a Portuguese bakery, I chanced upon an article about the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA) in which I saw a photo of a young woman in her early twenties with a familiar face: Patricia (Pat) Martins. I had met Pat a few weeks earlier at an event hosted by a Portuguese university student association (PUSA2) in Toronto. The article went on to extol Patricia's extensive "community service" and positioned her as a role model for other Portuguese-Canadian youth: she was a former MPCA youth group leader, a former beauty pageant queen ("Miss MPCA"), a folklore dancer, a Portuguese language teacher at the club, a

volunteer at an association of Portuguese-Canadian entrepreneurs, and – as I already knew – a university student member of the PUSA2. Considering this extensive Portuguese-Canadian cultural résumé, Pat was likely to be involved in more public performances of portugueseness than all of my other participants combined. How then did she negotiate, challenge or reproduce the dominant discourses of portugueseness as a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian woman? What kind of linguistic and cultural resources or capital did she draw from in order to position herself (and be positioned by others) in these Portuguese spaces? When I presented my research project to her and asked if she would be willing to participate, she agreed but admitted she was "shocked" that I found her life "so interesting." It is unclear why Pat was "shocked" by my interest in her model ethnolinguistic capital, considering that it is worthy of interest in the Portuguese market. Did it have to do with my position as a researcher? My gender? My age? My identity as a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian with less ethnolinguistic capital? Was it a true or false sense of modesty? Just as interesting, however, was the close group of people that surrounded Pat and how they helped shape her identities and vice-versa.

Given Patricia's high involvement in the institutionalized Portuguese community of Mississauga and Toronto, and given the socio-historical structuration of power within the "community", I hypothesized that her parents were both from Mainland Portugal, that they were very proud to be Portuguese, perhaps even more than being Canadian, that they spoke standard Portuguese fluently, and that they were very involved in the organized Portuguese community. My assumptions were not far off, although there were some important differences. Indeed, Patricia's parents, Germano and Maria Helena, were born in rural Northern Mainland Portugal but they immigrated to Canada at different ages, under different circumstances and had considerably different experiences in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

One look at Patricia's father, Germano Martins, and I could guess he was Portuguese: his "olive" (tanned) skin, his dark hair, eyes and bushy eye-brows, his moustache and his strong, thick hands all "gave him away", as did his noticeable Portuguese accent whenever he spoke English. Once a car salesman in Portugal, Germano has always been very sociable, eager to interact with people and have an informed discussion on anything from politics to economics or history to sport. Unlike most men of his generation, or older, who completed four years of primary schooling in Portugal, Germano – now in his early fifties – had completed seven years' worth. There he developed a passion for literature and languages, including French and even some English, which set him apart from most working-class Portuguese men I know. When he

immigrated to Canada, alone, in his early twenties, he quickly immersed himself into Toronto's Portuguese institutionalized community by becoming a member of a cultural association representing his region of Portugal, and soon thereafter joined its board of directors. It was also through the "community" that Germano found work as a manual labourer. When he got married, he moved to Mississauga with his family and in-laws; there, he and his wife became active in the Portuguese community primarily through the local Portuguese cultural club and churches. At the time of my study, he worked in the Portuguese food industry in a job that combined his outgoing personality with his love for all things Portuguese: he prepared and sold culinary products to as many restaurants, stores and customers as possible.

Patricia's mother, Maria Helena, whom I only ever heard addressed as "Maria" (the quintessential Portuguese female name), has a much different story than that of her husband. She immigrated to Canada at the age of five with her family and settled in the East end of Toronto, where there was not a large concentration of Portuguese immigrants. As a result, Maria's upbringing was more "Canadian" than "Portuguese", as she put it, and she quickly integrated into the white, English-speaking, Canadian society at school and in the neighbourhood with her friends, who were not of Portuguese descent. At home, however, life was in Portuguese. It was only in high school (in central Toronto) where Maria finally met other Portuguese-Canadian young women. There she also realized just how "closed" and "traditional" the Portuguese community could be and how little Portuguese she spoke compared to her classmates and their families. Forty years later, she believes that had she not married someone as "Portuguese" as Germano, she would likely not speak any Portuguese at all – as is the case with most of her Portuguese-Canadian friends who married someone from outside their ethnic group.

Pat's teenage sister, Nancy, has followed in many, though not all, of her older sister's footsteps: she too was a member of the MPCA youth group, a folklore dancer, Miss MPCA and a volunteer at the club. One of the things that differentiates them the most is Nancy's lower proficiency in Portuguese (i.e. she does not speak it nearly as well or as often as Pat). This, however, does not worry Nancy because she does not identify herself as being very Portuguese, and, unlike Pat, she does not foresee a career in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

Much like Nancy, Pat's boyfriend Timothy (Tim) has very limited proficiency in Portuguese. Nevertheless, he identifies himself as Portuguese even though he says he is "only technically half Portuguese" and does not participate actively in the Portuguese-Canadian community. As we saw briefly in chapter 4, his father is Portuguese from the Azores (São

Miguel) and his mother is Canadian from Newfoundland. Since his mother is an only child and his father is one of eight, all of whom immigrated to Canada, Tim grew up mainly with a large extended Portuguese family where he developed a strong sense of Portuguese "values" (i.e. family, religion, work ethic, loyalty, respect, etc.) and an appreciation for Azorean culture and history. He met Pat in university and slowly began interacting with the Portuguese community through her family and their involvement at the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association. I was curious to see how Tim's azoreanness and his difficulty in speaking Portuguese were negotiated in interactions with Pat and her family.

Beyond Pat's familial network, I also got to know one of her best friends, Vanessa, who, like Pat, fits the dominant discursive profile of a "good" Portuguese descendant. Also in her early twenties, Vanessa worked with Pat at the MPCA's Portuguese school. Both of them had grown up at the club and had attended the Portuguese school together since childhood. Both of their families came from Mainland Portugal and were very involved in the organized Portuguese-Canadian community. Vanessa's father worked in the construction business, and in addition to being a member of the MPCA, he also belonged to an association of Portuguese-Canadian entrepreneurs. As a result, he had friends in many other Portuguese organizations, including a Portuguese bank where Vanessa put her standard Portuguese linguistic capital to work for several years. At the time of my study, however, Vanessa was changing the direction of her life and her markets. She began to gradually remove herself from public performances of portugueseness in order to focus on her career in computer science and her relationship with her Canadian fiancé. Nevertheless, she continued to keep a few ties to the Portuguese community by performing portugueseness with her parents and pledging her support for Pat's political aspirations.

Indeed, Patricia dreamt of a career as a politician or a lawyer in the Portuguese-Canadian market or rather "for the community", in her words. In order to attain that goal she has positioned herself strategically in academia by studying Political Science and Portuguese at university, and within the community by volunteering and mobilizing young people in important Portuguese cultural institutions, as well as by working on the different campaigns of Portuguese-Canadian politicians.

As this brief outline suggests, Patricia is "very" Portuguese as is much of her social network. Yet, for reasons we will explore in the following sections, she also does not want to be portrayed as "overly" Portuguese. This productive tension of "fitting in" and of "fitting out" is

part of the careful process of negotiation and positioning with regards to the dominant discourses of portugueseness. This chapter explores the ways in which Pat acquired her Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital or habitus and how she mobilizes it in Toronto's Portuguese market. What does she stand to gain (or lose) from investing in it? How do people in the "community" and especially in her social network interpret and react to her portugueseness? In order to begin to answer these questions, let us get a glimpse into the dynamics of the Martins family who have so graciously invited me over for dinner.

5.1.2 Patricia's family: Dinner with the Martins

5.1.2.1 You know you're in a Portuguese home when...

When I was invited to join Pat's family for dinner in December of 2006, I jumped at the opportunity to experience firsthand how everyone interacted with each other. But before we sat down at the dinner table, Tim and Pat gave me a quick tour of the beautiful and spacious suburban home. Along the way Tim, whose habitus is the least traditionally Portuguese, felt it necessary to point out to me the things that identified the Martins' home as "Portuguese". As he pointed things out, he numbered them and came up with a "Top Ten"-style list that could easily have been entitled "You know you're in a Portuguese home when..."

The tour started off where visits begin and end: near the front door. Although there were no ceramic tiles depicting a religious scene outside their front door – this was, after all, suburban Mississauga where the concentration of Portuguese-Canadian is less dense and the exterior markers of ethnicity less common than in Toronto's inner-city, working-class communities – Tim pointed to a beautiful display of hand-painted ceramic plates from Portugal hanging on the wall near the front door. According to him, these plates indentified the space and the home as "typically" Portuguese. I agreed and shared how my mother had the same thing at her home as an artistic and subtle way of expressing her portugueseness, instead of having kitschy displays of touristy plates depicting Portuguese landscapes and attractions. As we walked past the dining room, the Portuguese meal that Maria had prepared for everyone could easily have covered two or three entries in Tim's "Top Ten" signs of a Portuguese home. He could have also pointed to Maria working alone in the kitchen, but instead Tim focused on what he considered the consumable symbols of portugueseness on the table. There was Portuguese barbecued chicken (frango, churrasco), potatoes, vegetables, bread and olives, among other things. Tim pointed to the olives and said that they are found on every Portuguese table and this time Pat chimed in with

her love of the common Portuguese fruit. As we walked down a hallway past the dining room, my tour guide called out the third item on his list: "something religious". Although there was nothing religious to point to nearby, Tim was convinced that there was some kind of Catholic symbol on display somewhere in the house. I agreed, expecting to find a little cross or a souvenir of Our Lady of Fátima somewhere, but both Pat and her mother denied it and Maria teasingly stressed that displaying such things was more of an Azorean practice. Suddenly the distinction between Mainland and Azorean portugueseness was underscored, and Tim was positioned with respect to an internal boundary.

T: there's gotta be something of Mother Mary

P: no!

E: oh is there religious -- uh?

MH: [from the kitchen] -- no!

T: well see [looking at me] / this is the exception

MH: that's *Acorianos*! You guys are supposed to have Mother Mary!

T: hey hey! [shaking his finger as he sensed Maria Helena's teasing]

Now that my tour guide's authentic portugueseness was (jokingly) called into question, Patricia took over momentarily and pointed out a gigantic mural of a Portuguese town prominently displayed in the family's pristine sitting room. The painting depicted Germano's hometown in Northern Portugal. I had never seen such an elaborate visual recreation of Portugal in someone's home, so I made it number four on our "Top Ten" list: "You know you're in a Portuguese home when..." there is an authentic artefact from a parent's hometown in Portugal.

When the three of us sat down at the dinner table, Tim resumed his search for typical Portuguese items on display and pointed to something near my end of the table. "Bread?" I asked, assuming it could be number five on the list. But Tim was pointing past the bread, to a bottle of imported Portuguese beer: $Super\ Bock^{\textcircled{@}}$. As Nancy and Germano joined us at the table, Maria was still in the kitchen preparing to bring out the food. This reminded me of mealtimes at my parents' house where my mother is normally the person preparing and serving the meal (especially for guests) and where we would all be listening to a Portuguese radio station. Did either of these "typically" Portuguese things figure into Tim's list? I made a mental note of them as numbers six and seven.

E [to T]: at my house the Portuguese radio would be on in the background

T: veah?! [surprised]

E: and I haven't heard any Portuguese radio here / which isn't a bad thing [laughs]

T: no / I don't think the girls [i.e. Patricia and Nancy] would allow that! [laughs]

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¹ Perhaps in the bedrooms, but I did not have access to those spaces.

- E: and [pointing to Maria] my mom's also usually the one makin' and servin' the food
- T: well look at me! [leans back in his chair, pointing to his unbuttoned shirt and rubbing his stomach] I feel like an old lazy Portuguese guy with my shirt open [laughs]
- **E:** sign number eight that you're in a Portuguese house! [laughs]
- T: number eight [laughs] dress shirt wide open / stomach stickin' out an' doin' nothing!

After everyone had a good laugh at Tim's exaggerated caricature of a stereotypical Portuguese man, we all agreed that this was one part of portugueseness we would be happy to see disappear. Not having heard from the youngest person at the table, I asked Nancy what she thought were some characteristically Portuguese things in her house. "Cleaning! Like cleaning your bed in the morning", she replied as Maria laughed heartily as if to say "Then I wish you were more 'Portuguese' and that your room were cleaner!" or "What an odd thing to put on the list!". Nancy finished off the Top Ten list in style as she highlighted another stereotypical sign of a "Portuguese" home: "When your family's really loud, you can tell they're Portuguese!" A fittingly loud roar of laughter confirmed that everyone agreed.

But, most of all, what makes a home "Portuguese" are the people that live in it, and our dinner conversation quickly turned to the different experiences that each person had with regards to being Portuguese.

5.1.2.2 More on the Martins: Traditional portugueseness with a twist

As previously mentioned, Maria Helena immigrated to Canada as a young child from Northern Mainland Portugal and settled in the east end of Toronto with her family. Far from "Little Portugal" in the west end of the city, Maria recalls how her neighbourhood was "very British" and middle-class. An advantage for her of growing up in a neighbourhood where there were only a "handful" of Portuguese people was that it "opened up a lot more perspective", in her words, and it helped her family integrate to the "English" or Canadian society. On the other hand, a disadvantage of being raised far from the concentrated Portuguese community was that Maria felt (and still occasionally feels) somewhat excluded from her Portuguese-Canadian peers because she did not share the same ethnic and class-based experiences as them. Many of them were raised in large extended families and social networks, and grew up being watched by nosy neighbours, going to school with other children of Portuguese descent, working from a young age and being exposed to substance or physical abuse. Nevertheless, Maria still had a very Portuguese upbringing thanks to her strong family ties: the language spoken at home was Portuguese, the cuisine was traditionally Portuguese and the family participated in Toronto's Portuguese socio-cultural organizations like ethnic clubs and churches.

Years later, as an adult, Maria acquired enough linguistic and cultural capital to participate in spaces where portugueseness gets constructed, but she occasionally feels like an "insider-outsider" when she hears other Portuguese-Canadian adults reminiscing over their past experiences growing up Portuguese. One of the most "common" experiences referenced is attending Portuguese-language classes, something with which Maria is not very familiar.

Where she grew up with her family in Toronto's east end, there have never been many places to formally study Portuguese. Because of the lack of demand in the area, Maria's elementary school only offered Portuguese once. In fact, the classes did not last more than three months. The Portuguese teacher was Brazilian and she was met with considerable resistance from the few Portuguese parents who had pressured the school to create the course. The parents expected their children to learn "standard" (Mainland European) Portuguese, not Brazilian Portuguese which they considered non-standard or simply "wrong" based on the dominant linguistic ideologies of Portuguese nationalism and the way the local Portuguese market was being structured.

MH: she was a Brazilian teacher / wow did that ever get a <u>lot</u> of issues I tell you / but that teacher didn't last very long 'cuz she was teaching us all the wrong words!

E: really? were parents like "this is not the Portuguese we speak"?

MH: that's right! It was such a big issue and it was like // she lasted about 3 months and then they [Maria's parents] said "No way you're not going back to school! She's not teaching you right!" [...] "That's not how you say that word!"

Although Maria's written and oral Portuguese may not be perfect compared to most first-generation Portuguese mothers, I find that her proficiency in English is far more advanced than that of most Portuguese mothers. She speaks it fluently, without a noticeable "accent" and with an extensive vocabulary despite growing up speaking Portuguese at home. It is so extensive, in fact, that I was surprised by the complexity or distinctiveness of some English words and expressions she used, like "mindboggling", "beforehand", "um", "counterparts" and "mum and dad really thrived you (sic) to get an education". Occasionally, Maria made such a noticeable effort to speak formal English, that she hypercorrected some words (Labov 1966), such as "thrived" in the last example, or "embredded" instead of "embedded".

² I imagine that having a Brazilian person teaching Portuguese to children of Portuguese descent must have been quite extraordinary given the small number of Brazilians in Toronto in the late 1960's and early 70's and given the common practice of hiring teachers of Mainland Portuguese descent.

³ For each of these terms there are, what I would consider, "everyday" words she could have used: "strange", "before", "ah" (which is a more "Portuguese" filler), "other parts", "equivalent", "mom" ("mum" is very British) or "mãe e/and pai" (Portuguese for "mother and father" but often used in English/portinglês), "encouraged", etc.

Growing up in an English-speaking "Canadian" neighbourhood is a big part of the reason why Maria considers herself as Canadian as she is Portuguese, perhaps even slightly more Canadian. She refuses to compare her life in both countries because she left Portugal at such a young age that she barely remembers it and so, for all intents and purposes, she considers herself born in Canada and not in Portugal. Indeed, Patricia's mother is "so" Canadian that she defends Canada from those Portuguese immigrants who criticize it as just a place to make money or to gain social benefits, but not as good or nice as "back home" in Portugal. She affirms her canadianness by reproducing a depoliticized image of Canada as a generous and benevolent nation which "gives" its residents "everything" they have, and if Portuguese immigrants are not happy and want to leave, then Maria would encourage them to pack their bags and go, because they are not "needed".

MH: the thing that used to frustrate me the most in in / once I got **embredded** [sic] and socializing within the Portuguese community / was the way / the Portuguese were never satisfied with being Canadian / or living in this country / to them Portugal was always better / [...Canada is] just money and that mentality / just totally surprised me and I would say to them "Well / this country's given you everything!"

T: [whispers towards me] that's what I say!

MH: "Ok / there was a necessity for you to leave your country [...] but this country [Canada] gave you the roots that made you grow made you have families and made your families grow" / but no one ever saw it that way / and it would just frustrate me to no end because / no matter if I'm Portuguese I'm more Canadian at heart / I grew up here! And I keep saying to everyone "I love Portugal I love my heritage / I embrace it I would never ever turn it away / but don't ever criticize this country / and start criticizing to the point where / you're all but condemning it!" [...] there was a group [who criticized Canada so much] to the point where "If I could I wouldn't be living here / I'd be living well / life [in Portugal]" / I once said to a lady "Well then pick up your bags and leave / 'cuz I don't need you here!" [laughs] (emphasis added)

While Germano did not grow up in Canada, having immigrated in his early twenties, he does share his wife's nationalist zeal and expects everyone to be as proud of their nationality as he is to be Portuguese. He laments the lack of patriotism among Canadian citizens and immigrants and he fondly remembers how, during Portugal's fascist regime, Portuguese school children internalized nationalist symbols (flags, monuments, historical facts, etc.) and their significance as a way of reproducing national pride.

Committed to maintaining his Portuguese roots and passing them onto his family, Germano became involved in Toronto's Portuguese cultural institutions as soon as he arrived. He joined a regional cultural association representing Northern Portugal; he served on its Board of Directors until he moved his family out to Mississauga. There, he became a member of a local Portuguese cultural association (the MPCA) and, once again, volunteered on the Board of

Directors through which he expanded his social and professional networks. Germano's mission at the club was to get his children and other second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth involved there, as well as in the rest of the Portuguese market, by creating a folklore group (*rancho*) and promoting the language school. Germano also insists that his family make regular, almost annual, trips to Mainland Portugal where he still has considerable family and where he would like to return after he retires.

Rounding out Pat's family is her teenage sister, Nancy, whose upbringing was slightly different than hers, especially with regards to language. Unlike Pat, who grew up in a predominantly Portuguese-speaking household with her parents and especially her maternal grandparents, Nancy was surrounded by more English than Portuguese at home, where her mother and sister mostly spoke English, and at her Canadian daycare. It was there where one of the child-care providers believed that Nancy had some "difficulties" with English and so, for fear of impeding her English language development, Maria and Germano delayed enrolling her in Portuguese school until she was eight years old. Nancy's Portuguese school experience lasted only two years and she has never been able to speak Portuguese as fluently as Patricia.

Nevertheless, like most second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth her age, Nancy can understand (some) spoken Portuguese and she can produce a mixed variety of English and Portuguese (or *portinglês*).

Despite not being comfortable to speak Portuguese, and relying on Pat to translate for her, Nancy found other ways to produce legitimate performances of portugueseness. Following in her sister's footsteps, Nancy became involved in the MPCA's folklore group, its youth group and also won the club's beauty pageant. But unlike Pat, Nancy does not aspire to a career in or for the "community". Instead, she wants to be an actress. To that end, her folklore dancing and beauty pageantry can be seen as part of her larger professional portfolio. Whether or not her performances of portugueseness will be legitimized as valuable experience remains unclear.

5.1.3 Patricia's best friends

5.1.3.1 Timothy: Hybrid portugueseness

Had I met him outside of my study, I never would have guessed that Patricia's boyfriend, Timothy, was of Portuguese descent just from looking at him. I would have bet on "British", "English" or "Canadian". He did not fit a "typical Portuguese" mould: his light coloured (green) eyes, his reddish-brown hair, his fair complexion and his facial features did not strike me as

characteristically Portuguese. His first name, often truncated to the very Anglo-sounding "Tim", also broke the prescriptive Portuguese mould. The fact that he was athletic and liked sports, including soccer (football), put him more in line with the traditional discourse of (male) portugueseness. But the other sports that he enjoyed cast some doubts on the "authenticity" of his Portuguese ethnic identity. Tim grew up playing ice hockey, and also developed a passion for skiing, golf and baseball – sports that are more associated with Canada and North America than they are with Portugal. Furthermore, Tim's portugueseness was not reinforced by a large group of Portuguese friends. Instead, during his teenage years his closest friends were of Maltese, Italian and South Asian descent. Growing up in Brampton, Ontario (a suburb of Toronto, like Mississauga, but to the north) in a middle-class neighbourhood which was not predominantly Portuguese, he rarely participated in Portuguese cultural organizations. Finally, another characteristic which distinguished Tim from his Portuguese-Canadian peers was his strong investment in academic success. Contrary to the alarmingly high percentage of Portuguese-Canadian youth who drop out of high school or do not pursue post-secondary education (McLaren 1999, Ornstein 2000, Nunes 2003), Timothy graduated high school at the top of his class, was accepted to university where he worked hard to maintain high marks in his business degree, and then landed a job in the finance industry after graduating with distinction.

Tim's portugueseness is most easily recognizable through his last name: Melo. The fact that his father was born in São Miguel, Azores allows Tim to claim a Portuguese (Azorean) identity. Since his mother was born in Newfoundland, Canada, Tim can also legitimately claim a Canadian identity. As a result, he often stresses that "technically speaking" he is "only half-Portuguese". The mathematics of identity, however, is extremely problematic and rarely adds up neatly. Although he speaks very little Portuguese and is not very active in the organized Portuguese-Canadian community, Tim feels a strong connection to a Portuguese identity, due in large part to his father's family. Mr Melo immigrated to Canada with his parents and eight siblings when he was only eight years old and he has never returned to the Azores. At the time of my study, Tim had approximately 20 first cousins living in the Greater Toronto Area and the entire Melo family was very close knit. His mother's side of the family, on the other hand, was made up of only three people: his mother and his grandparents, who could trace their ethnicities back to Germany and France. Even though he could have also spent all of his time with his mother's side of the family, Tim has fond childhood memories of family gatherings being almost

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⁴ "Typical" Portuguese phenotypes include dark (brown) hair, dark (brown) eyes, "olive" or somewhat tanned skin complexion, bushy eyebrows, as well as high cheekbones and "roundish" faces.

exclusively Azorean functions. The sheer size of Tim's Azorean family made it its own kind of Portuguese market and the most accessible association with an ethnic identity and solidarity.

Very often, the juxtaposition of Timothy's inherited ethnolinguistic identities raises questions about his ethnicity as people try and categorize him as one thing or another when they interact with him (e.g. when he meets new people at university). Tim describes the line of questioning as very predictable, starting with the general question: "What are you?" Depending on the context, the interlocutors and the resources at stake, Tim may identify himself as Canadian. If the person knows his last name or suspects that he is of immigrant descent, she may press him with another question "Ok, but what are you really?", "Where are your parents from?" or "Ok, but you're Canadian-what?" (expecting a bicultural hyphenated identity label). Behind these questions is the ideology that while most people in Canada can claim a "Canadian" identity, by virtue of their residence or citizenship, they are positioned by their family's immigration history to Canada (except for the First Nations peoples). In order to generally avoid a barrage of questions, Tim identifies himself as "Portuguese" because he finds that it satisfies most Torontonians' desire to ethnolinguistically compartmentalize their neighbours into Canada's mythical multicultural mosaic. Being Portuguese can also seem "cooler" and more cosmopolitan than affirming a Newfoundland ("Newfie") Canadian identity, which could make him the target of many jokes among Canadians.

The ethnolinguistic questioning, however, does not necessarily end after "I'm Portuguese". Those who identify with or who know something about the Portuguese community may want to situate Tim's identity even further: "From where?" or "Where are your parents from?" Pat and her family had their doubts about Tim's portugueseness when they first met him, and they went through a similar line of questioning. Germano may have expected his daughter, who is so involved in social and linguistic performances of portugueseness, to date a young man with similar cultural and linguistic capital, but Tim's difference also had its appeal. It gave him the best of both stereotypical cultural worlds: he was raised with traditional Portuguese cultural and social values, despite speaking very little Portuguese, and he has avoided the social attributes traditionally associated with many (working-class) Portuguese-Canadian young men, who are often seen as controlling, womanising, conservatively ultra-nationalistic, and disinterested with regards to staying in school and pursuing professional careers.

In terms of the linguistic interactions at Pat's house, and in particular with Germano, I was curious to see how Tim negotiated his (Azorean) Portuguese language skills in a (Mainland)

Portuguese space. From what I observed, there was little or no problem at all. In fact, English is the language spoken most often at home. Germano continues to speak to his family most often in Portuguese and, depending on the context, they normally reply either in Portuguese (Pat and Maria), in English (Maria, Nancy and Pat) or in *portinglês* (Nancy and Maria). With Tim around, however, Germano often switches to English and is still able to express himself clearly although he makes some mistakes and has a heavy Portuguese accent. Tim and Nancy almost always speak in English. Pat and Maria serve as fluent bilingual agents switching between Portuguese and English in order to accommodate Tim and Nancy who may not understand everything that was said in the other language, as Pat explains in the excerpt below.

- **E:** so at home then / is it English most of the time?
- **P:** yeah / in the beginning I saw my dad really trying / 'cuz he'll see he'll know that Tim's at the table and he would like / revert to English
- E: yeah yeah
- P: and then / like / I'm so much more comfortable talking to my dad in / Portuguese so like we'll be at the table and even when Tim's there I'll say something in Portuguese and then / like I'll repeat it or like / kind of emphasize it in English [...] but my dad really tries to / be able to speak English so that Tim can understand [...] in a way I did get lucky because my mom speaks perfect English! / like I speak better Portuguese than she does! (emphasis added)
- E: [laughs]
- **P:** [laughs ...] so then Tim wasn't as big of a thing but **Portuguese used to be the language spoken at my house** / even if my sister didn't respond back in it

On occasion, Tim mixes English and Portuguese (which he calls "hybrid" instead of *portinglês*) when speaking to Pat, her parents or their friends (at the MPCA, etc.). He feels most comfortable code-switching with Pat, where he likes to sometimes "throw in" a Portuguese or *portinglês* word in order to tease her and mark his (non-standard) portugueseness. In the following excerpt, Tim jokes about Pat's stubbornness by calling her a *chata* ("an annoying person", which he correctly marks with a feminine suffix).

T: yeah this *chata* over here!

P: you're the *chato*!

5.1.3.2 Vanessa: Stressing canadianness over portugueseness

As I walked down a quiet residential street in southern Mississauga to meet up with Pat's best friend Vanessa at her parents' house, I looked around for clues that might identify any Portuguese homeowners – a little game that I like to play as I walk through the streets of Toronto's "Little Portugal". Would I find any Portuguese or Azorean flags on display? Any cars decorated with Portuguese soccer, touristy or religious symbols? Any religious *azulejos* (ceramic tiles) or statues near the front door? Any sound of a Portuguese radio station or of Portuguese

people speaking (loudly)? Alas. This upper-class and de-ethnicized neighbourhood was unlike Toronto's "Little Portugal" in every way. The houses looked much newer and much more expensive, they were twice (or three times) as large, the winding roads twice as wide, the streets were lined with very old trees, the lots were very spacious and green, the front lawns and the driveways stretched far back from the edge of the road, there were no sidewalks and nothing that immediately revealed a homeowners' ethnicity.

Although Vanessa's family did not publicly mark their home as "Portuguese", they did invest heavily in portugueseness in other spaces. Her father, for example, worked in the construction industry and was well connected in the Portuguese community. As we saw earlier, he was one of the directors at the MPCA and a prominent member of an association of Portuguese-Canadian entrepreneurs. Thanks in part to his ethnic networking, Vanessa landed a job at a Portuguese bank which catered specifically to the Portuguese-Canadian community. There, she worked in community-business relations and built on her experiences interacting with her father's network and with people at the MPCA in order to attract new businesses to the bank. Part of her responsibilities also included representing the bank at Portuguese-Canadian social functions.

Through her work at the Portuguese bank, Vanessa's dominant cultural and linguistic capital was often on display and essential to brokering deals within the Portuguese market. The vast majority of the bank's clients were first generation Portuguese immigrants who enjoyed the ease of doing business between Canada and Portugal or simply managing their money close to home while being served in Portuguese. For many clients, however, it was difficult to discuss some technical banking terms in standard Portuguese when they were more familiar with them in English, and so they often reverted to *portinglês* in order to ask about their *balanço* ("account balance", instead of *saldo*), to pay down their *morgitch* ("mortgage", instead of *hipoteca*) or their *billes* ("bills", instead of *contas*). Vanessa laughed as she remembered the many clients who were not at all familiar with the "real" Portuguese terms. The following excerpt describes how an older woman did not appreciate Vanessa's subtle correction:

V: even Portuguese people sometimes / because they've been here for so long / they don't know some of the technical banking stuff / we'll sometimes use uh / instead of 'account balance' we'll use the word *saldo* which is the correct [word] / but some people think it's *balanço* / which is actually a scale [laughs ...] it's pretty funny / once an old lady got all mad like / "eu não quero o saldo eu quero o balanco!" ["I don't want the saldo I want the balance!"]

During my interview with Vanessa, her father (V.F in the excerpt below) overheard us speaking in English about *portingles*, and he came over from a nearby room to reprimand us for

speaking in English instead of Portuguese. Perhaps he wanted to highlight Vanessa's ability to speak Portuguese, perhaps he expected that all Portuguese-Canadian youth should be able to speak "their heritage language", or perhaps he was just joking around...either way, Vanessa did not appreciate his linguistic scolding and she justified her language choice, refusing to switch. In any case, her father's comment reminded me that I was in a space that was constructed as Portuguese by someone who was deeply invested in portugueseness, and that as a "Portuguese" person myself I could be expected to adhere to the sociolinguistic order.

V.F: you guys supposed to speak Portuguese not English!

E: [smiles politely opening his eyes wide and looking at Vanessa - was he joking?]

V [to V.F]: why? His study's not in Portuguese! The study's of Portuguese people

E: no but if you wanna speak in Portuguese we can totally switch it up [laughs]

V [to E]: no no / that's al-right [laughs, shaking her head and hands]

Impressed by the way she stood up to her father's attempt at positioning her in a monolingual Portuguese market, I asked Vanessa what kind of public performances of portugueseness she foresaw for herself. She saw her participation in the market's dominant institutions dwindling to once or twice a year, primarily at the MPCA. Since she finds little use for her portugueseness in her computer science career and in her relationship with her "Canadian" fiancé, Vanessa intends to privately continue practising her portugueseness with her parents. The only other public situation in which she would mobilize her Portuguese language and identity would be in support of Pat's potential bid for a career in politics because she thinks it would likely relate to the Portuguese-Canadian community in some way. Nevertheless, Vanessa hopes that Pat will not overemphasize her portugueseness in the Canadian market and risk being portrayed as a one-dimensional candidate who used her ethnicity as a crutch (i.e. through ethnic voting in the Portuguese market), rather than appealing to the broader Canadian community.

5.1.4 Concluding remarks

My interactions with Vanessa and Tim reveal the importance of situating a person's identity constructions in specific markets in order to understand the political economy of language and identity. For Vanessa it appears that the markets in which she is currently participating do not yield a high return on investment for portugueseness and so she has decided to reduce her involvement in the public production of it. That said, she knows that her legitimized habitus allows her the flexibility to return to the Portuguese market if she wanted to. For Tim his limited Portuguese habitus restricts him from public performances of portugueseness

that require dominant linguistic and cultural capital, but his success in the Canadian markets of school and work allows him to be inscribed by the dominant discourse as legitimately Portuguese because of the added value that he brings to that market. Against the backdrop of Portuguese-Canadian youth who drop out of school, Tim's academic capital makes up for his limited Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital. In fact, Vanessa sees Tim as an example of Portuguese-Canadian youth who are integrating into mainstream (and middle-class) Canadian society and who do not need to speak Portuguese to "be" Portuguese. Tim and Vanessa's class habitus also afford them a certain flexibility that comes with social mobility and that may be beyond the reach of those Portuguese-Canadians who are constructed as working-class because of the way that ethnolinguistic identity is used to mark class relations. Pat's class habitus could also afford her the same kind of flexibility, but her dominant Portuguese linguistic and cultural habitus make her an ideal candidate for a leadership role within the Portuguese-Canadian community because she can position herself legitimately in both markets.

5.2 Patricia's linguistic capital

This section explores the ways in which Pat acquired dominant cultural and linguistic capital.

5.2.1 How did Patricia learn Portuguese?

5.2.1.1 Portuguese at home and at home in Portuguese at the MPCA

As the eldest child, Patricia grew up immersed in a Portuguese-speaking home with her parents, her grandparents and in the company of Portuguese family friends. Since she learned to speak standard (Mainland) Portuguese before English, Pat proudly declares Portuguese as her "first" or "mother" language. She could also call it her "father" language because Germano was the driving force behind her acquiring Portuguese first; whereas Pat's mother, Maria, is slightly more comfortable speaking English and would have been happy with a bilingual home. Pat remembers how Portuguese was so instilled in her that, when she was four, she hated being sent to English-language preschool and daycare because she had difficulty in communicating in English. Yet, as she progressed through the early years of elementary school, Pat feels that she "lost" her Portuguese fluency because of the use of English at school and from TV at home. Pat's father Germano became so worried that her Portuguese skills were diminishing that he enrolled

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⁵ These terms are defined by Statistics Canada as the first language a person learned in childhood and still understands (www.statcan.gc.ca).

her, at the age of seven, in Portuguese language classes at the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association and Pat remembers also "hating" that at first. Germano insisted because he was convinced it was his obligation as a "good" Portuguese parent and also because he knew that by speaking "good" Portuguese, Pat could be positioned favourably within the ethnolinguistic market.

Going to three weekly Portuguese language classes in the evening meant that Pat could not participate in many other after-(regular)-school activities as a child. For example, although Pat continued to take dance lessons, she could rarely enter any dance competitions because they often conflicted with her Portuguese school. She also complained that attending Portuguese school did not always leave enough time for her to finish her regular ("English") homework, which was far more important in terms of her academic future; nor could she relax, watch TV or play after school like most children her age. Pat spent so much time at the MPCA attending language classes, folklore dance lessons, as well as the club's weekly events with her family, that the cultural association became a second home for her.

Her early aversion towards Portuguese-language classes subsided within the first year and she went on to complete nine years of Portuguese language instruction at the MPCA. She estimates that she lasted three times longer than most of her peers – who were nearly all of Mainland Portuguese descent – because half of them dropped out within the first three years. Pat recalls how one teacher in particular was responsible for scaring away most of the children: she worked in a factory by day, which made her seem very strict to the children, she spoke no English, gave no explanations for her lessons, stressed rote-learning through copying and mind-numbing repetition and would sometimes hit students who spoke English in class. This teacher, like the others at the school, was a first generation Portuguese immigrant, from the Mainland, with little or no formal teacher training and no prior experience teaching bilingual or second-language learners.

Pat, however, was not scared off. The linguistic and cultural capital she acquired at home positioned her well in the classroom, where she was never the target of any aggressive linguistic policing, and so her outlook on the courses and the content remained positive. In fact, Patricia grew to admire her teachers and the club for their determination in promoting Portuguese

⁶ According to Pat, "it wasn't a bad hit it was like a slap or like a push. She used to throw things at us all the time too, like we were always dodging things [laughs]."

language and culture (even though the program ran a deficit every year) and for putting up with all the misbehaving and disinterested children.

In the senior years of the Portuguese-language program, there were very few children enrolled in the classes. In her seventh year, for example, Pat had only three classmates: her best friend (Vanessa) and two young men who were brothers. All four of them came from families with strong social or financial ties to the Portuguese-Canadian community and that they were all of Mainland Portuguese descent. For these children, having families who are involved in the inner circles of the institutionalized Portuguese market, and speaking (or at least hearing) the "right" kind of Portuguese at home and with family friends, played a strong role in their Portuguese school success. For parents like Germano, such an intensive investment in formal linguistic (and cultural) instruction guaranteed an elite level of symbolic and potentially material capital for the children and for themselves. They were framed as "good", "responsible" families in the eyes of the dominant discourse.

Pat's most enjoyable years at the school were the last two or three when the curriculum became very advanced and moved far beyond basic language production to cover Portuguese literature, history and geography. By the end of it all, and still only a teenager, Pat had learned things about Portuguese culture and language that few Portuguese-Canadian youth (and maybe even some adults) ever knew. She even received official recognition from the Ministry of Education in Portugal for completing such an intensive program. On a more local level, Pat's experience in the language school forged very close relationships with her fellow classmates, with her teachers and with the club's directors – who saw her and the other senior graduates as success stories and role models. Students like Pat validated the club's mission of promoting Portuguese language and culture and preparing the future generation of "leaders".

5.2.1.2 Studying Portuguese at university

Not only did Patricia study Portuguese at the MPCA, but she also studied it at university. Given the considerable amount of formal and familial Portuguese-language training she had received before enrolling in post-secondary Portuguese language courses, she encountered very little difficulty with the subject matter and successfully completed all of the courses offered. When I asked her if she ever felt uncomfortable speaking up in one of her university Portuguese classes, nothing immediately came to mind. Then she remembered a time when the instructor - sent directly from the *Instituto Camões* in (Mainland) Portugal (as seen in Chapter 3) - had a

very difficult time in getting the class to participate and speak Portuguese...including her. What was keeping such a normally outspoken person so quiet? Was she unfamiliar with the material covered? Was she feeling indifferent? Shy? Stubborn?

- **P:** he thinks we're all stupid and no one wants to answer when you're completely beat down like that / you feel like you're just not intelligent enough to answer
- E: especially when it's a different language / like "I could respond in English no problem!"
- **P:** today he asked us if we liked poetry or if we know any Portuguese poets / now / everyone in that class knew some sort of poet or something right? / no one answered! everyone kind of kept quiet and then at the end [...] he got all offended / and it wasn't that we didn't understand like I could tell you I've read *Camões*' poetry / I've read *Saramago*'s poetry / and I've read *Pessoa* / the reason I didn't talk was 'cuz I just got mad and bitter

The excerpt above underscores how much Pat is like and unlike most Portuguese-Canadian youth. By choosing silence like her classmates, Pat shared in the group protest against being made to feel "stupid" and morally "beaten down" by a producer and enforcer of the dominant discourse. The students felt that their inherited portugueseness, and not just their linguistic production, was being evaluated by someone flown in from Portugal who embodied the dominant standards and who expected them to be more "authentically" Portuguese. Although Pat could have answered the instructor's question and saved him from getting "all offended", Pat chose to remain silent in order to blend in with her classmates. Group solidarity was more important than the capital of distinction, so she hid her considerable academic expertise in Portuguese language, literature, history and culture.

Indeed, one of the things that separates Pat from most Portuguese-Canadian youth is her linguistic and cultural Portuguese capital. In the case above, she assumed that her classmates remained silent despite some familiarity with Portuguese poetry, but I would assume that many of them were likely learning about it for the first time and, unlike Pat, had little exposure to the works of writers like Camões, Saramago or Pessoa at home. Perhaps Pat was trying to normalize her "expert" portugueseness. Her exposure to academic Portuguese literature and history at home - thanks to her father who is a self-described "fanatic" of Portuguese literature - set her apart from any second generation Portuguese-Canadian I have ever met. My father, on the other hand, is more of a joker than a scholar, so one of the first things I learned as a child about Camões was not his epic poem *Os Lusíadas*, but a vulgar poem or a joke about how he lost or sold his eye for five cents. Pat did not find the joke very funny and she took the time to explain to me that

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⁷ I have heard two rhymes about Camões and how he is often depicted with a coin in his eye: "Camões perdeu o olho por cinco tostões" – "Camões lost his eye for five cents" and "Camões, que vendeu um olho por cinco tostões, comprou uma bicicleta/um carro sem travões e quando ia por uma descida abaixo esmagou os colhões" – "Camões,

Camões actually lost his eye in a duel. This fact is so entrenched in Pat's vast repertoire of portugueseness that the description of the eye-popping incident comes to her in Portuguese (a *briga* or "fight"), as illustrated in the following excerpt.

E: [...that was the joke I heard explaining] the image of Camões with the coin in his eye

P: [not laughing] he uh / briga ["fight"]

E: what's that? [confused]

P: it was a *briga* he had like a fight with someone and that's how he lost his eye

In the following section we see how Pat takes up a fight that would make even *Camões* proud: teaching Portuguese at the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association's language school.

5.2.2 Teaching Portuguese at the MPCA

In the summer of 2005 when two of the Portuguese teachers in the MPCA's language school quit, one of the club's most legitimizing pillars was in danger of collapsing. The MPCA's president looked everywhere for replacement teachers. Knowing that Pat had graduated from the club's Portuguese school, that her parents were long-standing club members, and that she was studying Portuguese at university, the president approached her to see if she would be willing to teach Portuguese to the younger grades in the program. Pat agreed and suggested the club also hire her friend Vanessa with whom she had completed the MPCA's Portuguese school. Together Pat and Vanessa taught the first four levels and, although they had no previous teaching experience, they drew from their advanced Portuguese language skills, their ability to relate to the children in English and their (still somewhat recent) experiences as language learners themselves.

After observing four of their classes, I was impressed with the amount of Portuguese that these young Portuguese-Canadian teachers spoke in and outside the classroom. I expected them to use mostly English with the absolute beginners (as I would have), but they balanced the use of Portuguese and English to expand the children's vocabulary and to ensure that the children understood the material being covered. I also expected Pat and Vanessa to speak to each other in English outside of the classroom when they were off duty (or "off stage"), like they normally do as friends, but they continued to perform their roles as language teachers and they spoke Portuguese as often as possible in order to create an immersive lusophone space.

The unwritten Portuguese monolingual policy of the MPCA (like that of most Portuguese ethnic associations in the Greater Toronto Area) was, in fact, written down in each Portuguese classroom as the most important of all the class "rules". Rule number one in Pat's classroom read, "In class, only Portuguese is spoken. Do not speak English". The children in grades one and two did not (could not) adhere to this ambitious rule as they always spoke to each other in English and usually responded in English to Pat's questions in Portuguese (unless they produced a one or two-word answer in Portuguese). Those in grades three and four interacted with Vanessa mostly in Portuguese and with each other in English. Both teachers limited their use of English in the classroom to very specific purposes: to clarify explanations, to ask for/prompt translations, to repeat instructions (that went unheeded), to stress something (like praise), to get the children's attention and to discuss things not related to the course. In all of these cases, English was used as a last resort in an effort to facilitate classroom management.

By observing Pat's performances of portugueseness in this dominant space, I also observed how the young children in her classes negotiated ideologies of Portuguese language and identity. While these children were far more fluent in English than in Portuguese, they did have a very basic Portuguese vocabulary and the ability to identify certain mistakes. In one instance, when Pat was outside of the room dealing with a sick child, the rest of the children were working quietly on a written assignment about "the family". I watched as one of the boys copied from the notebook of the girl sitting beside him. Suddenly, the silence was broken as the boy screamed "Minha primo!" (which translates as "my [f.] cousin [m.]") and burst out laughing while pointing to the girl's work. She had mistakenly associated a feminine adjective with a masculine noun and since family member titles are part of the limited vocabulary that most Portuguese-Canadian children first learn at home and at school, the mistake was quite obvious. Short bursts of snickering swept through the room. The girl turned bright red and quickly dismissed her cheating neighbour's criticism by explaining that it was just a spelling mistake and that she would not have said it that way. But the boy was enjoying his new-found linguistic policing powers and he embellished her original mistake, saying "I bet you also say *Minha pai*!" ("my [f.] father"). This striking gender opposition drew much louder laughter from many of the children. Kids can be cruel, I learned, even in a language they do not fully grasp because they know that the dominant discourse of enforcing standard Portuguese ensures them favourable

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⁸ The rule was written in Portuguese: "Na aula só se fala português. Não falar ingles." Those who followed this, and the other rules (dealing mostly with behaviour), could receive a reward of um dólar de comportamento ["one dollar of (good) behaviour"], which had the face of the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama on it.

positioning in the market, especially from Pat whose job is to enforce and reward it with good grades and prizes.

Not only were the children able to critique incorrect linguistic performances of portugueseness, they were also able to critique legitimate cultural and gendered performances of it. With Portugal's participation in the 2006 World Cup commanding the attention of many members of the Portuguese-Canadian community at the time of my fieldwork, even third generation Portuguese-Canadian children were part of the discursive action. On another visit to Pat's language class, I observed a couple of girls teasing a couple of boys about the previous day's soccer game, which Portugal had lost. One of the girls mockingly consoled a boy on the team's loss, which was personified as his own loss, and another boy denounced the girl's portugueseness ("you're not a Porkchop!") because she valued online instant messaging more than watching soccer and cheering for her (grand)parent's country.

Girl1: sorry about your loss [laughs]

Boy1: what's more important than watching soccer? **Girl1:** MSN! (an online instant messaging service)

Boy2: you're not a Porkchop!⁹

Whether it is for Pat, the students in her language classes, or the regular members who attend the club, the MPCA and its language school function as a space for the negotiation and reproduction of legitimate Portuguese language and identity. Within that particular space, Pat was transformed from a language learner to a producer and protector of legitimacy. The following section explores what kind of Portuguese she produces, in and outside of the classroom, and what she considers proper Portuguese or not.

5.2.3 Patricia's thoughts on Portuguese: What is proper? What is not?

As I observed in her conversations with her family, in the classroom with her students and in her contact with me and her friends, Patricia is very comfortable navigating between English and Portuguese within the same interaction and even mixing them within the same sentence or thought. Patricia and I always spoke to each other in English, but on several occasions there were times when she unexpectedly introduced Portuguese words, like *briga* for "fight" in the Camões example earlier. When she narrated some of her interactions she

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⁹ The origin of the term "Porkchop" in Toronto is unclear, but through my lived experience I know that it can be a derogatory ethnic slur referring to Portuguese descendants. "Porkchop", like "Pork and Cheese", may have been chosen because they sound like variations of the word "Portuguese" or because they describe some of the food Portuguese people are known to eat. When used by in-group members, "Porkchop" may serve as a sign of stigmatized ethnic solidarity. When used by non-Portuguese people, however, the term may be offensive. The ethnic rivalry between Italians and Portuguese in Toronto, for example, pits "Wops" against "Chops".

reproduced the Portuguese expressions she used for emphasis like "olha paciencia!" for "well too bad!", "ó pá, calma!" for "hey man, relax!" or "aie meu deus!" for "oh my god!" Pat even "lusified" English words, or gave them a Portuguese twist, like "discoverment" which I think was influenced by the Portuguese descobrimento for "discovery". ¹⁰ All of these Portuguese linguistic productions serve as audible markers that can either identify Pat as "Portuguese", as a "non-native" English speaker or as bilingual. For her they all came naturally and she thought nothing of them.

To my bilingual ear, some of the most revealing examples of Pat's bilingualism are her use of Portuguese interjections that are commonly used by members of the first generation to express, for example, emotions like anger or frustration or terms of endearment. Whether it was with the students in her Portuguese language school, with Tim in the car or with her Portuguese friends at university, Pat often used Portuguese expressions where I would have likely used their English equivalents. In the excerpt below, we see how Pat performed her bilingualism in one of her Portuguese language classes at the MPCA:

P: ok *tira o vocabulário / 'tás a fazer o quê?* [take out the vocabulary / what are you doing?]

Boy1: what are we supposed to do? **P:** take out a blank piece of paper

Boy1: I just came in I don't know what to do

P: *ó querido!* [oh sweetie!] what do we always do when we come to class?

Bov1: I don't know

P: *ó miséria!* [oh god!]

From what I could observe, Pat seems far more likely to incorporate Portuguese into her English than vice-versa. In her roles as Portuguese-speaking daughter, student, leader and as a Portuguese language teacher, Pat feels a responsibility to perform "proper" (i.e. standard Mainland European) Portuguese and to keep her languages separate as much as possible. She considers the mixing of English into Portuguese to be "contaminating" the "beauty" (and sovereignty) of the Portuguese language and undermining its place in the world or the prestige of its speakers. However, she sees the opposite, mixing Portuguese into English, as a positive sign of Portuguese language maintenance and vitality in the face of English domination.

In her eyes, *portinglês* is the careless mixing of English into Portuguese (like *uma freeza* for "a freezer", *parkar* for "to park" or *o garbiche* for "the garbage", see section 4.3.2.1 for more examples). And even though the overwhelming majority of Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto (especially those in the second and third generations) speak and understand some kind of

¹⁰ **P:** I <u>love</u> Portuguese history / and I'm someone who's good at memorizing numbers [...] like I can tell you like in 1427 was / like the discoverment [*sic*] of the Azores

portinglês, Pat has very little patience for what she sees as mistakes. In her role as Portuguese language teacher, she admits that it is a challenge to correct some of the *portinglês* that the children reproduce from their parents and family members.

Pat lays most of the blame for this deviant language practice on the shoulders of Portuguese parents who no longer speak the language "correctly" because they have lost touch with Portugal. This notion territorializes language and reinforces the monolingual nationalist ideology that Portuguese is somehow "purer" in (Mainland) Portugal than it is anywhere else, which serves to maintain Portugal's privileged control over the "legitimacy" of the language. Pat's reasoning also reproduces the dominant discourse which expects parents to overcome the pressures of the globalized new economy and multilingualism and bestow Portuguese monolingual proficiency on their children or risk failing their duties as "good" Portuguese parents.

She does, however, have a little more patience with her boyfriend Tim who coined the term "hybrid" to describe the way that he and others mix Portuguese and English. Tim enjoys provoking Pat about the creativity and pervasiveness of *portingles* in the Portuguese-Canadian community, even if it is considered "bad" Portuguese. In the excerpt below, Tim and I playfully tease Pat with "bad" Portuguese after she complains about the children in her class:

- P: you should've seen <u>all</u> the 'portenglish' words we [Pat and Vanessa] thought of when we were uh / teaching this year [...] like especially with really younger generations they don't like [being corrected] / they hear their parents speak and a lot of their parents don't even speak right anymore 'cuz they've been out of Portugal for such a long time / we had a long argument with a kid because uh / he'd say to us that 'a freezer' wasn't a 'congelador' it was 'freeza' [...] 'não mas a minha mãe chama freeza / é freeza!' ("no but my mother calls it a 'freeza' / it's 'freeza'!")
- **E:** are you telling me my mother is wrong? [teasing]
- **T:** "my mom said it's a *freeza* I don't care what any of you say" / it's a *freeza* and it's *tráfico* (traffic)! [laughs]
- E: [laughs]
- **T:** to be honest with you I don't even know what 'traffic' is [in Portuguese] eh?

Pat also feels compelled to "deal with" *portinglês* spoken in her own family by not only her sister, Nancy, but also her mother, Maria Helena, and even her maternal grandmother. Pat is quick to point out and correct all the non-standard words they use when speaking Portuguese, such as "nice" and "knife": "*isso é muito* nice" ("that is very nice") and "*pega uma* knife" ("grab a knife"). Maria recognizes that she uses *portinglês* often, but she sees nothing wrong with it because it is part of her Portuguese-Canadian sociolinguistic experience. Taking "knife" as an example, she points out that few Portuguese-Canadian families would use the standard

Portuguese word *faca* because it sounds very similar to the English expletive "fuck". Even when she is in Portugal, Maria finds that some of the most commonly used *portinglês* words "slip out" when she is trying to speak in standard Portuguese. For this reason, Pat enjoys pointing out that she speaks better Portuguese than her mother.

5.2.4 Concluding remarks

Pat's considerable Portuguese linguistic capital produces more than just symbolic capital; it positions her as a "legitimate" speaker in a Portuguese market where the dominant institutions of portugueseness remain monolingually Portuguese. As we will see in the next section, this positioning affords her cultural and material capital that can be mobilized to secure her positions of leadership in the Portuguese-Canadian community.

5.3 Patricia's cultural capital: Portugueseness and the "community"

5.3.1 Where do Patricia and her social network get involved?

Pat has considerable experience with Portuguese ethnic associations as an active member of the MPCA – in its youth group, *rancho*, language school, beauty pageant and cultural festivities – and as a leading member of her university's Portuguese student association.

5.3.1.1 Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA)

As we have seen throughout this chapter, the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA) has been the productive space where most of the Martins family's public performances of portugueseness occur. What sets the MPCA apart from the other Portuguese cultural clubs in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) is that it is the only cultural association that does not just represent one specific region, province, sports team or political movement in Portugal. It represents the entire country: from the Mainland to the autonomous regions of the Azores and Madeira. With a leadership made up of individuals from all across Portugal and weekly events celebrating the culture and traditions from different parts of the nation, the club's goal is to unite all Mississauga residents of Portuguese descent, as well as those from elsewhere in Ontario, and to promote Portuguese culture and language to young Portuguese-Canadians and

to the Canadian society in general.¹¹ In order to meet this goal, certain young Portuguese-Canadians, like Pat and even her sister Nancy, are strategically positioned as representatives of the club and of Portuguese culture as we see below through the club's beauty pageants, youth group and folklore groups.

The most public display of the MPCA's portugueseness and "proof" of its Portuguese inclusiveness and unity are its folklore or rancho groups. Pat's father, Germano, was instrumental in establishing the club's folklore group and promoting it as a way to get Canadianborn children involved in the structure and practices of the Portuguese market. The junior and senior folklore groups (with nearly 60 young people in total) serve as the MPCA's cultural ambassadors across the GTA, the province, the country and the world. Rather than represent the culture, dances and costumes of just one region of Portugal, the MPCA's ranchos reflect the diverse Portuguese origins of its members. In Pat's opinion, if people complained that their region of Portugal was not represented in the ranchos, the onus fell on those individuals to incorporate their region into the group's repertoire by providing the proper costume(s), teaching a specific dance or sharing a traditional song. 12 This is a telling example of neoliberal inclusion where the responsibility is on the individual not the club. If a person cannot afford to purchase and ship the expensive folklore costumes that are only made in Portugal, or if he cannot teach the young dancers the typical dance from a certain part of Portugal, then that unrepresented part of Portuguese culture will remain absent. Despite this individualistic approach to Portuguese folkloric inclusion, or perhaps because of it, I did not observe or hear of any Portuguese cultural tension at the MPCA during my fieldwork. Tim believes that in addition to the club's representative nature, its success rests with the relatively high socio-economic status of its members who generally have greater incomes, more lucrative professions and more formal education than their Portuguese compatriots in Toronto (see Table 3 in section 2.3.9 for more information).

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¹¹ Founded in the mid-1970s, here are the goals the MPCA set for itself in 2006:

⁻ To maintain and develop cultural activities focused on the preservation and development of Portuguese culture and to propagate it to the youth of Portuguese descent

⁻ To teach Portuguese language, literature, geography and history

⁻ To promote social, recreational and sports activities for club members

⁻ To promote youth activities

⁻ To promote good citizenship and integration in mainstream [Canadian] society

⁻ To promote tolerance and understanding and to participate in general community activities for the benefit of society in general (MPCA website)

¹² Pat took great pride in the fact that her parents bought her a custom-made folklore costume from their region of Northern Portugal.

Central to the MPCA's success is the participation of the club's youth. Whether it is through the two folklore groups, the MPCA's youth group or its Portuguese language school, the club has successfully mobilized groups of Portuguese-Canadian youth whose sociolinguistic performances of portugueseness bring significant cultural capital to everyone involved. The members of the MPCA youth group, many of whom are also involved in the rancho and related to the club's leaders, organize youth events, award a post-secondary scholarship and volunteer at the club by helping out and serving dinners at the weekend events. These performances, among others, are always closely covered by the Portuguese-language media and displayed prominently throughout the community in order to reinforce the ideology of vibrant Portuguese-Canadian youth proudly preserving their ethnolinguistic identity. These young people are also strengthening their positions as the next generation of club and community leaders. This amounts to a reproduction of power within the MPCA and the Portuguese-Canadian market since the youth group members are primarily the family and friends of current or past directors. As one of the group's former leaders, Pat takes the goal of social reproduction very seriously and now as she sees the youth group's membership dwindling, she worries about the future leadership of the club. Were it not for the folklore groups, Pat believes that the MPCA would not have a youth group at all "because no one cares about being Portuguese as much as they used to [...] it's an identity when it comes to soccer, but that's it". According to Pat and the dominant discourse, to care about being Portuguese requires joining traditional ethno-cultural associations and publicly investing in one's portugueseness. Once again, we see how the means for legitimate cultural production in the Portuguese market are tied to cultural associations which are tied to state resources and discourses of multiculturalism and ethno-class relations.

Pat is critical of those who only publicly affirm their portugueseness through soccer celebrations, and she is proud of her role as a cultural and club ambassador; a role that she pursued through beauty pageant competitions at the MPCA. The finalists in these competitions, which take place in many local associations, are generally groomed to take on (symbolic and gendered) public positions for the club. The role of "Miss MPCA", for example, is to represent the club, with a pretty female figure and personality, at different events around the city or province. Both Patricia and her sister Nancy used their successful beauty pageant experiences to pursue different personal goals. Nancy used the opportunity to strengthen her future career as an actress, while Pat used hers to strengthen her future career as a politician within the Portuguese-

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¹³ During my fieldwork and life experience, I never encountered a male beauty pageant competition in Toronto's Portuguese community.

Canadian community. For Pat it was an incredible networking opportunity: she met influential Portuguese and Canadian politicians, important business men and women, and she gained recognition within the Portuguese-Canadian community. Part of the winner's responsibilities is to make short, formulaic public speeches (preferably in Portuguese) on behalf of the MPCA at different community events such as award ceremonies, anniversary celebrations and cultural festivals. The club benefits from presenting its traditional discourse through a youthful, respectful and male-sanctioned version of itself in Portuguese and Canadian markets. The following section explores the role of the MPCA as a dominant institution for the construction of portugueseness within Mississauga's largest multicultural festival and how young people like Pat are positioned by competing discourses of ethnicity and language.

5.3.1.2 MPCA and Culture Fest

Since 1985, the city of Mississauga has organized a festival of cultures which I call "Culture Fest" and the MPCA has been there from the beginning representing Portugal with its "Portugal Pavilion". 14 The festival's mission, directly in line with the policy of Canadian multiculturalism, is to promote cross-cultural understanding, respect and co-operation among all Canadians of different ethnolinguistic heritage by experiencing the "best" of all the cultures that make up the city. Pat and Tim both see Culture Fest as representative of the way that Mississauga differs from Toronto with regards to dealing with culture: "in Toronto you live culture, whereas in Mississauga you experience it". I interpret their distinction as suggesting that in Toronto interactions with culture and difference (be it ethnic, racial, social, linguistic, class, etc.) are more frequent than they are in Mississauga, where interactions with a wide variety of ethnolinguistic groups are slightly more distant. This may be due to several factors, including the fact that Toronto is more densely populated and has a greater (and possibly more diverse) population than Mississauga, where suburban life and the dependency on cars result in fewer direct interactions with neighbours. Consequently, a city-wide festival in large cultural and recreation centres allows people to "experience" some of their neighbours' cultures without having to endure it openly on their streets on a daily basis. The differences in ethno-class dynamics in Mississauga and Toronto are worth exploring in future research. For the sake of this presentation, I argue that the middle-class habitus of the Portuguese in Mississauga places less of an emphasis on public displays of ethnicity. In this context, business and cultural festivals

¹⁴ Mississauga's festival of cultures was founded in 1985 as a way of celebrating the city's ethnic diversity. It began by representing ten countries, including Portugal. In 1997, there were 13 pavilions and over 60,000 visitors, and in 2005 it had grown to 22 pavilions and over 30 countries being visited by nearly 200, 000 people (MPCA website).

become the preferred ways of experiencing ethnic diversity. These festivals reproduce the structure of ethno-cultural associations and media outlets that define ethnolinguistic markets created through the policy of multiculturalism. In chapter 7, we will see how Pat's vision for her university's Portuguese student association is inspired by the construction of traditional portugueseness as described below in the MPCAs participation at "Culture Fest".

During "Culture Fest", festival-goers are discursively constructed as global "tourists" who gain entrance to national or regional pavilions with "passports" which are stamped by "customs officers" at the door. In the 2006 edition of the festival, the MPCA invited its guests to discover three historical Portuguese cities, representing the three regions of Portugal: Porto from Mainland Portugal, Funchal from the Madeira Islands and Angra do Heroismo from the Azores. 15 Posters with colourful images of the three cities and regions lined the walls of the inner hall where there were tables set up around a dance floor and centre stage. Also along the walls were elaborate displays of traditional Portuguese cultural artefacts; from ceramic jugs and plates to embroidered cloths and artwork. The stage was decorated with flowers along the front, including hydrangeas which are typical of the Azores, and against the backdrop hung a gigantic Portuguese flag. On either side of the stage were two large wall screens which scrolled through images of the sponsors. Beside the leftmost screen stood a huddled collection of flags including those from Canada, Portugal, Madeira and the Azores. ¹⁶ From the ceiling hung banners with enlarged photos of young couples from the club's folklore group proudly displaying and identifying (in Portuguese and English) the traditional costumes from the various regions of Portugal. Against the opposite wall opposite the main doors leading to the hall was the food stand which lured hungry "tourists" past the stage, dance floor, tables and display to the most popular attraction of all. Pat's father was instrumental in coordinating the cultural culinary experience with bacalhau (cod fish), grilled squid, shrimp, clams, pork, collard soup, seafood pastries, wine, beer, custard tarts, and other traditional Portuguese treats. There, visitors were greeted by a team of mostly women who served the food for a small fee while happily explaining

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¹⁵ This show of Portuguese national unity, in a market that tries to manage regional differences, was praised in one of the Portuguese ethnic newspapers. Following the festival, the headline in the *Sol Português* (June 2, 2006) read "*Ilhas e continente de mãos dadas*" ["Islands and the continent hand in hand"].

¹⁶ I expected there to be more of a "Canadian" presence, given the festival's framework of Canadian multiculturalism, but perhaps it would have "diminished" the ethnic minority authenticity. The only other official Canadian symbols I found were what appeared to be two small toothpick flags (used for hors d'oeuvres?) mounted on a model 16th-century Portuguese caravel that was anchored in a sea of Portuguese cultural kitsch. The juxtaposition between an iconic Portuguese symbol (a navigator's vessel) and the small Canadian flags was quite striking, but I knew what I was looking for. By contrast, in 2008, the use of national symbols in the décor of the main hall changed considerably as there was more of an effort towards "Portuguese-Canadianness". That year, a large Canadian flag was added above the enormous Portuguese flag (four times larger) on the backdrop of the main stage.

the ingredients and the significance of the different dishes. Children were encouraged to sit near the dance floor in order to be near the folklore dancers, who were the main attraction. They were also encouraged to visit the bazaar organized by the MPCA youth group near the food stand with its large Pepsi banner that read "Welcome to Portugal" and looked like it belonged on a beach snack bar in the Algarve.

In the foyer outside the hall, there were decorative displays of traditional artefacts from each of the three regions represented. Tables draped in embroidered cloths and colourful quilts spread out on the floor were covered in knick-knacks that MPCA members had acquired on trips to Madeira, the Azores and Mainland Portugal: dolls, figurines, bottles, books, maps, flags, postcards, photographs, paintings, hand-made baskets, ceramic tiles, plates, jars and more. There were even old store-front mannequins dressed in traditional folklore costumes. It was a cultural kitsch exhibit like none I had ever seen. As the "tourists" walked into the club they were greeted in English and Portuguese ("Welcome! *Bem-vindos*!") by MPCA members dressed in folklore costumes and distributing tourist information (booklets, fact sheets) on Portugal and the three cities being highlighted.

Throughout the event, young people (i.e. the members of the youth group, the language school, the folklore groups and the children of active members at the club) were strategically positioned by the MPCA leadership. The children from the MPCA's Portuguese school "officially" kicked off the event by singing the Canadian and Portuguese national anthems. This performance, which characterizes the official start of many events in the Portuguese-Canadian community and represents the community's national "duality", was well received by many in the audience whom I heard "oohing and ahhing" over the little ones and their ability to perform in Portuguese (as if it were "proof" that they can speak "their" heritage language). Many teenagers and young adults could be seen clearing tables of plates and garbage, posing for photos dressed in folklore costumes or directing foot traffic when they were not dancing. A small handful of the Portuguese-Canadian youth with the "best" linguistic and cultural skills were selected (from the youth or folklore groups) by MPCA leaders to speak on stage and interact with the audience. The audience, like the market during the festival, was divided between, on the one hand, multi-ethnic and multilingual "Canadians" who were addressed in English, and, on the other hand, monocultural and monolingual "Portuguese" people, made up primarily of older MPCA members.

Patricia has been chosen on more than one occasion to serve as one of the Masters of Ceremony (MC). In 2006, however, she was not present because she had a previous engagement.

The two MCs that I saw on stage that year were Portuguese-Canadian teenagers from the folklore group: a young woman who spoke primarily in English, and a young man who spoke primarily in standard (Mainland) Portuguese. Each took turns speaking in their "assigned" language as they interacted with the audience through parallel monolingualisms that describe the dominant view of bilingualism adopted by the Portuguese market and the Canadian state (Heller 2002). The young MCs welcomed visitors as they came in, introduced the guest speakers and the folklore groups, explained the origin of the dance selections, encouraged the audience to applaud and participate, provided details about the pavilion and the schedule of events and thanked all the sponsors, among other things. The careful management of the amount of Portuguese and English spoken on stage reflects the tension of the dominant discourse to produce and protect a Portuguese space that is normally not meant for "outsiders" to enjoy. It also highlights a productive tension (within Canadian multiculturalism and its markets) between the authenticity of ethnolinguistic difference and the expectation of ethno-cultural integration.

From what I observed and from what I heard about the previous years, there is more Portuguese spoken on stage than English. This does not just describe the MC's, but also the Portuguese-Canadian guest speakers and artists who are used to being more descriptive and wordy in Portuguese at regular community events. On the one hand, having Portuguese spoken on stage helps construct the space as authentically Portuguese. Furthermore, it is the expected language of operation for a cultural event which draws large numbers of older MPCA members to a big Portuguese party where they can show off their portugueseness in front of others (also contributing to the event's authenticity). On the other hand, if the goal of Culture Fest is to encourage fellow Canadian citizens to experience and understand each other's cultures, then an extensive use of Portuguese may hinder the communication and connection with non-Portuguese visitors. In order to find some kind of balance, "Culture Fest" is one of the few spaces where Portuguese-Canadian youth, like Pat, are positioned as the ideal speakers because of their linguistic and cultural capital in English and Portuguese.

Finding the right balance for absolutely everyone is impossible. A difficult onstage interaction that I observed involved a speech from a representative of the Portuguese government. He spoke entirely in (his native) Portuguese which made it difficult for many in the hall to understand his congratulatory message to the MPCA. As a result, when he finished speaking and the English-speaking MC asked the audience for some "warm applause", the crowd responded coldly. The representative's message, spoken by a person whose job it is to perform

and validate legitimate portugueseness, was directed specifically to a Portuguese market, in a space that is normally constructed as monolingually Portuguese. The distinction between "us" (Portuguese) and "them" (Canadians) was clear. The MCs had a difficult time negotiating how to continue, and after looking at each other blankly, the young man switched to English to explain who the speaker was, without translating any part of the speech. Pat points to awkward sociolinguistic situations like this one to insist that English should be the main language used on stage at the Portugal Pavilion. Not only would this accommodate the multilingual visitors who stop by on their "trip" around the world, but it would also appeal to the Culture Fest judges who evaluate each cultural pavilion and pick a winner. For more on how "too much" Portuguese can be constraining at times, see section 5.3.2.2 below.

The challenges of framing performances of portugueseness for different audiences, who may or may not adhere to the dominant discourse of the traditional Portuguese-Canadian market, is a theme that is explored in the following section through Pat's role in recruiting new members for her university's Portuguese student association.

5.3.1.3 Portuguese University Student Association 2 (PUSA2)

Following her heavy involvement at the MPCA and its youth spaces, Pat found a somewhat similar space in which to continue mobilizing her Portuguese cultural and linguistic capital when she joined the Portuguese University Student Association (PUSA2) at her university. Having learned how to run a Portuguese ethnic association and how to produce and perform portugueseness that the market (i.e. the leaders and older members of the community) would appreciate and support, Pat was eager to share and show off her expertise with the PUSA2.¹⁷

The first PUSA2 event that I observed where Pat was in a leadership position came at the very beginning of the school year, during "Club's Day" when university students could familiarize themselves with the hundreds of student associations on campus. PUSA2 members were in the thick of it all promoting the club and trying to enlist new members. I was curious to see if/how Portuguese language and identity figured in their strategy to entice passers-by. But first I had to find them amidst a plethora of different associations.

A normally quiet inner-campus road was transformed into a sea of students meandering through a maze of tables, booths and stands collecting free pens, food, t-shirts and information

¹⁷ More information on PUSA2, its history, its events and Pat's involvement is available in Chapter 7 section 7.1.3.

from all around. As I made my way through it all, the first ethnocultural student association I spotted was the Italian-Canadian club. ¹⁸ Their booth was twice as large as most others; it was covered in a blue tent with a large banner from a Canadian bank displayed across the top. No other student association that I saw had such prominent corporate sponsorship. As I walked towards the Italian-Canadian club, I heard dance music blaring and watched dozens of members dancing and laughing. A chalkboard sign hanging from the edge of the tent read "You don't have to be Italian to join!! Free stuff!" This was a clever strategy to attract as many members as possible. I wondered what kind of a strategy the Portuguese club would adopt. The "Italians" were also giving away stylish blue t-shirts with every membership. The t-shirts were modeled after the 2006 World Cup champion Italian soccer jersey with four gold maple leaves instead of stars, representing Italy's World Cup titles, and with the number 60 on the back, marking the club's sixtieth anniversary. ¹⁹

Momentarily lost in the swarm of people surrounding the Italian club, I continued my search for the PUSA2. Flags, posters, banners, billboards, balloons and stereo systems competed for my attention at every turn. Finally, I caught a glimpse of a Portuguese flag being waved about far ahead of me; I had spotted the Portuguese club. A young woman was standing on a chair, dancing with flag in hand, blowing a red whistle and wearing a red Portuguese national soccer jersey – a "look" that has become even more recognizable than Portuguese traditional folklore costumes. When I finally reached the Portuguese club's booth, I found Pat, also wearing a Portugal jersey, handing out small yellow flyers that read "Come Join Us! PUSA2 2006-07."

Compared to some of the other student ethnic associations, apart from the Italians, Pat and the other PUSA2 leaders had set up an eye-catching booth. Two old wooden tables were covered with red table cloths and in front of them hung the club's banner (in English and Portuguese). The tables were anchored by large photo boxes and billboards with touristy images (beaches, fishing boats, castles) and slogans of Portugal ("Warm by nature"); in between them were membership forms, email sign-up sheets, a Portugal soccer ball, promotional material from a Portuguese bank and a rectangular bulletin board, in red and green (the "Portuguese colours")

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¹⁸ Up until the early 2000s, the club used to be known as the University Italian Association but then it changed its name to the University Italian-Canadian Association as a way of reflecting the multiple identities of its members (many of whom have no Italian heritage at all). It also reflects a certain integration into the Canadian mainstream. By contrast, none of the Portuguese university student associations of which I am aware have ever used the term "Portuguese-Canadian" in their name.

¹⁹ In order to contextualize some of the differences between the Italian and Portuguese presence in Toronto, it is worth noting that the creation of this student association predates the first legal wave of Portuguese immigration to Canada.

with photos highlighting previous PUSA2 events. When another member arrived to help staff the booth, she took one of the three large Portuguese flags on display and wrapped it over her shoulders because she was not wearing anything identifiably "Portuguese". From what I could make out, none of the symbols on display identified specifically with the Portuguese autonomous regions or other lusophone countries.

Although Pat had helped the club secure some corporate sponsorship through her friend Vanessa who worked at a Portuguese bank, the bank's promotional material and its offer of a free MP3 player did not attract much attention from passers-by. Perhaps the bank's relative anonymity in the Canadian mainstream market and its clear association to the Portuguese community deterred non-Portuguese people from signing up. The club also had some Portuguese music playing, but the live sound of drums and clapping from the Iranian club beside them drowned out Amália Rodrigues' "*Uma casa portuguesa*". The market that PUSA2 was targeting was clearly a Portuguese one. How did the sales pitch work in the span of a few seconds?

Since few passers-by stopped to read the Portuguese signs and symbols on the PUSA2 booth, the three club members who were present (all young women of Mainland Portuguese descent) occasionally approached people as they walked by. They did not, however, approach people at random. For the most part, they waited to make eye contact and, from what I observed, they targeted those people they thought looked "Portuguese". In other words, they focused their attention on white or "tanned" people who could be of south-western European descent. If someone walked by with a Portuguese soccer jersey or something identifiably Portuguese (i.e. a t-shirt, hat, flag sewn onto a bag, etc.) then they were immediately singled out. In the few hours that I stood by the booth, there were less than fifteen students who stopped for more than ten seconds to talk to one of the members or to sign-up. Most interactions were short and unsuccessful, as illustrated by the following exchange with Pat and an unknown student.

P: do you want to join the Portuguese club? **Student1:** but I'm not Portuguese?! [continued walking by without stopping]

P: it's no problem / we like to party! [shouting]

In this case, Pat tried to "sell" the club to someone of non-Portuguese descent by downplaying its portugueseness and appealing to the notion that all students like to party...Portuguese or not. That particular student did not seem convinced as he continued walking. Another student became annoyed when Pat asked her if she wanted to join; she made it very clear that she did not appreciate being asked or being mistaken for looking Portuguese:

P: do you want to join the Portuguese club?

Student2: do I look Portuguese?! [looked annoyed and continued walking]

P: there is no Portuguese look! [frustrated, turning around to the PUSA2 table]

Having observed what went on, I played the role of devil's advocate and argued with Pat that there is indeed a Portuguese "look". The club leaders were using some kind of strategy to find Portuguese students, and Pat herself had the "Portuguese look" covered: she was tanned, had dark hair and eyes, a roundish face and she was wearing a Portugal jersey. Another student who had stopped to read about the PUSA2's events overheard our discussion and agreed with me, telling Patricia, "Oh yeah! You look <u>really</u> Portuguese!"

Thankfully for the PUSA2 leaders, not all of the interactions in front of the club's booth were difficult. Some young people walked right up to it, happy to have finally found it ("Yay, the Portuguese Club!") and still others openly affirmed a Portuguese identity ("Hey, I'm Portuguese!"). I even had a grey-haired man approach me and ask, in Portuguese, if I spoke Portuguese. He was Canadian (of British ancestry) but had learned Brazilian Portuguese and was curious to know if there were any Brazilian members in the Portuguese club. I told him that while there were none at that moment, the club was open to anyone who wished to join. As far as I know, he never joined the club. Those who did become PUSA2 members were almost all of Portuguese descent and the active members were mostly "Mainlanders", like Pat.

Pat's experience in Toronto's Portuguese market illustrates the reproduction of power. The experience that she acquired by working as a PUSA2 leader, canvassing for the club's support, and serving as one of the club's public representatives were informed by her experience at the MPCA as a youth leader, folklore performer, language teacher, MC, beauty queen and club ambassador. These public performances of portugueseness, legitimized by her linguistic and cultural capital, have positioned her favourably for a professional career associated with the Portuguese-Canadian community in some way. The following section examines how Pat positions herself and is positioned by others as a potential Portuguese-Canadian politician.

5.3.1.4 Ethnic politics and ethnic pride

In Pat's pursuit of a career in and for the Portuguese-Canadian community, she need only look at the life trajectories of three prominent Portuguese-Canadians who were all leaders of PUSA2 before her. All three of them, with whom she has worked personally, serve as role-models because they successfully mobilized their Portuguese cultural and linguistic capital en route to, among other things, becoming a federal Canadian politician, a lawyer, and a community

relations executive at a Portuguese bank who is also politically active. In addition to her involvement in Portuguese ethno-cultural and professional associations, Pat has also worked on the political campaigns of a few Portuguese-Canadian candidates at different levels of government. She did not go into too much detail about these experiences, for reasons of confidentiality, but her ambitions to become a Portuguese-Canadian lawyer or politician were clear.

The fact that in 2006 there was only one Portuguese-Canadian elected to the federal government of Canada as a Member of Parliament (MP) served as frustrating evidence to Pat, Germano and many more in the "community" that Portuguese-Canadians have not been politically active. They also argue that this political underrepresentation has led to a general lack of pride in young people publicly identifying themselves as Portuguese-Canadian because the category lacks prestige in the mainstream, middle-class Canadian market. Pat and her family want to change both of these issues. They believe that if the Portuguese-Canadian community had "four of five MPs", like their ethno-class Italian rivals, then second-generation youth would be prouder of their heritage and more persistent in maintaining their traditions and culture.²⁰

According to Germano, the key is strategic ethnic voting. The Portuguese-Canadian community need only realize and mobilize the power it has in terms of votes, money and demographics in parts of Toronto and Mississauga, by getting people to support "Portuguese" candidates. In Germano's opinion, the "fight" for better ethnic representation falls on the younger generations of Portuguese-Canadians; a fight that would likely protect the market built by the first generation and reinforce ethnolinguistic divisions. What remains to be seen, however, is whether or not most Portuguese-Canadian youth will see ethnic representation as something worth "fighting" for. This assumes that they identify themselves as Portuguese, that they have any Portuguese "loyalties", that they live in "Portuguese" neighbourhoods and that the "Portuguese" candidate is worth supporting beyond his/her ethnicity.

In terms of combining politics, class and ethnicity, Pat represents an ideal Portuguese-Canadian candidate: a university-educated person, with academic, professional and political experience, who is proud to be both Portuguese and Canadian and who can produce legitimate performances of portugueseness and canadianness. Pat's best friend Vanessa agrees. Earlier, in section 5.1.3.2, we saw how, despite distancing herself from public performances of

²⁰ The difference between the number of Canadian MPs of Portuguese and Italian descent is very significant. In 2006 there were sixteen Italian-Canadian MPs, far more than the "four or five" that Pat and Germano suggest.

portugueseness, Vanessa is willing to get involved in the Portuguese community again to support Pat if she were to run for political office. She only hopes that Pat would use her canadianness and her English skills in order to present "Portuguese" issues as also being relevant for "Canadians". In fact, Vanessa warns that if Pat overemphasizes her portugueseness it may do her more harm than good.

- V: I hope that [Pat] would be doing it all [campaigning, winning, speaking] in English!
- **E:** because?
- V: I think more and more Canada is becoming integrated and we don't <u>need</u> necessarily to / speak Portuguese to identify ourselves as Portuguese / and less and less people are speaking Portuguese
- E: mhm
- V: ah I think the older generations are the ones that are identifying themselves more as Portuguese and / and that'll pass with time / I also think that / in terms of being a lawyer and hopefully a politician / she doesn't need to identify herself as Portuguese to accomplish that / in fact it may work in her favour not to

Vanessa dismisses Germano's overtly ethnicized strategy as out-dated because it appeals more to the first generation than it does to the second. In her opinion, it is the first generation of Portuguese in Canada who identify themselves as Portuguese and who still speak Portuguese. The young generations, who are more likely to identify themselves as Canadian or Portuguese-Canadian, generally speak less Portuguese and do not need to identify themselves as Portuguese. As far as being a lawyer or politician is concerned, Vanessa argues that Pat should run on merit and on canadianness rather than on ethnicity. Pat agrees with Vanessa's advice, but in practice ethnicity remains a strong organizing and structuring principle for those in minority situations, like the Portuguese in Canadian politics, and the allure of Canadian multiculturalism normalizes the idea that all ethnic groups are equal and should be represented.

This tension between positioning herself politically as Portuguese or Canadian played itself out during the course of my fieldwork when Pat attended an important federal political convention as part of her volunteer work on a Portuguese-Canadian candidate's campaign. The convention united people from all across the country, and from across ethnolinguistic groups, and Pat felt so swept up in the national excitement of the political party that she "didn't care if [she] was Portuguese." The convention was about the future of Canada, and she felt proud to be Canadian. Her portugueseness, however, could not be completely swept away. Among the thousands of delegates in attendance, there was a dozen of Portuguese descent. When I asked her how she knew that, because I thought she did not care about being Portuguese in this case, she explained that the group held "little Portuguese meetings" in order to show the political party leaders that the Portuguese community was united. The need to show off ethnic unity

underscores the state's investment in ethnolinguistic identity as a means of organizing people and structuring homogeneous markets. Thus, while affirming her canadianness, Pat could not completely avoid positioning herself and being positioned by others as Portuguese. Being Portuguese was another way to distinguish herself in a market that could have positioned her differently: as a Canadian youth, woman, Ontarian, Torontonian, Catholic and so on.

The following section explores how the politics of ethnicity, that is, the (re)positioning of portugueseness and ethno-nationalist pride, play themselves out privately and publicly in a different field: in European and International soccer pitches and in the streets of Toronto.

5.3.1.5 Soccer celebrations and nationalism

Taking to the streets to celebrate a victory by the Portuguese national soccer team is as recognizable a performance of portugueseness as speaking Portuguese or dancing in a rancho. In Toronto, Portuguese soccer celebrations are marked by street closures in "Little Portugal", noise, music and dancing, flag-waving in cars and on foot, taunting of other fans (nations, teams), alcohol consumption, running through traffic, rowdiness in front of police presence and generally boisterous behaviour. For the city, these kinds of ethnic celebrations reinforce the ethno-class divisions that underlie processes of social structuration, while promoting the city's diversity and multiculturalism at the same time. For the dominant discourse of portugueseness, the passion that young Portuguese-Canadians show towards the Portuguese national soccer team and, by extension, the nation itself, is enough to prove that these bi-/multi-cultural youth are not losing their inherited portugueseness and that, in fact, they are proud to be Portuguese. While this may be true for many in the community, these public performances of portugueseness need to be contextualized lest they be overstated as lasting proof of Portuguese pride. Other equally plausible conclusions that can be drawn from the Portuguese street parties are that young Portuguese-Canadians like a reason to celebrate, to be noticed by others (TV cameras, journalists, angry neighbours), to affirm their distinctiveness (and power) over their peers, and to push the limits of socially acceptable behaviour in public. In other words, portugueseness can be a ticket to participate in soccer culture (and friendly hooliganism) and the nationalist structure of soccer can be a ticket for people to mobilize their portugueseness. In terms of legitimate performances of portugueseness, soccer celebrations are not as prestigious as studying Portuguese history and literature, or as valuable as speaking Portuguese, like Pat does. But every few years, soccer can stir large-scale nationalist sentiment better than anything else in the local Portuguese market.

Soccer celebrations also reveal how the Portuguese market is divided in so far as there is often more than one kind of Portuguese flag being waved. In 2006, the leading scorer of the Portuguese national soccer team, Pedro Pauleta, was of Azorean descent and that gave many Azoreans in Toronto reason to celebrate their regional identity by waving the Azorean flag. By 2008 a new star of Portuguese soccer emerged in Cristiano Ronaldo, himself of Madeiran descent, which legitimized the waving of a third Portuguese flag, much to the dismay of Portuguese nationalists like Pat.²¹

In general, Portuguese soccer celebrations are a safe space for people to perform some kind of portugueseness. For many second or third-generation Portuguese-Canadians who may not speak Portuguese well or invest in the Portuguese market, soccer can become the outward manifestation of their portugueseness. The leaders of the community, with their eyes on expanding the Portuguese market, hope that these celebrations can lead to celebrating and embracing other aspects of Portuguese culture and language. In Pat's extended family, for example, she has a young cousin who is "half Canadian" (who speaks no Portuguese and who lives with his parents in a community three hours from Toronto where there are few Portuguese descendants) but who insists on coming to Toronto when Portugal is playing in the World Cup in order to show off his portugueseness. This young boy makes up for any Portuguese "deficiency" by covering himself in Portuguese symbols and by out-celebrating those who, like Pat, are "fully" Portuguese. Likewise, Tim, Pat's Azorean-Canadian boyfriend, agrees that during the World Cup he too becomes "a little more Portuguese" – without being required to demonstrate traditional Portuguese linguistic (or cultural) competence.

- P: [my cousin] was probably the one that was the most like / rowdy and [he] is half Canadian! / you couldn't tell it at all! / he had a Portugal jersey on Portugal track pants on / like shorts on he bought a bandana / he had the flag as a cap and he bought a \$30 uh / replica of the World Cup trophy just to parade around with / he went crazy [...]
- that's one of the things that fascinates me / people who otherwise may not necessarily identify themselves as Portuguese uh / come World Cup time / they'll get more decked out than some other people who / the rest of the time -- identify as Portuguese
- $\hbox{$-$-$ mhm oh I agree / I'm the same way I'm a little more Portuguese during the World Cup than I am at any other time }$

By affirming his portugueseness, Tim can legitimately participate in the World Cup as a "real" fan, and in so doing he can be seen in the Portuguese community and in the Canadian

²¹ Portuguese soccer raises other questions related to nationalism that cannot be explored here but merit future research. These include debates over nationalizing Portuguese-speaking but foreign-born players as Portuguese citizens in order to play on the national team (i.e. from Brazil, Angola, Mozambique) and the discursive framing around games between Portugal and one of its former colonies.

mainstream as being a "real" Portuguese person, despite certain limitations to his portugueseness. In the next section we will explore some of the things that limit Pat's portugueseness.

5.3.2 What factors limit Patricia's portugueseness and portugueseness in general?

The goal of this section is to present the social and linguistic constraints that Pat and members of her social network have experienced when trying to participate in the Portuguese-Canadian community of the Greater Toronto Area. Because of Pat's legitimized Mainland Portuguese habitus and her successful involvement in key discursive spaces within the organized Portuguese community, there are relatively few constraints with which I saw Pat struggle while performing her portugueseness. This section will quickly compare Pat's experiences to some of the second-generation's traditional obstacles before addressing the two general constraints that Pat and her family raised in our discussions: an overabundance and a lack of Portuguese pride.

5.3.2.1 What constraints does Patricia face in performing portugueseness?

As we have seen throughout this chapter, Pat's habitus has positioned her favourably in the Portuguese market where she has put her linguistic and cultural capital to work in different contexts. But what about other aspects of her identity – like her gender and her formal education – have they had any negative impact on her performances of portugueseness?

One could have expected some resistance from the organized Portuguese community, which remains male-dominated, to a young woman assuming leadership positions in the MPCA and PUSA2 youth groups. But the involvement of Pat's family in the dominant institutions of the Portuguese market, like cultural associations and ethnic businesses, and Pat's own participation in key spaces of portugueseness all helped legitimize her presence. In fact, her gender and her portugueseness were sanctioned by the community's elite through the male-driven beauty pageant at the MPCA. Pat used this gendered space to further her goal of representing the "community" at a professional level. One could have also expected Pat's successful academic trajectory to not sit well with the leaders of traditional spaces who might have felt threatened by the (mainstream) social capital and different points of view acquired through a university education. However, since much of Pat's education was centred on or motivated by her love of Portuguese history, literature, culture and language, her education likely reinforced some of the traditional values of the dominant discourse. Furthermore, since she participates in Portuguese

spaces that are more middle-class (or upper working-class) than working-class, Pat's educational and gendered social mobility may be seen less as a threat to ethnic solidarity and more as a boost for ethnic professionalism.

Pat's status as a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian was another potential obstacle around which she successfully navigated, for the most part. In some traditional spaces within Toronto's Portuguese market, members of the first generation have been reluctant to listen to or to include members of the second generation in decision-making processes. Pat encountered some of this as she grew up in the youth spaces of the MPCA, but by the time she had assumed a leadership position she felt that she could generally make her voice heard. There was, however, one situation in which her status as a second-generation youth and her sociolinguistic capital were called into question: her role as a Portuguese language teacher at the MPCA.

As seen above in section 5.2, Pat and Vanessa were hired to work at the MPCA's Portuguese language school for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was their fluency in Portuguese. Without the two of them, the school may very well have been forced to close some classes due to insufficient staff. For some parents, however, Pat and Vanessa were not the best choice as teachers. At the end of the school year, when parents and a representative of the Portuguese government gathered to discuss the club's Portuguese school at an annual meeting, many of those present said they would have preferred older, more experienced and "native" Portuguese teachers leading the language classes, rather than second-generation Portuguese Canadians. Here is how Vanessa remembers the meeting:

V: [they] felt that because we were second generation and because what we had learned Portuguese as second generation students / that we weren't adequate teachers [...] yeah / we went through some difficult times [...] people saying that we just weren't qualified to be there / I think we did an OK job / even if it wasn't outstanding / kids definitely ended the year with / more information and more ability to speak than they did initially

Having observed some of their classes myself, I was surprised at how little English and how much Portuguese Vanessa and Pat actually spoke in and out of the classroom in an effort to create as immersive a Portuguese space as possible. Still, the fact that two highly qualified people, in terms of their linguistic and cultural capital, were criticized for their non-nativeness illustrates how the constructed ideal of a monolingual standard Portuguese speaker is virtually impossible to attain.

Apart from this last example, Pat encounters so few constraints in affirming and performing her portugueseness that she, in fact, feels the need to downplay her portugueseness so

that she does not come across as "too Portuguese". Such a criticism was wielded against Pat earlier in section 4.2.1.3 when we saw how some of her Italian-Canadian peers positioned themselves within the ethno-class rivalry by criticizing her for being "too Portuguese". In the section that follows, we will see other negative consequences of being "overly" Portuguese.

5.3.2.2 Too much portugueseness

According to Pat and her family, a glaring example of how "too much" Portuguese pride can hinder a performance of portugueseness is the extensive use of Portuguese at the MPCA's Portugal Pavilion during Culture Fest. Like every other pavilion in the festival, the Portugal Pavilion is open to the general public, but the people who spend the most time there are senior MPCA members (many of whom refuse to visit other pavilions during the entire festival). As a result, in order to accommodate these older Portuguese members, whose support is crucial to the MPCA during the rest of the year, and in order to honour the nationalist ideology of monolingualism that has structured the Portuguese-Canadian market, there is more Portuguese spoken on stage than English. Pat, who has worked as an MC at the event, laments the way that the languages are managed not only because English-speaking festival-goers are partially excluded, but also because she feels that "too much" Portuguese reduces the MPCA's chances of winning the award for "Best Pavilion". None of the other cultural pavilions that Pat has ever visited during Culture Fest use their native tongue as much as the Portuguese – which underscores the power of the dominant discourse and the construction of a Portuguese space even when the audience is not entirely Portuguese. Here is what a frustrated Pat and Maria Helena had to say:

P: we have so many Portuguese people [in attendance that] when everyone gets on stage / they feel like they <u>have</u> to speak Portuguese and then [...] the other [non-Portuguese] people who get there are just like "Ok I'll go right to the food and leave"

MH: that's exactly what they do!

P: whereas like every other pavilion you go [...] everything is spoken in English / but not in our culture we I've tried / like I've been MC now for three years in a row and I've been up there and be like / taking the microphone away and be like tryina [trying to] say it in English but / they're always still in the trance and say it in Portuguese

E: because the membership / re- e- expects it to be in Portuguese?

P: yeah! because there's a lot of people from our membership that go / and they don't understand English so you're gonna have to explain to them in Portuguese / -- and that's one of the reasons we keep on losing [the top prize]

MH: -- you know slowly but surely you have to stop doing that and just speak English / members are gonna be there no matter what and they'll always still come [...] someone up there a new president has to break that

P: but it's really hard / we sat in a two-hour meeting me and daddy [at the MPCA] and we got no help

Culture Fest presented the MPCA with a different context in which to perform portugueseness, but the MPCA leaders were not able to enact the change that Pat and Maria discuss because it ran contrary to the club's habitus as a space where traditional portugueseness is performed. The "trance" which befell most people of the Portuguese people on stage and compelled them to speak more Portuguese than English, is the same kind of "trance" that, according to Tim, befalls those "die-hard" Portuguese-Canadians who think that anything that is Portuguese is the best.

One of the reasons why young Portuguese-Canadians avoid certain traditional spaces within the "community" is that they find that some people (usually first generation Portuguese-Canadians) are too invested in the ultra-nationalistic dominant discourse that exalts anything Portuguese (e.g. language, culture, history, literature, sport, geography, good, services and people). Faced with what can sometimes be an aggressive and heavy-handed view of portugueseness that may far outweigh their own, these young people (among others) are often intimidated or "turned off" by "die-hard" (or "hard-core") Portuguese-Canadians, as Tim and Pat call them. By contrast, "normal" Portuguese-Canadians are those for whom, according to Tim, being Portuguese is important but not everything. Another way of distinguishing the "die-hards" from the "normals" may be through a class lens, where working-class members make sense of their limited position in the social and ethnic hierarchy by valorizing that which distinguishes them: their ethnicity. This ethno-class ideology is part of the state's strategy in making and marking class dynamics (McAll 1992). For the middle-class, who have somewhat greater social mobility, their position in the social hierarchy is less based on ethnicity. Conversations between the two groups, especially discussions about identity, can be difficult at best or impossible at worst. Tim finds that he cannot have such discussions with "die-hard" people who are not willing to question the dominant discourse:

T: I'm not trying to put down Portuguese people [...] but there's certain people you can't have that type of conversation with / the people that're like / the "Portuguesh ees da besht!" [in a Portuguese accent]

The celebratory discourse of Canadian multiculturalism and the positions of power attributed to those who can produce legitimate portugueseness can also reinforce an uncritical valorization of what it means to be Portuguese. Tim finds that people who are "too Portuguese" become so obsessed with the virtues of their culture that they develop a kind of cultural tunnel vision syndrome and only see things from a Portuguese perspective. They fail to realize that many of the attributes stereotypically assigned to Portuguese-Canadians also apply to other

ethnic groups: everything from plastic-covered sofas to a hard work ethic, from folklore dancing to trying to maintain ethnic language(s), or from large feasts at celebrations to being "family-oriented". In the following excerpt, Tim debunks some "Portuguese" attributes and diagnoses Pat with a slight case of this Portuguese cultural tunnel vision syndrome when she assumes that a popular sporting chant sung by Canadian hockey fans is actually Portuguese.

- **T:** people believe that their culture is unique / "Oh the Portuguese care about the food at the wedding" so do the Sikhs! God the Indians / fucking eat for four days! Jewish people and the Greeks and the Italians too
- **E:** so everyone -- has
- T: -- and a lot of times you got a a person so submersed into their culture they don't notice / I remember this one [laughs as he points to Pat]
- **P:** [sighs] what now?!
- **T:** at a hockey game / when the Habs were playing the Leafs [the Montreal fans sang] "olé olé olé olé!" [and Pat was] like "Oh my god! They're saying something in Portuguese!" I'm like "That's not Portuguese!"
- E: [laughs]
- T: that's like a traditional like soccer song they started in England or something²²
- **P:** I didn't know 'cuz the only time I'd ever heard it was during Portuguese soccer games
- **T:** but that's exactly my point / people are so submersed [...they] don't realize that other cultures are almost exactly the same / you know they may have differences but [...] Chinese / are very family oriented! [...] the thing with people / they only notice their own culture half the time and they don't notice that most cultures do the same thing

Even Pat's body can be subject to scrutiny for being read as "too" Portuguese, as seen in section 5.3.1.3 above when she was advertising the Portuguese student association and people commented on "looking Portuguese." In fact, Patricia and Nancy feel they both have been discriminated against in professional dance lessons because their body types, which they associate with "being Portuguese", deviate from the tall, thin and white "prima ballerina" mould.²³

Patricia is aware that she and her family can be considered by some as being "too" Portuguese, especially when compared to most Portuguese-Canadian youth and families who do not have the same kind of linguistic and cultural capital. Afraid that I would portray them as overly zealous lusophiles, Pat made sure to remind me that they were "not <u>that</u> Portuguese". Indeed, one of the points that she raised to argue for her parents' atypical portugueseness was

²² It is originally a Spanish chant that has spread around the sporting and entertainment world.

²³ **P:** [Nancy has] a tanned complexion [...] and I remember that she used to be / picked on all the time because a dancer was supposed to be this prima ballerina tall white skinny / and she wasn't [...] we were both picked upon a lot because like / we're not the fattest people we're not the skinniest little dancers either / and I used to always be pinched with my dance teacher's nails who'd say / "This is what you have to get rid of!"

E: really?!

P: and like I have the Portuguese ass I can't do anything about it

E: and you were how old?

P: 11 12 / it was horrible in a sense

their education: Maria completed all of her schooling in Canada and grew up in a non-Portuguese area, while Germano had more than four years of schooling in Portugal (which was the norm among first generation immigrants who came in the 1960s and 70s), developed a passion for reading and grew up in an educated (and financially well off) environment. Tim credits Germano's passion for educated debates and open-mindedness as part of the reason why he never gets offended by the points that Tim might make during a touchy (cultural) discussion even though Germano can be very "die-hard" Portuguese. Furthermore, unlike many Portuguese-Canadian parents of their generation, Maria and Germano also speak English very well; Maria is perfectly fluent. Pat also describes her parents as being "very liberal" and not as strict as "typical hard-core" Portuguese parents when it comes to their daughters dating and staying out late, for example.²⁴

Pat's portugueseness is also grounded by Maria and Tim's experiences of Portuguese marginalization. Since much of Maria's childhood and adolescence were spent away from Toronto's Portuguese community, she felt that her portugueseness did not stack up against that of her Portuguese-Canadian high school friends who were "very" Portuguese. Tim's minimal involvement in the organized Portuguese community, his azoreanness and his limited proficiency in Portuguese made him very aware that he could never live up to the standards of the dominant discourse of portugueseness. For the people who hold those standards, Tim could be positioned as "lacking" in portugueseness and his "deficiency" could be written off as a lack of Portuguese pride. The following section explores the other side of the dominant Portuguese boundary where some people choose not to publicly identify as Portuguese or are positioned as "lacking" in Portuguese pride.

5.3.2.3 Lack of Portuguese pride and the Portuguese divide

Not everyone who is of Portuguese descent is willing or able to identify themselves as Portuguese (or Portuguese-Canadian) in every social interaction. Some may see this as a betrayal of their ethnic identity or a "lack of Portuguese pride", while others may see it as a strategic move in a specific situation or the result of structural constraints that limit a person's agency. For Pat's father, Germano, there is almost no context in which he would not identify himself as

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P: you know what Emanuel I think you have to realize that when you take my family into account is / I I we look on the outside to be a very Portuguese family / I I just looking at me I'm very involved in the Portuguese community / I have like the whole community has been my life but / on the onset we're not that Portuguese like [...] my parents have never said to me / you know / "go find a Portuguese guy" right?

E: yeah yeah I hear ya

Portuguese. When he settled in Toronto's Portuguese community in the late 1970s, Germano remembers how many of the Portuguese immigrants or descendants who had established successful professional careers did not want to publicly speak Portuguese or identify themselves as being of Portuguese descent. They may have been embarrassed by their parents' or compatriots' rural upbringing, their traditional culture, their working-class jobs, their lack of formal education, their unfamiliarity with modern Canadian society, their non-standard Portuguese, their poor English skills or many other things that differentiated them from "normal" Canadians and from their "fellow" Portuguese. In the excerpt below, Germano explains that the few young Portuguese-Canadians that he knew who went on to become lawyers feared the social stigma attached to being Portuguese and likened it to being identified and discriminated against for being black.

G: they was they was afraid in being (Portuguese) in tell to the people in the universities that say "I'm / I'm belong to the Portuguese family / I'm belong to the Portuguese background" [...] it's not "afraid" but / they wasn't feeling comfortable in tell you "My father works in the construction" / *e* and uh that's one of the reasons / and you realize that most of the lawyers the Portuguese lawyers who's 40 / and 50 years old today they don't speak Portuguese / they don't like it to be Portuguese or named Portuguese that used to be bad / more or less like the / the / uh / mm / the blacks

For someone who has always been proud to be Portuguese, Germano had difficulty in empathizing with those who turned their backs on their Portuguese culture and never publicly reconciled with the "community". It must be said that Germano was referring primarily to Azoreans who were "afraid" to identify as Portuguese. He shared with me a particularly telling example of one of his friends, a prosperous businessman of Azorean descent, now in his 50s, who, up until the mid-1990s, considered Portugal to be a "third-world country". This Azorean businessman now speaks hardly any Portuguese as an adult because his father forbade him to speak it as a child. Although his father's actions contradicted the dominant discourse, I am sure he had good reason to do so. His entire family had immigrated to Toronto, and perhaps they wanted to forget about Portugal and their difficult life in the Azores, and they never planned on returning, so the best thing to do may have been to speak English and try to integrate in order to succeed in Canada. In fact, his son succeeded tremendously. If the local Portuguese market at that time did not value Azorean ways of being and speaking Portuguese, then this may also have informed the father's decision to forbid his son from speaking a stigmatized Azorean Portuguese.

Years later, Germano believes this businessman's opinion of Portugal and of being Portuguese changed as a result of their friendship, and Germano's insistence that Portugal was not a third-world country and that it had a "beautiful" history. The businessman was also swayed by non-Portuguese people who had positive opinions of Portugal. With a smile on his face and a sense of determination in his voice, Germano proudly recalled how his Azorean friend eventually admitted that he was wrong to have dismissed Portugal and being Portuguese, for which he blamed his father.

The story of this Azorean businessman exemplifies the Continental – Azorean divide within Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community where tensions between the two groups have often been characterized by an "abundance" or a "lack" of Portuguese pride or by a structuration of the "haves" and the "have nots". Germano remembers how, when he first arrived in Toronto, he was shocked to see such division (he called it "racism" for lack of a better word) between Continentals and Azoreans; a tension which he stressed did not exist in the same way back in (Mainland) Portugal. He recalls, for instance, the jealousy and even fighting that broke out between the two groups on local construction sites in Toronto where a member of one group was in a position of power over the other (i.e. an Azorean foreman vs. a Mainlander general worker) and the many "jokes" or insults between Azoreans and Mainlanders (like the idea that all the islanders were black and not "really" Portuguese). Germano blamed these divisions on the ignorance of ill-mannered and undereducated (low-class) people, most of whom lived in Toronto and not in Mississauga. He did not, however, recognize the historical marginalization of the Azores, which would have sullied his "beautiful" vision of Portuguese history. Nor did he believe that such social and linguistic discrimination would exist beyond the second-generation in Toronto or in Mississauga.

In the 1970s and 80s, the Portuguese-Canadian community was concentrated primarily in Toronto and so it became the site of considerable tensions as the two groups competed for control of the market. Today, with the success of ethno-cultural associations like the MPCA, a sharp decline in immigration from the Azores or Mainland Portugal, increased socio-economic mobility and integration into Canadian society, and the emergence of the second and third generations of Portuguese-Canadians – who are more educated, more tolerant and more "Canadian" than their parents – Germano believes that the Azorean-Continental conflict has "completely disappeared", in Mississauga and in Toronto. All that remains, as Pat and Maria point out over dinner, are "harmless" jokes...akin to the rivalry between Portuguese soccer teams (e.g. *Benfica* vs. *Sporting*). However, Tim, the only "Azorean" in the room, is less convinced. He told me afterwards that he believes the tension between the two groups persists, but that he did not feel comfortable arguing against Pat's family. As we can see in the excerpt below, Pat may

very well have sensed (and heard) Tim's resistance because I think she tried to defuse the potentially tense situation by trying to change the topic and get me interested in something else: her mother's dessert. Everyone enjoyed the cake, but it did not derail the discussion.

E: how is that [Azorean-Continental] relationship today?

T: -- [leans back, mumbling softly in my direction] it happens today too!

E: -- is it does it still have the tensions that there first were when you came over?

G: the relation with Portuguese Continent and Azores today is already disappear / because you know first there isn't immigration [from either place] / so second euh the second immigration [generation] they already / they already start to educate fathers *e* and the grandfathers / so that's completely different

MH: they joke about it but it's nothing

G: you know jokes but it's like Por- people from *Benfica* or from *Sporting*

P [to me]: you have to have some of this cake it's <u>really</u> good [was this an avoidance strategy?]

G: *e* and / but that is nothing nothing special [...] sometimes (there used to be fighting over jobs...) but there is nothing [today] / that's disappear completely

T: (coughs loudly, for the first time during our conversation) [was this a non-verbal form of contesting?]

G: I can say Mississauga is a little bit different from Toronto [...]

In another conversation, just between Pat and me, I asked her about Azorean identity and autonomy in light of the Canadian Government's then recent declaration of Québec as a distinct nation within a united Canada. I was curious to see what Pat had to say on the subject because I knew that she was passionate about Portuguese and Canadian history, culture and identity, and because I thought that the topic might have come up between her and Tim or with her family. Pat was in favour of this special status for Québec as a way to appease Québécois nationalists and strengthen the Canadian confederation. Would she defend the Azores as a distinct and autonomous region "within a united" Portugal? No. In fact, she avoided addressing the topic directly, like she did during the family dinner described above, opting instead to talk about examples of other European intra-regional disputes that were worse than anything effecting Portugal (and more specifically its diaspora): there were autonomist movements within Spain (Galicians, Catalans and Basques) and ethno-cultural divisions within Germany (Bavarians, East and West Germans). Her silence on the distinction between Azoreans and Mainlanders highlights the power of the dominant discourse to make some topics taboo and other topics open for debate.

5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present a detailed and multi-layered examination of Pat's sociolinguistic habitus and capital in order to understand how and why she is positioned, by others and by herself, in Toronto's Portuguese market. The point of it all was to gain a deeper insight into the structure of the market and the construction of portugueseness. What we have

learned is that someone with a legitimized sociolinguistic habitus (who follows the Mainland Portuguese norm, produces traditional and folklorized performances of portugueseness, celebrates the greatness of a depoliticized history and avoids addressing the internal inequalities within the Portuguese-Canadian community) has considerable access to positions of power within the Portuguese market. In Pat's case, her father Germano's experience in the dominant Portuguese spaces (i.e. cultural associations, folklore dancing, language schools, ethnic businesses and the ethnic media) showed him that, with the "right" social and linguistic performances, Pat could move up the internal structure of a Portuguese cultural association. With this capital she could gain access to spaces that are frequented by the business and political leaders of the Portuguese and Canadian communities who support and legitimize the ethnolinguistic market.

In the Canadian political market, ethno-cultural associations (and the ethnic media) provide a privileged space where representatives of the state can be seen performing and consuming Canadian multiculturalism. At moments like these, second-generation Portuguese-Canadians with social and cultural capital like Pat's can be positioned as role-models and (future) leaders who embody both languages: English, by virtue of their Canadian birth and education, and Portuguese, by virtue of their familial and ethnolinguistic ancestry.

Pat's friend Vanessa serves as an example of someone who, with a similar habitus as Pat's, constructs her portugueseness somewhat differently since she is positioned in different markets. In the field of computer science where she is pursuing a career, for example, Vanessa sees little use for her portugueseness and since she also has a non-Portuguese partner she has decided to reduce her public performances of portugueseness to mostly private ones with her parents. In fact, one of Vanessa's last public performances of portugueseness came when she and Pat worked as Portuguese language teachers at the MPCA. While Vanessa and Pat both came from prominent Portuguese families in the club, spoke standard Portuguese fluently and graduated from the MPCA's school, the capital they acquired was perceived by some of their students' parents to be insufficient to hold key positions in the reproduction of portugueseness. The negative reaction that they received from some parents questioning their legitimacy as Portuguese teachers for not being deemed sufficiently "native" or monolingual speakers illustrates one of the dominant discourse's productive contradictions. The ideal of perfect monolingualism and authenticity is an attempt to define things in relation to an unattainable market in order to protect, in this case, the exclusivity and prestige of the "Portuguese language

teacher" position. Everyone has some kind of limitation that can marginalize them in some way even if, for example, Pat and Vanessa's fluency in standard Portuguese far exceeds that of the average Portuguese-Canadian youth.

The other members of Pat's social network reveal how someone with a limited Portuguese habitus can still be included in the market if they are willing to affirm their portugueseness. Maria participates in an ethno-cultural association (MPCA) with her husband and creates a Portuguese home even if her experiences growing up made her feel like an outsider to the Portuguese-Canadian market. Despite speaking very little Portuguese, Nancy dances folklore, participates in the MPCA's youth group and competed in the association's beauty pageant as a way of mobilizing family and ethnic solidarity, as well as some capital of distinction that could differentiate her from the competition in the (mainstream) entertainment industry. Tim, who starts out two steps behind for having only one Portuguese parent, of Azorean descent, and for speaking even less Portuguese than Nancy, identifies himself as Portuguese nevertheless and he enjoys teasing Pat with his "hybrid" (Portuguese-English) code-switching and identity. His position in the Portuguese market is sanctioned by Pat's family, which is very involved in the dominant institutions, but Tim is also legitimized by his ethnic and family solidarity as well as the capital of distinction that he brings to the market as a university-educated junior accountant.

Compared to her other network participants, Pat's linguistic and cultural capital are much more favourably positioned in the Portuguese market. In fact, she reproduces many of the dominant discourses of portugueseness, especially about language and monolingualism, where she recognizes standard (Mainland European) Portuguese as the only legitimate language choice as opposed to *portinglês* or to Brazilian Portuguese. She studied the latter at university, but she reports that as a Portuguese-Canadian, she simply could "not relate." Indeed, Pat's performances of dominant portugueseness suggest that linguistic capital is the biggest boundary-maker in the market. She takes great pleasure in pointing out the role reversal in the dominant construction of portugueseness where she, the child, speaks better Portuguese and knows more about Portuguese history and culture than her Portuguese-born mother. Because of her university studies in Portuguese, not only is Pat able to outperform her mother in the Portuguese market, but she is guaranteed a relatively good grade in the Canadian university market for studying a language with which she is already very familiar at home and has studied for more than a decade in Portuguese-language school. Her status as a youth leader in the Canadian market and a

community leader in the Portuguese market are solidified by her leadership position in the university Portuguese association (PUSA2) where, as we will see in Chapter 7, she reproduces the dominant structure and performances of the larger ethno-cultural associations (like the MPCA) and is celebrated by the ethnic media as a result.

Although Pat's performances of portugueseness largely satisfy the demands of the traditional Portuguese market, they have been met with scorn or indifference, in different markets, for coming across as "overly" Portuguese. The most striking example, which also reveals some of the ethno-class tensions inherent in the constructions of working-class portugueseness, is the criticism she faces from her Italian-Canadian peers. Reinforced by the Canadian state's ideologies of multiculturalism and immigrant working-class status, ethnolinguistic markets like those of the Portuguese and the Italians are in competition with each other over limited resources and attention from the state. In schools where there are large Portuguese and Italian populations (like Pat's old high school seen in section 4.2.1.3) the rivalry plays itself out as if to determine the better of the two immigrant groups. Italians normally have the upper hand because of their greater numbers, longer time in Canada and relatively higher class status.

Pat's experiences reveal how the Portuguese market's dominant discourses and structures are not unified. There is a tension, for example, over how to integrate the participation of secondgeneration Portuguese-Canadian youth. How much public portugueseness is too much? For whom? The fact that Pat was worried that I would position her as being "too Portuguese", in her words, revealed that she was aware of how her public investments in portugueseness set her apart from the majority of young people who are silent or absent. It appears that she did not want to stick out too much from this silent majority. In relation to this sub-group within the market, Pat tried mobilizing her mother's "atypical" portugueseness and her parents' middle-class and nontraditionally Portuguese disciplinary practices in order to downplay her own portugueseness. But there is no denying her dominant Portuguese habitus and participation in the dominant spaces. The only Portuguese "institution" where Pat does not participate appears to be the church, which, interestingly enough, is one of the more Azorean spaces in the organized Portuguese market. This division within the market will be explored further in the following chapter on Maggie Posada, whose linguistic and cultural habitus are considerably different from those of Pat. How will Maggie's azoreanness complicate the dominant constructions of portugueseness and what kind of access will she and the members of her social network have in an overwhelmingly Mainland Portuguese market?

Chapter 6

Maggie: Struggling to fit into the Portuguese market

6.0 Introduction

As was the case with the previous chapter on Pat, this chapter presents a critical sociolinguistic and ethnographic case-study of Maggie and some of the closest people in her social network. The chapter shows how they position themselves and are positioned by others with regards to the dominant discourses and resources of portugueseness in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market. By contextualizing and unpacking Maggie's linguistic and cultural habitus, we can begin to understand how she navigates and negotiates the complex and contradictory web of social and linguistic boundaries. More than just focusing on Maggie, however, the point of this chapter is to see what her experiences can tell us about how portugueseness is constructed in Toronto, by whom, where and why.

In particular, this chapter will explore how Maggie's azoreanness reveals internal boundary-making processes within an essentialized Portuguese market. Although there are ways for people like Maggie to produce legitimate performances of portugueseness, her performances appear to be more constrained than those of Pat as we saw in Chapter 5. In order to facilitate a comparison between the two key participants and their different experiences of portugueseness, the layout of this chapter tries to mirror that of the previous one. The first part (section 6.1) looks at Maggie and her social network (i.e. her family and best friends) in order to understand how her identity is shaped by those around her. Maggie characterizes her family and social network as not being "typically" Portuguese because of their azoreanness, among other things. The second part of the chapter (sections 6.2 and 6.3), examine how Maggie's linguistic and cultural capital position her as a legitimate Portuguese-Canadian and as a legitimate speaker or not and how these positionings limit her access to certain spaces within the Portuguese market.

6.1 Maggie and her social network

6.1.1 Maggie and her family: Meet the Posadas

When I first met Maggie on the campus of her university, there was nothing in her appearance that gave away her portugueseness. I would have guessed that she was of Greek or Jewish descent, but definitely not Portuguese. She did not have the "olive" (somewhat tanned)

complexion or the straight brown hair that characterize, in my opinion, the Portuguese "look", nor did she accessorize with anything identifiably Portuguese like a souvenir key-chain, a flag sewn onto her bag, a Portugal t-shirt or jersey, or something in red or green (the Portuguese "colours"). When she spoke, in educated English, I could not hear even the faintest hint of a Portuguese "accent". Yet, as our conversation progressed, I quickly learned that beneath Maggie's seemingly "un-Portuguese" exterior was a Portuguese fire that burned brightly. Raged even. Not the kind of Portuguese fire that warms the hearts of the older generation in the community by making a young person twirl barefoot in a traditional folklore costume, or the kind that lights up their eyes with the sweet sound of standard Portuguese from a young person's lips. It was a different kind of Portuguese fire.

Maggie's portugueseness was not fuelled by traditional public performances of language and identity. In little over twenty years, she had never been actively involved in one of Toronto's many Portuguese ethnic associations, she rarely attended Portuguese cultural events and she was only enrolled in a Portuguese-language class while it was offered in her grade-school. At home she spoke predominantly in English and in school she never studied anything directly related to Portugal. Very few of Maggie's summers were ever spent in Portugal and even fewer were spent chasing after boys of Portuguese descent. Before accepting to participate in my study, Maggie warned me that neither she nor her family were "typically Portuguese". I wanted to know more.

Not only does Maggie's azoreanness set her apart from the "typical" Mainland Portuguese norm, but her family's immigration trajectory is also outside of the norm. Maggie's maternal grandfather was among the first Portuguese legal migrants in Canada (the so-called *pioneiros* or "pioneers"), leaving *Rabo de Peixe*, São Miguel, in 1954. For personal (health) reasons, he was not able to speak with me directly, but Maggie took great pride in sharing his story with me. He was shipped to Western Canada where he worked as a manual labourer and raised his family when they were able to join him within a few years. Today, the self-proclaimed "cowboy" still listens to Johnny Cash, loves the Calgary Stampede and never misses an American wrestling match on TV: hardly the trademarks of a "typical" Portuguese grandfather.

Maggie's mother, Connie, left the Azores to join her father when she was only four, and after the family travelled through Western Canada they finally settled in the east end of Toronto – far from the core of the Portuguese community. Connie's life trajectory is also far from "typical" when compared to the parents of most second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. She has lived nearly all of her life in Canada (making her part of the so-called "1.5 generation" –

somewhere between the first generation of immigrants born and raised in Portugal and the second generation of "Portuguese" born and raised in Canada), she did not grow up in (traditional) Portuguese communities, she graduated from a Canadian high school, she has a "native" command of English and she works with children in a mainstream "Canadian" market that has nothing to do with portugueseness.

Connie's identity construction vacillates between being Portuguese and Canadian, as we will see below, but through it all she does not hide the fact that she is from *Rabo de Peixe*, arguably the most socially, economically and linguistically stigmatized town in all of Portugal and the Portuguese diaspora. Since she left at such a young age, Connie does not have the reportedly "unintelligible accent" from *Rabo de Peixe*. As a result, she says that Portuguese people (primarily Mainlanders but also Azoreans) are often "shocked" when they hear her speak Portuguese because they assumed the worst, only to find that her Portuguese "isn't that bad!"

Connie's husband and Maggie's father, Luís, is the most "typically" Portuguese person in the family... "accent" and all. He left his native São Miguel for Canada in his early thirties, after spending three years in Angola where he served in the Portuguese army during the colonial wars. Although he has no intention of returning to live in the Azores, Maggie says that her father wishes he could return to Angola where he, atypically, sympathized with the communist forces. Before the Portuguese colonial wars, Luís worked for one of the Azores' major newspapers; in Toronto, however, he traded a pen for a hammer as he found work in the construction industry, where he is still currently employed. While his wife honed her English skills by working in the child-care industry, Luís became proficient in Italian thanks to his co-workers, and Maggie believes he may speak it better than he does English.

Both Luís and Connie are not very active or involved in the traditional institutions of the Portuguese-Canadian community, in terms of membership and regular attendance at cultural associations or sporting clubs. Even so, Luís stays connected to the community by reading the Portuguese-language newspapers he picks up from Portuguese bakeries, and by listening to the Portuguese-language radio programs that air on two local stations. Connie, on the other hand, does not support any of the Portuguese ethnic media because she finds the content "unprofessional and embarrassing". Perhaps the only "Portuguese" institution in which the two of them are involved is the Catholic Church. Both attend and volunteer at one of the oldest Catholic churches to serve Toronto's Portuguese community, and its Azorean population in particular.

Much to my initial surprise, Maggie and her younger sister Laura, neither of whom is particularly religious, also participate in some church activities with her family. They do so not by parental force or guilt, but rather out of family solidarity and as a way of affirming their azoreanness, since many important Azorean celebrations are also Catholic festivals. Like her parents and sister, Laura is not actively involved in the spaces where dominant portugueseness gets constructed. Instead she prefers to perform her portugueseness at home with family and with a very select group of friends. Laura's fluency in speaking Portuguese is very limited, more so than Maggie's, and what she is able to speak is marked by an "Azorean" accent. She understands some Portuguese but is more comfortable responding in English or in *portinglês*.

Like Laura, Maggie considers herself fully Azorean, Portuguese and Canadian even though her positioning in each of those categories may be questioned by some. Her portugueseness may make her "atypically" Canadian to those who defend a monolithic nationalist standard; her azoreanness may mark her as "atypically" Portuguese to those who defend a Mainland Portuguese standard, and her azoreanness may be stigmatized by those who criticize her *Rabo de Peixe* or São Miguel roots, but no one can challenge her legitimacy as a (stigmatized) Azorean. In that regard, her *Rabo de Peixe* habitus allows Maggie to position herself (and be positioned by others) as authentically "anti-standard." Maggie enjoys being different and defying people's expectations. Indeed, her parents' life trajectories have planted a politically-aware, socially-conscious and independent-minded seed in her. Continuing in her mother's footsteps, Maggie has excelled in school, and building on her father's experiences, Maggie has developed a penchant for provocative politically-informed questioning. She describes herself as a "shit-disturber" with a strong feminist critique and delights in challenging the status quo and herself.

Although Maggie's habitus may not seem "very" Portuguese at first glance, she is very proud of Portuguese (and Azorean) culture, history and heritage and she feels that the local community does not do enough to promote itself and its culture in mainstream Canadian society. Later in this chapter, we will see how Maggie went from being uninvolved in Portuguese cultural associations to becoming highly involved in a Portuguese university student association - raising awareness to many of the social issues effecting Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community - and even becoming a youth leader in a project for civic participation in a national Portuguese-Canadian advocacy organization. At the same time, however, we will also see how Maggie struggled with apolitical representations of Portuguese history that can "weigh a person down",

with a dominant Portuguese culture that has long been chauvinistic and with a narrow view of language that is used to exclude many people.

Having quickly presented some of the most important information about Maggie and her family, let us sit down to dinner with Maggie and Connie to discover even more.

6.1.1.1 Dinner with an "atypical" Portuguese family

When I arrived at the Posada home, Maggie welcomed me warmly and as soon as she took my coat she began pointing out all the things that did not make her home and her family "typically" Portuguese. I interpreted this revealing gesture as an indication of her pride in defying the dominant discourse on portugueseness and of her delight in showing off her "Azorean" home and family to a young "Mainlander" like myself whom she saw as an insideroutsider.

The first atypical thing Maggie pointed out was that her mother was not preparing a "Portuguese" meal for dinner. There was no cod or any kind of fish, no barbecue chicken or pork chops, no olives or Portuguese sausages. Instead, a delicious plate of spaghetti and meatballs awaited. During the evening, the three of us spoke entirely in English (apart from the occasional code-switching in Portuguese) and I was very impressed (if not surprised) by Connie's native command of English. When I told her as much, she dismissed it saying, "Oh, I know I have an accent," but Maggie denied it, and Connie attributed her proficiency to the fact that she has lived in Canada for so long.

This Canadian experience lead to the next atypical aspect of the Posada family to be pointed out: the fact that they defy many Portuguese-Canadian "norms". Maggie picked up on Connie's English skills and her family's "atypical" settlement process to (playfully but seriously) imply that her mother was not Portuguese. Connie recalled how, when her family left Rabo de Peixe, they travelled through so much of western and central Canada that one of her brothers was born in Winnipeg the late 1950s, and then everyone finally settled in Toronto. With over 50 years of life in Canada and more trips within the country than most "native" Canadians, Maggie saw this as evidence of her family's exceptionality: "See?! We're not Portuguese!" she bragged.

When I asked Connie, after dinner, what she considered herself, she hesitated and Maggie replied for her: "Canadian!" Connie, however, was not so sure: "I don't know. I'm being honest." Unsatisfied by her mother's inconclusive response, Maggie went on the attack like an aggressive legal prosecutor and, addressing me as if I were the judge or the jury, she asked,

"How many Portuguese women can name hockey players?" I laughed and shrugged my shoulders, knowing that the answer, of course, was none or hardly any. Then, turning her focus to the accused on the stand, or rather standing by the sink, she asked her mother, "Who's your favourite hockey player?" Laughing at being put on the spot by her daughter in front of a stranger, Connie worked busily to put away the dishes and avoided answering: "I'm not, I'm not, I'm not going to say." Maggie smiled as she sensed that her mother was on the verge of revealing her Canadianness and so she answered her own questions, "Steve Yzerman!" Connie blushed. Continuing her cultural examination, Maggie asked her, "What's your favourite hockey team? The greatest NHL team ever?" She was looking for something that few "traditional" Portuguese mothers knew, something far removed from Portugal's culture or its national sport futebol. Connie answered as if the question were an insult to her intelligence, "the Edmonton Oilers!" "Thank you", replied Maggie, now beaming with pride and smelling her mother's "Canadian blood" in the water, she went in for more. "Who was on that team, mom? What was the starting line-up?" Looking at me as I laughed at the whole interrogation, Maggie pleaded her case, "She knows! She doesn't want to say, but she knows!" As I reassured them that they could stop, her mother began spitting out players' names: "Coffey, Gretzky, Messier." Satisfied with the performance, Maggie began her closing argument: "Most Portuguese women her age, they know who the Toronto Maple Leafs are and that's it." Then, in a surprise role-reversal, Connie went on the attack and began ridiculing Maggie's favourite team, "the Leafs", and the city itself: "Toronto is a city of losers!" After exchanging some final barbs, Connie ended the game by switching gears and languages, and, realizing that it was getting late, asked Maggie to go tell her grandparents to come and eat, "Eh pá, chama a madrinha p'ra vir comer!" Taking me along with her, Maggie used this opportunity to show me more of the house.

When Maggie and I finally made our way to the basement for dessert, Connie had already set up a tray with different types of cookies, cups and a teapot. As I sat down and took a cup, Connie leaned in to pass me the teapot and apologized, "I didn't bring you a saucer, I don't know if you wanted one." "Oh no, no, no!" I pleaded. She continued, picking up on Maggie's earlier theme, "See, again, we're not very...[Portuguese?]" The three of us roared with laughter before she could finish her sentence. Connie began to explain, "When I have <u>Portuguese</u> people here..." and trying to anticipate the rest of her sentence, I added "...it's a different set up!" "But you're not Portuguese", she continued without missing a step. Again, I laughed out loud. Maggie

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¹ "Oh man, go call your grandmother [literally 'godmother'] to come and eat!" [my translation].

playfully consoled me, "See Emanuel, you're Portuguese like us [Azoreans]" while Connie was kind enough to make sure I was not offended. "I'm just teasing!" she added carefully. I loved every second of it.

Maggie, who does not like being told what she is or is not, distanced herself from her mother's teasing categorization of me not being Portuguese: "See! I wouldn't necessarily make that kind of distinction." Yet, she quickly forgot the distinctions she made in the playful interrogation of her mother's portugueseness. Perhaps Maggie saw in me something of herself, and thinking of the ways in which she has been wrongly categorized by others, she started to explain that, "I think people have forced me to..." but Connie interrupted, passionately affirming her own portugueseness before her daughter could potentially renounce hers or have it renounced by others, "I am Portuguese first and foremost!" Confused by the timing of her mother's comment, Maggie rephrased her idea, "No, you're not listening. I'm talking about me and as soon as someone in the community becomes better educated, and integrates themselves better within the English-speaking community..." Again, Connie interrupted her and this time changed the subject. The conviction with which Connie asserted her portugueseness and avoided any criticism of it on Maggie's part made me realize that even though Connie may have many reasons to identify as Canadian, she is also able to play the "typical" role of Portuguese parent: to defend and promote Portuguese culture, especially in front of her children.

Although Maggie was unable to finish her thought in front of her mother, she made the same point to me in another conversation. In her experience, certain people in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community who defend the dominant discourse consider those Portuguese descendants who are educated in Canada, who prefer to speak English and who are "integrated" into the mainstream society as being less Portuguese (see also section 6.3.2.3 on anti-intellectualism and ethno-class dynamics). This negative attitude and ethno-class division is one of the reasons why Maggie does not participate very much in the organized Portuguese market:

M: I don't choose to divide myself from the rest of the community / that division is forced upon me because when I talk about things that I want to do / people think that I want to be better than them / I don't want to be better than anyone / I want to be better than what I am right now / but they don't see it that way

If Maggie's education, language skills and her outspokenness push the limits of dominant portugueseness, especially with regards to working class constructions of women, than she owes much of it to her mother's unconformity. In addition to growing up and being educated in Canada, and speaking English at home, Connie refuses to do many things that she sees "typical"

Portuguese women do: "They go to work, come home, they cook, they clean, they go to bed." In the Posada household, Luís cleans the house, and, while Connie cooks most of the food, she does not make dinner every day. Nor does she prepare multiple meals for picky young eaters, as many "traditional" Portuguese mothers might for fear that their children go hungry. Beyond their different domestic roles, Maggie also recalls that her parents had a non-traditional (Portuguese) approach to discipline: instead of hitting her, they would "punish" her, which she thought was worse...and more of a "Canadian" thing to do.

Another telling indicator of Connie's "non-Portugueseness" emerged at the end of our conversation: her name. Before signing the consent form, Maggie's mother hesitated and said "I'll put Connie." Maggie chastised her sarcastically, saying, "Maria da Conceição, come on!" This was when I discovered Connie's "real" name, which she writes on legal documents. Connie shook her head and laughed "Oh god, no!" suggesting that she identified more often with her anglicized name. Maggie turned to me and explained how she always gets confused when people call and ask to speak to "Maria." As her sister Laura once put it, "we don't have a Maria here!"

Despite her family not being what Maggie considers to be "typically" Portuguese, her home is what I would consider "typically" Portuguese in so far as it contains many symbols of their homeland: the Azores. There was Azorean art on the walls depicting "typical" rural scenes, an image of Senhor Santo Cristo (dos Milagres – Christ of Miracles) the patron of the largest religious festival on the islands, a traditional Azorean nativity scene, and souvenirs from the islands (i.e. liqueur bottles, books, ceramic hydrangeas and figurines). The most striking examples of acorianidade (azoreanness) are a copy of a 1927 painting by Domingos Rebelo entitled Os Emigrantes ("The Emigrants") and a framed image of the Christ of Miracles. The painting portrays a man and a woman at the main docks (as *Portas da Cidade*) in the city of Ponta Delgada, São Miguel. They are preparing to leave the island and have a large trunk/chest, an old black leather suitcase, a guitar, some oranges, wine and a framed image of Senhor Santo Cristo. The painting has become representative of Azorean emigration and of azoreanness in general. In fact, during her involvement with her university's Portuguese Student Association (see sections 6.3.1.1 and 7.1.3 below), Maggie helped faithfully recreate that very scene onto a float ("It's funny how authentic we were!") as part of the club's participation in the 2004 Portugal Day parade. That year, it represented one of the parade's very few identifiably Azorean elements. Connie purchased the painting as a reminder of her family's departure from São

² Signing the consent form is normally done <u>before</u> the interview, but, after I outlined my research project and her rights as a participant, Connie gave me her verbal consent and insisted on signing the form at the very end.

Miguel, but she received the religious image of the Christ of Miracles as a gift. Although she would have never purchased it herself ("Ai Senhor! Please!?" ["Oh God, no!"]), Connie is proud to own such a defining part of São Miguel culture because, like the student-led Azorean float that Maggie helped build for the Portugal Day parade, it made her more "authentically" Azorean.

6.1.2 Maggie's best friends

If I was (pleasantly) surprised to learn that Maggie's family was "atypical", then I was even more (pleasantly) surprised to learn that Maggie's best friends – also in their early twenties - were somewhat "atypical" as well. Neither Raquel nor Andrea were born in Canada. In fact, they were both born in São Miguel (marking their "authentic" azoreanness) and they immigrated to Toronto as young children. As we will see below, Raquel and Andrea have different experiences relating to portugueseness and azoreanness. Yet, they both agree that, in many ways, Maggie can be more "Portuguese" than them, even though she was born in Canada. As proof, they point to Maggie's involvement in her university's Portuguese university student association, to her work in organizing events that raise awareness about important social issues and success stories in Toronto's Portuguese community, and to her participation in local Azorean cultural/religious celebrations, like the Feast of the Holy Spirit (a Festa do Divino Espírito Santo). The fact that Maggie could participate in these ways, without speaking Portuguese as well as either Raquel or Andrea, challenges the dominant discourse of portugueseness which prioritizes a linguistic performance of identity. This makes her investment in portugueseness all the more remarkable. Before we explore Maggie's investments in portugueseness in more detail, however, let us first examine some of the key elements of her best friends' sociolinguistic habitus in order to understand how Raquel and Andrea were able to negotiate the dominant discourses of Portuguese language and identity. This social network background information will then help contextualize Maggie's positioning in different markets.

6.1.2.1 Raquel: Unabashedly Azorean

The story of Raquel's family immigration to Canada was the most recent that I encountered in all of my fieldwork. Compared to the majority of Portuguese immigrants who came to Canada in the 1960's and 1970's as undereducated manual labourers, Raquel's parents' experience was considerably different. They came in the early 1990's as independent, unsponsored immigrants, with much more academic, financial and linguistic capital than their earlier Portuguese compatriots. Notwithstanding their strong qualifications, the family endured

some serious cultural and economic shock upon arrival. Raquel's father, who had worked as an accountant and had been politically active in the Azores, was forced to work construction in Toronto in order to make ends meet. In time, Canada became home and Raquel's father began identifying himself more and more as Canadian, developing a strong appreciation for Canadian musicians like Anne Murray and Shania Twain as well as the professional basketball team in Toronto. Maggie considers this as proof that he, like her and her family, is not "typically" Portuguese.

Raquel's experience growing up was far from typically Portuguese-Canadian as well. Having spent most of her early childhood in São Miguel, she found herself isolated and lost in a completely different linguistic and social environment when she was sent to an elementary school in Toronto's east-end, far from "Little Portugal". Eventually the family moved closer to the downtown core near the established Portuguese community, and Raquel was enrolled in a predominantly Portuguese school where her linguistic and cultural capital was more easily recognized. Raquel met Maggie in high school and, although they shared an Azorean heritage, they did not have very much in common. Raquel was loud, proud and in your face with her portugueseness and her azoreanness. She was president of the school's Portuguese club and would often code-switch between English and Portuguese. Maggie was much more introverted, studious and "nerdy"; she did not associate with the Portuguese club or speak Portuguese. Slowly, this study in contrasts became mutually beneficial: Maggie helped Raquel with her homework and study habits, and Raquel helped Maggie have more "fun" outside of the classroom and outside of the dominant definitions of portugueseness. As Raquel pointed out to me in a conversation, "the most Portuguese girl started to do things with the most non-Portuguese girl."

Despite affirming a strong Portuguese identity, Raquel did not participate in many of Toronto's Portuguese spaces. In fact, it was Maggie, the "non-Portuguese girl", who convinced her to participate in an Azorean religious/cultural celebration. Back in her native São Miguel, Raquel never participated in such celebrations because she says that most of the local young people consider them out-dated traditions. As Maggie explained, "Here [in Toronto] we cling to the old traditions to remind us of our past, but there [in São Miguel] they're modern, like 'Whatever! Big deal!?" On the other hand, Raquel's younger sister, who was born in Toronto and speaks less Portuguese than Raquel, is heavily involved in many of the traditional or "typical" aspects of the Portuguese-Canadian community: she dances in a *rancho* (folklore

group), sings in a choir, goes to church, plays in the church *banda* (marching band), and she was even dating an Azorean band member at the time of my fieldwork. Like Maggie, Raquel's sister's performances of portugueseness did not require fluency in Portuguese, whereas Raquel's habitus is so legitimately Portuguese and Azorean that she may not have felt compelled or required to earn any more cultural capital by participating heavily in such public performances of identity.

Indeed, Raquel's linguistic capital set her apart from anyone else that I met in my fieldwork. She has a noticeable *Micaelense* (or São Miguel) pronunciation or accent – the very kind that is seen as the anti-standard to the "proper" Portuguese, commonly associated with the Mainland. Raquel takes great pride in her "Azorean" Portuguese because it serves as capital of distinction or, in her own words, because "it gives me character [...] it's who I am, where I came from!" Having gone to school in the Azores, Raquel also learned how to speak standard Portuguese, and so she can "legitimately" perform both an Azorean and a "Conti" (or Continental Portuguese) identity when called upon. Her ability to cross such sociolinguistic boundaries does not negate the underlying tension that exists within the Portuguese community; as she puts it, "language is still the thing that divides Azoreans and Continentals." Raquel was faced with this division in the few Portuguese language classes she took at university. There, she was the only student of Azorean descent, or at least the only one who ever dared to speak up.

Speaking up and speaking out in Portuguese is not often a problem for Raquel. In fact, in Maggie's Portuguese neighbourhood, Raquel is affectionately known by the older members of the community as "a pequena que fala português" ("the young woman who speaks Portuguese") and "a menina portuguesa" ("the Portuguese girl") because she is very comfortable with Portuguese linguistic and cultural interactions (i.e. she knows the history, traditions, sayings and jokes from "the old world"), and because she gladly interacts with Portuguese seniors – whom other young Portuguese-Canadians would rather ignore because of linguistic and cultural differences. Furthermore, Raquel is "so Portuguese" that she peppers her English with Portuguese and Azorean expressions like "Eh mulher!", "Que desgraça!", "Não me digas?!", "Paciência!" and "Eh corisco!" even when speaking to Portuguese-Canadian youth who are more fluent in English.³ In fact, she is so comfortable speaking Portuguese that she insists on

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³ The expressions, in order, translate approximately as follows: "Hey woman!", "What a disgrace/mess!", "Don't tell me!/You don't say!", "Patience!/Too bad!" "Corisco" translates literally as "lightning", but it can be used to as an expletive meaning "damn", as a noun meaning "mischievous person" or specifically someone from São Miguel. I was always told that when Portuguese sailors discovered the island they saw a great deal of lightning produced by the active volcanoes. The people who settled on São Miguel came to be associated with the lightning.

pronouncing my name "the Porkchop way" (i.e. in Portuguese), even though we always speak to each other in English and I always say it in English:

R: I can't call you Em'anuel, I have to say *Emanu'el* / Maggie's like "Why do you do that?" / I can't say it the non-Porkchop way I just can't! I'm sorry / and I hate "Manny"

One of the few times where I heard that Raquel's proud affirmation of Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital was not well received was with some of her young Portuguese-Canadian peers. Her extensive use of Portuguese and her strong Azorean/Portuguese identity have proven to be more than some Portuguese-Canadian young men could handle when they dated her. Some found that she was "too" Portuguese, that she sounded "too much like their mothers or grandmothers" and so they ended the relationship because she was "too much of a problem." Raquel herself recognized that in some cases her sociolinguistic habitus helped her get along better with the Portuguese parents (especially Azoreans) than with their sons ("I wouldn't be surprised if the parents loved me more than the guy himself"). In the following excerpt, Raquel tells me and her friend Mike what happened with one of her Portuguese ex-boyfriends

R: [this guy] was actually a Porkchop [...] he thought I was too much of a problem / he's like "Oh you are <u>re:ally</u> Portuguese aren't you?" [said in a mocking, standard British accent] I'm like "Ahh::?!" [sarcastic tone]

Mk: you're either Portuguese

R: -- or you're not!

Mk: -- or you're not you can't be half!

R: I was too Portuguese for him / he told me I sounded like his mom I made him nervous / I'm like "Alright that's your problem!" / 'cuz I don't know what I said I think I said something like / corisco

Mk: and he broke up with you 'cuz of that?

R: I didn't even give a shit! *Ai querido vai tomar banho!* [Oh sweetie go take a bath/get lost!] [...] see I gave the Porkchops a chance

In the case of this relationship, Raquel's portugueseness was being construed as excessive in a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian market where speaking English and enacting some Portugueseness now and then are the norm. This point is exaggerated by Raquel who mimics her ex-boyfriend's reaction in a stuffy "British" accent. Her ex-boyfriend was likely threatened by the idea that he was not sufficiently Portuguese in comparison to Raquel's authenticity. Raquel's cynical and dumbfounded response ("I'm like 'Ahh?!"") could be read as suggesting that he should have known better, as if to say, "Can't you tell? This is how I am!" Reacting to the implied attack on Raquel's portugueseness by this particular ex-boyfriend, Mike jumped to her defence with a strong essentialist affirmation of identity: "You're either Portuguese or you're not, you can't be half!" As I sat in the back seat of the car that Mike was driving, I thought it best

not to challenge this face-saving deterministic view, but it highlighted the reality of boundary-making strategies in constructions of identity.

One's choice of language is also a boundary-making strategy, and Maggie and Raquel enjoy the creative practice of mixing English and Portuguese (into *portinglês*) at times and in spaces where they want few people to understand exactly what they are saying. They also see this bilingual practice of code-switching as reflecting and constructing their Portuguese-Canadian identities. Some of the public performances of *portinglês* that I observed between them came in the hallways of their university, where many different languages could be heard, and online in the public messages they left for each other through Facebook. Some examples of these last code-switches include:

M: it was only \$100. Don't worry we'll do *contas* later ["the math", lit. "accounting"]

R: hear u went to *missa*. Make ur grandma proud i see ["mass"]

M: don't forget to bring your *compramides!* ["medication", misspelled]

R: one is fine thanks. *eu nao vou gasta 100 dough-lasssss* (thick *Agua Retorta*⁴ accent here) *em shampoo*. thats bogus! ["I'm not gonna spend (misspelled) \$100 on shampoo"]

R's sister: stats was pure *bolas*. I hope I passed. [lit. "balls", figuratively "bullshit"]

Raquel's defiantly deterministic declaration of "you're either Portuguese, or you're not" in the second last excerpt is one that is commonly taken up by the dominant discourse. That view of identity is often transposed to language as well, in the dominant discourse that says "you either speak Portuguese, or you don't." Seen in this light, examples of code-switching allow a person the possibility of being and speaking "half" (or part) Portuguese and (Canadian) English. The following section switches to Maggie's other best friend, Andrea, and her sister Sylvie, and how they negotiate what it means to be and to speak Portuguese in Toronto.

6.1.2.2 Andrea: Smart, blonde...and Portuguese?!

Maggie and Andrea met in high school and became close friends because they were both "nerds" and because they defied certain Portuguese norms. Andrea's blonde hair, blue-eyes, fair skin and thin frame made it difficult for most people to believe that she was of Portuguese descent. Being born in São Miguel made her all the more "exotic" and set her apart from Canadian-born descendants. Growing up she was teased for looking and being different and for being too smart; "How are you so smart? You should be a dumb blonde! And a dumb

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⁴ The name of a town in São Miguel, Azores.

Portuguese!" In fact, Andrea was made to feel so different that she used to think she was adopted. Having immigrated with her family as a very young child, Andrea has few memories of life in the Azores, which made the possibility of being adopted seem more real to her, and in Toronto she worked hard to fit in as a Canadian. Her different looks, her dual citizenship and her fluent bilingualism gained Andrea access to Canadian and Portuguese spaces, even though she did not always feel entirely welcome in either. She has avoided publicly performing her portugueseness in the Portuguese-Canadian market for fear that her azoreanness and her looks would attract unwanted attention, so she focuses on performing her portugueseness with friends and family – especially with her younger sister, Sylvie.

Unlike Andrea, Sylvie, who was born in Toronto and speaks very little Portuguese, spent a few years dancing in a Portuguese folklore group and publicly showing off her portugueseness. However, once she stepped out of the traditional costume, Sylvie no longer looked the Portuguese part. With her pale skin, dark make-up and dark clothing, Sylvie identifies with "punk" or counter-culture. In her high school, where the student body is primarily Italian and Portuguese, Sylvie resists the pressure to perform and associate with her ethnic identity. In fact, her "punkness" is a form of "anti-Portugueseness" and a rejection of what she sees as the ways that Portuguese youth look and act: either as "ginos/ginas" or "gangstas". The former are a hyper-ethnicized, Euro-(Italian)-centric, dance-music-listening group, based on an ethno-class rivalry with Italian-Canadians; the latter are part of a hip-hop, black, counter-culture group where affirming a Portuguese identity legitimizes a racialized, marginalized and "ghettoized" inner-city experience.

Reconciling punk and folklore was not difficult for Sylvie because in both cases she saw them as personal choices that were negotiated on her own terms. In fact, both decisions went against the grain. Despite having the most "un-Portuguese" social habitus in her family, Sylvie is the only one who has been publicly involved in a Portuguese cultural activity. As a young girl she marvelled at the hand-made folklore costumes, the real gold jewellery worn by the dancers, and the intricate steps the dancers performed. More importantly, when she joined the *rancho*, Sylvie quickly realized that her dancing made her mother proud and provided her with cultural capital that it helped make up for her own Portuguese shortcomings, especially in terms of

⁵ S: at my school / they're either / really ginos or really gangstas and then there's me I'm / punk / that's why they'd never guess [what I am] / they're like "Well you're not Portuguese!"

A: I don't get the gangsters we can never claim the whole ghetto thing / that boggles my mind / I have no idea why [they do that] / and then even the ginos / gino is more of an Italian thing / so it's like we have an identity crisis / we don't know what to do / either go ghetto side or the gino side / can't you just be yourselves that kind of thing?

language. "I'm the worst in Portuguese," Sylvie explains, "Andrea has to translate for me most of the time, but the *rancho* kind of makes up for it." Performing in a folklore group also became a source of symbolic and material (cultural) capital. Not only did it win favour with her parents, but it was good for school, because it could be counted as community hours/service which satisfied part of her curriculum requirements. It also served as "active participation in the Portuguese community" which satisfied a requirement for academic scholarships offered by Portuguese associations to youth of Portuguese descent.

After Sylvie's folklore group disbanded, her performances of portugueseness became less public and more centred around her family. At home, Andrea plays the role of linguistic broker translating Sylvie's "butchered" Portuguese in order for her mother to understand. Part of the reason Andrea takes her role of linguistic broker so seriously is because she feels somewhat responsible - and "guilty" - for her sister's "broken" Portuguese because, while they were growing up, she spoke to Sylvie in English rather than Portuguese when their parents were at work. Behind this feeling of guilt is the dominant discourse of language maintenance and language purity. In an effort to appease this guilt, and strengthen familial bonds, Andrea occasionally speaks to her sister in Portuguese (instead of English) in the hope that she can curb what she thinks is Sylvie's language "loss". Sylvie, however, finds her sister's practice odd and gets "freaked out" because "it just doesn't click". That said, the two of them can find common linguistic ground by code-switching or speaking in *portinglês* at home or as a "secret language" in public so as to confuse non-Portuguese speakers.

6.1.3 Concluding remarks

In order to understand what Maggie can or cannot do with her Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market, which is the focus of the second part of this chapter, we needed to first examine what informs her portugueseness and how she was socialized in it early on and then through her social network. From very early on, Maggie has negotiated the internal boundaries of portugueseness between Mainland Portugal, the Azores, São Miguel and Rabo de Peixe because of her family's habitus. Through close family ties and private rather than public performances of dominant portugueseness, Maggie has developed a strong sense of azoreanness and of *Rabo-de-Peixe*-ness in opposition to a market that is dominated by Mainland portugueseness.

The experiences of Maggie's family and social network help contextualize some of the divisions within the local Portuguese market and within the dominant discourses of legitimate portugueseness. Her grandfather's trajectory across Canada and her mother's upbringing far from the Azores and Portugal complicate her family's Portuguese narrative. Connie's refusal to back down from negative ideologies of language, gender and regionalism serves as a source of inspiration for Maggie to fight for a space in the market as well. Her mother's experience promotes a habitus of deviance and defiance with respect to the dominant discourse of portugueseness. Raquel's unrestricted Azorean Portuguese pride, which is bolstered by her authentic use of the São Miguel vernacular and the standard (Mainland) variety whenever necessary, also inspires Maggie to begin to appropriate her own way of speaking and of being Azorean Portuguese. Andrea's experiences of not fitting into the dominant Portuguese mould because of her azoreanness, her "atypical" Portuguese looks and her academic success despite the fact that she was born in São Miguel also fuelled Maggie's habitus of deviance and defiance.

The fact that Maggie's family does not participate actively in constructions of dominant (Mainland) portugueseness in the network of ethno-cultural associations, which make up the core of Toronto's Portuguese market, is contrasted with their involvement in the constructions of azoreanness in church settings. This highlights an important division within Toronto's Portuguese market and one that allows Maggie a certain legitimacy in the field. Maggie's social network also reveals how there appear to be gaps (or opportunities) in the Portuguese market's dominant constructions of portugueseness that allow certain performances of identity to be done without speaking Portuguese. Her best friends' sisters, for example, make up for perceived sociolinguistic deficiencies by playing in a marching band and dancing in a folklore group.

Against this backdrop of constrained agency and the even greater backdrop of second-generation absence and silence, the second part of this chapter focuses more closely on how Maggie is able to mobilize her linguistic and cultural capital within Toronto's Portuguese market. How does she position herself and how is she positioned by others? How is her legitimacy as a Portuguese speaker and as a Portuguese-Canadian defined and why?

6.2 Maggie's linguistic capital

"Bad", "broken", "not very good" and sometimes "not even Portuguese", these were some of the ways that Maggie described and evaluated her Portuguese linguistic capital; "I don't know if you can consider what I speak as Portuguese!" The goal of this section is to understand why Maggie has such negative views of her Portuguese language competency by exploring her linguistic habitus and presenting some of her most revealing sociolinguistic interactions. From the little I have heard Maggie speak Portuguese (i.e. in short sentences or code-switching), I do not think her Portuguese is as bad as she may think. Instead, I would describe her as not being comfortable speaking Portuguese (an assessment she herself makes), and as someone who avoids speaking it if given the choice. Yet, in situations where she has no choice but to speak it, she can certainly communicate. When I observed her with her grandparents, for example, Maggie spoke in Portuguese. Furthermore, I would argue that her Portuguese skills are quite on par with those of most second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth whose aural comprehension is "adequate" but whose oral production is more limited. What is undeniably clear, however, is that Maggie's Portuguese (especially her pronunciation) is noticeably "Azorean" (*Micaelense*) and not only is she very aware of it, but she is also made aware of it when she speaks it in the Portuguese-Canadian market.

6.2.1 How did Maggie learn Portuguese?

Despite English currently being the language most spoken at the Posada home, Maggie grew up in a Portuguese-speaking home with her parents and grandparents which is how she acquired Portuguese. In terms of more formal language training, Maggie has had very little and what little she received she would rather forget. The inner-city Toronto elementary school that she attended had such a large a Portuguese (Azorean) student population that Portuguese language classes were offered as part of the regular weekly curriculum in what was known as the Heritage Language Program in the 1970s, and then the International Language Program in the 1990s (Helms-Park 2000). Perhaps the most traumatic confrontation Maggie had with negative ideologies of language and identity came from her grade-school Portuguese teacher – from Mainland Portugal⁶ – who had been teaching Portuguese for years (without ever changing the

⁶ In what I have observed through my fieldwork and in my own life experience, the Portuguese-language teachers in public schools and those in the community language schools run by cultural associations are overwhelmingly, if not exclusively, from Mainland Portugal. Furthermore, up until recently, most of these teachers did not meet provincially recognized teaching qualifications and standards. Many were hired from the local community because

curriculum) and who openly mocked and verbally abused children of Azorean descent for the way that they and their parents spoke. The excerpt below describes the main reason for Maggie's animosity towards standard (Mainland) Portuguese:

M: my dislike of the Portuguese language came from [...my teacher...] and there were three reasons why we hated him 'cuz he never changed the curriculum [...] "Here are the seasons here are the days of the week" which is great but I'd like to move on now / he was also from the Continent and he had this open disdain for kids from the Azores which was stupid 'cuz my school was like 90% Azorean / you were either Italian or Portuguese and if you were Portuguese you were from the Azores / so he would tell us "You're speaking wrong! You tell your parents that they're teaching you wrong!"

E: no way?!

M: yeah I swear to god [...] he's probably still teaching [...] he taught like [the social democratic revolution of 19]74 never happened [...] and he was a dictator / if you weren't listening / he'd grab his binder slam it on the table and he'd like literally grab me by the ear and say "Castig'!" [castigo = punishment]

E: are you crazy?

M: and so how are you supposed to love that? you don't! you're terrified of it and when you're in kindergarten and you witness that / then that effects the next hundred years of your life!

E: totally

M: and you never forget it // so for a really long time I thought screw this / like forget Portuguese! why do I wanna learn it? and I totally regret it now but / and I wish I were more fluent

As a result of this horrific experience with Portuguese language instruction, it is no surprise that Maggie is not comfortable speaking Portuguese and that she never learned to speak the "standard" properly. This teacher's blatant abuse of power and linguistic antagonism is part of the internal boundary making process that separates Azoreans from Continentals in Toronto's Portuguese market and that fuels the linguistic discrimination suffered by many children and parents of Azorean descent all in the name of legitimate (Mainland) Portuguese. Today, as much as Maggie regrets not having been able to learn to speak "better" Portuguese, her early experiences with those who promote and defend the standard language have robbed her of any confidence she had to publicly practice or formally improve her language skills (i.e. by enrolling in university or private Portuguese classes).

The broader consequences of such an exclusionary language ideology and dominant discourse of portugueseness will be analyzed further in Chapter 7. The following sub-section explores some of the spaces where Maggie is (not) able to use her "limited" Portuguese or, in other words, where she found or lost her Portuguese voice.

6.2.2 Where does Maggie speak Portuguese (or not)?

Although Maggie may not be willing to speak Portuguese in linguistically policed spaces like the language classroom, she is open to speaking it with her best friend Raquel and with her extended family, especially when visiting them in Fall River, Massachusetts or even in the Azores. Raquel's non-judgmental views of Maggie's Portuguese, and her unabashed pride in being and speaking "Azorean", made Maggie feel more comfortable to communicate in Portuguese under the "right" conditions or at least to use Portuguese words and expressions when speaking in English.

An example of Maggie's creative use of Portuguese in *portinglês* (or, as she called it, a "secret" language) came during a Ukrainian street festival I attended with her in Toronto.

Assuming that most people in attendance understood English, we occasionally switched to Portuguese so as not to be understood by anyone else, especially when we were making comments about the way some people were dressed or acting ("Olha para aquele ali!" – "Look at that guy over there!"). On that same afternoon, Maggie also switched languages to better describe certain Portuguese objects or feelings (i.e. paciência [patience], vergonha [shame]). For example, when I complimented her on the ornate handkerchief she had drawn from her purse, for example, she laughed and said, "You like my lenç"?! I use it to clean my glasses." Startled by a Portuguese word I was not expecting, and one that I rarely ever hear young Portuguese-Canadian people use, I asked her, "Your what? Did you just say lenço (handkerchief)?" Maggie smiled and thought nothing of it, "Yeah, my lenç' I use the word all the time!"

Another example of Maggie's creative use of Portuguese is when she uses it as a weapon to threaten and confuse someone who does not understand the language. For instance, when Maggie once overheard a rude customer insulting her friend over the phone at work (calling her "a piece of shit"), Maggie was so incensed that she took the phone and told the customer "Tu es merda de uma galinha!" (which translates as "You are chicken shit!") before slamming the phone down. The intent was clearly to catch the customer off guard by insulting him without her likely having to face any consequences (i.e. he would probably not call back and say "I know what you said!"). Maggie also told me that when she reaches her wits' end or defies someone's restrictive expectations, she uses Portuguese expletives, like "chupa!" ("suck it!"), which is a vulgar sexual term uttered mostly by Portuguese-speaking men. These defiant uses of Portuguese are powerful examples of Maggie affirming her marginalized portugueseness to set herself apart.

That said, this strategy of using Portuguese as an instrument of power or as a secret code would play out differently in a Portuguese-speaking context. For example, how would Maggie's linguistic repertoire position her in a place like São Miguel? Would she be mocked for her "broken" Portuguese? In response to my questions, Maggie explains that most of her time in the Azores is spent with family and friends, and that they do not make fun of the way she speaks. In fact, they think that she speaks better Portuguese than her sister, and so they encourage her to speak it even more. Whatever playful teasing may arise from her *portuglês*, Maggie is not offended because she knows it is light-hearted, and she is confident that her Portuguese is better than their English – which positions her more favourably on the global market.

Nevertheless, some forms of linguistic discrimination cannot be as easily dismissed. This is particularly true of times when Maggie has been mocked in public, outside the respectful confines of family interaction, and where the loss of face is socially damaging. Raquel told me of a time when Maggie was visiting family in São Miguel one summer in her teens, and "some stupid retard, a friend of her cousin, made fun of what she said. So she never spoke Portuguese again!" Raquel believes that this event really scarred Maggie and contributed to a heightened sociolinguistic marginalization – so much so, perhaps, that Maggie herself never mentioned this episode to me.

The interactions that she did mention, in which she effectively lost her Portuguese voice or had it stifled, highlight the spaces in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community from which she feels somewhat excluded for being a young woman, an educated person, a native English speaker, a speaker of Azorean Portuguese and a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian. These spaces include the Portuguese language classroom, as we have seen above, the Portuguese consulate, an umbrella organization of Portuguese-Canadian cultural associations and the Portuguese-language media. All of these spaces are privileged sites where the dominant discourse of legitimate Portuguese language and identity get (re)produced and where full participation depends on the valorization of an individual's linguistic and cultural capital.

The first of these particular spaces, the Portuguese consulate in Toronto, is not only linguistically and culturally loaded, but it also politically charged. Although there is no explicit "Portuguese-only" language policy in place, the space, which can technically be read as Portuguese territory, represents all that is "proper" and "officially" Portuguese. Everything that is produced in that space (e.g. official documents, press releases, exhibitions or lectures) is "legitimately" Portuguese. Everyone who works there represents the Portuguese State, speaks

standard Portuguese and nearly all are from Mainland Portugal. For a second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, who does not speak Portuguese well and is unfamiliar with Portuguese bureaucracy, dealing with the consulate can be a very stressful experience.

One might expect that a foreign consulate in Canada would be staffed by people who are fluent in at least one of the official languages, and that obtaining services in English in Toronto should be relatively hassle-free. Unfortunately, Maggie's expectations were not met when she and her sister visited the Portuguese consulate in order to apply for Portuguese citizenship. In fact, they felt discriminated against because of their Portuguese language skills. I was not there to observe the interaction myself, but on several occasions I have felt positioned by different cultural staff as Portuguese (rather than as Canadian or as Portuguese-Canadian) and I felt that I was expected to produce standardized performances of portugueseness for their own pleasure.

Here is how Maggie remembers her interaction, and how her mother, Connie, reacted afterward:

- M: when we finally got called in [to the office] I said [to the woman behind the desk] "My / our Portuguese is not that good / I feel more" / I said "I could communicate in Portuguese but I'd feel more comfortable speaking in English is that a problem?"
- **E:** did you say all of that in Portuguese?
- M: yeah I tried to / in my broken Portuguese / and she gave me this snotty look like "Whatever you want" [rolls her eyes] / and I was like [to myself] "Yes or No? / bitch!"
- C: [the consulate staff's] English is very bad / I'm sorry I can speak better than they do [...] even when I go to the [Portuguese] bank I think how can these people get jobs? It's not what they know it's who they know

[...]

- **M:** and the stupid woman at the consulate made fun of me because I said *papels* instead of *papeis* [papers]
- C: again it's the [Azorean] accent!
- M: I kinda looked at her [and thought] like / "shut up!"
- C: I was so mad / I called back and said "They made fun of my daughters and how do you want them to / like they want Portuguese citizenship / you guys should be like this [she opens her arms wide] trying to get the youth"
- **M:** she was so hostile towards us
- **C:** "and yet you're making fun of them?"
- **M:** -- they were they were kind of abusive
- C: -- I said uh "That's unacceptable" oh I gave them shit! [...] I said I said "Excuse me Ma'am" you know "it's unacceptable my / I've been phoning there all morning and no one answers [...] "How dare you? You should be very proud that" / and I said "My daughters really do not need their Portuguese citizenship / they're very proud / they went to Portuguese school when they were young / you guys should be like this" [she opens her arms wide]
- M: they were inc- I can say that now / incredibly rude from start to finish

Instead of being welcomed warmly and perhaps even congratulated for choosing to become Portuguese citizens - something which the Portuguese State and the dominant discourse

⁷ Original Portuguese: Eu disse "A senhora desculpa" you know "é inaceitável as minhas / eu estou a telfonar p'ra ai toda a manhã e ninguém me responde."

of portugueseness encourages all young people of Portuguese descent to do - both Connie and Maggie felt that Maggie was mocked for her non-standard Portuguese and her Azorean "accent". This rudeness on the part of the consulate staff person may well have been an isolated occurrence, but it had a lasting negative impact on Maggie's sociolinguistic self-esteem. The staff person had an apparent disregard for the stressful and foreign circumstances in which Maggie was engaged and she did not seem to appreciate Maggie's effort to respect the monolinguistic Portuguese norm in the consulate or to accommodate the staff person's preferred language. She could have insisted on speaking entirely in English, which would have been easier for her, but she did not. Had the staff person recognized any one of these points, the interaction might have been less tense for Maggie. Instead, Maggie interpreted the staff person's flippant response to her language-use question ("Whatever [language] you want" in line 6 of the excerpt above) as "snotty", and her reaction to Maggie's "broken" Portuguese as "incredibly rude". Although the staff person gave Maggie the choice to speak in whatever language she wanted, Maggie felt that her choice was constrained by the nature of the space and the powerful pressure of the staff person in a gate-keeping position, so she "chose" to try her best and speak in Portuguese in order to portray a good image of herself as a potential Portuguese citizen. Yet, the image Maggie constructed through her non-standard Portuguese was not good enough and she believed that she was mocked for her Azorean "accent" and her broken Portuguese. The fact that the staff person stopped to correct Maggie's use of papels instead of papeis ("papers") – a mistake which does not significantly alter the meaning of the word, since the root is the same – felt like an unwarranted attack on Maggie's portugueseness and an arrogant affirmation of the staff person's linguistic, cultural and political power.

Another space where Maggie felt positioned as an illegitimate speaker was in the market of Portuguese cultural associations. When Maggie became a member of her university's Portuguese student association (PUSA1) one of the most appealing aspects of the club was that it operated almost entirely in English, unlike most of the other Portuguese cultural associations in the community. Still, there were certain occasions where it was necessary for PUSA1 members to interact with the ethnic community in Portuguese, such as at the monthly meetings of an umbrella organization of Portuguese clubs and associations, and to deal with the Portuguese ethnic media. Dealing with both of these dominant institutions was important for the student association because they conferred status, legitimacy and material capital to the association and its young leaders.

As one of the PUSA1 representatives at the umbrella organization's meetings, Maggie was given an insider's view of the decision-making process where cultural events like the Portugal Day celebrations were planned. I say "view" because she was not given much of a "voice". Since I was never able to gain access to this privileged space, I relied on Maggie to describe what the meetings were like. Over the year that she attended these meetings, Maggie felt marginalized for several reasons. They were run entirely in Portuguese (with little or no allowances made for bilingual speech or English), they were made up primarily of old(er), first generation Portuguese men, with very few women and even fewer young people. Maggie felt that the token youth who were present were rarely given the chance to speak, and if they ever did have the floor they were forced to speak in Portuguese — a language in which most of them were not very comfortable. It is no surprise then that Maggie "chose" to remain silent for fear of being ridiculed, corrected or simply ignored. As she explained to me: "I'm afraid out of my mind to ask a question in Portuguese at [one of those] meetings."

Maggie is also afraid to speak to the Portuguese-language media. In fact, from what I have observed, relatively few Portuguese-Canadian youth ever interact with the local Portuguese media TV or radio because of the expectation to speak Portuguese "correctly" and the potential for public humiliation. Whenever a Portuguese-Canadian youth is interviewed in Portuguese (at a cultural event or an ethnic scholarship ceremony, for example) it garners special attention because of its rarity. The young person's sociolinguistic performance is usually closely scrutinized by older community members for whom it offers a glimpse into the state of language loss or maintenance among the "future of the community". For members of youth organizations like PUSA1, such mediatised interactions are to be expected given the club's need to publicize and promote itself within the community, and the community's need to be seen interacting with the younger generations. During my fieldwork I watched club members with the best Portuguese linguistic capital get pushed in front of the microphone or camera to perform the role of the "good" Portuguese-Canadian youth so coveted by the ethnic media and the dominant discourse. Maggie never volunteered to speak to the Portuguese-language media because of her delegitimized linguistic capital and also because she witnessed a case of linguistic discrimination involving a friend of hers who tried, but "failed", to perform up to the media's standards.

Maggie's friend Sarah helped organize one of PUSA1's first public conferences that brought together students, political figures, academics and other professionals all of Portuguese descent. The event was a great success and, as one might expect, the Portuguese-language media

was there to cover it. When a Portuguese news reporter asked to interview Sarah, Maggie distinctly remembers her friend requesting to do the interview in English because she felt more comfortable. The reporter agreed. Then, with the camera almost ready to go and with microphone in hand, the reporter ignored Sarah's anxious plea, telling Sarah instead to just speak Portuguese. Begrudgingly, Sarah accepted, feeling she had little choice, but warned him that her Portuguese may not be very good; the reporter did not seem to care, insisting that she just do it. What shocked Maggie even more than this brazen linguistic coercion was the reaction to Sarah's interview in one of the Portuguese-language community newspapers the following week. According to Maggie, an article openly criticized Sarah's limited Portuguese skills while also undermining her gendered and cultural identities. This attack, by someone in a position of power within the "community" on a young person who was trying to help the "community", still infuriates Maggie today; it was influential in her decision to distance herself from the traditional institutions and representations of portugueseness in Toronto. Maggie put it even more bluntly:

M: some jackass [...] wrote something like "oh a menina é muito bonita ['oh the girl is very pretty] but without the Portuguese language she's nothing!" [...] and here's a girl who busted her ass to improve the perception of our community / but does the community deserve someone like her? / not really! that's why some days / I feel like pissing on my community!

6.2.3 Maggie's thoughts on Portuguese: What is proper? What is not?

In trying to make sense of Maggie's Portuguese linguistic capital and who positions it as "legitimate" or not, it is also worth considering Maggie's own Portuguese language ideologies. As I learned from Maggie and from other people of Azorean descent, the linguistic ideological debate between Azorean and Mainland Portuguese, especially as it is articulated by second generation Portuguese-Canadians in Toronto, can be summed up by two shibboleths: the Portuguese words for "socks" and "custard tarts".

In standard Portuguese, the word for "socks" is *meias*, which is what most Mainlanders are believed to say. On the other hand, most Azoreans (perhaps only from São Miguel) and some Mainlanders from southern Portugal, say *piugos* for "socks" and *meias* to refer to pantyhose or nylons. These distinctions might seem laughable at first, but Maggie remembers that when she was growing up, the division between people like her (Azoreans) and people like me (Continentals) was established very early on along these lexical, and of course phonetic, lines.

⁸ This distinction may not be as relevant or pronounced in the Azores or in Mainland Portugal, or it may relate to archaic Portuguese, but it remains an immediate marker of azoreanness vs. (standard) portugueseness in Toronto.

M: my friends from the Continent [i.e. of Mainland Portuguese descent] used to make fun of me all the time / the accent and you know / we call pantyhose *meias* you [she is referring to my Continental Portuguese habitus] call them socks / and there were other things they'd make fun of us about / like the way we pronounce things

The other shibboleth strikes closer to the heart (or stomach) of portugueseness and it centres on the Portuguese word for the iconic and consumable symbol of Portuguese identity: the custard tart. Not knowing how to "correctly" identify such a national symbol is more than just embarrassing; it calls into question the speaker's ethnolinguistic allegiances. Imagine if Canadians could not agree on what to call maple syrup? Or the French their baguettes? Among Toronto's Portuguese-Canadians those of Mainland descent normally identify those tasty tarts as pasteis (de nata), whereas those of Azorean descent might sooner call them queijadas (de nata). Such a distinction instantly identifies a person as "one of them" or "one of us" and it can turn a rather mundane interaction at a Portuguese bakery, for example, into a boundary-making interaction.

When I was hanging out with Maggie, Raquel and a Korean friend of theirs one day for lunch, the topic of portugueseness and the differences between Azoreans and Mainlanders in Toronto came up. Raquel, Maggie's Azorean-born friend, started by saying that if she dated someone of Mainland Portuguese descent it would be like dating someone from another country, because "we [Azoreans] say things different". In order to try and drive the point home, Raquel and Maggie put me to the sociolinguistic test by asking me how I (as a "Mainlander") would say "custard tarts" and "socks" in Portuguese. They both anticipated the "standard" responses, but I produced the "Azorean" words just to show them that I knew the difference. After listening to us, the Korean international student asked us bewilderedly if we (Azoreans and Mainlanders) understood each other. Maggie reassured him that we could, but that "there's a lot of debate as to who speaks Portuguese properly – them or us."

As we saw in Chapter 4, section 4.3.2 on the competing discourses of Portuguese language and ethnic identity, the language ideological debate is complicated and there are many different positionings of "us" and "them". Maggie in particular highlighted several of these multiple sociolinguistic positionings with regards to Brazilian Portuguese, to the local codeswitching of Portuguese and English into *portinglês*, and to the use of "Azorean" Portuguese. For example, while Maggie values the capital of distinction that her marginalized Azorean identity affords her in certain positionings within the Portuguese-Canadian market, and particularly how her *Rabo de Peixe* sociolinguistic habitus defies the norm, she can also be critical of the non-

standard way that they speak in *Rabo de Peixe* ("it's not Portuguese [...] they're not even speaking a language") and gain symbolic capital for falling in line with the dominant discourse. Maggie's positioning on both sides of the language debate surrounding *portinglês* reflects the need to situate each interaction. On the one hand, she benefits from the group solidarity that she is able to build by speaking *portinglês* with her Portuguese-Canadian friends, and from the capital of distinction from using it as a "secret" language in the presence of non-Portuguese speakers. On the other hand, Maggie is also ready to criticize her grandmother's code-switching as a sign of monolinguistic weakness and proof of her awareness of the dominant discourse even if she herself speaks a "broken" mixture of Portuguese and English and does not appreciate having it publicly corrected.

With regards to Maggie's positioning of Brazilian Portuguese, one might have expected her to challenge the dominant discourse of (European) Portugueseness which marginalizes Brazilian Portuguese (and "Azorean" Portuguese) as sub-standard vis-à-vis the Mainland European Portuguese norm. Still, as seen in Chapter 4 (section 4.3.2.2), when Maggie meets people who think that Brazilians speak Spanish or Brazilian, she positions herself as Portuguese, in line with the dominant nationalist and colonialist discourse, and argues that Brazilians speak Portuguese and that they are essentially Portuguese.⁹

In Toronto's Portuguese market, the "us and them" positioning between Brazilians and Portuguese is a potential point of linguistic and cultural tension worth exploring in future research (see also Brasch 2007). Is the presence of other Portuguese speakers challenging or reinforcing the structure of the Portuguese market? Does the dominant discourse of Canadian multiculturalism and of benevolent Portuguese colonial nationalism gloss over the historical differences between the two groups and assume that their ways of being and of speaking are similar and cooperative? Although Maggie said earlier that Brazilians "are" Portuguese, she also recognizes how dominant ideologies of language and identity have positioned them differently: Brazilians are fun-loving, samba dancing, carnival frolickers while the Portuguese are dull, sombre and weighed down by tradition and history.

M: our [Portuguese] culture is great but it's imposing in a way / it's like this brick / it weighs you down [...] it's conquest it's exploration / I think they [Brazilians] are crazy [fun, outgoing] like carnival and capoeira

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⁹ **M:** we [the Portuguese] found Brazil [...] and it became ours [...] they speak Portuguese [...] you could make the argument that they <u>do</u> speak Brazilian / because it is <u>slightly</u> different than Portuguese / but no I mean / they are Portuguese!

One of Maggie's best friends, Andrea, and her sister Sylvie, acknowledge that there is some tension between the Brazilians and the Portuguese in their family. In particular, they have a cousin, born of Brazilian and Portuguese parents, who grew up "Portuguese" but is now affirming a "Brazilian" identity. Andrea and Sylvie resent what they see as her attempt to be "cooler" than they are by "betraying" her Portuguese roots. They turn to the traditional ethnonationalist discourse and "remind" her that she "is" Portuguese and that she cannot ignore that part of her. This is the same discursive move that is used to argue that Azoreans are still Portuguese no matter how distinct they think they are. Yet, unfazed by their ethno-nationalist inscription and their attempt to position her, the cousin laughs off their efforts by maintaining that "being Brazilian is cooler!" and that "you [Portuguese] guys can't dance!" Her Brazilian father mocks Portuguese people as being boring and unattractive...except for his Portuguese wife, I imagine. Still, defending portugueseness from the popular, demographic and economic forces of brazilianness is not something Sylvie is entirely comfortable doing, because she herself admits that Brazilian Portuguese "sounds cool and musical!": "I love it! I've noticed a lot of Portuguese people admiring the Brazilian accent, language." This comes in contrast to the negative views of Brazilian Portuguese as a bastardization as seen earlier with Peter Araújo in section 4.3.2.2.

6.2.4 Concluding remarks

This section reveals how language is a boundary maker and marker when it comes to the dominant definition of what it means to be legitimately Portuguese. In Toronto this definition is negotiated within a market that is structured along ethnolinguistic and class lines and is reinforced by the monolingual, homogenized, nation-state ideologies celebrated by Canadian multiculturalism and Portuguese nationalism. The result of these ethnolinguistic boundary-making processes is a division between Mainlanders and Azoreans, between Mainlanders themselves and Azoreans themselves, and between Portuguese people and other lusophones (Brazilians, Angolans, etc.). These divisions are productive for the dominant discourse of portugueseness because they privilege a traditional Mainland Portuguese elite, while keeping everyone else divided. Through Maggie's trajectory within the Portuguese market, we see this boundary-making process at work in such dominant sites as the Portuguese language classroom, the Portuguese consulate, the umbrella organization of Portuguese cultural associations and the ethnic media. The Canadian and/or Portuguese states are also implicated in this boundary-making process because they support all of these sites to some degree.

This process, however, is not restricted to the market's formal sites. The boundaries are reproduced in informal settings and daily interactions. A pronunciation or accent that differs from the standard (Mainland) norm is an audible boundary between Azoreans and Mainlanders, for example, but that boundary is also reinforced by linguistic differences other than pronunciation. The "sock" and "custard tart" shibboleths, while comical to some, are meaningful boundary markers precisely because they relate to personal and authentic spaces of identity, rather than the market's formulaic and dominant spaces.

Maggie's legitimacy as a Portuguese speaker depends on who is doing the defining and in which market. Her "broken" Portuguese, her "Azorean" accent, her code-switching into portinglês and her preference to speak English do not position her as a legitimate speaker in most dominant spaces. In the margins of the Portuguese market, however, Maggie has some room to capitalize on her stigmatized linguistic capital. For example, it is a way of being solidary with other second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth who do not speak Portuguese fluently. Moreover, code-switching can be a way of affirming her multiple identities, and her *Rabo de Peixe* accent can be a way affirming her Azorean Portuguese authenticity in situated cases of resistance.

While Maggie may not be positioned as a legitimate speaker in the dominant market, she knows the dominant discourse well enough that she can position herself and her linguistic capital as more legitimate than others if they somehow defy the norm. Thus, someone who is marginalized by the dominant discourse can also use it to marginalize others and earn at least symbolic capital in the market, without erasing her original marginality. This process results in the reproduction of power and marginality. Maggie's critique of *portinglês* and of the Portuguese spoken in *Rabo de Peixe* can be read as efforts to align herself closer to the dominant ideal of legitimate Portuguese speakers and the resources available to them. Furthermore, Maggie's positioning of Brazil and Brazilian Portuguese within the sphere of Portugal's influence allows her to be seen shedding her azoreanness and affirming a standard portugueseness, even if she finds Brazilianness to be more fun and less imposing than traditional (colonial) portugueseness.

6.3 Maggie's cultural capital: In the market for portugueseness?

This section builds on Maggie's linguistic capital and her sociolinguistic habitus in order to understand what kind of Portuguese cultural capital she can mobilize, where and why.

6.3.1 Where does Maggie get involved in the Portuguese market?

In the following subsections we will explore the few public spaces in which Maggie participates in performances of portugueseness. Of particular interest is how she went from being someone who did not get publicly involved in Portuguese-related activities or associations - apart from some religious festivities associated with her family's azoreanness - to someone who assumed a position of leadership in a Portuguese university student association (PUSA1) and a national Portuguese advocacy group. In these spaces we will see how and why she challenged or reproduced the dominant ideologies of Portuguese language and identity and mobilized her cultural capital.

6.3.1.1 Portuguese University Student Association 1 (PUSA1)

When I asked Maggie to tell me the story of her involvement with PUSA1, she began by explaining why she initially thought she would never join a cultural association, let alone become one of its leaders. In high school, she had nothing to do with the "Portuguese Club" because its main focus was organizing a folklore dance group for a school event known as "Multicultural night". Such a traditional and predictable cultural performance presented an unappealing, old-fashioned and stereotypical image of portugueseness, which she felt celebrated Mainland Portugal more than the Azores. Furthermore, it did not reflect her vision of what Toronto's Portuguese community should/could be. In her first year at university, Maggie did not go out of her way to associate with the Portuguese association there either. In fact, it went looking for her. One of her best friends, Raquel, dragged her out to the club's Halloween party; it was there that Maggie first realized that youth-driven cultural associations could do more than just reproduce traditional images of Portugal. The goal of the PUSA1, as she understood it, was, firstly, to create a space where university students with a common culture or background could socialize in a supportive atmosphere and, secondly, to encourage the social development of the broader Portuguese community. At the request of her friend Raquel and motivated to bring about some form of youth-driven social development into the structure of the Portuguese community, Maggie ran for one of the empty positions on the club's executive and won by acclamation. This leadership position marked a personal shift from, in her words, "someone who didn't really care

a whole lot about the community," especially the institutionalized part of it, to "a crusader for the promotion of education in the community". The club gave Maggie a legitimate space in which to challenge the dominant discourses of portugueseness toward maintaining and preserving the status quo, and to do so with a group of people with whom she could identify: second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. ¹⁰

As a result of Maggie's work as a youth "leader", she became more easily identifiable by people in the Portuguese-Canadian community. For example, she was targeted by and eventually joined a national Portuguese-Canadian advocacy organization in order to help promote social justice causes in the "community" including community outreach, social inclusion, education, equity, civic participation, crime prevention, etc. ¹¹ In addition to sharing several of these social values, Maggie agreed to join this national advocacy group because it did not have any overt cultural agenda to promote a particular kind of portugueseness nor did it try to delegitimize her linguistic and cultural habitus. Furthermore, this middle-class, political organization operated mostly in English (occasionally in French and Portuguese) and she felt that her education and gender posed no threat either. Another site where Maggie felt comfortable publicly performing portugueseness in Toronto was in the space created by Portuguese soccer celebrations.

6.3.1.2 Portuguese soccer celebrations

Although Maggie was generally averse to public performances of traditional portugueseness, she had no problem adorning herself with the colours and symbols of Portugal in support of the national soccer team's bid to win the 2006 World Cup. By publicly marking her body in such a way, Maggie could show off her Portuguese "pride" alongside thousands of others in Toronto without having to rely much on her Portuguese linguistic or cultural capital for legitimacy. The fact that one of the star players on the team that year was an Azorean, from São Miguel, gave her something more to cheer for. But Maggie's allegiance to the Portuguese national team was not shaken by any regional question or by any debate over whether or not to allow players from former Portuguese colonies like Brazil, Mozambique or Angola. Constructed as a battle of Portugal versus the world, Maggie positioned herself squarely in Portugal's corner. So much so, in fact, that her loyalty to the Portuguese national team remained unwavering even

¹⁰ More information on PUSA1, its history, its events, its vision as a youth group and Maggie's involvement in it is available in Chapter 7, section 7.3.1.

¹¹ M: I've gone to / I mean <u>so</u> many meetings on everything from education to / you know police services meetings where um we [the Portuguese-Canadian community] are now considered to be a "problem community" as far as the Toronto Police are concerned [...] there was / quite a bit of concern actually that / we're moving from being kind of low-level drug dealers to to crime lords now / and that we could start our own gangs

when Portugal was eliminated, unlike many other Portuguese-Canadians who normally throw their support behind Brazil, their Portuguese-speaking "cousins" and arguably the best soccer team in the world. Maggie affirmed her portugueseness by cheering only for Portugal and by chastising those who switch jerseys or national allegiances.

M: I can't stand it when Brazil wins and everyone is like "Hey Brazil!" you know / "we're all Brazilian!" / you cheer for <u>your</u> national team / the end dammit! / [slams her fist on the table] you don't switch jerseys!

Considering Maggie's multiple identities – Azorean, Portuguese, Canadian, Portuguese-Canadian, etc. – and her willingness to recognize diversity, it is interesting to see her take such an uncompromising view of people identifying themselves with more than one national soccer team. This shows the reach of the (homogenizing and reductionist) nationalist dominant discourse, especially through the passion and drama of sport and it also shows her ability to perform a Portuguese national identity even though her identity is marginalized in many other spaces of the Portuguese-Canadian market. The last space in which Maggie publicly performs portugueseness is one structured by the Catholic church and one which is tied to her azoreanness.

6.3.1.3 Church and the feast of the *Espírito Santo*

A space in which Maggie both contested and reproduced the dominant discourse of portugueseness was in the Catholic Church and, more specifically, in religious celebrations that also served as Azorean cultural festivities. During my fieldwork, I observed her and some of her friends participate in the week-long celebrations of the Feast of the Holy Spirit (*a Festa do Divino Espírito Santo*). Why did a critical young feminist willingly attend prayer meetings in Portuguese with older church-goers? Why did she help prepare and distribute food to Portuguese (Azorean) parishioners' homes on a Saturday morning in the summer? Why did she walk in a religious procession through some of Toronto's downtown city streets dressed in a white gown? Very little of this was done out of religious devotion. Instead it was done to honour the religious devotion of her grandparents and parents, to affirm her (and their) azoreanness, to do some community service and to be seen as a good parishioner who had participated several times before and as a good Portuguese-Canadian who was in touch with her Portuguese (Azorean) roots. Furthermore, in 2006 Maggie participated in all these religious events as a way of challenging the traditional core of church-goers who resisted the appointment of the festival

¹² In Toronto, this strategic shift in nationalist and linguistic allegiances is behind a popular joke, often told by Italians, about Portuguese fans every four years for the World Cup: "What do Portuguese people become every four years? Brazilian!"

organizers because they were not a married couple, as had previously been the tradition for festival organizers. Since Maggie wanted the festival to be a success, in order to prove this conservative elite wrong, she did everything she could to help. I tagged along for the ride, including the delivery of *pensões* (a special collection of meat, wine, sweetbread and cornbread) to Azorean households across the city, in order to see what kind of linguistic and cultural capital was required to participate. I was also interested to see how the event was constructed as Portuguese or Azorean.

The tradition behind the entire feast dates back some 700 years when, in a time of great famine, Queen Isabella gave all that she had to help her starving people. She made a promise to the Holy Spirit that she would give the Church her crown if by some miracle the people could be fed. It is said that two ships of cattle and wheat arrived shortly thereafter, and ever since the feast of the Holy Spirit has been celebrated with, among other things, the distribution of blessed meat, bread and wine to raise money for poor people in the area and for the local church.

My adventure into this celebrated aspect of Azorean culture as a "Mainland" Portuguese outsider began at 8:30am on a crisp Saturday morning in June. As I walked toward the church I expected to see different symbols of azoreanness including, for example, some Azorean flags. What I found was a wide array of elaborate decorations in a street fair atmosphere, with few overtly Azorean nationalist (regionalist) symbols. The street beside the church was lined with Portuguese and Canadian flags marking the legitimized transnationalism of the space. The only symbols related to azoreanness were some of the decorations adorning the walls of the church and on the wooden pillars that supported the flags: windmills, waves, anchors, stars, crowns and doves.¹³

As the volunteers for delivering the *pensões* were being divided into groups, I was assigned to a group with Maggie's friend Raquel and a young man named Mike who, like Raquel, was in his early twenties and of Azorean descent. Since I was with two other young people, I was glad that there would be no pressure to speak to each other in Portuguese. As far as interacting in Portuguese with the parishioners (customers) along the delivery route, I was confident that Raquel would be happy to handle things with her fluent (Azorean) Portuguese. This meant that my Continental Portuguese habitus and I would be spared from performing an unexpected kind of portugueseness. I was certainly not going to lie or fake an Azorean "accent"

¹³ In this case, windmills refer to Azorean agriculture, waves and anchors to maritime life, stars to the Azorean flag, while crowns and doves refer to the cultural and religious features of the Feast of the Holy Spirit.

in an attempt to fit in. Ultimately, I was prepared to speak Portuguese if, and only if, I was spoken to in Portuguese. Otherwise, instead of relying on my linguistic capital, I was prepared to draw from my cultural capital in order to legitimize my presence as non-Azorean: I am sensitive to Azorean history and culture; my wife is of Azorean descent, her family hails from *Ajuda da Bretanha* (São Miguel), and I was going to travel with her to the Azores that summer.

Along the delivery route things ran smoothly. The interactions with the parishioners were very structured and since I never spoke in Portuguese I did not have to list my Azorean credentials to legitimize my Mainlanderness. When we had located the address we were looking for, we each exited the van with something in hand: Mike took the meat, I took the wine and the cornbread, while Raquel took the sweetbread and a silver platter with a red cloth and a dove on it (the representation of the Holy Spirit). As we approached the door Raquel would take the lead. If the person who answered the door spoke in Portuguese, then Raquel was the first to reply – also in Portuguese. If the person spoke in English, then either Mike or Raquel would reply in English. If we were the ones initiating the conversation (with apartment buzzers, etc.), Raquel spoke in Portuguese first and then in English if necessary. Curious to know if there was any kind of language preparation given to the volunteers (i.e. a script to follow, certain key words), I asked Mike and Raquel about the language skills required to do this job. Mike laughed and explained that there was no formal training, but he admitted that being able to speak Portuguese was an issue and that while his language skills were passable, he was much happier to do the driving than the speaking. Raquel, the designated speaker, reassured him that his Portuguese was fine, just like she reassures Maggie:

E: so hopefully there's usually someone in the van that speaks Portuguese / huh?

Mk: that's -- the thing!

R: -- yeah / but you do / you're fine [to Mike]

Mk: yeah / I can speak [almost whispered] // good enough to manage to say XX

R: but you're ok especially considering like both your parents speak perfect English

This section illustrated how Maggie's participation in the Azorean feast of the *Espírito Santo* allows her to legitimately participate in the dominant Portuguese market. Similarly, her involvement in a university Portuguese student association, in a national Portuguese-Canadian advocacy organization and in soccer celebrations suggests that there are spaces in the market where people with delegitimized Portuguese habitus can participate. These spaces, however, are somewhat marginalized from the dominant institutions that make up the traditional core of Toronto's Portuguese market because they are less directly involved in dominant constructions of portugueseness. As we have seen earlier, religious spaces are interesting because they appear

to be dominated by Azoreans rather than Mainlanders which allows them to construct azoreanness and to challenge the imagined homogeneity of the Portuguese market. While Portuguese student associations and the national advocacy group are also public performances of portugueseness, they are not as invested in the business of dominant ethnolinguistic celebration as are the ethno-cultural associations that structure the market. Lastly, although the soccer street party celebrations are public performances of a certain kind of dominant portugueseness, they are also more anonymous and variable than traditionally recognized celebrations of portugueseness in Portuguese language classes or in ethno-cultural associations.

6.3.2 What factors limit Maggie's involvement? What are the constraints?

Having seen, in section 6.2, how Maggie's linguistic capital was marginalized, and then, in the previous section, how she was still able to perform some form of portugueseness and azoreanness in specific spaces, the next section examines some of the constraints that limit her involvement in other Portuguese spaces. These constraints are based not only on her linguistic, cultural and class habitus, but also on the habitus of Toronto's Portuguese market which has been reluctant to empower young people to introduce different ideas of portugueseness.

6.3.2.1 Little space and voice for youth

One of the constraints that limits Maggie's involvement in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community is the lack of decision-making power given to young people in the traditional organizations that produce the dominant discourse of what it means to be Portuguese. While this lack of youth inclusion may be true of many organizations in general, it is particularly telling in Toronto's Portuguese market because the market's production and its institutions are discursively legitimated as being for the younger generations. Yet the youth are largely absent. Whether it is with the planning and implementation of a religious festival like the Feast of the Holy Spirit, or the executive committee of the *Casa do* ______ (fill in the blank with region of Portugal), the airwaves of Portuguese radio stations, or the chalkboards of Portuguese language classrooms, Maggie finds that the community elite is afraid of the potential changes that second-generation Portuguese-Canadians could slowly bring to long-standing traditions. When Maggie looks to the Azores as her cultural point of reference, she sees a model of cultural production where community leaders there entrust their youth with leadership positions and let them organize important festivals, even if that means some traditions are modified or lost. Yet, one of the differences between the Azores and diasporic spaces like Toronto is that in the latter the

dominant discourse on portugueseness /azoreanness fights for the preservation and maintenance of cultural traditions as a way of validating the minority community's presence. These traditions and the spaces in which they get (re)produced have very rigid structures that have been in place for decades and are very slow to change in order to protect the positions of power and the ethnoclass structure that the market creates within Canadian society. Doing away with tradition altogether – which is what Maggie suggests out of desperation ("Why don't we just go with no tradition? The end!") in response to my question about what it will take to get youth to participate – is not likely as long as the market, with its power and resources, continues to be structured the same way it has been for years.

Most of the institutions that organize the community's cultural performances had very exclusionary beginnings, when women and young people were not allowed to participate and in some cases membership was only granted to men from certain regions of Portugal. Only recently have Portuguese-Canadian cultural associations, for example, elected women to real positions of leadership or given young people roles beyond symbolic tokenism. Another exclusionary measure was the implementation of "Portuguese-only" language policies in these spaces which makes it difficult still today for most average Portuguese-Canadian youth in Toronto to participate fully in a meeting or event because their bilingualism is not recognized.

The young Portuguese-Canadians that are most often seen or heard by a Portuguese public are those who can perform "legitimate" acts of portugueseness (i.e. speak standard Portuguese in a television interview, sing traditional Portuguese songs or dance in a folklore group on stage at a cultural event, walk in a religious procession, cheer for a Portuguese sports team, etc.).

6.3.2.2 An invisible community with (in)visible problems

In addition to the limited voice that Portuguese-Canadian youth are given in their ethnic "community", another factor that may limit their participation is a general lack of prestige or social capital associated with the Portuguese community (and with being Portuguese) in Toronto or in Canada more broadly. In Maggie's opinion, the Portuguese-Canadian community does not do enough to promote and celebrate itself in a way that attracts meaningful attention from the Canadian media – something which the Italian-Canadian community, by contrast, has been able

to do for decades.¹⁴ Compared to the Portuguese, the Italian community has a much higher number of publicly visible athletes, actors, politicians, entrepreneurs, professionals and academics in Canada. This is why Maggie finds that the Portuguese community is somewhat "invisible" to the mainstream Canadian consciousness.

The elite of the Portuguese community is not as well known as that of the Italian community, and so the vast majority of the Portuguese community is constructed as working class. Subsequently, when the Canadian media does focus on the Portuguese community, it is normally related to problems related to their working class status (e.g. the deportation of construction workers and the academic underachievement in Toronto's inner-city schools). This reinforces the stereotypes that the Portuguese are known and good for their manual labour, their cuisine, their religiosity, their folklore and musical performances, their sports bars and soccer celebrations. While many of these stereotypes also apply to the Italian community, I would argue that the socio-economic mobility of many Italian-Canadians has raised the profile and the class habitus of the ethnolinguistic community as a whole (see Iacovetta 1993 and Harney 1998 for more information on Italian-Canadian demography, migration and socio-economic status).

Not only is the profile of the Portuguese community in Canada low, in Maggie's opinion, but so is Portugal's profile in the world and she argues the Portuguese-Canadian community has not done enough to promote its accomplishments on either scale:

M: We should be doing more! Say this is our mark in history [...] no one knows *Vasco da Gama / Luís de Camões / José Saramago /* the President of the European Union (*José Durão Barroso*) / we're not visible!

In terms of promoting the Portuguese community within Toronto, Maggie laments the relatively unrecognized success of the "Portugal Day" parade which draws tens of thousands of spectators and participants, but which garners little attention, if any, in the mainstream Canadian media. By contrast, for example, the "Taste of Little Italy" and the "Corso Italia Festival" are heavily mediatised events that raise the profile of the Italian community even if the participants in these festivals are very multicultural. In her opinion a large part of the reason why the Portuguese-Canadian community is largely "invisible" is out of fear of publicizing the social problems that plague it (and risk further ethno-cultural stigmatization). Problems like domestic

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¹⁴ By way of example, here are just three important accomplishments reached by the Italian-Canadian community. In 1984, three Italian-Canadian business families launched a specialty television channel (*Telelatino*) broadcasting primarily in Italian, but also in Spanish. In 1991, Frank Iacobucci was appointed to the Supreme Court of Canada. In 2007, a group of Italian-Canadian entrepreneurs donated \$10 million to the Art Gallery of Ontario and created *Galleria Italia*. The only similar accomplishment in the Portuguese-Canadian community came in 2001 with the launch of a Portuguese specialty channel (*Festival Portuguese TV*), almost twenty years after its Italian counterpart.

abuse, alcoholism, substance abuse, crime and academic underachievement, for example, continue to persist. Ignoring these problems, or not addressing them openly and directly, prevents Portuguese-Canadians like Maggie from being unabashedly proud of her ethnic community ("I'm not ashamed to say I'm Portuguese, but...[shrugging her shoulders and tilting her head]").

In all of her volunteer work within the "community" (where she supported improvements in education, equity and civic participation with the PUSA1 and the Portuguese-Canadian national advocacy group), Maggie's goal was to take a proactive stance – and a provocative one if necessary – to address fundamental social problems. Unfortunately, she felt as though her community involvement brought about little or no positive change. In fact, she felt that her concerns were largely ignored or portrayed as being "anti-Portuguese" because her Canadian intellectual capital overshadowed her Portuguese cultural capital.

6.3.2.3 Anti-intellectualism and ethno-class dynamics

One of the largest constraints against which Maggie struggled within Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community was the negative perception of herself as an intellectual: someone who wanted to work with her head instead of with her hands and who was not afraid of asking questions or challenging traditional authority. This perception, which Maggie identifies as "anti-intellectualism", is by no means confined to the Portuguese community. But it is fostered by the community's position in the ethno-class structure of Canadian society which has historically positioned the Portuguese as working-class. This perception of anti-intellectualism is also part of the peasant/working-class habitus in Portugal which has been exploited by the unequal power relations of the ruling classes over the centuries.

In mainstream Portuguese culture there has traditionally been an uneasiness with the educated (ruling) elite that was heightened by Salazar's fascist regime which reinforced a socially and class stratified society: large rural regions vs. small urban centres; lower-working class vs. upper class, less-educated vs. well-educated, etc. In a country where public access to (higher) education was limited for centuries, those who were able to complete a high level of formal schooling (three or four years of college or university) or who have secured a high position of employment are distinguished discursively by an honorific term of address: *Senhor Doutor* or *Senhora Doutora* (Mister Doctor or Miss Doctor, without being "real" doctors). As the *senhores doutores* formed the ruling class and a closed elite, it is not surprising that their special

title quickly assumed negative connotations (i.e. arrogance, contempt, pride, power, oppression) among the rest of the population. Among the common people, being a labourer or just a hard worker was looked upon sympathetically and respectfully as authentic and honest. Higher education, on the other hand, was seen as something restricted to the *doutores* and not for common people.

Increased access to education, and subsequently a better life for their children, was one of the fundamental reasons why so many Portuguese (like other people) immigrated to Canada. Yet through my fieldwork and life experience, I have noticed a small, but significant, negative ideology associated with being highly educated within the Portuguese-Canadian market: an antiintellectual backlash that relates back to the oppression suffered at the hands of the senhores doutores in Portugal but one that could have some impact on oppression suffered in Canada. I believe there is a fear that a college or university degree may bring with it a sense of entitlement and power over the majority of the community which is without one; children will surpass their parents, canadianness will surpass portugueseness, upper class will surpass the working class, etc. Maggie's mother, for example, criticizes people who have "BAs in bullshit and MAs but no mannerisms [sic. manners]." Be it in jest or as a veiled attack, academic success is often disparagingly dismissed as being pretentious, as a sign of laziness, a fear of working, a lack of ethno-class solidarity, a lack of responsibility, or even as an avoidance of gendered "duties" (i.e. getting married, having children). In a sense, being highly educated may be constructed, by those who defend working-class, traditional markets and networks, as contrary to the traditional values and social realities of how they define being Portuguese-Canadian in Toronto. Maggie sees this general attitude as a lack of respect:

M: I'm getting increasingly frustrated by the lack of respect for intellectuals in the Portuguese community / I get told all the time I'm basically a lazy cow

Views like these are surely changing, but they have endured since the Portuguese first started working in Canada which suggests that perhaps it has been productive for the "host" society. Since the general shift in immigration and economic policy has been to accept the most qualified and well educated immigrants to meet the demands of the globalized knowledge-based new economy, the Canadian state has to meet its demand of working-class positions from those who are already in the country and the historically working-class Portuguese community is just one group to draw from along ethno-class divisions.

The division between class, formal education and ethnicity, which Maggie associates with the anti-intellectualism that she has experienced, is also experienced by Portuguese-Canadian organizations, like the national advocacy group. While this organization does considerable work on social and political issues facing the Portuguese-Canadian community, Maggie finds that there is a general disconnect between the organization and the larger community. This disconnect is likely due to the structure of the Portuguese market which supports ethno-cultural associations that try to maintain a homogeneous, unified community through cultural celebration, rather than supporting organizations that promote integration into Canadian society and the resolution of problems that arise from that messy social process. Maggie believes that the national advocacy group is too academic, too well educated and not "traditionally" Portuguese enough to be relevant to the average Portuguese-Canadian. In fact, she draws a parallel between her Portuguese-Canadian identity and the advocacy group's "intellectualism" and "atypical Portugueseness": "They're Portuguese in the sense that I am. We're not ghetto, we hold ourselves to a different standard." That standard is one of continual self-improvement which Maggie believes is held back by a ghettoized fear of critical reflexivity and of change.

6.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine how Maggie and some of the members of her social network negotiate with and navigate through the complex web of discourses and resources associated with portugueseness in Toronto's Portuguese market. More than just an interesting mapping of sociolinguistic trajectories that are multiple, flexible and contradictory, the point of this chapter was to learn what Maggie's experiences tell us about the construction of the dominant discourse and the conditions that (re)produce it. What her experiences reveal is, on the one hand, the constraining structure of the Portuguese market, wherein certain people are excluded from the dominant institutions because of their delegitimized habitus, and, on the other hand, the limited possibility for agency in the market's marginal spaces.

With regards to the structure of the market, we see that Maggie, like the people in her social network, does not have easy access to the dominant institutions of portugueseness because of her delegitimized linguistic and cultural habitus. Institutions such as the Portuguese consulate, Portuguese cultural associations, Portuguese schools and Portuguese ethnic media, among others, have been fundamental in defining what it means to be a "good" Portuguese person – in the context of Portuguese diasporic nationalism, Canadian multiculturalism and ethno-class relations

in Canadian society. Yet Maggie's Azoreanness, her limited Portuguese language skills, her gender, her social-justice informed education and her social mobility or class status made it difficult for her, in one way or another, to position herself in a market that has traditionally been Mainlander, monolingually Portuguese, male-driven, conservatively traditional, undereducated and working-class.

The linguistic discrimination that Maggie faces because of her "Azorean" Portuguese in the Portuguese language class and at the Portuguese consulate, to list just two of the more powerful examples, position her as a deficient speaker and as a deviant Portuguese-Canadian. It also reveals an internal boundary-making process that is largely ignored in the name of community solidarity, ethnolinguistic maintenance and Portuguese nationalism.

The "anti-intellectualism" and ethno-class dynamics that Maggie faces in the public Portuguese (Azorean) space she frequents most often – the church – positions her as not being "legitimately" Portuguese and as trying to be better than her working-class compatriots. In this case, and in other dominant Portuguese spaces as well, her preferred use of English, her critical feminist education, her concern for social justice and inclusion rather than celebrations of a folklorized past, and even her reluctance to date Portuguese-Canadian young men are perceived to be threats to the traditional, working-class market and to ethnic solidarity.

This anti-intellectual and ethno-class lens brings to light an important difference in the way that Maggie and Pat are positioned in the Portuguese market. Both of them are Canadian-born, university educated, fluent English speaking women trying to get involved in the Portuguese-Canadian community but who avoid dating "hard-core" (working-class) Portuguese-Canadian young men. Compared to Pat and the dominant discourse of portugueseness, Maggie's Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital is seen as deficient and her stigmatized Azorean habitus plays a big part in her being marginalized from the dominant spaces of portugueseness. Against this backdrop, Maggie's investment in university education and her efforts to participate and be recognized within the dominant (Mainland) Portuguese market can be seen as an attempt to reach beyond her marginalized Azorean positioning and challenge the relations of power. Pat's investment in university education, on the other hand, reinforces her dominant positioning within Portuguese market because she studied Portuguese and because her linguistic and cultural Mainland Portuguese capital is already legitimized by the dominant discourse.

These ethnolinguistic divisions also need to be understood against the backdrop of ethnoclass divisions in Canadian working-class society. The working-class habitus of Maggie's family and social network constrains her socio-economic mobility, at least with regards to the dominant institutions of portugueseness (from which they are largely excluded), insofar as "bettering herself", as she puts it, is understood by her working-class Portuguese-Canadian peers as "her being better than them". In this case, ethnic solidarity reproduces class solidarity and marginality. For Pat, whose parents are in the same upper working-class bracket as Maggie's parents, her ethno-class habitus is greater than Maggie's because she has access to the institutions of power within the Portuguese market thanks to her sociolinguistic capital. Since the Portuguese spaces that Pat frequents have more class and ethnic prestige than the ones that Maggie frequents, Pat's formal education adds to that prestige and to her position of power within a market where ethnolinguistic resources have value.

The space within Toronto's institutionalized Portuguese market where Maggie's ethnolinguistic (Azorean) resources have the most recognizable, but still constrained value is the church. In a sense, Maggie's experiences in the Portuguese-Canadian community show us that there are spaces for people without legitimized Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital to perform portugueseness in the market, even though she is somewhat marginalized in this ethnoreligious setting as well. Catholic church celebrations are themselves somewhat marginalized from the dominant (Mainland) sites and performances of portugueseness, as seen above, but they do offer some agency for an Azorean elite to construct its azoreanness. Through religious processions, marching bands and festivals, which are dominated by Azoreans and represent a division within Toronto's Portuguese market, people like Maggie, who feel marginalized in other dominant (Mainland) Portuguese spaces, have the chance to perform portugueseness that can be legitimately recognized by the market.

The other Portuguese spaces where Maggie is able to mobilize her Portuguese habitus include a student association, a national (political) advocacy group and soccer celebrations. Each of these spaces is recognized by the Portuguese market, but since they challenge some of the legitimized ways of constructing portugueseness (i.e. by using English, by empowering young people, by encouraging new forms of portugueseness or questioning old ones, by including a diversity of people) these spaces are somewhat marginalized. In the following chapter, Maggie's experiences in her university's Portuguese student association will be explored in greater detail in order to see what kind of portugueseness she helped produce and to see how that production was recognized by the dominant Portuguese market.

Maggie's participation in these spaces, as marginal as they may be, also reveals that it is possible to challenge the dominant discourse and gain symbolic and material capital, especially a capital of distinction. She has built a habitus of difference and defiance that she developed with her family and friends, especially her mother Connie and her friend Raquel, who have helped her affirm the authenticity and the anti-standard of her Rabo-de-Peixe-ness. With this habitus, Maggie is willing to fight for a place in the market that marginalizes her because she knows that a) she has a legitimate and nationalist right to affirm portugueseness through her azoreanness, and that b) she has sufficient capital in other markets that if she "loses" in the Portuguese market she still has her network of Portuguese family and friends and different Canadian markets. This is not, however, a fight that must be intense forever and we have heard how her frustrations with being marginalized make her want to leave or just "piss" on her community some days. Yet, Maggie's efforts to break into the Portuguese market are useful for her at this point in her life as she transitions from university to the workplace, and where her portugueseness (and in particular any kind of leadership position she was able to secure) may strengthen her job applications with an example of leadership, ethnic diversity or community service, for instance. What she stands to gain if she "wins" a spot in the Portuguese market is the symbolic capital of knowing that she has defied the dominant discourse that marks her as deviant. And, in fact, she already has.

In the following chapter, the consequences of challenging, resisting and reproducing the dominant discourses of portugueseness, especially for second-generation Azorean-Canadians, will be explored more thoroughly. The critical ethnographic cases that will be presented will help reveal a fuller contextualization of identity and language as situated performances in specific markets in response to constraints that limit a person's access to symbolic and material resources.

Chapter 7

Consequences of resisting and challenging the market's dominant portugueseness

7.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore several areas of discursive struggle surrounding negative ideologies of language and identity (and the resources that they control) and also to examine the consequences of these struggles for those who try and invest in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market. Continuing in the line of research questions that examine how and why the dominant discourse is constructed and then how it positions people, the discussion below will answer the following question: What are the possibilities for agency in an ethnolinguistic market that naturalizes the positions of power associated to a certain habitus and ignores processes of exclusion, marginalization and symbolic domination all in the name of fake homogeneity? In order to answer this question, this chapter will explore three illustrations of how the dominant discourse of portugueseness was confronted and what the consequences were for those involved.

Some of these tensions emerged in chapters 5 and 6 in the ethnographic case studies of Pat and Maggie's sociolinguistic trajectories through situated discursive spaces. Pat and Maggie return in this chapter as key actors in spaces where I think there is some flexibility to deconstruct and reconstruct the dominant discourse: the Portuguese university student associations (PUSAs). Their investment in these spaces represents one of the few times where their trajectories through Toronto's Portuguese market converge, despite their considerably different habitus. Since both of them are invested in a certain social mobility through a university education, participating as a PUSA leader represents a potential for capital of distinction not only in the Portuguese market, but also in competing with different segments of the mainstream Canadian market for recognition in which cultural differences are capital.

The public performances of portugueseness put on by each of the PUSAs are the focus of section 7.3 below. They reveal the discursive and material struggles of reproducing and contesting the dominant discourse and they also reveal the consequences on the positioning of the main social actors involved. Following the same theme, section 7.2 examines one of the most remarkable confrontations of sociolinguistic ideologies that I observed during my fieldwork: a

young woman who spoke in Brazilian-Portuguese about the symbolic domination of Azoreans in Toronto's Portuguese community while at a public conference on "Strategies of Cultural Survival" held in a Portuguese cultural association. But this chapter begins with a combination of an interview and ethnographic data that examine the absence and the silencing of second-generation Azorean-Canadians from public performances of portugueseness (in section 7.1). The interview is with a young woman of Mainland Portuguese descent who explains her views of why Azoreans are largely absent from Portuguese-language schools and why many of them are reluctant to speak Portuguese in public. The complementary ethnographic data comes from my wife, herself of Azorean descent, and her experiences with regards to Portuguese school and her reluctance to speak Portuguese in my parents' home.

The complicated sociolinguistic cases that are presented in this chapter will help us rethink, in the conclusion to this dissertation, why Toronto's Portuguese market is structured the way that it is, and the consequences that this structuration has on members whose languages and identities are not legitimized. The result is a distinction between Azoreans and Mainlanders, but a distinction of two parts that make up the same market. Partners who are in conflict over legitimate constructions of portugueseness, but who still need each other to some extent. The three cases presented below examine some of the consequences of these conflicts.

7.1 Absence/Silence: Where are Azorean youth? Why don't they speak?

This section, like those that follow, explores some of the discursive struggles facing second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, and particularly those of Azorean descent, as far as legitimate performances of Portuguese language, culture and identity are concerned. As we have seen throughout this thesis, I argue that azoreanness is delegitimized by the dominant discourse of portugueseness in Toronto's Portuguese market. It has long been taboo to speak openly about the "Azorean-Continental divide", as I call it, because doing so destabilizes the homogenizing, national ethno-linguistic ideology that all Portuguese are united and equal as one people, with one language and one history. Destabilizing that ideology also means challenging the symbolic and material structure that produces it: from the diasporic *pátria*'s out-stretched hand in Lisbon, to the political and economic structuration of society along ethnic lines in Canada, to the hierarchy of Portuguese cultural institutions in Toronto's community. All of those agents are involved to some extent in the discursive spaces problematized below, including, of course, the Portuguese-language school which is where I turn to next.

Julia Fonseca was one of my discursive guides into the market of Portuguese-language schools. In chapter 4, we saw how she mobilized her dominant linguistic capital at work in a local business that served a primarily Portuguese-speaking clientele and where she competed over lusophone legitimacy with her Angolan co-workers. Julia was a secondary participant in my study and when we met at her university she was in her early twenties. Born in Toronto to parents who emigrated from (Northern) Mainland Portugal, she grew up speaking Portuguese at home and today she speaks the standard (Mainland) variety fluently with family, friends and co-workers. Julia's performances of portugueseness are almost without reproach because she is in line with the dominant discourse. Her friends describe her as being "soooo Portuguese!" She participates actively in the community's ethnolinguistic spaces; she celebrates Portuguese culture, music, religious ceremonies and more. Her father runs a business that serves the Portuguese community and, almost every summer, she travels with her family to Mainland Portugal, where her parents often talk about returning.

For eleven years, Julia studied Portuguese language, literature, history and geography in a cultural association's "Portuguese school" before enrolling in Portuguese courses at university. Reflecting on the advanced and specialized education she earned in Portuguese, she proudly pointed out to me that what she learned in "Portuguese school" was "what the Portuguese system in Portugal teaches its students." This considerable investment in portugueseness gives Julia symbolic and material capital over the majority of her Portuguese-Canadian peers who have a less scholarly view of Portuguese language and culture.

Based on her experiences in Portuguese-language classrooms and Portuguese cultural spaces, Julia was ideally positioned to help me understand something that I had observed: why are second-generation Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean descent not very visible, or audible, in the dominant spaces of Toronto's Portuguese market where legitimized Portuguese language and identity are produced? In the following excerpt, Julia reflects on why there were no Azorean students in any of her Portuguese-language classes:

J: it was surprising and actually my [Portuguese-language] teacher made a comment about how [...] she had been teaching there for 20 years and she said she might have had maybe one or two / and we actually discussed how / um / the Portuguese from the Continent seem a lot more prou:d in a sense? / to to speak their language in public or at home or encourage, um, their children to keep the language alive [...] like maybe a Continental person would be / um you know / "our language is beautiful it's very important" / "you should learn it!" / "'cuz it is part of who you are!" [...] and maybe it's because of the accent (rising intonation) I'm not sure ([nervous?] laugh) that [Azoreans] hide it? (emphasis added)

Julia explains the absence of Azoreans as a personal choice and a matter of pride. Continentals seem to view Portuguese in a positive light, whereas Azoreans, because of their "bad" accent, choose to hide their Portuguese and not speak it in public, nor send their children to Portuguese school. This reasoning infuriates many Continentals who see Azoreans as not doing their part in the nationalist and multiculturalist campaign to preserve the Portuguese language and identity. Julia goes on to assume the dominant discourse in the strong voice of a person from Mainland Portugal (emphasized in bold in the excerpt above) as she reproduces the most common arguments used to convince those of Portuguese descent who do not speak Portuguese (or are not proud to be heard speaking it in public): that the language is supposed to unite all Portuguese descendants, drawing them into a common fight to defend it ("our language"), that Portuguese is "beautiful" and "very important", and that the language is a part of them (whether they like it or not) and therefore should be learned. But whose language should be spoken or learned: "ours" or "yours"? Is it the standard (Mainland) Portuguese? Or the regional Portuguese ("Azorean" and other variants) passed down from one's parents? Furthermore, the ethnolinguistic and genetic ideology of "it's part of who you are" seems to delegitimize and even to "dehumanize" (Freire 1970) the Azoreans or whoever does not conform to the prescriptive model associated with Mainlanders and are somehow going against "nature" and "themselves". This delegitimization takes on various forms including stereotyping, mocking jokes and imitations, as Julia can attest in the excerpt below.

J: there's a lot of jokes 'n stereotypes too right? that it's / it's kind of a shame / 'cuz we're all the same / in a sense [...] Like my friend actually impersonates (rising intonation) / um (laugh) Azoreans / "Eh corisco! Speak real Portuguese!" [...] But it's just kinda like (laugh) well / they still are Portuguese and and I think that makes them feel even more like marginalized / and not wanna maybe associate with the Continentals

These various forms of subtle and blatant discrimination against Azoreans, and against the way that many of them speak, results in their marginalization and exclusion from Portuguese spaces that are often controlled by Mainlanders. Julia regrets this practice – although she does not condemn it outright – because it damages the supposedly unified image of community. She wants to believe that Azoreans "still <u>are</u> Portuguese" or that they are the "same" as Mainlanders, but she also realizes that they are not ("we're all the same, in a sense"). Thus, the idealized nationalistic homogeneity has its limits; linguistic difference is one such limit, another is regional difference.

Some of these limits are frequently reached during the youthfully exuberant and relatively unstructured nationalistic celebrations in the streets of Toronto's "Little Portugal" and

beyond following a Portuguese soccer victory (unstructured in the sense that the celebrations are not organized by any particular Portuguese organizations). The tension between how Mainlanders and Azoreans perform and celebrate their portugueseness often reaches a boiling point when Portuguese and Azorean flags are waved, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the unified Portuguese nation-state. Here is how Julia described it to me:

J: during the [soccer competition...] you'd see the uh Portugal flag and the Azorean (rising intonation) flag and / you would think they were two different identities because you know / "oh we have different dialects so" and "we're from the islands!" /and uh "and we're how many metres away from (laughs) kilometres away from Portugal?" / so I I find it really um / tsk / I dunno? (rising intonation) very // interesting actually

Here we see that Julia is reluctant to recognize an Azorean identity as being distinct from a Portuguese (or Mainland Portuguese) one. In fact, at the end of her thought, she cannot even comfortably verbalize how she feels, except for the intensity of the feeling ("really um... very...") but she has to settle for a generic and ambiguous adjective which deflects any explicit criticism: "interesting". In this excerpt we again hear Julia assume the voice of her interlocutor, this time an Azorean, whose arguments she mocks by speaking in a whiny tone and shaking her head exaggeratedly ("oh we have different dialects so") and with a false sense of bragging ("we're from the islands!"), as if to imply that linguistic and geographic differences are not enough to merit a distinct status (from a Mainlander's perspective). But the most cynical part of all comes when Julia tries to diminish the legitimate physical separation between the Azores and "Portugal" (not "Mainland" Portugal) by betraying her Azorean voice/identity and trying to measure the distance first in metres (until she laughs and realizes her mistake), then in kilometres. The distance is approximately 1600km, almost the same distance between Toronto and Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island or Toronto and Orlando, Florida.

Over the course of our hour-long discussion, Julia and I discussed many things besides the question of "Azoreans" being absent (or silenced) from Portuguese-speaking spaces, but she appeared to be so preoccupied by that question, and the difficulty in answering it, that she returned to it again at the very end of the interview, long after we had originally broached the subject.

- **J:** yeah but / oh / back I just wanted to answer the que- the uh // the Azorean thing (rising intonation) **E:** mhm
- J: um one of the / my [Azorean] friends that came from here [Toronto] and went there [mainland Portugal] for vacation [...] she would <u>not</u> speak Portuguese (rising intonation as if surprised) an' an' I'm like "Tonia you <u>know</u> how!" [...] um she's like "oh / I'm shy" an' an' you know
 E: yeah

J: we'd tell her like "there's no reason to be shy" [...] and they [the young people in Portugal] would be like / "we'll try to understand even if we don't" like you know? [...] but / she's really afraid of uh showing her accent an' afraid of sayin' something wrong / and being corrected an' all that stuff

Once again, Julia's hesitations and word choice illustrate just how difficult the topic of language ideologies is to discuss within the dominant discourse of portugueseness. Notice how she stopped herself from saying what I suspect was going to be "question" in "I just wanted to answer the que-" (a question which I never explicitly asked, and for which, of course, there is no easy answer) and how the resulting ambiguity left her with little choice but to use one of the most unspecific words: "thing" ("the uh / the Azorean thing"). The "thing" is that Julia was surprised that a friend of hers of Azorean descent who could speak some Portuguese, refused to speak it in Portugal, where she was expected by the dominant discourse to at least try. Julia stressed that there was no reason to be shy and that her friends in Portugal would try to understand her despite any mistakes she might make. After all, these young people in Mainland Portugal were not the ones who had mocked her Azorean accent in Toronto. But perhaps they shared a similar dominant linguistic and cultural habitus as those who made fun of her in Toronto. Ultimately, this attempt to accommodate or to tolerate a young Azorean speaker was not successful even though Julia knew that her friend had good reasons to be shy. Indeed, Julia had just explained to me earlier in our conversation how negative language ideologies have marginalized Azoreans. But by framing this last comment as the "answer" to the Azorean "thing" Julia wants to also emphasize that it was her friend's choice to be silent. It is almost as if she is trying to shift part of the "blame" of Azorean silence onto her Azorean friend and end our conversation with a defence of the dominant (Mainland) vision of portugueseness and the language pride that goes with it.

In the end, Julia's discourse exemplifies the complex and often contradictory constructions of language and identity in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market. In what preceded, we have seen how negative language ideologies - like those that claim that Azorean Portuguese is not "real" Portuguese - serve to exclude people and can make Azorean-Canadians not want to associate with the dominant (Mainland) Portuguese identity and language. While many Mainlanders, like Julia, can empathize with the hardships endured by Azoreans that have erased them from the dominant discursive image of Portugal and from many spaces where portugueseness gets defined and performed; many more people, like Julia again, resent the Azoreans' claims for any distinct status. Moreover, Julia's reflection on the absence of Azoreans in her cultural association's Portuguese language classes reveals that many of the institutions set

up to promote and maintain Portuguese language and culture are excluding members of the community and are reinforcing their systemic marginalization. Breaking this cycle of exclusion requires a sober confrontation with the negative ideologies of language and identity that have been naturalized for so long.

Everyone I spoke to for my thesis acknowledged the tensions and even the discrimination that exists between Mainlanders and Azoreans, but most did not want to elaborate on it because the topic is too taboo or sensitive. Engaging in that debate would likely confront the participant, and myself, with our own internalized negative ideologies and not everyone was comfortable with that. What everyone did agree on, however, is the fact that although Azoreans make up nearly 70% of the Portuguese-Canadian population in the Greater Toronto Area, they are largely absent from the community's Portuguese language classes and many of its dominant institutions. For more examples on the marginalization of Azoreans in my research, see Maggie's experiences with her Portuguese-language teacher, discussed in Chapter 6, or the experiences of her friend Sylvie who attends a high school with a large Portuguese population, or the multiple positionings of Pat's boyfriend Tim and those of my very own wife.

As I mentioned in my autobiographical profile above (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.7), my wife's Azoreanness and her limited proficiency in Portuguese brought the question of language ideologies and their consequences close to home. When my parents first met my wife (as my girlfriend at the time) they were ecstatic that I had found a nice "Portuguese" girl, with whom they felt completely at ease (as opposed to a non-Portuguese or "Canadian" girl with whom they would likely feel less at ease because she would probably know nothing about Portugal nor understand any Portuguese). Indeed, my wife could understand almost everything my parents said when they spoke in Portuguese, but she was not comfortable or able to respond in Portuguese or even in *portinglês*. Instead, my wife communicated with them almost exclusively in English. This did not deter my parents from a) speaking to her in Portuguese or accommodating her by speaking in *portingles* and from b) hoping that, sooner or later, she would reply in kind because they knew that, like Julia reminded her Azorean friend, my wife was able to speak some Portuguese. She just was not always willing. Consequently, the sociolinguistic waters at casa da Silva became more difficult to navigate when my parents, who grew increasingly comfortable with my wife, became comfortable enough to start critiquing her linguistic performances. Every so often, they corrected her Portuguese mistakes, commented on her ("Azorean") pronunciation, and asked her to translate things she had finished saying in

English into a língua de Camões. My parents meant well in trying to "give" my wife some symbolic capital, but being expected to conform to someone else's norm made her interactions with them tense. Unfortunately, I did not notice the tension from my position of linguistic privilege nor did I jump to the sociolinguistic defence of my wife (then girlfriend). When we broke up some time later, the pressure she felt from my parents to produce legitimate performances of portugueseness, and my inaction to address such pressure, were a couple of the reasons cited for our split. Subsequently, in my efforts to make things right, I felt compelled to draft a new language policy at home, or at least explain the rules of engagement as I saw them.

From my perspective, my parents were not maliciously policing my wife's Portuguese. Instead, they wanted to make her as much a part of the family as possible; since my parents always speak in Portuguese (or in *portinglês*) at home and since they knew she could speak/understand some Portuguese as well, they wanted to fully integrate her into our home. Yet, in doing so, they forced their dominant view of portugueseness on someone who was in a difficult position to negotiate any kind of compromise with them. Basically, my parents were not going to change who they were (my father, for example, cannot express himself comfortably in English) and they probably thought that my wife could change just a little bit in order to accommodate them. What I explained to my parents, however, was that there was no reason for anyone to "change", especially given the fact that my brother and I regularly respond in English (or in portinglês) at home when we are spoken to in Portuguese/portinglês. By (in)directly forcing my wife to perform to the standard Mainland Portuguese norm, they were unfairly imposing on her a norm that they no longer enforced on their own children. My proposed compromise was simple: they could speak to her in Portuguese (or in English, or portinglês, if they felt comfortable), and she could respond in English (or in Portuguese, or portinglês, if she felt comfortable). My parents' sociolinguistic puppeteering, which prompted my wife's defiant silence, stopped soon thereafter and everyone became more attentive to the other person's feelings. Consequently, my wife eventually became more comfortable speaking to my parents in Portuguese, despite the occasional mistake, and they appreciated her effort and stopped correcting her or insisting she speak Portuguese.

Another result of my wife's careful sociolinguistic negotiations with my parents is that her ("Azorean") Portuguese became a little bit more standardized (in terms of pronunciation) and her vocabulary increased. These changes did not go unnoticed by her Azorean family, especially those of the older generation. Many of her aunts and uncles, for example, playfully remarked

how her Portuguese had "improved" and how she was sounding more and more like "one of them", that is to say, like a Continental. As a result, she was positioning herself and being positioned by others differently.

7.1.1 Concluding remarks

These two examples reveal how the dominant discourse expects everyone of Portuguese descent to speak Portuguese and to willingly speak it publicly. In practice, however, that ideal is confronted by the reality of linguistic and cultural constraints that limit the possibility of individual agency. Julia's Azorean-Canadian friend and my Azorean-Canadian wife are able to speak some Portuguese, but they are very careful about where they speak it and with whom because they know that their sociolinguistic habitus is not up to the standards of the dominant discourse and they do not want to lose face. Julia does not have this problem because her Mainland Portuguese habitus positions her favourably in the Portuguese markets of Toronto and even Portugal. My habitus positions me favourably in my parents' mostly Portuguese/portinglês-speaking home and in Toronto's Portuguese market as well. My wife, by contrast, was positioned by my parents as a deficient speaker in need of a little sociolinguistic "rehabilitation".

My parents' home can be understood as a mini-market, within the larger Portuguese market, where they are the people in positions of power. My wife, who normally did not position herself or participate in Toronto's Portuguese market, was reinscribed into that market when she started dating me and met my parents in their home. There she was positioned by them as a Portuguese person and expected to act and speak like one because that is how they structured their home market. This kind of positioning and the performances it required was difficult for my wife because of her limited Portuguese linguistic and cultural capital. Unable to change the structure of my parents' home market or even to openly question their rules and their practices, my wife turned to silence.

In trying to understand the absence and the silence of many Azorean descendants from dominant Portuguese spaces, Julia argues that the reasons behind this have to do not only with the negative language ideologies of Mainlanders but also with Azoreans affirming their own difference. In her narrative, Julia begins by trying to position Mainlanders and Azoreans on equal footing, but she realizes that Azoreans are different: they are deficient Portuguese speakers ("because of the accent"), they are dominated by Mainlanders ("there's a lot of jokes 'n

stereotypes too [...] I think that makes them feel even more like marginalized") and they are defiant in their azoreanness ("you would think they were two different identities").

Questions of absence, silence, defiance and domination are explored further in the following section through another example of confronting normalized ideologies of language and identity and we see the consequences of this confrontation. How did an audience of first-generation Portuguese-Canadians at a Portuguese cultural association react to someone who sounded like an outsider to the "community" but who presented a critical perspective on how Azorean-Canadian youth are positioned by the dominant discourse because of the way they speak?

7.2 Erasure / Domination: A "Brazilian" speaking up for Azorean youth?

When one of the older Portuguese cultural associations in Toronto hosted a public conference on "Strategies for Cultural Survival" during the course of my fieldwork, I knew I had to be there in order to see, among other things, if and how questions of language and identity would be addressed. That evening, as was often the case with events of this nature, I was almost the only person in the audience under the age of forty. I took my seat towards the back of the hall in order to get a good view of the space and to avoid being filmed or photographed by the local ethnic media. I find that they like to capitalize on the presence of any young Portuguese-Canadian attending dominant Portuguese cultural events. Behind me was a bar where at least a dozen older, grey-haired men stood around chatting and drinking. In the rows ahead of me sat approximately thirty people, mostly women, in groups of two or more, many of whom greeted each other warmly. After watching some of the more elaborate greetings between people I recognized as part of the community's elite, my attention fell on a dark-haired young woman sitting alone in the middle of the room. From what I could tell, she looked to be in her early thirties. What was she doing there? Was she one of the guest speakers? Why was she not greeting anyone? Was she a researcher like me? My questions were answered at the end of a presentation highlighting the importance of education, and Portuguese language education in particular, as a vehicle for cultural survival. The presenter was a prominent Portuguese language teacher in the community, also in her thirties, and she stressed the pivotal role that parents play in motivating their children to learn Portuguese. Following the fifteen minute presentation, the dark-haired young woman in the audience stood up to share her thoughts. What was about to unfold was a rare public contestation of the dominant discourse that I have never seen repeated

again. For starters, this was one of the very few times I had ever seen a young person – a woman, no less – dare to speak publicly and unsolicited in a monolingual Portuguese space dominated by older community members and traditional patriarchal power dynamics. What she said, and how she said it, floored me...and everyone else.

This young woman in the audience spoke loudly and confidently in Brazilian Portuguese. Although she struggled at times to find the right words or proper sentence structure she did not get discouraged and spoke for almost ten minutes despite loud heckling from the men at the back of the room. I cannot overstate the awkwardness of watching control of the floor be so vocally disputed. Nor can I overstress the strangeness or abnormality of hearing someone in the audience speaking publicly in Brazilian Portuguese at a (European) Portuguese cultural event in Toronto. In these spaces of the Portuguese market, Brazilian Portuguese is most often heard on stage by musicians, artists or guest speakers who are performing for an audience that is constructed as homogeneously Portuguese. These specific interactions reinforce the ideology of exoticism for the safe consumption of the Other by the dominant group. Offstage, it is very uncommon for members of the Brazilian community to attend or be invited to Portuguese community events, especially to solidary ethnic in-group discussions like this conference on Portuguese cultural survival. This young woman's use of Brazilian Portuguese caught me and everyone else off guard. While I was pleasantly surprised, others were not. The open and hostile reaction from the men at the bar, and some of those seated near me, as they mocked her and tried to silence her by drowning her out, was due in part, I believe, to the fact that she publicly defied the prescriptive linguistic, cultural, racial and even gendered norms of that space, thereby labelling her as an outsider or a trouble-maker. But their reaction also had to do with what she said:

A.P: a huge obstacle for most Portuguese youth to to learn how to speak Portuguese / to want to learn how to speak Portuguese is / is the way / is the habit [mispronounced] of the more / of the older generations / of criticizing the young people's Portuguese [...the men at the back of the room are very disruptive, they make lots of noise and openly mock her saying "Yeah! Yeah! That's it! That's it!"...] criticizing the Portuguese spoken by young people at a / at an age when they are in an age / when many young people are of the age / when we can learn the better Portuguese [...] if you continue to criticize Portuguese youth the way that they speak / that they don't speak so good / the youth will lose interest in speaking / and if they don't have interest they won't want to go to Portuguese school [my translation]¹

1

¹ (Original Portuguese) **A.P:** um grande obstáculo por muitos jovens portugueses para para aprender a falar português / para querer falar português é / é a maneira / é a customa dos gerações mais / com mais idade / de criticar o português dos jovens [...the men at the back of the room are very disruptive, they make lots of noise and openly make fun of her "É! É! É isso, é isso"...] criticar o português dos jovens de um / de uma idade quando eles tão uma idade / muitos jovens quando estão na idade / aonde a gente podemos aprender o português melhor [...] se continuam a criticar os jovens portugueses de maneira que eles falam / que eles não falam tão bom / os jovens vão perder o interesso de falar / e se não têm o interesso não vão querer ir para a escola portuguesa

Was she Brazilian? If so, how did she know such intimate details about the Portuguese-Canadian community? Why did she care? Why was she even in a space built by and for European Portuguese, discussing the survival of European Portuguese culture? Did she identify herself with Portuguese-Canadian youth? She did say "we" when referring to them. Despite this young woman's "choppy" Portuguese, which I mirrored with a "choppy" English translation above, her message was clear: the older generation's negative language ideologies and strict enforcement of standard (Mainland European) Portuguese (by way of constant correction or criticism) can have demoralizing consequences on young Portuguese-Canadians. These young people would, arguably, rather save face than be criticized and embarrassed about the way they learned to speak Portuguese, and be constantly corrected for it – especially at a young and impressionable age. Like Julia in the previous section, this young woman also stressed that negative ideologies of language and identity may discourage many Portuguese-Canadian youth from attending Portuguese-language school. I could not agree more with this young woman's points of view, but I never dared to openly criticize the dominant discourse, as she did, in a space created to protect and reproduce it. She, herself, acknowledged some merit in the dominant discourse's push to promote Portuguese linguistic and cultural practices, especially at a young age when children "can learn the better Portuguese", but only, she suggests, if they are taught the language in a non-confrontational and respectful manner. In this case, the "better" Portuguese clearly implied the standard spoken in Mainland Portugal, not the variety that she was speaking, nor the one that she had learned growing up, as she went on to explain to the nervous audience.

A.P: I am Azorean / I am Luso-Canadian (Portuguese-Canadian) / I was born in Canada / my parents are Azoreans / when I was very young I learned Portuguese at home / with my parents / it was a Portuguese of bread and butter; it wasn't a Portuguese as pretty as [the guest speaker's] [...] I ne:ver / attended a / a Portuguese school / and when I remember the experiences I had when I tried to speak Portuguese / a:nd / in the (m.) the (f.) parties at church I always heard "Ahh your Portuguese isn't very good!" / or "You're speaking Azorean you're not speaking Portuguese!" [more noise around the room but A.P spoke louder into the microphone] / the people from the Continent have to respect that Azoreans will speak with an Azorean accent and we (Azoreans) have to speak with pride / now I speak with the accent from Brazil [muffled laughs from the men] because I lived in Brazil / now the Portuguese and Azoreans say / "But you don't speak Portuguese / you speak Brazilian!" [laughter and rumbling gets louder]

MC: congratulations to that girl who had the courage (to speak) and may you continue because you will get there / one of these days [...] [my translation]²

 $^{^2}$ \mathbf{A} : eu sou Açoriana / sou Luso-Canadiana / nasci no Canadá / os meus pais são Açorianos / quando eu era muito jovem aprendi o português em casa / cos [com os] meus pais / era um português de pão mantega / não era um português tão bonito como a [guest speaker...] eu nunca: / frequentou uma / uma escola portuguesa / e quando eu lembro de experiencias que eu tive a tentar a falar português / e: / na nos nas festas na igreja eu sempre ouvia "ahh o seu português não é muito bom" / ou "você tà falando o açoriano n'ta falando o português" [...] o pessoal do Continente tem que respeitar que os Açorianos vão falar com o sotaque Açoriano e nós devemos a falar com

This young woman was full of surprises and I watched as jaws dropped and cheeks flushed when she revealed that she was "one of us", Portuguese-Canadian, and that she had suffered linguistic discrimination from many Mainlanders because of her "Azorean accent". The same kind of people who tried to silence her as a child (suggesting that her Azoreanness was somehow "deviant") were now, many years later, trying to silence her as she spoke Brazilian Portuguese (which is considered even more deviant than the Mainland European norm) and as she lifted the veil of secrecy over the intra-cultural and linguistic tensions that exist within Toronto's Portuguese market. The MC struggled to regain control of the floor after the young woman's lengthy comments, and the uproar that ensued, by trying to navigate a middle ground: he acknowledged the young woman's courage (to raise such a sensitive issue in front of people, mostly Mainlanders, who were sure to take offense) but he ended his comment with an ambiguous, and slightly condescending, encouragement ("may you continue because you will get there, one of these days"). In my best interpretation, I felt that the MC reassured the (Mainland Portuguese) audience of their privileged position and implied that the young Azorean woman was still far from acquiring the "better" Portuguese or from participating fully in Toronto's Portuguese community. She was encouraged to keep working at getting "there" (which was left undefined), while the audience was presumably already "there".

The young woman, I later learned, had already gotten far in life. Very far. The daughter of working-class Portuguese immigrants from the Azores, Ana Pereira was born and raised in Toronto's inner-city, in a Portuguese ethnic, working-class enclave which she affectionately called "the Portuguese ghetto". She never attended Portuguese school, nor did she participate in traditional performances of dominant portugueseness (like dancing folklore or attending Portuguese cultural associations), but she did participate in church-related events that are tied to azoreanness (as we saw with Maggie in Chapter 6). Unlike many of her peers, who would have likely been high-school drop-outs (or "push-outs"), Ana excelled in school. She went to university, and then to law school, which even allowed her to study in Brazil and in Portugal. Now in her thirties, Ana practices law outside of Toronto and has a partner who is also of Portuguese descent.

Although she spoke little Portuguese as an adolescent and a young adult, Ana always identified herself as Portuguese-Canadian and Azorean. Rather than participate in traditional

performances of portugueseness, she actively advocated for social justice issues in the community including education, citizenship, civic participation and workers' rights.

Nevertheless, her work went largely unnoticed and she herself was criticized for her "insufficient" (i.e. Azorean) linguistic and cultural capital by more prominent and more visibly (Mainland) "Portuguese" young community leaders who tried to undermine her work by questioning her portugueseness. In fact, it was in Brazil that Ana, as an adult, first felt comfortable speaking Portuguese because she was not criticized for it. She felt so comfortable using it on a daily basis that she adopted many aspects of Brazilian Portuguese language, culture and identity.

Ana's multiple (re)constructions of identity and language illustrate the creative and constrained nature of social agency. Had I met her outside of this conference, I likely would not have witnessed her agency face off against such negative sociolinguistic ideologies. In different interactions, Ana is, undoubtedly, able to successfully position her ethnic identity as Canadian, Azorean, Portuguese and even, to some extent, Brazilian. Yet, in each case, a "successful" negotiation of identity also depends on how one is positioned by others. In the interaction described above, more than a third of the Mainland Portuguese audience rejected Ana's sociolinguistic (re)constructions and defended the strict sociolinguistic boundaries that protect markets which define "legitimate" portugueseness and that privilege Mainlanders with access to symbolic and material capital. Ana challenged many of the (un)spoken rules of the dominant discourse by being an outspoken young woman, by openly questioning the effectiveness of dominant strategies for language maintenance, and by contesting the discourse of Portuguese national and linguistic homogeneity by affirming Azorean and Brazilian characteristics of identity and speech.

7.2.1 Concluding remarks

How do we need to understand the examples of Ana and Julia, and what do they tell us about how the discourses of portugueseness are constructed? First, we need to situate them in the context of an institutionalized community that expects people to willingly and publicly affirm their portugueseness in the spaces it provides (e.g. by speaking Portuguese and participating in Portuguese cultural events) in order to maintain its market and the positions of power that structure it. Second, we need to situate these specific examples in a context of competing discourses over limited resources that are structured in different markets (the local Portuguese market in Toronto, the Canadian multicultural market and the Portuguese national/diasporic

market) where people are positioned differently depending on their habitus (linguistic, cultural, social, class, etc.). The examples of Ana and Julia intersect with the following contradictory discourses of portugueseness: discourses of unity (that all Portuguese are the same and solidary, even though they are not), discourses of language (that language is the defining element of ethnic identity or that all Portuguese people should speak Portuguese, although it does not have to be this way), discourses of nostalgia and tradition (that folklorize the present by ideologizing the past), discourses of maintenance and protection (that see ethnic language and identity as intrinsic elements of a person which deserve to be preserved, even though things are constantly changing), discourses of the youth as future inheritors of the market (that legitimize the production of the market by imagining a continuity between the older generations, who are constructed as a source of authenticity, to the younger generations, who are constructed as future inheritors) and discourses of alarm (that make the market close in on itself when one or more of the other discourses are challenged). Ana's experiences and her thoughts on why many Azorean-Canadian youth were not comfortable speaking Portuguese set off discourses of alarm because it confronted all the other dominant discourses of portugueseness and challenged the structure of Toronto's Portuguese market.

The following section continues this look into the positioning of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth in the Portuguese market and how their sociolinguistic habitus and practices are legitimized or not. In particular, it explores the constructions and consequences of public performances of portugueseness staged by two student-run ethno-cultural associations that are at the periphery of the Portuguese market but that still retain some symbolic capital because of the discourse of youth as future inheritors of the market. What kind of public performances of portugueseness did these Portuguese university student associations produce over two years? Why did they produce the ones that they did? How were they received by others? What will this tell us about the constructions of portugueseness? Let us find out.

7.3 Reproduction of power and marginality: From heroes to zeros

The fact that Maggie and Pat were both active in the Portuguese student associations of their respective universities facilitated my access into these unique spaces where I could observe the ideological debates surrounding portugueseness from the perspective of the young people involved. The following ethnographic analysis of two such organizations (PUSA1 and PUSA2) and two of their more active members (Maggie and Pat) reveals the resources that circulate

within these spaces as well as the consequences of performing the "right" or "wrong" kinds of portugueseness. This section begins with a description of the discursive landscape in which these clubs are situated, including a look at their Portuguese sociolinguistic habitus. In section 7.3.2, the focus shifts to the process of putting some of those discourses into practice through the largest public performances of portugueseness staged by each of the student associations: their year-end galas.

7.3.1 A tale of two Portuguese University Student Associations (PUSAs)

Located on the periphery of Toronto's traditional Portuguese-Canadian community, these student associations are ideally placed, at least intuitively, to empower young people to contest, deconstruct and reconstruct the dominant discourses of portugueseness in ways that they see fit. In other words, these PUSAs should be able to organize whatever cultural events they want and flex their creative agency. Since these associations are not affiliated to larger Portuguese cultural centres with financial control or with a specific mandate (i.e. regional, religious or sporting) to enforce, the student clubs are "free" to carry out their own mandates, on their own terms. The universities to which they are affiliated will not complain if, for example, PUSA members speak exclusively in English, play loud Portuguese hip-hop, watch contemporary Portuguese films, perform (Brazilian) *capoeira* or do anything that is not "traditionally" Portuguese. As a result, these associations should not necessarily have to follow the older generation's customary recipe for planning cultural events which calls for generous servings of Portuguese music (from *rancho*, to *fado*, to *música pimba*), Portuguese food and wine (from *vinho do Porto* to the *festa da sardinha*), Portuguese religious celebrations (from *Senhor Santo Cristo* to the *Festa da Nossa Senhora de Fátima*) and Portuguese soccer.

Yet, despite this hypothetical "freedom" or the potential for very creative and youthful agency, my fieldwork and personal observations suggest that, for the most part, these student associations organize public performances of portugueseness (i.e. gala events, public discourses, etc.) that often reproduce the structure of traditional events held by the older generation(s). In what follows, I will compare and contrast some of the biggest productions put on by PUSA1 and PUSA2, over the course of my fieldwork, and examine the ways in which Maggie and Pat influenced certain performances of portugueseness, with what consequences for whom.

The history of each Portuguese University Student Association has, to some extent, shaped its mandate. Both were created as social clubs in the early 1980s to help overcome the

isolation and anonymity that students of Portuguese descent faced, and may continue to face, at the university level and to help promote "outreach" initiatives where university students of Portuguese descent could serve as role-models for Portuguese-Canadian high school students in order to help curb the alarmingly high academic drop-out rates (Ornstein 2000). Where these clubs differ, however, is in the emphasis given, on the one hand, to celebrating and preserving Portuguese language and culture, and, on the other hand, to advocating for social change within Toronto's Portuguese community.

Indeed both student associations have different Portuguese habitus. PUSA1 has generally focused on addressing social issues in the Portuguese and Canadian communities (i.e. child abuse, seniors' issues, legal concerns, alcoholism, etc.) and it has adopted a balanced use of Portuguese and English in order to accommodate as many people as possible. In going through old documents produced by PUSA1, it also appears that its membership and leadership has historically been made up of both Azorean and Mainland Portuguese descendants. Conversely, PUSA2 appears to have been made up of primarily Mainland Portuguese descendants and the club has forged a path that is more focused on cultural celebration. As a result, it is generally seen by the dominant institutions of the Portuguese market (the ethnic media, businesses and community leaders) as being "more" Portuguese than PUSA1. Over the years PUSA2 has focused on recognizing and promoting Portuguese history, traditions, literature, music and especially language. As a result, this approach has mobilized an almost exclusively "Portuguese" membership.

Evidence of PUSA2's strong Portuguese nationalist ideology can be gleaned from the club's past mission statements. Drawing from an example from a few years before my fieldwork (1999) in order to help demonstrate the continuity of the club's discourse, a description of the association's mandate, written in Portuguese, linked the club's work in that particular year with the "enterprising spirit" and "warrior past" of the members' shared "Lusitanian homeland" which "instils in Portuguese-Canadian students the desire to promote and preserve the Portuguese culture." Six years later, with Pat as one of the PUSA2 leaders, the club's mission continued to be framed in the same mythologically traditional, positivist and nationalist discursive vein. In fact, it was even more intense, as suggested by the following description of the club, originally written in Portuguese:

³ "É com este espírito empreendedor e os resquícios do passado guerreiro que nós, originários ou descendentes da Pátria

Le com este espirito empreenaedor e os resquicios do passado guerreiro que nos, originarios ou descendentes da Patrio lusitana, inscrevemos [...] uma página à Historia desta nossa Associação [...] de modo a incutir-lhes [aos estudantes luso-canadianos] o gosto pela promoção e preservação da cultura portuguesa" (PUSA2 1999 brochure).

We celebrate our roots and try to promote a greater recognition of Portuguese culture within the university because we all have a special and personal relationship with our past. It is with that desire and pride that we dedicate our work this year to those who came before us: our parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles and to the most important person – our dear Portugal, without which we would be nothing but a person without distinction in this great country of nationalities, but with which we are much more than this; we are a PEOPLE (PUSA2 2005 brochure, my translation, emphasis in original).⁴

According to the PUSA2 leaders, Canada is a country of nationalities where someone who does not identify herself along ethno-nationalist lines, legitimized by the discourse of multiculturalism, is "nothing but a person without distinction." Thus, portugueseness and PUSA2 help set young people apart and it is assumed that their pride and a "special and personal relationship" with Portugal personified are what motivate PUSA2 members, distinguishing them from other Canadian youth and from other Portuguese-Canadian youth who are not as invested in that relationship.

For PUSA1, on the other hand, the discursive framing of their club's mission had rarely ever hinged on "our dear Portugal", or on "special and personal relationships" with a glamorized colonial past or "homeland" as it had for PUSA2. Instead, the focus was entirely on the local (Toronto's Portuguese market) and the situation facing Portuguese-Canadians at university and in the broader society. The focus of the "community", however, was not on PUSA1 which received less attention and support than PUSA2. When Maggie was actively involved in the PUSA1, the association worked hard to maintain its long-standing mission of social justice by promoting charity work and education advocacy, while at the same time fostering strong relationships between its members by organizing fun social events that did not always have to do with Portuguese culture (i.e. bowling, pub nights, club nights, road-trips, etc.). In order to create an inclusive and welcoming space for anyone who wanted to join the club (be they Portuguese or not), and recognizing that almost all of the members were second-generation Portuguese-Canadians who were more fluent in English than Portuguese, Maggie and other PUSA1 leaders rarely used a língua de Camões. While everyone agreed that some attention should be paid to Portuguese culture, it was not seen as the club's main goal. Instead, taking their Portuguese culture as a common starting point, Maggie and the other PUSA1 leaders saw the club as a socializing space where members could make new friends, learn from each other, and work

nacionalidades, mas com ela somos muito mais que isso; somos um POVO" (PUSA2 2005 brochure).

⁴ "Nós celebramos as nossas raízes e tentamos promover uma maior divulgação da cultura Portuguesa pela universidade porque todos temos uma relação especial e pessoal com o nosso passado e antecedentes. É com esse desejo e orgulho que este ano dedicamos o nosso trabalho aos que vieram antes de nós: os nossos pais, avós, tios e á pessoa mais importante – a nossa querida Portugal, a quem sem ela seriamos apenas uma pessoa sem destaque neste grade [sic] país de

together to make a difference in society. Below is the PUSA1's mission statement which Maggie helped pen:

Our aim is to welcome students of Portuguese descent to [the university] and provide them with opportunities to interact with other young Luso-Canadians and to help them learn more about their heritage while having fun. As young Luso-Canadians, not only are we proud of our Portuguese culture, we also strive to give back to our community. Through our charity work we have helped raise funds for numerous worthwhile causes including [the XYZ hospital]. Over the last year, we have also worked hard to encourage other young Luso-Canadians to pursue post-secondary education (PUSA1 2005 website, written in English only).

The following year, however, when Maggie was no longer an active PUSA1 leader, the club's official discourse turned towards dominant and traditional constructions of portugueseness. While this discursive turn deviated from the club's habitus, it was well received by many within the Portuguese-Canadian community's elite. The use of Portuguese even became encouraged at club meetings and in public appearances, and the club's mandate veered away from fun-loving social activism to an all-out defence of Portuguese culture. That year, the PUSA1's mission was framed around wanting to "inundate this cathedral of knowledge (i.e. the university) with Portuguese culture" and to promote pride among second-generation Portuguese-Canadians as builders of "a brilliant community, at an intellectual and spiritual level, which honours [their] forefathers."

The person leading this shift towards traditional nationalistic ideologies at PUSA1 was a young man named Joaquim who was born, raised and educated in Portugal and who had immigrated to Canada only a few years earlier. His parents became well established in Toronto's Portuguese market and Joaquim himself, who speaks standard Portuguese much more fluently than English (where he has a noticeable "accent"), was quick to land a job with the local Portuguese language media. There, he was positioned as a "role-model" for young people by the older generation(s) who wished that their (grand)children spoke and performed Portuguese like him.

Yet most of the Portuguese-Canadian youth that I spoke to who knew Joaquim, especially those involved with PUSA1, did not see him as a role-model. Instead, many found that he was arrogant, authoritarian and "too" traditionally Portuguese. What immediately irked the

⁵ "Somos um grupo de jovens, que decidiu reunir toda a sua força de vontade, para vencer neste pequeno grande mundo que é [a universidade]. Queremos inundar esta catedral do conhecimento com cultura portuguesa, para um dia podermos olhar para trás e termos orgulho de termos ajudado a formar uma comunidade brilhante a nível intelectual e espiritual, que honre os nossos antepassados" (PUSA1 2006 brochure, original in Portuguese only). My translation: "We are a group of young people, which decided to use all of its willpower, to succeed in this small big world that is [the university]. We want to inundate this cathedral of knowledge with Portuguese culture, so that one day we can look back and take pride in having helped to create a brilliant community at an intellectual and spiritual level, that honours our forefathers".

association's members was Joaquim's decision to speak, and expect to be spoken to, in Portuguese at the weekly PUSA1 meetings. In the past, these meetings and the club's events had never been monolingually Portuguese and rarely bilingual (apart from symbolic or ceremonial gestures), thus the decision to speak in Portuguese to members who may not even understand the language distanced Joaquim from the others, like Maggie, who felt that he was "showing off" and "making everyone else look bad".

Nonetheless, Joaquim came away looking good in the eyes of the larger Portuguese-Canadian community. The first public event that he and the other PUSA1 leaders organized was a *fado* and Portuguese poetry night for students and their families in support of the university's Portuguese program. Such an event would likely not have taken place when Maggie was one of the club's leaders because she was not in favour of presenting images of portugueseness that she found excessively traditional (like *rancho*, *fado*, etc.) and detached from the interests of most young Portuguese-Canadians. Judging from the very few young people who came to the poetry and fado night, Maggie's opinion was justified. But the absence of young people did not dissuade the Portuguese-language media from heaping praise on Joaquim and the other club leaders as champions of the Portuguese cause. Similar public praise, however, had never been directed towards Maggie and the other club leaders in the previous year (even though they raised money for Canadian charities and advocated on behalf of the Portuguese community) since they were not as concerned with staging elaborate and legitimate performances of portugueseness.

This difference in the way that events run by student associations are received by the organized Portuguese-Canadian community, and the underlying tensions surrounding what counts as legitimate performance of portugueseness, are even more salient when we consider the case of a PUSA's largest event: the year-end gala.

7.3.2 Different ways of performing portugueseness on the big stage

Towards the end of the academic year, each PUSA normally throws a large public party or gala, often with dinner and dancing, as a way for the association and its members to celebrate their achievements and for community members to be seen supporting a "worthy" cause. This gala is the association's most prominent annual event and draws the biggest stage and audience in front of which to perform Portugueseness, among other things. Despite the event being open to the broader (university) community, the audience is usually overwhelmingly Portuguese. Indeed, were it not for the financial and material support of Portuguese community members and

businesses, many PUSA events, and especially the year-end gala, would be in jeopardy since these associations have extremely limited budgets and are run by young volunteers.⁶

Most of the financial support the club members are able to collect goes towards the highlight of the gala: the awarding of scholarships to Portuguese-Canadian university-bound youth, as a way of encouraging post-secondary education. Yet, in addition to promoting education, these awards also promote good Portugueseness because the winners are always portrayed as being proud of and active in the Portuguese community. Scholarship applicants must prove their Portuguese ethnolinguistic allegiance in at least two ways: 1) discursively, by writing an essay on a topic related to Portuguese identity and 2) genetically, by claiming a direct Portuguese kinship connection. Over the years, eligibility criteria have expanded in order to increase the pool of applicants and to accommodate not only children of exogamous relationships, but also those of more distant Portuguese descent (i.e grandparents). For example, PUSA1 accepted applicants with one parent from a former Portuguese colony. PUSA2, on the other hand, chose to avoid the ideologically loaded term "colony" but sparked a controversy of its own when it listed examples of Portuguese-speaking "regions" from which applicants were also eligible: "Azores, Brazil, Angola, Goa, Mozambique, Macau, etc."

7.3.2.1 The PUSA1 galas: Capitalizing on the right habitus

In terms of money raised and scholarships awarded, the PUSA1's gala organized by Maggie and her fellow leaders was the most successful one in the association's history up to that point: they raised over \$2000, awarded four scholarships, fed and entertained more than 100 guests. This came in stark contrast to the previous years where fundraising attempts yielded very little and even fewer scholarships were awarded. Unlike other large dinners or celebrations in the Portuguese-Canadian community, the 2005 PUSA1 gala did not stage an elaborate display of Portugueseness, but focused rather on celebrating student success. The club's rationale was that young people did not consider folklore, *fado* and an evening full of speeches from Portuguese politicians and leaders to be a "fun" way to end the year.

⁶ Club members are usually asked to canvass their (family's) social networks in order to find any connection to a Portuguese-Canadian business which can provide some kind of assistance or support. These network ties benefit everyone involved: if, for example, a member's father works at a Portuguese restaurant and he provides food for the gala, not only is the member a hero for helping out the club, but the father is publicly recognized as helping out the "cause" by promoting portugueseness among the community's youth.

⁷ Many in the community objected to the distinct status given to the Azores, which "undermined" Portugal's national unity, but I was more surprised to see the ideological importance assigned to peripheral former colonial territories like Goa and Macau. What the specific inclusion of the Azores suggests to me is that this special attention is an effort to attract applicants from youth of Azorean descent who are likely underrepresented.

Furthermore, Maggie and the other main organizers experienced some difficulty in contacting the Portuguese community leaders because the club was generally unknown by the community's elite, and they were not comfortable speaking Portuguese in public. As a result, Maggie tried a more mainstream Canadian approach by using English as well as her academic achievements to appeal for support not only from the Portuguese, but also from the larger Torontonian (i.e. English-speaking) community. She did not rely exclusively on Portuguese social networks. Interestingly, the success of this gala received little, if any, coverage in the local Portuguese language media, partly because, in my opinion, it was insufficiently "Portuguese". But that did not frustrate Maggie since she was not interested in pleasing the media. What did frustrate her, however, was how the hard work that she and the others had put in was eclipsed, rather easily it seemed, by Joaquim and the following year's PUSA1 executive.

With Joaquim on board, the new PUSA1 executive organized an even more successful gala by adopting a different, more traditional strategy. Thanks largely to his eloquent Portuguese and his excellent skills as an orator, Joaquim stirred up Portuguese national pride and ideological rhetoric like a seasoned politician. He preached on the need to preserve "our" language and culture, and he even fielded calls on the most popular Portuguese radio program where older community members phoned in to congratulate him on "his" initiative. Through the PUSA1's networking, and the personal and professional connections of Joaquim and his family, the club was able to raise upwards of \$6000, award at least 12 scholarships, and feed and entertain nearly 300 guests. This student gala rivalled the galas put on by larger, more professional cultural associations in the community; it rivalled them in terms of size, but also in terms of ethnolinguistic content.

This PUSA1 event had many elements that made it "as" Portuguese, if not "more" Portuguese, than other large-scale events in the community. There was traditional Portuguese cuisine and entertainment (an adult choir and a *fado* singer), but most importantly it was a Portuguese discursive 'feast' as the evening was filled with speeches that were primarily in Portuguese and overwhelmingly nationalistic. Joaquim, for example, expressed his unrestrained (and exaggerated?) pride in being Portuguese and he won over the hearts of the older generation(s) when he thanked them for enduring countless hardships, even going so far as to tease the young people in the audience and to tell them to put up with the older generation's

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⁸ Maggie resented the fact that the club leaders forced all the scholarship applicants to attend the dinner in order to be eligible to win. This increased ticket sales and filled the hall, but made it more embarrassing for those who did not win a scholarship.

"nagging advice" because "they do in fact know what is best for the Portuguese-Canadian community." Someone else who "knows best" was a Portuguese politician in attendance who praised Joaquim in particular for being "the future of the community" and for his part in organizing an event which was almost entirely in Portuguese – "something that even more well-established community organizations don't always do!" As the evening went on, I heard the same Portuguese politician bragging about Joaquim's "strength and vitality" to other community leaders, suggesting that he will make a great politician some day. With such accolades, it is no surprise that the gala garnered significant coverage and praise from the local Portuguese-language media.

In comparing the two PUSA1 galas, it is clear that their performances of Portuguese language and identity had much to do with their different rates of success in mobilizing resources from different markets. From the perspective of the traditional dominant discourse in Toronto's Portuguese community, the second PUSA1 gala successfully reproduced the winning formula which I have observed elsewhere: framing an event around "the celebration (and preservation) of Portuguese language and culture", performing the "right" kind of Portuguese identity (i.e. an essentialized and traditional one which does not challenge the views held by those in positions of power) and speaking the "legitimate" variety of Portuguese (i.e. standard or "Mainland" Portuguese) will open the doors and the wallets of the local Portuguese market. Compared to Maggie, Joaquim has the better social, cultural and linguistic capital – the right kind of habitus – to position himself favourably in the Portuguese-Canadian market the way it is currently structured. Indeed, the social structuration or the constraints Maggie could not overcome became glaringly obvious for her when she saw how the gala that she had helped organize was eclipsed from one year to the next. She remembered how she had knocked on the doors of several wellknown community institutions and pleaded with them, unsuccessfully, for support even though they later backed Joaquim's event. As a result, Maggie stopped participating actively in public performances of portugueseness, saying she literally wanted nothing to do with the community.

M: We begged them "Come out to an event! / Advertise about us on your website!" They didn't even want to touch us / we're like the friggen' plague! Like "The youth? / Whatever! Big deal!"

E: but now that PUSA1's being run by someone who speaks Portuguese -- very well

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⁹ Joaquim's comments sparked visceral responses from the people (young and old) sitting around me at the back of the hall during the dinner and who openly criticized his Portuguese-Canadianness: "Of course he's proud to be Portuguese! He's from Portugal!!", "I don't think his family endured any of the 'hardships' that the old generation suffered!", "What does he know about the Portuguese-Canadian community?! He just got here!"

M:
-- it's like "Oh wow! Oh my god! Jesus!" / it's unfortunate to me and it's really turned me off / like I literally want nothing to do with my community

The evidence from these two PUSA1 galas seems to illustrate the reproduction of sociolinguistic power within Toronto's Portuguese market. Those, like Joaquim, who can produce and perform legitimate and traditional portugueseness are given access to resources that others, like Maggie, are not because of a less privileged sociolinguistic habitus and a decision to perform a different kind of portugueseness. What kinds of portugueseness would PUSA2 perform, considering that the club's habitus has historically reproduced the dominant discourse?

7.3.2.2 The PUSA2 galas: Artsy night vs. Culture night

The case of the second Portuguese University Student Association (PUSA2) provides another example of the construction and the consequences of performing a particular kind of portugueseness at two year-end galas. The first PUSA2 gala I observed, which was held before Pat assumed a leadership position in the club, deviated from the club's tradition of producing essentialized views of portugueseness. The second PUSA2 gala I observed, with Pat as one of its organizers, returned to the old routine of traditional Portuguese cultural performances. As was mentioned earlier, PUSA2 has the reputation in Toronto's Portuguese market as being the student association most involved in celebrating Portuguese traditions, history, literature, language and music. Its year-end galas have normally been part of a week-long celebration of Portuguese culture and they usually rival the traditional performances and décor one would find in one of the older ethno-cultural clubs.

In the first year of my fieldwork, the PUSA2 executive organized a gala that broke the mould with their past. Instead of hosting it in a Portuguese space, or recreating a Portuguese space, they chose a university art centre as their venue. The goal was to bring students, parents, family and the general public (mostly Portuguese) to a different, more mainstream space. There were no Portuguese flags, coloured streamers, touristy posters, artisanal displays, soccer jerseys or folklore performances – as was their style of old. What was also different was the theme: a student-focussed art and literature night. Portuguese-Canadian high school students were invited to submit short stories, essays, poetry (in English or Portuguese) or a piece of original art that was in some way connected to their Portuguese heritage in order to be considered for one of the two PUSA2 scholarships. Allowing submissions that were not in traditional essay format was an attempt to reach out to and award young people with different talents. Furthermore, as if these

changes were not innovative enough, during the event there were no long speeches celebrating the club or the community, no dignitaries or politicians, and very little media coverage. The event had an "art gallery feel" to it: there was wine, Portuguese sausages as hors d'oeuvres and pastries for people to enjoy as they meandered through the collection of young Portuguese-Canadian art as well as the gallery's permanent collection. The audience was small in comparison with previous PUSA2 galas - less than 50 people, primarily family and friends of the executive - but the organizers were proud to have staged an event that defied the norm and everyone seemed to enjoy themselves.

The following year, with Pat in a leadership position, the new PUSA2 executive vowed to be more ethnically active in the university and within the Portuguese-Canadian community then the previous year. They found that the previous year's "artsy" gala was "too different" and insufficiently "Portuguese." In Pat's opinion, this different approach to performing portugueseness was the reason why the club did not garner much support or attention from the community. These new leaders decided to return to a gala formula they knew worked well: a big Portuguese cultural party with dinner, music and dancing – predictably called "Culture Night". Here, Pat's experience with the youth group and "Culture Fest" at the Mississauga Portuguese Cultural Association (MPCA) would prove invaluable since she knew exactly how to produce performances of portugueseness that would please the older generation(s) and leaders of the Portuguese market. The venue selected - a university auditorium - was transformed into a "Portugal Pavilion" with, among other things, five large Portuguese flags, red streamers, green, yellow and red balloons, posters of Portugal and of the national soccer team on the walls, and tourism booklets and postcards (from the Azores and Mainland Portugal) on the tables. One of the most striking aspects of the evening was that the members of the executive adhered to a gender-specific Portuguese dress-code as part of the performance. The men had to wear Portuguese soccer outfits, and the women, Portuguese folklore costumes. ¹⁰ As if this did not suffice, outside the auditorium was a large display of Portuguese cultural artefacts gathered by PUSA2 members who were asked to scour their homes for "anything Portuguese". They brought embroidered table and dish cloths, aprons; works of crochet; ceramic jars, plates, windmills; traditional boats, fishing nets; folklore dolls; cheese cutting boards; CDs from Portuguese artists; religious artefacts; soccer scarves, flags and more. Days later, a photo of all the cultural kitsch appeared in a prominent local Portuguese-language newspaper with the following subtitle:

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¹⁰ Those young women who did not have access to Portuguese folklore costumes could either ask Pat for help, since she had close connections to the MPCA's folklore groups, or they could wear a Portuguese soccer jersey instead.

"Right away...the space opened with a collection of interesting things." No young person I spoke to, however, found this display even remotely interesting. But this monument of Portuguese kitsch was not the only "interesting" display.

Still in the foyer near the auditorium, across from the artisanal display, were three billboard displays that were meant to inform passers-by about Portuguese history, culture and literature with presentations on "Portuguese Asia" (East Timor, Macau and Goa), "Portugal in the world" and Portuguese poetry, *Camões* and José Saramago. All the billboards were written in English, and the first two looked like they were made by grade school or high school students for a class project or a multicultural festival. The information was hand-written, in point form, very simplistic, essentialist, sometimes misspelled and somewhat outdated. In what follows, I describe the second and largest display in some detail because it illustrates an alarming level of essentialization which still often goes unchallenged in Toronto's Portuguese market because of the dominant and celebratory discourse of portugueseness. This discourse, reinforced by the apolitical discourse of Canadian multiculturalism, relies on essentialism to naturalize its message and folklorize or sanitize difference. The display in question, which did not have a title but which I interpreted as "Portugal in the world", was made up of two panels with maps and flags of the lusophone or Portuguese-speaking countries and regions in the world: Portugal, the Azores, Madeira, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Principe, Cape Verde, Mozambique, the "Indian States", Macao, East Timor and Brazil. 12 Below is a copy of the information that was on display for all to read:

[Panel 1]

<u>PORTUGAL</u> – dominated outward explorations in the 15th century, under the command of Prince Henry. It's [*sic*] influence is still felt and seen throughout the world today. Portuguese explorers' first voyage to Canada was in 1492-98.

<u>BRAZIL</u> – discovered in 1500 by Pedro Alvarez Cabral. Portuguese language and culture is still evident.

[Panel 2]

<u>INDIAN STATES</u> – founded in 1540, becoming an important trade centre. English took over in 1818.

<u>MACAU</u> – an economic port in the 16th century, returning to Chinese dominance in 1999. <u>EAST TIMOR</u> – From 1859 to 1945 shared control with the Dutch, exclusively a Portuguese colony until independence in 1975. ¹³

¹¹ My translation of the Portuguese "*Logo a abrir…era um 'escaparate' de coisas interessantes*" (*Sol Português* March 30, 2007:1, 14-15).

¹² Most of the Lusophone countries/regions on the maps were traced in black marker in order to make them easily identifiable. What was unmarked, however, was Mainland Portugal, perhaps because it was assumed to be obvious to everyone.

¹³ The independence of East Timor was not achieved until 2002. In 1975 Indonesia invaded the territory.

<u>AZORES & MADEIRA</u> – initially used as prison islands, remains part of central Portugal, politically & economically.

<u>AFRICAN STATES</u> - CAPE VERDE (1455-56) / ANGOLA (1470s) / GUINEA-BISSAU (1460) / SÃO TOMÉ & PRINCIPE (1471-72) / MOZAMBIQUE (1480s) - The states attained independance [*sic*] in 1974-5.

The display could just as well have been entitled "The Portuguese Colonial Empire" because nearly all of the information presented focussed on years of "discovery" by and independence from Portugal. Apart from the dates, however, the information provided was so shockingly oversimplified and so poorly contextualized that it was of no real intellectual value and it made me question why the PUSA2 chose to include it at all. Clearly, the goal was to recognize Portugal's global relevancy (an influence "still felt and seen throughout the world today") and also to transform the physical space of an empty foyer into something Portuguese. Yet, more than anything else, the display illustrated the dangers of blindly celebrating or reproducing a dominant view of the past without critically examining it. The fact that the information provided for the lusophone African countries and regions in Asia consisted almost entirely of colonial dates illustrates Portugal's old global conquest, more than its modern global relevance. The grossly incomplete reference to Brazil does nothing but flaunt the legacy of the Portuguese colonial mission since the colonizer's language and culture are "still evident". The reference to the Azores and Madeira is equally insulting because it starts by criminalizing and demonizing the history of the islands, without even recognizing any important dates, and it closes by diminishing their autonomy and stressing their ties to "central Portugal". 14 It is also interesting to note that these two autonomous regions of Portugal are visually and textually separated from the text describing "Portugal" (or Mainland Portugal) and placed with the former colonies. Since this entire display raised so many problems, for me, I was disappointed that no one spoke out about its inadequacy and inappropriateness, either in person or in the newspaper reports that followed. Then again, I was not surprised. To do so would have required challenging the dominant discourse and the structure that supports it, and not even I was willing to do it at that time.

From what I observed, I was the only person who bothered to closely examine and photograph either the billboards or the artefacts. Since nearly everyone attending the gala was of Portuguese descent and somehow related to a PUSA2 member, I assume they were not there to learn about Portuguese history and culture, but rather to celebrate it and to support the student

¹⁴ Although the text is already riddled with poor grammar, the description of the Azores and Madeira is factually inaccurate when it claims that the regions are a "part of central Portugal" – which they are not by virtue of their insularity. Perhaps the unknown author wanted to say was that they are "a central part of Portugal, politically & economically"…unfortunately, this was not the message conveyed.

association. Thus the displays served as nothing more than Portuguese filler or background noise. From a distance the maps and flags of the lusophone world got the dominant sociolinguistic message across without even having to read the text on the billboards: Portugal and the Portuguese language are important. Nevertheless, overlooking such blatantly biased, ahistorical representations illustrates how easy it can be to accept or assume the dominant discourse which has become naturalized.

Inside the auditorium, where everyone was gathered, the party was in full swing. Approximately 80 guests were treated to an evening of Portuguese food, folklore and fun. There was an excellent Portuguese-style buffet, provided by a local prominent Portuguese restaurant whose owner was related to one of the club's leaders. His generously discounted donation of consumable cultural capital was the evening's main attraction in Pat's opinion, and for the restaurant owner it was great advertising and a show of community (and parental) support. The entertainment was also quintessentially Portuguese. There was Portuguese music playing on a CD player, but the main performances were by the MPCA's youth rancho or folklore group and a Portuguese-Canadian student musical group (a tuna académica). Both groups performed for free or, rather, for food and as a favour to Pat. Their contribution was a generous donation of their symbolic and cultural capital, which increased the Portuguese legitimacy of the event; it was also a show of their ethnic solidarity and a show of Pat's ability to mobilize Portuguese cultural resources. She even danced with her folklore friends since she was already dressed in a folklore outfit. As I had expected, the older Portuguese people in the audience, who made up the vast majority, seemed to enjoy the cultural performances: their faces beamed with pride, their toes tapped and their hands clapped to the beat of the music. The few young people present seemed disinterested or indifferent and were not very eager to participate, for example, when the rancho asked for volunteers from the audience to learn a particular dance.

With regards to the gala's linguistic performances, Pat and another PUSA2 leader made a conscious effort to have all the speeches be bilingual in order to cater to the older (Portuguese-speaking) and younger (English-speaking) members of the audience. There were two MCs, a young man who spoke in English and a young woman who spoke in Portuguese. One of the gala's most revealing moments, in terms of language ideologies, came half-way through the evening when the MCs entertained the audience with some jokes that poked fun at Portuguese-Canadian language and identity. This comedic relief was an innovative addition to a traditional Portuguese cultural event, and I thought it reflected the creativity and youthfulness of the club.

The female MC, who spoke in standard (Mainland) Portuguese, drew the inspiration for her jokes from *portingles*. She made fun of the bilingual mixture of Portuguese and English with which everyone was familiar, but which everyone knew was far from the standard and, therefore, an easy target for ridicule. Words like *mapa* for "mop", *guma* for "gum" and *garbiche* for "garbage", among others, had everyone laughing at themselves and at each other. The male MC followed up in English with a list of 40 "You know you're Portuguese when..." jokes which focused primarily on Portuguese emigrant culture, stereotypes and, once again, language. Some of the highlights, and lowlights, are recorded below along with the audience's reaction:

- "...you were beaten at least once with a wooden spoon or broom" [loud laughter from audience] "...you thought everyone made their own bread." [no reaction; MC continues quickly onto the
- ...you thought everyone made their own bread. [no reaction; MC continues quickly onto the next one]
- "...you're as tall as your grandmother by the age of seven" [moderate laughter]
- "...your mother is overly protective of males in the family no matter what their age" [loud laughter]
- "...you can understand Portuguese but you can't speak it" [loud laughter]

What the gala was missing, however, was a performance that has come to legitimize PUSA2's role as a student-centred association: the awarding of at least one scholarship to a high school or university student. Pat and the other club leaders were disappointed that such an important detail had been neglected in the planning of the gala. Nevertheless, considering the lengths to which the PUSA2 leaders went in order to organize such a large cultural production, the gala was still considered a huge success in the "community". The ethnic media loved it. The local Portuguese-language TV news reporter filmed the *rancho* dancers and interviewed one of Pat's friends who was dressed in full folklore attire, using the cultural kitschy mountain in the foyer as the backdrop. There were vague references to the club's mission of supporting students, but the absence of a scholarship was never mentioned.

On the cover of a local Portuguese-language newspaper in the week following the gala, the PUSA2 organizers were hailed as "heroes" and "heroines" for bringing Portuguese culture to the university. The large photo that accompanied the front-page headline showed the quintessential youthful performers of portugueseness - folklore dancers - rather than any of the actual PUSA2 leaders. It did not matter, however, since all of the young people involved in the organization, the entertainment and even those in attendance were constructed as cultural leaders. In fact, the same newspaper article applauded the club's hard work in promoting Portugal's

¹⁵ The complete headline read as follows: "Cultura Portuguesa também na [university]. Uma Associação onde há muitos 'heróis' e muitas 'heroínas'." or "Portuguese Culture also at [university]. An Association where there are many 'heroes' and many 'heroines'" (Sol Português, March 30, 2007 p.1 - my translation).

"glorious past and its newest conquests" (was the staff reporter also referring to the cultural knick-knacks and the colonialist billboards in the foyer?), which supposedly evoked an "unquestionable *saudade*" for their parents' homeland. The young people were being positioned by the market as part of the dominant myth-making process of dominant portugueseness.

The evidence from the two PUSA2 galas illustrates the complex negotiations of portugueseness within situated discursive spaces and markets. The club leaders had to decide, among other things, how to position themselves with regards to the club's cultural habitus, how to construct their intended audience, what expectations that audience might have, what resources they themselves could mobilize in order to organize the event, and, above all, what kind of portugueseness to perform. The choices they made had consequences, but both galas were successful to different degrees. The first gala deviated from the club's habitus by holding its event in an upper-class, non-Portuguese, de-ethnicized venue (i.e. a university art gallery), while still prioritizing the dominant discursive element of portugueseness: language. The gala also prioritized Portuguese-Canadian youth by awarding two scholarships and expanding the eligibility criteria beyond the traditional essay to include more creative art forms. But the Portuguese-Canadian community did not respond as enthusiastically as the organizers had hoped and the event received little attention in the Portuguese ethnic media. Perhaps the community's working-class habitus made members weary of the non-traditional venue. Perhaps it was just bad timing and the event was not widely promoted. In any case, the structure of Toronto's Portuguese market was not used to events of that type, and, the following year, Pat and the other PUSA2 leaders organized a gala that was more accessible to the Portuguese market because it reproduced the traditional formula of ethno-cultural events. Although this second gala did not attract significantly more people than the first (80 vs. 50 – and many of those 80 were members of the two musical groups that performed), nor did it award any scholarships to young Portuguese-Canadians, it was deemed an enormous success for using youthful bodies to reproduce the dominant discourses of traditional portugueseness.

7.3.3 Concluding remarks: Knowing how to dance the dance

This section on Portuguese university student associations has illustrated that constructions of portugueseness need not be monolithic or fixed. In these flexible, youth-driven spaces it is possible to contest and (de)construct ideologies surrounding Portuguese language, identity and culture more easily than it is in the dominant spaces and institutions of the Portuguese market. Even in the context of relatively large-scale performances of portugueseness,

like the year-end galas, we have seen examples where PUSAs contested the dominant discourse in ways that defy the norms of the local Portuguese market. Some chose to not reproduce a monolingual Portuguese space (like Maggie did for her PUSA1 gala), to rely very little on Portuguese social networks (like Maggie did in an effort to raise the event's profile within the Canadian community), to organize the event in a non-traditionally Portuguese space (like an art gallery), to forgo traditional elements of Portuguese culture like folklore, fado and nationalist rhetoric (like the PUSA2 art and literature gala), to use humour to poke fun at certain aspects of portugueseness (like the jokes at Pat's PUSA2 gala), and to expand scholarship eligibility beyond Portuguese birth rights to Portuguese speaking rights (as both clubs did), among other things.

Nevertheless, while these constructions challenged the dominant discourse and the traditional structure of the Portuguese market to some extent, they did not come without consequences. The biggest consequence for the gala organizers who pushed the limits of traditional portugueseness was that they felt that their work was not well received or appreciated by the Portuguese-Canadian community. For as much as they wanted to forge a new path, create a new tradition and put their own stamp on the production of portugueseness, those young PUSA leaders also wanted to be recognized by the traditional elite of the "community" or someone other than their parents. Instead they were largely ignored, especially in comparison to those who succeeded in getting the symbolic and material capital that they desired.

The student galas that were deemed "successful" by the elite of the Portuguese community were those that reproduced the dominant discourse of portugueseness, promoted elements of Portugal's "glorious past", used the standard language, and performed traditional aspects of Portuguese culture. Whether or not these young Portuguese-Canadian student leaders actually believe in Portugal's "glorious past" is not as important as them knowing how and being able to dance the dance in order to get what they want from Toronto's Portuguese market. In the cases of Joaquim's PUSA1 gala and Pat's PUSA2 gala we saw how the Portuguese market recognized the performances and rewarded the performers of "legitimate" portugueseness, who had the "right" linguistic and cultural habitus, by positioning them as future Portuguese-Canadian leaders, politicians, heroes and heroines.

Those who are not so handsomely rewarded with symbolic and cultural capital are left to wonder if their investment in portugueseness was well placed and if they themselves or their ideas are relevant to the Portuguese market. Maggie found that her habitus and her ideas of what

portugueseness could or should be destabilized some of the norms on which the market is structured (i.e. based on regional ancestry, language, gender) and limited her access to the dominant institutions.

Ethnic media, as one of these dominant institutions (seen also in section 3.2.9), plays an important role in determining which constructions of portugueseness get recognized in the market and which ones do not. In a market where there are very few performances of portugueseness that are thought out, planned and executed almost entirely by second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth, the Portuguese ethnic media could, without too much difficulty, cover them all or at least more of them. By only covering the youth performances that reproduce the dominant norms, like PUSA2's Culture Night, and framing them as being "unquestionably" about a longing or *saudade* for their parents' homeland, the ethnic media is constructing a discourse of ethnolinguistic maintenance that seeks to preserve the current structure of the market by romanticizing connections to an essentialized past.

7.4 Conclusion

The situated examples of constrained agency and structural marginalization discussed in this chapter shed some critical light on the questions that inform this research, especially the first set of questions that ask: What gets defined as 'legitimate' performances of portugueseness? By whom? In which spaces? Why? With what consequences for whom?

In the case of Julia's Azorean-Canadian friend, my Azorean-Canadian wife, Ana Pereira and young Portuguese-Canadians of Azorean descent who are not found or heard in the dominant institutions of portugueseness (like language schools), the qualitative data I collected suggests the following answers to the questions raised above. What gets defined in this case as "legitimate" portugueseness is the Mainland Portuguese linguistic and cultural habitus, and the practice of speaking standard Portuguese in public. The legitimizers are those in positions of power within Toronto's Portuguese market: language teachers, Portuguese politicians, leaders of ethno-cultural associations, ethnic media reporters, and those Mainlanders who feel a sense of superiority from the unearned privilege that their linguistic and cultural habitus affords them. The spaces in which this marginalization occurs are the dominant institutions of the Portuguese market: language schools, homes, cultural associations, businesses, churches. The reasons why this sociolinguistic marginalization occurs are complicated and they relate to the historical marginalization of Azoreans in Portugal, the essentialization of internal difference and the

management of working-class status starting with the first imported Portuguese workers to Canada, and the sociolinguistic structuration of Toronto's early Portuguese market where the Mainlander norm became the dominant form of portugueseness despite the vast majority of Azoreans whose habitus is not legitimized. The consequences are, on the one hand, the absence, the silence, the marginalization and the exclusion of many Azorean descendants from the dominant institutions of portugueseness and, on the other hand, the inclusion, the valorization and the reproduction of power of Mainlander descendants and especially the market's elite.

With regards to the performances of portugueseness staged by university student associations in their year-end galas, we have seen how the definition of legitimacy depends on the intended market or audience. Since each of the PUSAs strove to be recognized to some extent by the elite in Toronto's Portuguese market, then they were judged to some extent by the dominant discourse of legitimate portugueseness that structures that market and protects the elite's resources. The performances of portugueseness that were legitimized by political, business and cultural leaders of the community were those that emphasized the standard Portuguese language, a traditional Portuguese space (like an ethno-cultural association), folklorized aspects of Portuguese history and culture, and an essentialized ethno-class solidarity. The consequences for the PUSA organizers who reproduced the dominant discourse included privileged access to symbolic and material capital from the market's dominant institutions, positive recognition from community leaders and a valorization of the organizers' Portuguese linguistic and cultural habitus. A negative consequence, however, is that these traditionalist galas may appeal more to the first generation than they do to second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. Yet, we have seen that those PUSA organizers who challenged the dominant performances of portugueseness by staging things differently - precisely to target those who may not participate in traditional Portuguese events - did not receive the same recognition or resources from the community's elite (i.e. the Portuguese ethnic media, ethnic entrepreneurs, ethno-cultural leaders and politicians). Both the performers and their performances of portugueseness are judged, and if a performer's linguistic and cultural habitus deviates from the dominant norm (in terms of regional origin, language, gender, sexuality, class, social network and more), then that person may have restricted access to the positions of power within the Portuguese market. Faced with this barrier, and the difficulties in overcoming it, such a person may choose to be absent from or silent in the Portuguese market or try and mobilize her delegitimized Portuguese habitus in a different market, as a capital of distinction, beyond the reach of the dominating institutions of portugueseness.

In the conclusion to this dissertation, I look at how the different examples of constrained agency and structural marginalization seen up to this point are informed by the conditions that support Toronto's Portuguese market the way it is currently structured. The productive tensions surrounding the market's duality between Mainlanders and Azoreans (and the question of why Azoreans do not abandon the Portuguese-Canadian market altogether) leads to a reflection on alternative visions of portugueseness beyond traditional views of ethno-nationalism and towards postnational constructions of language and identity.

Conclusion

This concluding section reflects on the big picture of why dominant portugueseness gets constructed the way it does in Toronto's Portuguese market and it imagines alternative visions of portugueseness that could be worth exploring in future research.

What we have learned about Toronto's Portuguese market

In the previous chapters we saw how examples of agency need to be understood against the backdrop of silences. To not be involved is to go towards silence vis-à-vis a particular discursive space, and with regards to the dominant discursive spaces of portugueseness in Toronto there are considerable silences. As we have seen throughout this dissertation, those people who appear to be largely silenced are Azorean descendants and second-generation Portuguese-Canadians (with further silences along gender, class and other lines). We have also seen how the creative agency of social actors, which in some cases could be understood as successful performances of their fluid and multiple identities, can be limited by the dominant sociolinguistic constraints imposed by those in positions of power who define what counts as legitimate performances of portugueseness. In many cases, this results in marginalization, exclusion and symbolic domination that are normalized by the dominant discourse in order to protect the resources of its elite and the unequal power structures that reproduce it.

Understood more broadly, these processes of identity construction underscore the argument that notions of ethnic identity are not entirely about agency nor are they entirely about personal characteristics. Instead, ethnic identities are about markets where agency and habitus work themselves out in contexts with specific histories and politics. The examples of constrained agency, of structural marginalization and of investments in portugueseness that support this research shed some critical light on the complicated political economy of language and identity in Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market. They reveal how this market is structured internally and externally and what the consequences of that structuration are in terms of how people, resources and discourses are positioned in specific spaces. The spaces discussed in the previous chapter - namely Portuguese language schools, ethno-cultural associations, ethnic media and, to some extent, ethnic businesses and political organizations - are the most powerful sites when it comes to producing and structuring the dominant discourse of portugueseness in Toronto (among others that were seen in Chapter 3). In order to understand the power behind these dominant institutions (or institutions of domination), and how a person is positioned with respect to them,

it is important to situate the historical, political and economic conditions in which this market is constructed.

By controlling who can enter Canada, when and with what access to which jobs, Canadian economic and immigration policies have historically promoted the reproduction of ethnolinguistic differences. The result is an unequal distribution of zones and statuses along ethnolinguistic and class lines that differed from the dominant or mainstream Canadian societies. In an effort to normalize these discriminatory economic and immigration policies, and to manage ethnolinguistic differences from within the country (Québécois nationalism, Aboriginal Peoples' treaty rights, older Europeans immigrants' citizenship rights) and from without (the arrival of new immigrants), the Canadian state introduced its policy of multiculturalism in 1971. This policy, which has become a pillar of Canada's post-modern identity, provided the material and symbolic conditions for the emergence of institutionalized forms of homogenized and bounded ethnolinguistic difference through the establishment of ethnic associations and media (McAll 1992). These ethnic institutions became contested terrains where a small elite emerged to define a group's identity and to represent the community in interactions with the Canadian state and in competition with other immigrant groups. As a result, important resources (i.e. jobs, services, social status) became organized into ethnolinguistic markets, like the Portuguese market, that had to set aside internal divisions and heterogeneity in order to portray a unified front and conform to the dominant organizing model of the nation-state. Thus, while veiled in a discursive guise of celebrating cultural diversity, Canada's multiculturalist policy ignores and reproduces internal group divisions and inequality by reinforcing the homogenizing ideology of "one nation – one language – one people" (Blommaert 1999).

Under these ideological and economic conditions, the first "leaders" of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community, who appear to have been men of Mainland Portuguese descent (Giles 2002), filled the market created by the Canadian state with the dominant nationalist views of Mainland Portugal as the centre of Portugal's "founding myths", the birthplace of the Portuguese "race" (an imperial invention exploited by Salazar's fascist regime), the source of a standard Portuguese language, and the centre of all things legitimately Portuguese. In order to produce a unified image for Canada's multicultural "mosaic", internal divisions along Portuguese regional, linguistic, class and gendered lines were essentialized. This kind of essentialization has allowed the Canadian economy to use ethnolinguistic identity to make and mark class relations. These ethno-class dynamics associate being Portuguese with being

working-class (from 1963 to 1982 approximately 92% of Portuguese immigrant workers in Canada were identified as working-class according to Giles 2002). Moreover, by legitimizing and funding a system of ethnolinguistic (working-class) markets that runs parallel to Canadian mainstream (middle-class) society, with some occasional crossings, the Canadian state uses ethnicity (as well as language, race and gender) to divide the working-class and displace its hostility for the upper classes on to those who are seen to be class and ethnic rivals (McAll 1992) – pitting Italians against Portuguese, for example.

There is a convergence of homogenizing ideologies, between Canada's economic and multiculturalist discourses and Portugal's nationalist discourse, that legitimizes the dominant discourses of what it means to be Portuguese in Toronto. As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, the form of portugueseness that dominates the market is one of national unity and solidarity, of Mainland dominance, of linguistic and cultural authenticity, of "old-world" traditions and working-class status (rurality, peasantry, folklore, maritime exploration), of nostalgia or *saudade*, of return (physically, emotionally or financially), of Catholicism, of paternal authority, of monolingualism, of maintenance and of continuity across generations. These constructions of portugueseness are institutionalized within the market's spaces such as ethno-cultural associations, ethnic festivals, ethnic media outlets, language schools, ethnic businesses (like travel agencies, banks and others), churches and ethnic religious associations, ethnic professional associations and ethnic political organizations (like the Portuguese consulate).

As "institutionally complete" as the Portuguese market may be, it is also socially divided. The symbolic and material resources within these dominant spaces are defined by privileged social actors in order to benefit some people and not others. This positioning is based largely on an individual's linguistic and cultural habitus and how it measures up or not against the dominant discourse. As we have seen throughout this dissertation, few people measure up. Those people in the Portuguese market who can most easily be marginalized and excluded are Azoreans and second generation youth...and women, and those born of mixed marriages, and those who are gay, and...the list goes on. In fact, here is the unattainable benchmark set by the dominant discourse in order to exclude as many people as possible: the ideal or most "legitimate" Portuguese-Canadian would be someone who is of Mainland Portuguese descent, male, white, first-generation, fluent speaker of standard Portuguese, monolingually bilingual (i.e. does not mix English and Portuguese), heterosexual, Catholic, married, with children who are like him,

middle- or working-class, proud to identify as Portuguese, participates actively in public performances of portugueseness, invests in and defends portugueseness and the Portuguese community at all costs, returns to Portugal often, wants to retire and be buried there. Even more dominant attributes can be ascribed to him (i.e. he is from Lisbon, he knows all about Portuguese history and culture, etc.), but this person is, of course, fictional and no one fits this dominant discursive mould to perfection. This benchmark covers all of the interests of those in positions of power with something to say about portugueseness and who want to avoid as much competition as possible. It also tries to convince working-class Portuguese-Canadians that their goal should be to meet this ideal as if ethnolinguistic legitimacy were the fulfillment of a person's life, without questioning the structure that reinforces it and the class dynamics that reproduce it.

Any challenge to the dominant discourse (e.g. breaking the monolingual Mainland Portuguese rule found in most dominant Portuguese spaces) is framed as an attack on legitimate portugueseness and against the essence of the entire Portuguese-Canadian community, rather than on the people in positions of power in dominant institutions or the structure that reinforces their power. In some cases these negative reactions to difference within the Portuguese market are legitimized not only by dominant discourses from Portugal, but also by the discourse of Canadian multiculturalism which expects to see a traditional, monolingual form of portugueseness performed within a community that is constructed as a unified, bounded whole.

Those who do not conform to the dominant discourse, either because they are excluded or because they chose to be absent as a form of resistance, are as important to the dominant discourse as those who are included. The excluded provide the foil against which the included are valorized with symbolic and material resources. The excluded also become the target of the dominant discourse which asks why they are not involved, or why they do not speak Portuguese (even though it knows that its dominance comes from the exclusion of others). Rarely does anyone ask why those who are included are actually included. Their presence and their habitus are taken for granted and normalized. In the same way, the structure, history, power and the conditions that support the Portuguese market are also rarely questioned.

Against this backdrop of exclusion, unequal power relations and fake uniformity, the reality is that many second generation Portuguese-Canadians find it difficult to navigate the market's discursive spaces, especially if their linguistic and cultural habitus are not legitimized. Another consequence of the way Toronto's Portuguese market is structured is a division between Azoreans and Mainlanders who make up two parts of the same market. These two are partners in

conflict over legitimate constructions of portugueseness, but who still need each other to some extent.

Partners in conflict

In Toronto, Azoreans and Mainlanders are partners in a project of Portuguese nationalism and Canadian multiculturalism, but they are in conflict over their roles and their power in that project. Why does each group need each other? The Mainlanders need the Azoreans because, above all else, they provide them with demographic legitimacy. Without the Azoreans, the number of people who could be identified as Portuguese would drop by at least two-thirds (which is significant considering that the official 2006 census count of Portuguese ethnic origin responses in Toronto was 188,110). Having fewer people leads to less money and less attention from the government, and also to fewer investors, consumers and members for the Portuguese market's services and institutions.

Given their numeric advantage and the history of their marginalization in Portugal and in Canada from the means of legitimate Portuguese cultural production, which I argue are controlled by a Mainland elite, why do Azoreans need Mainlanders? Why do they not organize themselves separately from the Mainlanders in Toronto? It must be said that many Azorean descendants do organize themselves separately and do not participate in the dominant institutions or spaces of Toronto's Portuguese market. Whether they are excluded, marginalized, resisting or choosing to not be present, the conflict results in their absence. Interestingly, this conflict rarely results in open, public contestation. Instead, many Azoreans speak with their feet or through their silence in relation to the dominant discourses of portugueseness. For instance, one of the ways that many Azoreans appear to be organizing themselves separately is by investing in English rather than Portuguese (speaking English at home and insisting that their children learn it). My best interpretation of this decision, which infuriates many of those (mostly Mainlanders) who are invested in the maintenance of Portuguese language in the Toronto market, is that it relates to the stigmatization of the parents' "Azorean Portuguese" and the desire for a better life in Canada compared to the difficulties faced previously in the Azores. I suspect that in some cases if Azorean parents were told or made to understand that they spoke "bad" Portuguese then they may not have wanted to teach their children that "bad" Portuguese, preferring instead to have a predominantly English-speaking home. For these parents, who may or may not be invested in the

Portuguese market, learning English from their children, for example, could be beneficial for accessing the Canadian market.

Against this backdrop of absence, there are also many Azoreans who do invest in Toronto's Portuguese market and benefit, to some extent, from the ethnolinguistic structure that Mainlanders have dominated. Processes of marginalization, like any social process, are never homogeneous and uniform. Even in the early structuration of the Portuguese market, there must have been at least a small minority of Azoreans who developed positions of power. Perhaps they were able to carve out a (peripheral) space for themselves by offering a service that others could not, or a service that catered specifically to the Azorean community. Perhaps they were token appointees. Further research into the critical history of the early structuration of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community would help shed some light on how the conflict between Mainlanders and Azoreans played itself out as the Portuguese partners met for what was, in most cases, the first time.

One could also argue that Azoreans are, in a sense, the guarantors of an unsullied and grass-roots portugueseness in Toronto through their vernacular speech and the romanticized true-to-traditional-life authenticity that it constructs. With this, Azoreans can find some ways into the resources distributed through Canadian multiculturalism and Portuguese diasporic (trans)nationalism, even though they have to struggle with Mainlanders to control them.

Although these authentic (and vernacular) Azorean performances of portugueseness rarely get performed in public productions of dominant portugueseness (e.g. there are few Azorean entries in the Portugal Day parade), there are divisions within the local Portuguese market that allow Azoreans to perform their azoreanness in a space that has not been traditionally controlled by the Mainlanders: the Catholic church. There, Azoreans dominate the market of religious festivals, processions and marching bands, whereas Mainlanders dominate the markets of ethnic media, cultural associations, folklore performances and language schools.

The main reason why many Azoreans have not organized themselves separately from the Mainlanders is because, I argue, the ethno-nationalist ideologies that tie them together are historically powerful ways of organizing societies and economies. These ideologies define Azoreans as Portuguese first and Azoreans second because the Portuguese nation-state predates the "creation" of the Azores. Since nationalism is one of the most defining elements of ethnic identity, it is difficult to be recognized in other markets if one does not conform to that dominant ideology – especially when ethnic identity has been used to structure working-class society. In

Toronto, Azoreans are understood in ethno-national terms as a sub-group of the Portuguese in order to fit with the discourses of Canadian multiculturalism. Officially recognizing Azoreans as different from the Mainland Portuguese would risk destabilizing the essentialist structuring of Canada's ethnolinguistic mosaic. It would also require Azoreans to articulate an alternate vision of portugueseness (i.e. azoreanness), to promote a certain degree of uniformity and standardization and to risk losing capital from and access to the established Portuguese market. Articulating a clear alternate vision has been problematic.

Part of the problem is that such a vision would require overcoming the Azorean's symbolic domination, which is reinforced by ethno-nationalist ideologies. To some extent, Azoreans may have internalized and naturalized their symbolic domination by the Mainlanders and the dominant discourse of portugueseness. In other words, some of them may think that the Azorean marginalization suffered in Portugal and in the Portuguese-Canadian community is simply the natural order of things. While this attitude may better describe the first generation of immigrants, this research also suggests that the second generation of Azorean-Canadians is marginalized to some extent and that negative ideologies of language and identity get passed on and reproduced across generations. This social reproduction of marginalization happens for a reason. These essentializing discourses of portugueseness and multiculturalism mask unequal relations of power that prevent Azoreans from challenging the status quo and that reproduce ethno-class dynamics which are productive for the political economy of Toronto. Thus, since ethnolinguistic identity is a dominant form of social organization in Canadian society, and elsewhere, many Azoreans cannot legitimately distinguish themselves along those lines so the best that they can do in opting out is silence.

Developing a clearly defined alternate vision where they could opt in requires creating their own market and competing with the long-standing Portuguese market, which would not be easy despite the Azorean numeric advantage. Creating an alternate vision of Azorean identity would also require dealing with the internal divisions. Historically, the Azorean islands have been divided along geographic, political, economic, educational, cultural, ethnic and linguistic lines, among others. But such divisions also exist in Mainland Portugal. The main difference is that Mainland Portugal is the centre of power, so the divisions there are more easily managed (masked) than they are in the Azores, which exist at the margins of power. In Toronto there are also divisions between Azoreans. They are divided geographically (coming from different islands, living in different parts of the city), linguistically (some speak "standard" Portuguese,

others do not), generationally, economically, educationally and politically, among other ways. But here again, Mainlanders are equally divided. What keeps Azoreans divided in Toronto is their marginality and their position at the periphery of the local Portuguese market. It is not that Azoreans are disorganized, but, rather, that they were marginalized when the organization and the structuration of the community began in the late 1950s (see Chapter 2). Thus, the infrastructure for developing a Portuguese elite and for developing uniformization - to meet the demands of Canadian economic and multiculturalist policies - became structured by Mainlanders.

Moreover, at the time when this Portuguese market was being structured in Toronto, the only clear institutionalized vision of portugueseness that existed was that of the Portuguese nation state; an alternative vision of the Azores within or without Portugal was still not clear. However, after the social democratic revolution of 1974, that alternate vision became clearer with the recognition of the Azores as an Autonomous Region of Portugal in 1976. This process created a certain uniformization with the trappings of a mini-nation-state: the Azores were granted increased control over their political and economic power, they created a flag, an anthem, a holiday, a university, an airline and more. How this process was taken up in Toronto's Portuguese market at that time is a question for future research.

From what I understand, however, the uniformization and standardization that began in the Azores, and that comes with any nationalist inspired project, has been difficult for Toronto's Azorean community to negotiate because it requires a certain denial of the way it has previously identified itself (and been identified by others) in Canada. Azoreans are, to some extent, invested in their difference: azoreanness is different than portugueseness. Standardizing the distinctiveness of "Azorean Portuguese" in Toronto requires denying the value of the authenticity that the vernacular variability provides. This variability affords Azoreans some capital of distinction as the "real authentics", the real salt of the earth, as opposed to the "snobby", "elite" Mainlanders. Will the uniformization and standardization involved in this alternate vision of azoreanness risk making Azoreans more like Mainlanders or is there a way around Mainland Portugal and the dominant discourses of portugueseness? This question leads to a discussion of potential and emerging changes in Toronto's Portuguese market, as well as alternative visions of portugueseness that are being constructed along postnational lines through the mobilization of the Portuguese diaspora.

Potential changes and alternate visions for portugueseness in Canada

The shift from national to global economies, through the expansion of international trade and the circulation of human and material capital, has produced a political shift from nationalism to transnationalism and postnationalism where, although the nation-state way of organizing people remains, there are ways around the official nation-state status in order to participate in the globalized new economy (Heller 2011). In this context, diasporas can be mobilized as springboards to globalization and as spaces for the construction of global or supranational identities that challenge the hegemonic discourses of language, identity, and the nation-state. Portuguese diasporas are particularly interesting in this regard because they reveal how this mobilization has unfolded at different times and in different spaces: first, from the centralized Portuguese government in the mid-1970s and second, from the regional government of the Azores in the 1990s.

It is beyond the scope of this section to detail or revisit all of the historical, political and economic ties between Portugal and its diaspora, but some background is in order. With the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire in 1974, the new social democratic discourse filled the hole in the nationalistic project left behind by the independence of its former African colonies by reinscribing the Portuguese diasporic communities into the national narrative. Their financial contributions had long been inscribed into Portugal's national coffers, but the shifting discourse of Portuguese global relevance reframed those citizens who left, or were pushed out, as a new generation of Portuguese explorers and adventurers who were boldly making a place for themselves and for Portugal around the world (Feldman-Bianco 1992, Rocha-Trindade 2009). In this light, Portugal Day celebrations were recast as celebrations of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese diasporic communities, rather than celebrations of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese race. The state ministries of foreign affairs, education, tourism and economy have all been involved in diasporic projects through the institutionalized spaces of Portuguese consulates, embassies, tourism and business bureaus, language centres and more. Institutions geared specifically for the diasporic communities have also appeared, including, for example, the Conselho das Comunidades (Council of [Portuguese] Communities), whose work remains largely unknown to me.

In the case of the Azores, the formal efforts to tap into the Azorean diaspora became possible after the creation of the autonomous regional government. Its "foreign affairs" are focused primarily through the "Regional Directorate for (Azorean) Communities", one of the main branches of the government. Among my future research projects will be a critical look at how the Azorean government is positioning the Azorean diaspora as a springboard to globalization, separately from the centralized Portuguese state, and what kind of impact this positioning has on the diasporic communities in Canada and the United States.

Semi-regular visits by Azorean politicians to Toronto's Azorean Portuguese community over the last decade, for example, have slowly increased the visibility of the Azores in the community's dominant institutions. At the end of chapter 2 we saw, ever so briefly, how the Azorean state celebrated its regional holiday in Toronto in 2009 with events in the local community, a state gala dinner and an official state visit at the Ontario Provincial Government, with the political leaders of both regions present for a flag-raising and anthem-singing ceremony. The Azorean state also opened a mini-consular office in the city's Azorean House (*Casa dos Açores*), which is, itself, part of a transnational network of Azorean Houses partially funded by the Regional Directorate for (Azorean) Communities.

More recently, I have discovered diasporic initiatives on the part of the Azorean government focused almost exclusively on language and the younger generations of *açor-descendentes*. One such initiative is called *Ao Colo da Língua Portuguesa* ("In the arms/lap of the Portuguese language"), which was launched in February 2011 at a *Casa dos Açores* located in Montréal, Québec. The objective of the program is to motivate Azorean families to maintain the Portuguese language at home. By way of incentive, the Azorean government has agreed to send a "kit" with children's books in Portuguese to anyone who notifies it of the birth of a child of Azorean descent (DRC 2011). This initiative raises important questions, in my opinion, about the ways in which language and identity are constructed locally and transnationally. The fact that the Azores are trying to promote the maintenance of Portuguese in their diasporic communities is particularly interesting given that in some of those communities many Azorean emigrants have been stigmatized, to varying degrees, for the way that they speak ("Azorean Portuguese").

This initiative also highlights the effort of the Azorean government to construct an alternate and global vision of azoreanness that is more uniform and standardized than it has been in the past. The sociolinguistic situation of the Azores in the last few decades is not what it was prior to and between the 1950s and 70s, when most Azoreans came to Canada. Since then the

Azores have experienced important improvements in education, transportation, telecommunications and the economy as well as demographic shifts that have changed many of the communities that spoke stigmatized regional varieties of Portuguese in the past. Standard (Mainland) Portuguese is the norm spoken on the islands (although regionalized pockets, like the marginalized town of Rabo de Peixe in São Miguel, still remain). How will that norm travel with the books sent to children of Azorean descent in Toronto (assuming that there is even a demand for these books)? Will it be in the form of audio recordings in order to show Azoreans in the diaspora that those back ("home") in the Azores no longer speak "Açoriano"? Will Azorean parents and grandparents in the diaspora read the books to their (grand)children and potentially pass along some of their stigmatized linguistic habitus? In other words, how will the variability of the earlier immigrants' vernacular speech, which granted them a certain degree of "authenticity", interact with a standard Portuguese that is now more widely spoken in the Azores but which, in Toronto, remains associated to a Mainland elite? In any case, the objective of this linguistic program is clear: to construct an Azorean diaspora that shares a common language.¹ Other postnational diasporic initiatives on the part of the Azorean government that clearly position young people as inheritors and future investors in a transnational market include summer language programs and youth summits for Azorean descendants from around the world, and increasing efforts to create university exchange programs between the University of the Azores and universities in Canada (DRC 2011, http://www.encontrodejovens.org/).

Beyond the revisioning of Toronto's Portuguese market from a Portuguese diasporic perspective, there are alternative visions of portugueseness and of the community that I would like to see enacted at the local level in order to address some of the issues of exclusion and marginalization raised in this dissertation. I would like to see a community or a market which can create spaces where it is possible to challenge the histories of Portugal and of Canada, and where alternative visions of portugueseness can be discussed. With regards to Portuguese history, I would like to see a critical re-reading that looks at how social, economic, racial and linguistic differences were produced and reproduced. One that is not afraid to address the injustices of the past and recognize the positions of unearned privilege that have resulted as a

projects within the Portuguese state by comparing and contrasting those from Mainland Portugal and the Azores.

¹ Interestingly, the website of the Regional Government of the Azores (http://www.azores.gov.pt/), which adopts the English spelling of the Azores (vs. *Açores*), is fully bilingual in Portuguese and English, as are the newsletters sent out by the government's diasporic branches. By contrast, all the websites that relate to the national Portuguese government's diasporic initiatives, including the *Conselho das Comunidades* (http://www.conselhoccp.com/), are only available in Portuguese (and not in French or English). Future research can explore the different diasporic

consequence. One where Azoreans can openly challenge the dominant Portuguese narrative. This kind of critical reflexivity could also be applied to the experiences of colonization inherited by different lusophone communities in Toronto in order to create a dialogue beyond the paternalistic and linguistic sense of solidarity.

With regards to Canadian history, I would like to see an equally critical re-reading of the past and of the present that examines similar processes of benefitting from social, economic and linguistic differences. One that acknowledges the reasons why and the conditions in which the first waves of Portuguese immigrants arrived. One that is not afraid to look into the structuration of the first Portuguese institutions and ask about how gendered, linguistic, economic, regional and social differences were negotiated. I would like to see a community that cares about how these differences are and have been negotiated by other groups in Canadian society. One that is engaged in more broad struggles against racism, gender, class and other inequalities at the local, national and international levels and less fixated on maintaining and protecting an essentialized ethnic identity that is isolated within Canadian multiculturalism and class structure.

My alternative vision of Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian community is one that is willing to accept more diversity and multiplicity in its community structures; one that is more inclusive of women, of younger generations, of different classes and of regional and racial differences. One that is willing to accept more linguistic diversity, where Portuguese cultural associations can be bilingual and recognize *portinglês* as one of many different ways of speaking and being. One where the local ethnic media is also bilingual, and where young people are given a chance to contribute. One where young Portuguese-Canadians are not ideologized as the inheritors of the future, but, rather, as actors in the present. I would like to see a community that is more flexible, where portugueseness is defined more locally rather than through images of distant nations or regions. A community where the younger generations can construct and perform new kinds of portugueseness or be free to not perform any kind of portugueseness at all.

Crossing things off this utopic wish list is extremely difficult under the conditions that structure and have structured Toronto's Portuguese-Canadian market, and there will always be competition over the definition of boundaries and the unequal distribution of resources controlled by people in positions of power. Nevertheless, there are changes underway. I anticipate the number of Portuguese ethnocultural associations in Toronto to decrease given the cuts to the state funding of multicultural programs, the death rates of Portuguese-Canadian seniors, the geographic mobility and dispersion of Portuguese-Canadians away from working-class "Little"

Portugal" and other areas of ethnic concentration. In this regard, the middle-class city of Mississauga serves as an interesting case-study to be explored further (following Teixeira 1996, 1999, 2002), with its one large Portuguese ethno-cultural association (the MPCA seen above in chapters 3 and 5) that tries to represent all of Portugal and its two "Portuguese" churches with close ties to the Azorean community.

What will the ethno-cultural terrain of Toronto's Portuguese market look like ten or twenty years from now? Will there be any changes to the ways in which ethnolinguistic identity, like being Portuguese, is used to make and mark class relations in Canada? These questions bring us to the final section on questions for future research.

Questions for future research

In the process of writing this dissertation, questions came to me that I had not considered when I originally set up my fieldwork. These included questions surrounding ethno-class dynamics in Canadian society, postnational mobilizations of diasporas or the structuration of Toronto's early Portuguese community. There were also questions that I had originally set out to answer but which, because of limited access or personal resources, I was unable to explore fully. These included questions surrounding the everyday workings of traditional Portuguese ethnocultural associations, the differences between being Portuguese in Mississauga and being Portuguese in Toronto and the question of how to find Portuguese-Canadians who are excluded from the Portuguese market. Still other questions were largely ignored in order to present the complicated ways in which the dominant discourse of portugueseness positions people in a market that makes and marks ethnolinguistic identity along class lines under the auspices of Canadian multiculturalism. Some of the ignored questions deal with the presence of lusophone or Portuguese-speaking Others at the periphery of Toronto's Portuguese market, with the absence of Madeirans and with constructions of canadianness in relation to portugueseness. None of these are fatal flaws in my research, but they do present avenues worth exploring in future research.

In a dissertation on critical, ethnographic sociolinguistics I wish I could have included the voices and life experiences of Portuguese-speaking immigrants to Toronto from Brazil, Angola and Mozambique because it would have been very interesting to see and hear how they complicate the dominant discourses of portugueseness. That said, they are not completely absent from my data as they did appear in my participants' language ideological debates over what counts as legitimate Portuguese. A closer look at the interactions between the Portuguese

community and those from the broader lusophone community is worth exploring further because the two groups are often conflated on account of their "shared" language (through the homogenizing ideology of the nation or, in this case, the colonial state). For example, the Canadian state may expect that Portuguese-Canadian NGOs serve Brazilian, Angolan and Mozambican clients because they all speak Portuguese, without necessarily considering the linguistic, social, cultural, ethno-racial and class differences between them. Indeed, the demographic category of "Portuguese speakers" (which rarely gets broken down by language varieties) can be used to mean different things for different people: for the Portuguese-Canadian elite it can be used to inflate the size of their market and to argue in favour of Portuguese language services and classes without attending to the linguistic variability that is consequently glossed over. Future research should examine how the Portuguese market is structured in comparison to the Brazilian, Angolan and Mozambican markets and to see which social actors are able to navigate which spaces and why (building on the work of Lebert 1999, Pacheco 2004 and Brasch 2007).

Indeed, more critical ethnographic and interdisciplinary work in general is required in order to contextualize and deconstruct the political economy of ethnic, linguistic, gendered, sexualized, racialized and class identities in relations between the Canadian state and the Portuguese state. Comparative work with the United States would also be revealing because the history of the Portuguese community there is considerably different than that of the Portuguese in Canada: it is larger; it dates back longer; it appears to have less Portuguese regional mixing within its communities; it deals with different economic, immigration and integration policies (building on work by Dias 1984, de Sá 1985, Bloemraad 1999, Holton and Klimt 2009).

Expanding on the postnational discussion earlier, there are interesting questions to be explored in the reconfiguration of the ties between language, identity and nationalism that are brought about by the conditions of the globalized new economy. These conditions allow for a rethinking of what multilingualism and what multiculturalism mean, in different spaces, and of how they can produce commodified forms of language and identity. Is Portuguese ethnic identity being produced and commercialized for global markets, including Canada, through tourism, sport and cultural production? Is Portuguese language being commodified as a skill in sites such as the language industry or even the music industry? In other words, how are Portuguese language and identity being commodified and exchanged in the face of a restructuration of economic and symbolic flows?

Questions like these, among others, can be explored thoroughly in a critical, ethnographic sociolinguistic framework that focuses on language as a social practice embedded in processes of social structuration, and on identity as situated performances in specific markets in response to political economic constraints that limit a person's access to symbolic and material resources. I hope that the questions raised in this dissertation will challenge other sociolinguists, sociologists, anthropologists, historians, social geographers and other critical thinkers to continue the exploratory work begun here.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Interview guidelines

Topics to be covered with individuals (key, network and secondary participants) include:

- Individual's life (sociolinguistic) history
 - O Where they were born, grew up
 - Where other family members were born, grew up, what they do for work
 - o Languages learned/spoken in different social settings, with whom, why?
 - Family's/friends' life expectations vs. their own (any links to language practices?)
 - Education current/future (any schooling in Portuguese?)
 - Work current/future (any work done in Portuguese? With Portuguese?)
 - Social network (any Portuguese-Canadians? Other lusophones?)
 - o Positive and negative experiences related to their language practices
- Experiences and involvement, if any, with the Portuguese-Canadian community
 - What? Where? How? With whom? When? Why (not)?
 - What language practices are required? Who else participates? Who does not?
 - Share experiences and thoughts on the community in general, on activities, on successes and failures, things that need improving
- Experiences, if any, in Portugal or in other lusophone countries
- Thoughts on the role of language and identity in their life and in the life of those around them
- Thoughts on what *portugueseness* means for them, their friends/family and others.
- Thoughts on the future:
 - Their personal future where they will be in x years and what influence will portugueseness and speaking Portuguese have on them? Their family?
 - o Any changes to their language practices?
 - The future of the Portuguese-Canadian community, young people's participation, language practices

The topics above will also be discussed with community leaders and those in charge of organizations, however a few additional topics will include:

- the history and origins of the organization or activity and how it links to the community
- the goals and rules behind the organization or the activity
- the nature, structure and content of the goods/resources in circulation
- the personnel (how many, their distribution throughout the organization, any necessary training, their language practices and any relevant sociological characteristics: age, sex, education, place of origin, etc.)
- the participants/target audience and their recruitment (how many, where they are from, their language practices, their roles and any important sociological characteristics for the organization)
- the importance of language practices in the various activities (which language variants? For what? Which norms/standards apply? Who is responsible? How? Why?)
- the future of their organization and any future activities planned
- their thoughts on *portugueseness* and the future of the Portuguese-Canadian community, especially that of second-generation Portuguese-Canadians.

Appendix B: Observation guidelines

The observation guidelines below apply for any site/setting with any participant/organization.

- 1. The nature of the activities and interactions taking place. Which resources are circulating? Where? When? Why?
- 2. How people are organized and how they react to the activities, to each other.
- 3. Who is present? Who is not? (younger/older generations, Azoreans/Continentals/other lusophones/others) Who is leading/actively involved? Why?
- 4. How the physical space is organized and managed for the activities, and individuals/groups in each site. (What is in the foreground? What is not? Why?)
- 5. Language choice and language use (spoken and/or written). Who speaks? Who does not? What language(s) is/are used? How? When? Why? Non-verbal communication (gestures, body language, eye contact, etc.)
- 6. What is the content of the discourse(s)? What kind of information is requested and received? What kinds of social relations seem to be called into play?
- 7. How is time organized and managed between the activities, and individuals/groups?
- 8. Notice any observable routines, reoccurring actors/activities/themes?
- 9. How are unexpected problems dealt with?
- 10. What is your role as a participant observer?

Are you Portuguese-Canadian?





Between 18 - 25 years old?



What do you consider yourself?:



- a) Portuguese
- b) Canadian
- c) Portuguese-Canadian
- d) All of the above
- e) Other

Do you need to speak Portuguese to be Portuguese?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Depends

Do you want to explore more questions like these?

I am a Ph.D. student at the University of Toronto doing research for my thesis. I want to know more about the role of language and identity in the lives of second-generation Portuguese-Canadian youth. I am doing a case study of six to eight young people of Azorean and Mainland Portuguese background, born in Canada of Portuguese parents and living in Toronto or Mississauga who will allow me to interview and observe them in different settings from September 2005 to September 2006. You do **not** need to speak Portuguese to participate and your confidentiality is guaranteed.

General topics to be discussed include:

- describing the role of language (Portuguese/English/other) in different parts of your life (at home, at work, at school, with friends, etc.)
- describing your experiences and involvement, if any, in the Portuguese-Canadian community
- describing your thoughts on what it means to be Portuguese in Canada and if/how it differs from your parents/family/friends

If you are interested in participating please contact me for more details:

Emanuel da Silva [contact information removed for this publication]

Appendix D: Transcription guidelines (based on Heller and Labrie 2003)

- Respect spelling but try to faithfully represent natural speech. Do not correct repetitions, hesitations, reformulations or self-corrections.
- Just as in natural speech, there is no formal punctuation
- Words in *italics* are spoken in a language other than English (i.e. *Português*)
- Syllabic lengthening is indicated by a : (colon)
- A change in stress pattern is indicated by an apostrophe before the vowel.

```
Ex.: 'Portugal vs. Portu'gal
```

- Metadiscursive comments appear in [...]. Ex.: [surprise], [laughs], [noise]
- Intonation is indicated by a !? or in a [comment]
- Added emphasis in the speech is <u>underlined</u>
- Pauses:

```
Ex.: / - short pause (breath)
// - slightly longer pause
/// - long pause
/ [5sec] - pause for number of seconds
```

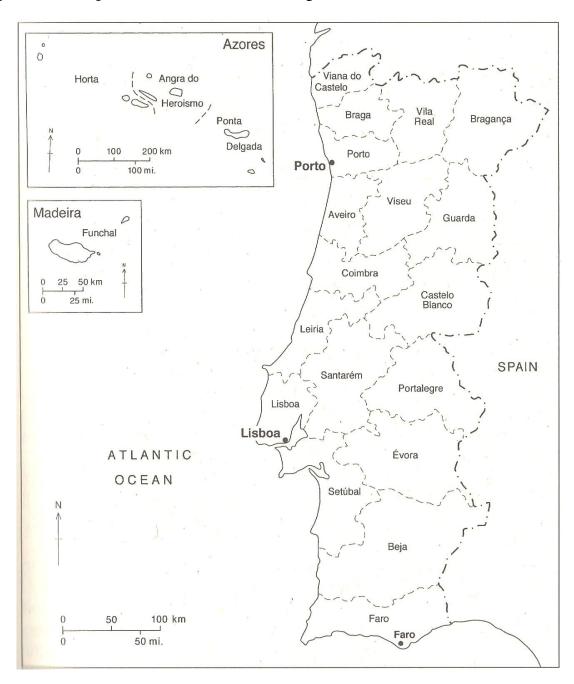
- Incomprehensible sequences are identified by X's:

```
Ex.: (X) – short sequence
(XX) – longer sequence
(XXX) – a sequence of several words
(X 4 sec) – a sequence for a number of seconds
(mor-X) – a part of the word which is not clear
```

- Simultaneous overlapping of speech (two persons or more) is indicated by dashes and parallel position in the transcript.

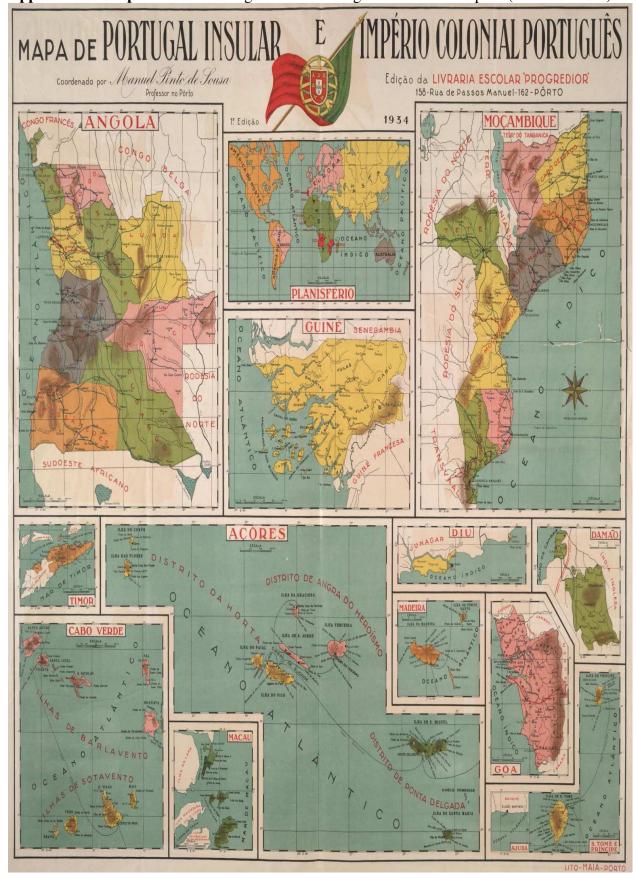
```
Ex.: A: -- you know? -- F: -- it's not just that --
```

Appendix E: Map 1: Districts of Mainland Portugal, Azores and Madeira



Source: Teixeira and da Rosa (2009:5).

Appendix F: Map 2: Insular Portugal and the Portuguese Colonial Empire (de Sousa 1934)



Appendix G: Table A: Portuguese immigration to Canada (1946-1992)

	CANADIAN	PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION DATA re: CANADA				
YEAR	IMMIGRATION	TOTAL	EMIGRATION	AZOREANS		
	DATA re:PRT	PORTUGUESE	FROM	AS % OF PRT		
	*	EMIGRATION**	AZORES***	EMIGRATION		
1946	38					
1947	25					
1948	51					
1949	66					
1950	87					
1951	157					
1952	256 (1903 ^a)					
1953	555	(179) «187»				
1954	1324	(952)				
1955	1427	(941)				
1956	1971	1612	#	#		
1957	4748	4158	#	#		
1958	2177	1619	#	#		
1959	4354	3961	#7673	#68		
1960	5258	4895	3539	72		
1961	2976	2635	1117	42		
1962	2928 (3398)	2739	1152	42		
1963	4000 (4689)	3424	2062	60		
1964	5309 (6090)	4770	2279	48		
1965	5734 (6505)	5197	2781	54		
	[7069]					
1966	9525 (8812)	6795	3719	55		
	[7930]					
1967	9500 (10478)	6615	3897	59		
1968	7738	6833	4373	64		

YEAR	CANADIAN	PORTUGUESE EMIGRATION DATA re: CANADA				
ILAK	IMMIGRATION	TOTAL	EMIGRATION	AZOREANS		
	DATA re:PRT	PORTUGUESE	FROM	AS % OF PRT		
	*	EMIGRATION**	AZORES***	EMIGRATION		
1969	7182	6502	4684	72		
1970	7902 (8000)	6529 (7500)	4271	65		
1971	9157	6983	4641	67		
1972	8737	6845	4669	68		
1973	13483	7403	4204	57		
1974	16333	11650	7822	67		
1975	8547	5857	3255	56		
1976	<i>5344</i> «6194»	3586 <3285>	4163	41		
1977	3579 «4736»	2280	752	33		
1978	3086 «1898»	1871	719	38		
1979	3723	2805	1145	41		
1980	4228	3269 <2334>	1955	60		
1981	3290	2250 <2196>	877	40		
		{3562 ^b }				
1982	2244	1480 {2537}	475	32		
1983	1350	823 {1787}	290	35		
1984	855	764 {1510}	288	38		
1985	910	<i>791</i> {1761}	311	39		
1986	1970	977 {3860}	317	33		
1987	5977	<i>3400</i> {9423}	917	27		
1988	6467	5646 {7388}	2191	39		
1989	8189	{12 312}	2560			
1990	7917	{8543}	2118			
1991	5963	{5910}	1581			
1992	2832		482			

Notes and sources:

Table A is based on Melo (1997:40) - because it is the most comprehensive one I could find - but I also compared the data in Melo (*italicized* above) with similar tables from Canadian and Portuguese sources: Anderson (1974:9) with data from 1946-70; Anderson and Higgs (1976:25) with data from 1952-70; Marques and Medeiros (1980:32) with data from 1946-79; Valério (2001:86-90) with data from 1886-1993. Discrepancies between these and Melo's table are identified in Table A by the use of brackets as explained below. Melo (1997:40) notes that "there are discrepancies between data supplied by the Portuguese emigration services and the Canadian Department of Immigration [...] Overall, Portuguese figures tend to be lower than Canadian [ones]." When only one set of numbers is given in Table A, all the sources agree (until 1970). The data on Azorean emigration is drawn entirely from Melo (1997:40).

Legend of symbols used:

- * Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, <u>Ethnic Origin by Province</u>, Ottawa, 1956 as cited in Melo (1997:40) Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, Immigration, 1946 to 1992. as cited in Melo (1997:40)
- ** Instituto de Apoio à Emigração e às Comunidades Portuguesas. A Emigração Portuguesa Dados Estatísticos Retrospectivos 1966-1990. Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades Portuguesas. as cited in Melo (1997:40)
- *** Região Autónoma dos Açores, Emigração. Portugal : Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores as cited in Melo (1997:40)
- -- Data not available
- # Cumulative data from 1956 to 1959 as cited in Melo (1997:40)
- (0101) "Conflicting" data from Table 3 "Portuguese Emigration to Canada (1952-70)" in Anderson and Higgs (1976:25).
- [0101] "Conflicting" data from Table 4 "Number of Immigrants to Canada from Portugal, 1946-1970" in Anderson (1974:9).
- «0101» "Conflicting" data from a table on "Portuguese Immigration to Canada" in Marques and Medeiros (1980:32) based on Canada Manpower Statistics.
- <0101> "Conflicting" data from Table 2.11 "[Portuguese] Legal emigration by destination, 1886-1988" (Valério 2001:86-9).
- {0101} "Conflicting" data from Table 2.12 "Numbers of Portuguese emigrants entering some destination countries, 1981-1993" (Valério 2001:90).
- a I believe this number, from Anderson and Higgs (1976:25), is an accidental error because it is outrageously high. Perhaps the authors meant 193.
- b These figures <2196> and {3562} come from different tables in the same report (Valério 2001). I believe that they represent different aspects of the migration process: the smaller <number> looks at "legal" migration, whereas the larger {number} does not distinguish "legality".

Appendix H: Table B: Portuguese population, total emigration and emigration to Canada by region and *district* (1950-84)

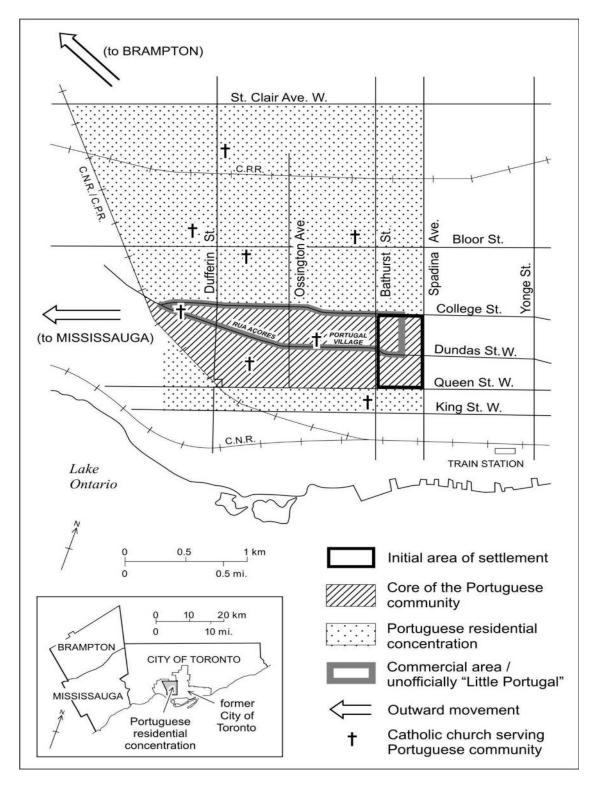
penuix II. Table b	• 1 Offugues	se population	n, war chin	granon and	Ciligration	io Canada by	region and aisi	11101 (1930-0
	Pop.	POP.	Pop.	Pop.	TOTAL	EMIGR'N	% TOTAL	% Total
	1950*	1960*	1970*	1981*	EMIGR'N	TO	EMIGR'N FROM	PORT IN
					BY REGION/	CANADA	DISTRICT TO	CANADA
					DISTRICT**	1950-84**	Can 1950-84**	1950-84**
PORTUGAL	8 441 312	8 851 289	8 568 703	9 852 841	1 434 334	126 455	8.8%	100%
AZORES	317 409	327 806	284 161	249 101	179 646	74 450	41.4%	59%
Angra do Heroísmo					39 105	11 116	28.4%	8.8%
Horta					23 391	6 326	27%	5%
Ponta Delgada					117 510	57 008	48.7%	45%
MADEIRA	266 990	268 069	250 174	259 251	109 259	1 487	1.4%	1%
Funchal					109 259	1487	1.4%	1%
(Mainland) NORTH					417 137	10 843	2.8%	8.6%
Braga	541 377	593 587	607 354	709 763	108 254	2546	2.4%	2%
Bragança	227 125	230 266	176 246	181 375	53 874	925	1.7%	0.7%
Porto	1 052 663	1 191 504	1 302 786	1 561 310	126 578	1656	1.3%	1.3%
Viana do Castelo	274 532	275 345	249 919	255 395	66 406	4392	6.6%	3.5%
Vila Real	317 372	322 649	261 995	263 972	62 025	1324	2.1%	1%
(Mainland) CENTRE					467 517	18 289	3.9%	14.5%
Aveiro	477 191	522 227	539 688	619 966	115 494	5036	4.4%	4%
Castelo Branco	320 279	310 745	250 351	232 967	46 772	2176	4.7%	1.7%
Coimbra	432 044	433 596	398 678	441 001	51 563	2525	4.9%	2%
Guarda	304 368	276 470	207 469	205 405	70 951	740	1%	0.6%
Leiria	389 182	400 275	374 535	418 942	92 595	6841	7.4%	5.4%
Viseu	487 182	477 468	407 538	421 752	90 412	971	1.1%	0.8%
(Mainland) LISBON					118 899	12 556	10.6%	9.9%
Lisboa	1 226 815	1 402 586	1 578 614	2 085 861	118 899	12 556	10.6%	9.9%
(Mainland)ALENTEJO					99 906	6 286	6.3%	5%
Setúbal ⁺	324 186	376 128	465 367	654 312	27 575	2451	8.9%	1.9%
Веја	286 803	268 911	201 502	184 252	15 960	604	3.8%	0.5%
Évora	219 638	215 186	175 286	179 241	5 772	83	1.4%	0.07%
Portalegre	196 993	183 841	143 903	142 141	4 252	162	3.8%	0.1%
Santarém	453 192	462 121	427 892	458 229	46 347	2986	6.4%	2.4%
(Mainland)ALGARVE					41 970	2 544	6.1%	2%
Faro	325 971	312 509	265 225	328 605	41 970	2544	6.1%	2%
	(2001 55 0) 1							

^{*} Data from Valério (2001:57-8) based on Portuguese census results. Data for the Azores and Madeira were provided by region, not by district.

^{**} Data from Ribeiro (1986:62-72) based on statistics from the Portuguese government -Secretaria de Estado da Emigração, Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

The district of Setúbal straddles the regions of Lisbon and Alentejo. For the purposes of this table I include it with Alentejo where it represents the largest district of that region. Rem`oving it from Lisbon does not diminish the statistical importance of the capital region as a leading source of Portuguese emigration to Canada.

Appendix I: Map 3: Portuguese settlement in Toronto (2007)



Based on Teixeira and Murdie 2009:193), modified by Mafalda Silva and Emanuel da Silva (March 2010).

Appendix J: *Uma casa portuguesa* [A Portuguese home] – Amália Rodrigues (1953)

Original

Numa casa portuguesa fica bem pão e vinho sobre a mesa. E se à porta humildemente bate alguém, senta-se à mesa co'a gente. Fica bem esta franqueza, fica bem, que o povo nunca a desmente. A alegria da pobreza está nesta grande riqueza de dar, e ficar contente.

Quatro paredes caiadas, um cheirinho a alecrim, um cacho de uvas doiradas, duas rosas no jardim, um São José de azulejos, mais o sol da Primavera, uma promessa de beijos, dois braços à minha espera... É uma casa portuguesa, com certeza! É, com certeza, uma casa portuguesa!

No conforto pobrezinho do meu lar, há fartura de carinho.

E a cortina da janela é o luar, mais o sol que bate nela...

Basta pouco, poucochinho p'ra alegrar uma existência singela...
É só amor, pão e vinho e um caldo verde, verdinho a fumegar na tijela.

My translation [without trying to rhyme]

In a Portuguese home it is good to have bread and wine on the table.
And if someone humbly knocks on the door, he/she joins us at the table.
Such frankness is good, may the people never deny it.
The joy of being poor lies in this great wealth of giving, and being happy.

Four whitewashed walls, a light smell of rosemary, a bunch of golden grapes, two roses in the garden, one São José made of tiles, along with the Spring sun, a promise of kisses, two arms waiting for me...

It is a Portuguese home, with certainty!

It is certainly a Portuguese home!

In the poor comfort of my home, there is an abundance of affection.

And the window curtain is the moonlight, along with the sun that hits it...

It takes little, very little to cheer up a simple existence...

It just takes love, bread and wine and a collard green soup, steaming hot in the pot.

Appendix K: Table C: Number of Portuguese-Canadians by ethnic category, mother tongue and language spoken at home (data from 2001 Census of Canada).

Portuguese	Ethnic Category	Mother Tongue	Home Language
Canada	357 690	213 815	187, 470
British Columbia	30 085	14 115	10 655
Vancouver	16 775	8 190	6 325
Victoria	3 045	1 400	1 035
Alberta	13 885	6 110	4 940
Edmonton	7 760	3 945	3 420
Calgary	4 410	1 770	1 295
Saskatchewan	1 000	405	360
Regina	310	60	30
Saskatoon	465	315	300
Manitoba	11 090	7 005	5 840
Winnipeg	10 315	6 745	5 650
Ontario	248 265	152 115	135 225
Toronto	171 545	108 935	98 850
London	10 525	6 645	5 795
Kitchener	17 215	10 915	9 695
Kingston	3 335	1 885	1 635
Sault St. Marie	435	225	185
Hamilton	14 110	8 805	7 695
Quebec	48 765	33 355	30 045
Ottawa-Hull	9 910	6 345	5 465
Montreal	41 050	29 045	26 580
New Brunswick	1 170	150	105
Fredericton	205	40	55
Nova Scotia	2 380	355	230
Halifax	1 480	295	190
Prince Edward Island	95	15	15
Charlottetown	45	10	10
Newfoundland	740	105	35
St. John's	500	75	30
Yukon Territory	80	0	0
NW Territory	90	15	10
Nunavut	50	15	0

(Source: Statistics Canada 2003).