"You Know What I Mean?"- Language and Cultural Retention in Luso-Canadian Mothers in the

Greater Toronto Area

Sara Vieira, MA in Critical Sociology

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Faculty of Graduate Studies, Brock University,

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Abstract

The Portuguese community is one of the largest diasporic groups in the Greater Toronto Area and the choice of retention and transmission of language and culture to Luso-Canadians is crucial to the development and sustainability of the community. The overall objective of this study is to learn about the factors that influence Luso-Canadian mothers' inclination to teach Portuguese language and cultural retention to their children. To explore this topic I employed a qualitative research design that included in-depth interviews conducted in 2012 with six Luso-Canadian mothers. Three central arguments emerged from the findings. First, Luso-Canadian mothers interviewed posses a pronounced desire for their children to succeed academically, and to provide opportunities that their children that they did not have. Second, five of the mothers attempt to achieve this mothering objective partly by disconnecting from their Portuguese roots, and by disassociating their children from the Portuguese language and culture. Third, the disconnection they experience and enact is influenced by the divisions evident in the Portuguese community in the GTA that divides regions and hierarchically ranks dialects, and groups. I conclude that the children in these households inevitably bear the prospects of maintaining a vibrant Portuguese community in the GTA and I propose that actions by the community in ranking dialects influence mothers' decisions about transmitting language and culture to their children.

Key Words: Luso-Canadian, Language Retention, Cultural Retention, Mothering, Language Transmission, Portuguese- Canadian

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Introduction

Members of the Portuguese community in the Greater Toronto Area grapple with whether to transmit Portuguese language and culture to their children. These decisions are grounded in both personal and communal perspectives, and derive from a mingling of both. This thesis analyzes a small sample of narratives from Luso-Canadian mothers in the Greater Toronto Area; it focuses on one and a half generation (persons born out of Canada but who have lived most of their lives in Canada) and second generation (persons born in Canada but whose parents were not) Luso-Canadian mothers and their desire, or lack thereof, to transmit Portuguese language and culture to their children (Statistics Canada, 2011).

My passion and interest in this topic is both personal and intellectual. I have always been interested in the Portuguese community and the Portuguese Diaspora in Canada (Luso-Canadians). My fascination grew during my travels when I interacted with Portuguese descendants and they were so vastly different, both in terms of their language capability, their knowledge of Portuguese culture, and their interest in Portuguese culture. In particular, I was curious about the Portuguese language, the life expectancy of that language in the GTA and the ways in which Portuguese women, especially Portuguese mothers living in the GTA, were interested in teaching their child/ren Portuguese language and culture. In this thesis I ask: How is the transmission of language and culture managed? Is it solely the mother's responsibility? Do Luso-Canadian mothers even *want* to engage in this type of work? How do their partners affect their desire or need to teach Portuguese to their child/ren? What impacts their decisions surrounding Portuguese language and cultural retention?

I decided to explore these and other questions with Luso-Canadian mothers in Toronto, my place of birth and my parents chosen place of settlement. I was interested in the community where I lived, grew up in, and often took for granted. I wanted to translate my intellectual interests into questions about the personal experiences of mothers who are living in the community today. I wondered: How am I going to mother and balance this type of work when I decide to have children? What factors influence mothers' decisions today? What can I learn from these stories? Moreover, although I had taken on the 'Portuguese' identity wholeheartedly and did not grapple with it, I assumed that other Luso-Canadian women in the GTA would attribute this identity as well. I was wrong.

I became even more interested in the Portuguese community in the GTA when I came to understand that although there is literature on the Portuguese community, there is less in comparison to other communities in Canada. The essentializing nature of discussing a 'community' and a 'culture' is one that I have battled with since the inception of my thesis. My intention is not to brush every Canadian of Portuguese descent with this canvas or consider the 'community' one homogenous, identical group. As da Silva (2011) mentions, like individuals, communities are fluid and are constantly changing and reinventing themselves, their meanings and their importance in peoples' lives. The Portuguese community in Canada is constituted by multitudes of difference with various social, regional, class, gendered, education, and linguistic differences that socially construct its reality (da Silva, 2011). The generalized stereotypes, assumptions, norms, values, and shared experiences of the Portuguese diaspora have an underlying effect on the connections individuals within the diaspora make to the community as a unified entity; which we know it is not. Importantly, the Portuguese community's shared experiences and heritage connect to ideas of homeland (being Portugal), and a shared ancestry.

However, as Reiter (2002) points out "a cultural community with shared meanings contains an element of tradition, but, the identity that is formed is also transformed" (p. 125). For the Portuguese diaspora in the GTA, the geographic location of the community as well as changes with the flow of time has inevitably transformed the descendants of Portuguese immigrants and their connections to the community. The issue of differentiating between what is 'Portuguese-Canadian' and what is 'Luso-Canadian will be explored further in this introduction.

This thesis discusses the research I collected and my experience engaging in Master's thesis research. I hope to offer insight on the Masters experience conducting thesis work as well as the crucial inclusion of reflexivity which I maintained to the best of my ability throughout this project. I appreciate and value the engagement and the transparency offered in many theses and dissertations whose authors choose to be reflexive, including many that I read in preparation for this thesis. Research is as much about what one is interested in as how that interest interacts with the researcher in question. I intend to be as transparent as possible throughout this thesis to facilitate the connection between my position and the narratives I collected.

Who are 'Luso-Canadian' women?

Much like other cultural groups in Canada, Luso-Canadian women are socially positioned to allow a cultural hybridity whereby they maneuver through norms of identities and appropriate which aspects of their cultures they would like to accept or reject. In particular, one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian women have both feet dipped in two different cultures: their parent's Portuguese culture, and their own Canadian cultural upbringing. The fact that these women were raised in Canada influences their connection to both cultures. Trinidade (2007) puts it eloquently when she states "…identity can be understood as a socially constructed, fluid

concept that is an increasingly complex phenomenon for children and youth of immigrants, who are raised in the mainstream environment of Canadian milieu" (p.1). Two concepts are central to this discussion of Luso-Canadians: culture and generation. In order to maintain consistency throughout my thesis, I will be addressing women of Portuguese descent as 'Luso-Canadians'- a term most appropriate as one of the women was born in Angola, and so is not directly Portuguese. Using the term 'Luso descendant' leaves room for individuals whose parents may have migrated to other countries prior to Canada and whose children may have been born in countries other than Portugal. Also, as my research shows, some of the women did not appropriate a Portuguese identity for themselves and so giving them one seems ethically improper. I have chosen Luso-Canadian as it is a broader and more inclusive term for discussing Canadians of Portuguese descent due to its relation to region (Lusitania) as opposed to culture (Portuguese).

When I refer to culture, I am discussing the cultural values, norms, symbols, and language that are generally accepted and attributed to everyday life that makes it possible for Portuguese people in Canada to associate and communicate. This shared way of thinking, living, and acting has discursive constructions throughout, but there are levels of understanding and accepting behaviour that is normalized in the 'community'. In this process, culture is constantly being reshaped and reanalyzed which has an impact on the discourse and narratives found in its spaces.

Statistics Canada (2011) has three definitions for determining who belongs to what generation. The *first* generation refers to anyone born outside of Canada but who are or have been landed immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011). It also includes those who are non- permanent residents (Statistics Canada, 2011). Statistics Canada (2011) defines what it means to be *second*

generation as persons born inside Canada but who have one or both parents who were born outside of Canada. When I refer to *one and a half generation*, I am to a certain extent building on each of these definitions and including a middle group. The one and a half generation refers to persons who were born in a country other than Canada but who have lived most of their lives in Canada (over half of their lives). This group is considered the first generation along with their parents who migrated with them, but due to their young age of migration and the connection with living in Canada they have a unique position. Therefore they are not the first generation and also not the second but in between the two.

The choice to use Luso-Canadians as a term throughout this thesis comes from Statistics Canada's (2011) use of 'Portuguese mother tongue' to refer to any nation that uses Portuguese as their primary, or one of their national languages. This does not specify in terms of nation or heritage since due to Portugal's colonial history, many countries around the world still speak Portuguese. By using Luso-Canadian I am referring to people whose ancestors are from the region of Lusitania, the former Roman Empire title for what is commonly referred to as Portugal or the Republic of Portugal today. It includes individuals who migrated elsewhere prior to moving to Canada and whose parents may have been born in a different part of the world but whose ethnic heritage can be traced to the region of Portugal and not another Portuguese speaking nation.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. **Chapter One** discusses the literature on the Portuguese community in Canada, and offers a preliminary historical connection to the Portuguese community in Canada. It helps situate the women interviewed within the broader frame of academia and scholarly work. **Chapter Two** discusses the theoretical underpinnings that guide this project. Two theorists, Foucault and Bourdieu, are discussed throughout this

chapter as well as the interdisciplinary study of Diaspora and its connection to theorizing place, culture, and communities. Also theorizing social class and socio-economic status is addressed. **Chapter Three** discusses the methodology that was used to carry out this project. Here I focus on my choice of a qualitative research approach that employed semi-structured interviews, a Listening Guide approach to analyzing the interview transcripts as well as my reflexive interaction with the data collection and data analysis. **Chapter Four** delves into the key themes and research findings of this research project which I discuss in five themes. Also, it connects the themes and data analysis to the literature discussed earlier in Chapter One. **Chapter Five**, my concluding chapter, summarizes my overall thesis project, the implications of my findings, the limitations of the project, and offers suggestions for further research on this important topic. Finally, there are three appendices at the end of this thesis; these are: a sample of the interview questions, the Statistics Canada 2011 chart on retention rates, the Census 2011 data on Language Retention for the Portuguese language in Toronto (Census Metropolitan Area), an appendix on writing and research, and a chart displaying social class.

Chapter 1: Informing Literatures

This thesis draws upon bodies of literature in cross-cultural contexts and within various academic fields. Initially, a few themes that relate to my research interest were evident. These included: (i) gender and Portuguese mothering, (ii) migration and the migratory history of the Portuguese people in Canada, (iii) communities and cultures built in Canada and particularly in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA); and (iv) language and cultural retention in the first generation born in the GTA as well as those who migrated at a young age. The themes help to build a discourse on the Portuguese people which will offer a preliminary historical and empirical account of 'what we know' about the Portuguese in Canada. Some of the literature included does not directly reflect the sample of women. Although this is the case, it is still important to include as it offers empirical evidence that helps to map the Portuguese in an academic and historical context.

This chapter includes literature that focuses on three types of data: history, demographics, and social and cultural analysis. The first section focuses on a historical and demographic review of the Portuguese population in Canada, and its historical significance as a community and for its descendants. The second section **Language Retention** focuses primarily on demographic, and social and cultural analysis. **Cultural Retention** focuses primarily on social and cultural analysis as well as demographics. This chapter concludes with a summary of the informed literatures and a brief introduction to the next chapter.

I.   <u>**Informing Literature on Luso-Canadians**</u>

The immigration of Portuguese people to Canada is relatively recent, with the first Portuguese immigrants arriving in the 1950's and the majority migrating during the 1970's and 1980's (Teixeira and Da Rosa, 2009, p.6; Murdie and Teixeira, 2011, p.65). By 2000, 1.2% of Canada's population was descended from Portuguese people which, although a small percentage, roughly accounts for 358 000 people, the majority of whom reside in Ontario and Quebec (Nunes, 2008, p.122). The Portuguese population in Canada is entering its third born generation (Nunes, 2008, p. 124). People who are born in another country but migrate to Canada at a young age are considered the one and a half generation. This is due to their socialization primarily occurring in Canada but their birth having occurred elsewhere. Due to the flow of immigrants over time, there are immigrant families who are only in their second generation of Canadian born children. The one and a half and second generation Portuguese-Canadians are an interesting group to study in that they carry both cultural values and traditions from their parents and navigate the Canadian cultural values and norms they learn in a variety of social institutions. The position they take as second generation Portuguese-Canadians enables a cultural hybridity where individuals have the ability to choose which aspects of their culture they would like to accept or reject and manoeuvre the complex identities associated with both ethnicities and cultures due to their close proximity to both.

(i)   <u>Gender, Portuguese Mothers, and Employment</u>

The patriarchal society Portuguese culture partakes in involves strict gender roles and responsibilities for both men and women. For many Portuguese women, the act of 'mothering' is associated with being a good housewife and being able to look after the home. This is in

conjunction with the expectation of employment and care giving. In employment settings where labour involves work that is often unpaid in the home, such as cleaning or child care, the work is often undervalued and some of the learned roles in the workplace can become a new 'norm' in the home. Portuguese women in these employments are assigned specific gender roles that often coincide with their home responsibilities. Since a large group of first generation Portuguese women work in these types of jobs, stereotypes are created whereby other cultural groups categorize Portuguese women's work and abilities. An example of this is the 'cleaning lady' stereotype (Miranda, 2009, p. 130). Since a large number of first generation Portuguese women are employed in this type of work, the stereotype creates a cultural duality for Portuguese women in the GTA (Miranda, 2009, p. 130). In the sense that Portuguese women are now associated with partaking in specific types of work, they must also conform to this stereotype in order to be considered 'appropriate' workers. As Miranda states: "The 'Portuguese cleaning lady' is a stereotype in Toronto but her image belies a much more complex history of migration, working-class family strategies, union organizing, resistance, and political manoeuvring" (2009, p. 130). Through a limited set of public images of Portuguese-Canadian women and their employment roles, the historical and migratory stories are ignored and lost in public understandings of Portuguese women and their work. Stereotyping Portuguese working women specifies their work conditions, their roles as workers and women, and limits their ability to overcome these barriers into other employments. However, the stereotype may also work to Portuguese-Canadian women's advantage as they can offer a somewhat positive public perception: "The Portuguese woman is perceived as hardworking and reliable with a strong work ethic" (Aguiar, 2009, p. 140). Inevitably the 'cleaning lady' stereotype can transgress the division of work and enter the home where expectations for care giving become adjacent to cleaning duties since it is given as

'natural' and an extension of employment and woman's work. Inevitably, Portuguese-Canadian women in these jobs are required to clean for a wage, and as part of their familial and cultural role of mother are required to clean at home. The waged work is often underpaid and their domestic work is undervalued as it is expected of them to perform these duties both inside their families and for public and communal perception.

The public and Portuguese-Canadian perception of Portuguese women's work is critical in understanding cultural retention. If the role of 'Portuguese-Canadian hardworking cleaning lady' is accepted – at least partly- as a positive attribute by one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian women, -then it can be positively integrated into the Portuguese household and the broader Portuguese community as a representation of pride. However, if this is not the case and discrimination or other forms of oppression are perceived by one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadians, the impact and subsequent perception of Portuguese women and Portuguese culture can alter and influence Luso-Canadian women's association to their Portuguese heritage through their mother's employment. Miranda (2009) and Aguiar (2009), for example, both interview women who are predominately first generation women so my interest in this question stems from their findings with a critical perspective on their children's perception of their mother's work.

(ii)   Gendered Households

One and a half and second generation mothers criticize the unequal, rigid gender relations that their parents instilled in their families and that permeate immigrant rules (Giles, 2002, p. 61). Portuguese people are often associated with part of the working poor and thus the workload and work ethic is often regarded positively (Noivo, 1997, p.16). Families living in highly

gendered and bounded home spaces are often negatively affected by this reality as the women in these households bear the consequences for economic and power subordination (Noivo, 1997, p.18). Traditional attitudes according to Noivo (1997) tend to die hard meaning that gender roles and family forms are generally reproduced in later generations. The household is also a unit of economic attainability and family ideologies are connected to roles for each member of the family (Giles, 2002, p. 31). This includes the ways in which gender within the household is treated in terms of who is responsible for what chores. For example, Giles (2002) refers to the second generation women she interviewed as having to do most of the housework while their brothers were not responsible for any housework (p. 41). The gender boundaries in the household help to define 'appropriate' roles for each family member and consequently, define what roles are inappropriate while bound by gender. This can also include appropriate times to get home after work or school for each gender, as well as stricter rules for females in the household versus the males. In this manner, Portuguese women's gendered housework resonates with the larger Canadian context whereby most Canadian women predominately partake in this type of work; however, gender norms in broader society are not as traditional.

 (iii)   <u>Migration and Portuguese Mothering</u>

When the Portuguese husband migrates to Canada, it is the responsibility of the wife, who often stays behind, to manage the household and care giving (Noivo, 1997). Since Portugal largely remains a patriarchal society which holds strict heterosexual gender roles and in which institutional structures are constituted based on these roles, the result is that women are sometimes left as single mothers and subsequent heads of the household (Noivo, 1997, p.13). This is a reason why the migration transition works well for Portuguese families in many instances. Within this migratory process, the husband and wife's roles are challenged through the

absence of the husband in the household. Giles (2002) terms this "gendered phenomena" which is a change in the patriarchal economic responsibilities deemed by the society and culture during migration (p. 33). In the case where the men migrate to Canada prior to the women, the economic responsibility is placed solely on the woman to provide for her family due to the lack of presence from the father. The 'gendered phenomena' occurs when on top of these already challenging conditions, the woman also provides for her husband in Canada by sending money or material goods to him from Portugal (Giles, 2002, p.33). This huge shift in family responsibilities tests the male's role in a patriarchal society and in many aspects places the woman as the breadwinner and provider for her children and husband. There is also a large shift in traditional roles of family definitions and patriarchal ideals as well as changing definitions of women's 'work' and its proper place in society. This newfound sense of agency and control can cause changes in the family's structure and challenge the family when it is reunited again. Orozco, Carhill and Chuang (2011) are correct in stating "migration is fundamentally a family affair" (p. 8).

The impact of migration on one and a half and second generation Portuguese-Canadian women is one where there is a large influence exerted on their social and economic stability. It is difficult, however, to reflect on their stories as there is a gap in the literature on Portuguese women in migration histories (Giles, 2002, p. 18). Giles (2002) gives two reasons for this:

> There is an assumption implicit in much migration research that the worlds of wage work and unpaid household work are separate and independent spheres, with women located in the household and men in wage work. When women are fore grounded in the household as mothers, wives, and daughters, they disappear elsewhere as migrants, workers and citizens. Second, immigration and multiculturalist policies…define immigrant women in patriarchal ways, contributing to their invisibility in state policies and legislation and thus also in migration histories (p.18).

The gap in the literature on women's migratory experience is a recurring issue in the migration story of Portuguese people to the GTA. Also, this can affect the manner in which the Portuguese culture is addressed and retained within the household. For the majority, the use of kin networks in Canada is an appropriate form of using valuable resources when migrating (Giles, 2002, p. 35). It is important for the one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian mothers because they are witness to these interactions throughout their childhood and experience it themselves. The learning they engage in is influenced by their parents' ability, financial and otherwise to provide for them. Migration has a fundamental influence on their future.

Financial security is critical in understanding one and a half and second generation Portuguese-Canadians because without, social services like daycare are inaccessible and alternative methods of care giving and possibly neglect can arise. This can occur during the one and half and second generation's upbringing in Canada due to their parents' financial difficulties, and also during the one and half and second generation women's own mothering. In a study by Nunes (1998), participants in various cities in Ontario complained about adequate child care that offered an exposure to the Portuguese language and culture for Luso-Canadian children (p. 39). Although these cities were not in the GTA, this is still significant as it shows the need and desire for language and cultural retention in other communities. Also, 'care', especially the care of children is defined differently in Canadian culture and Portuguese culture; moreover, the consequences for not following social expectations about care vary vastly and are complex. For example, the age in which it is socially accepted to keep children alone or in the care of their siblings differs from Portugal to Canada both culturally and legally. Also, the issue of spanking and discipline which is often perceived as physical abuse in Canada is not frowned upon and in many instances is normalized with Portuguese immigrants (Giles, 2002, p. 59). Therefore, the

proximity to both cultural norms and values can place pressure on Luso-Canadian mothers to perform their 'mothering' in ways that can be contradictory to both cultural groups or incorporate aspects of both without ever doing a 'proper' or 'correct' job in either. The option of choosing may persuade Luso-Canadian women into completely ignoring one or the other, solely because of the effort and constant contradictions it takes in balancing both. The gender roles Luso-Canadians engage in are complex and stem from historical and cultural backgrounds.

(iv)   Migration, Culture, and Housing for Luso-Canadians within the GTA

The cultural practices Luso-Canadians pass onto their children stem from social institutions where a sense of community and culture is interwoven with daily life to create meanings for engaging in these practices. Religious institutions like the Roman Catholic Church especially in Portuguese neighbourhoods help create a cultural neighbourhood through the influx of Portuguese individuals for religious prayer services or religious festivities (Teixeira and Murdie, 2009, p. 196; da Silva, 2011, p.85). 'Little Portugal' in Toronto is the largest Portuguese community in Canada and historically, housing in the community stemmed from the availability of low-cost housing when Portuguese immigrants migrated (Murdie and Teixeira, 2011, p. 63). These neighbourhoods have traditionally been sites for low-cost housing where it is economically feasible for immigrant families to live (Murdie and Teixeira, 2011, p. 61). This is not the case any longer due to the rapid gentrification in cities like Toronto where there are a variety of ethnic enclaves and where downtown communities are selling houses at a premium; this increases the cost of housing and eliminates the possibility for Portuguese immigrants to settle in areas that traditionally and historically were their settling grounds (Murdie and Teixeira, 2011, p. 63). It also challenges newcomers who venture into the GTA today because cultural amenities are not as accessible due to the fact that immigrants have to travel to the cultural

communities for any goods or services they require while previously the immigrants resided

where these goods and services were sold. Although the number of Portuguese immigrants has

declined, this is an added pressure on Portuguese-Canadian immigrants and can pose a threat to

the stability and growth of 'Little Portugal' if many move and not enough Portuguese people

remain in the neighbourhood.

The suburbanization of Luso-Canadians is also one of the reasons for the community

move from the area of 'Little Portugal' to other enclaves around the city. The Portuguese house

is not solely considered a home and is often seen as an investment (Teixeira and Murdie, 2009, p.

196). That is why many Portuguese immigrants modify their homes when purchased or thereafter

to fit their cultural needs (Teixeira and Murdie, 2009, p. 196). For example, the most obvious

alteration to traditionally non-European style houses is the construction of a verandah unit in the

front of the home. The verandah serves two distinct and important functions: as a cellar and

specifically a wine cellar space, and also as a distinct manner of demarking the entrance of the

home. Also, the completion of a basement space for either rental investment or as an added space

for guests is a common feature in Portuguese-Canadian homes.

Iacovetta (1992) makes a similar point about migration, culture, and housing in relation

to Italian immigrants in Toronto. For the Italian-Canadian immigrants, the homes were decorated

with popular religious figures and candles in various rooms, almost like shrines to commemorate

their religious beliefs and for protection (Iacovetta, 1992, p.138). The homes were not

structurally altered but the beliefs Italian immigrants had were transferred to Toronto homes in

the 1950's and 1960's (Iacovetta, 1992, p. 138). This is important as the home is the site in

which mothering, language and cultural retention occurs most often and if the site encourages the

reiteration of cultural beliefs and practices then the transmission process can occur with a

different lens that includes physical differences in the home. Also, since the home is usually the woman's responsibility, these options are often initiated by the woman in the family.

Growing levels of suburbanization to areas in the GTA such as Mississauga have meant that there are growing Luso-Canadian communities in these areas. Better home conditions encourage Portuguese-Canadians to move away from their Toronto community and into other neighbourhoods from early in the 1970's (Teixeira and Murdie, 2009, p. 204; Gomes, 2008, p.6; da Silva, 2011, p.91). In a study by Teixeira and Murdie (2009) nearly 65.5% of Portuguese-Canadians who do not live in the 'Little Portugal' neighbourhood of Toronto regularly visit the neighbourhood while 24% still go to shop in the neighbourhood (p. 197). The relationship and importance placed on the Portuguese community is significant as well as the remaining importance of the community regardless of Portuguese population density in the neighbourhood. Through the purchase of Portuguese goods and services that are offered by the 'Little Portugal' community, the culture is rejuvenated and it remains a vibrant reality, or at least a physical reality in the city of Toronto. By including the GTA as the site of research instead of focusing solely on a community in or within the boundaries of the city of Toronto, offers an opportunity to have a different perspective on Portuguese ethnicity due to their geographic location. This can include the importance of the home being geographically proximate to the Portuguese community and Portuguese people as opposed to other communities where other populations dominate.

Portuguese migrants attain homeownership relatively quickly; this is impressive as their levels are quite high in comparison with the Toronto average (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010, p. 299). Although they can no longer purchase homes in the same neighbourhoods like 'Little Portugal', their achievements in terms of owning a home are quite positive. Although many are bound to

working class, blue collar employment opportunities, the first generation has successfully established itself as a hardworking and home-bound community (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010, p. 301). In fact, between eighty and ninety percent of Portuguese, Italian, and Greek households own their home compared to the sixty-three percent of Toronto's average (Murdie and Ghosh, 2010, p. 301). This has a positive effect on the opportunities for the one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian children who grow up to eventually live in a home that is mortgage free. Economic freedom offers opportunities for children of Portuguese immigrants.

II.   **Language Retention**

A critical aspect to culture is language (Oliveira, 2009, p. 91). Language is the glue that holds the Portuguese culture and community together through the facilitation and communication of norms and values. Oliveira (2009) makes an important observation when he states that although the Portuguese language is vital towards the preservation and facilitation of the Portuguese community and culture in Canada, certain groups of Portuguese-Canadians do not engage in its preservation or retention as much as others (p. 92). Oliveira (2009) contends that the Azorean community in Canada is the group most likely to lack interest in cultural retention (p. 92). The lack of interest is due to the different belief systems Azorean-Portuguese immigrants have that include leaving Portugal to never return permanently (Oliveira, 2009, p.98; Noivo, 1997, p.48). This is a significant conclusion as it is mostly Portuguese people from the Azorean Islands of Portugal who make up the percentage of migrants in the GTA. There are other political and regional reasons for the difference in retention of language.

The term 'regionalism' is one that frequently appears in the literature with varying levels of attention or importance (Noivo 1997; Oliveira and Teixeira 2004; Gomes 2008; Oliveira

2009). Regionalism refers to the area or region that an immigrant came from in a specific

country. It is important for the Portuguese community because the Portuguese language varies

substantially regionally and there are social, class, and political affiliations that contend

themselves around these dialects. Although this is a topic too broad to fully delve into for this

thesis, the importance of *region* on Portuguese language dialects determines appropriateness,

values, and norms in the community and consequently becomes the dominant discourse. These

decisions on appropriateness, value, and what is considered 'normal' are implemented by those

in power in the Portuguese community who dictate their political, economic, and ideological

control on the broader population through media, social groups, and language (da Silva, 2011, p.

2). Clearly, the dialect one has which relates to the region where one's parents are from

determines the social capital and power one can claim in the Portuguese community. There is a

clear hierarchy. The hierarchy becomes classed when a dialect of the language becomes

legitimate, which often forces symbolic power into the issue of language (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 43).

The authoritarian aspect of the language is then used to dominate other dialects and versions of

the language, giving that 'proper' version power that is reproduced and hierarchical (Bourdieu,

1991, p. 166). These differences in terms of language carry with them issues of power, giving

value to certain regions while disempowering others.

      The linguistic differences may deter individuals from understanding themselves as a part

of the culture due to their understanding of not speaking the language in terms of what the

dominant discourse states is the 'proper' form of speaking (Gomes, 2008, p. 19). This may go as

far as allowing or disallowing children of Portuguese immigrants from certain regions of

Portugal to marry or date those from other regions (Gomes, 2008, p. 20). Further, the children of

immigrants are often the most highly marginalized as it is their legitimacy as Canadians of

Portuguese descent to reproduce the homogenous discourses put in place by the older

generations in power (da Silva, 2011, p. 4). The issue of regionalism and its implications is a

large topic that may require its own project to fully delve into its importance but is important to

note as there may be choices in terms of language retention that are associated with region.

Language retention is most difficult when communication between generations is

hindered by the lack of understanding of languages; in this case the languages are either

Portuguese or English. For example, Portuguese first generation immigrants who do not speak

English well or fluently may communicate primarily through their children who have an

understanding of English and a fluency in Portuguese (Noivo, 1997, p.56). In this sense, second

generation Luso-Canadians who practice and participate in this type of language communication

and translation on a regular basis are familiar with both languages because of their engagement

with both regularly. The issue arises when this is no longer needed i.e. when second generation

Canadians are fluent in both Portuguese and English and can translate and communicate on their

own. They will not rely on their children to assist them in translating and communicating with

the Anglo speaking community because they are able to do so themselves.

(i)   Language Brokers

The children of immigrants are often the first to learn the English language prior to their

parents (Orozco, Carhill and Chuang, 2011, p.8). Illiteracy is often a crippling limitation to

acculturation in the first generation (Noivo, 1997, p.44). Often, first generation Portuguese-

Canadians rely on their children and expect them to accompany them to appointments due to

their inability to speak the language (Noivo, 1997, p. 84). It is especially the case if the parents

have a low education or low language proficiency. The children of immigrants (the one and a

half and second generation) are most often bilingual, meaning they can speak two languages or

are fluent in two languages. Bilingualism often comes with its perks like using the knowledge of

another language to assist in finding employment, but there are other responsibilities placed on

these children. Bilingual children are often translators for their parents in many social and

institutional situations whereby the children are responsible for many duties that parents from

other families do on their own. Araujo's (2008) study on the use of child interpreters in

Portuguese-Canadian parents' immigration and settlement experience in Canada found that child

interpreters often become the voice throughout the settlement process for their parents which has

implications on the family dynamics (p. 2). Araujo's (2008) analysis through the parents point of

view, offers a unique perspective on this issue. She identifies language brokers as separate and

equally important to translators. Language brokers, she contends become mediators between

parties and require the ability to communicate the nature of the content they transmit in order to

successfully mediate between both groups (Araujo, 2008, p. 5). The action goes beyond that of

simply translating because of the need to assess the nature of the communication. Araujo (2008)

asserts that there are implications for these duties on children. Negatively, they are burdened

with added stress due to their responsibilities as brokers (Araujo, 2008, p. 7). Positively, the

independence and maturity required to navigate these positions at a young age gives children an

advantage (Araujo, 2008, p. 8).

    (ii)   <u>Institutional Language</u>

The Portuguese language in the GTA has been institutionalized through the teaching of

the language in predominately Catholic school systems in Ontario (Helms-Park, 2009, p. 130).

Also, teaching the Portuguese language out of school hours in Portuguese after school programs

allows students to become acquainted with the culture, allowing for cultural enrichment within

an education framework (Helms-Park, 2009, p. 130). Recently these after school programs have dwindled with smaller groups of Portuguese-Canadians interested in their services and fewer migrants practicing the Portuguese language through an educational framework (Helms-Park, 2009, p. 128). This lowers the retention rate of the Portuguese language in Ontario: from 83 percent in the 1970's to only 60 percent in the early 1990's (Helms-Park, 2009, p.128). The result is not solely an issue within the Portuguese community. As Portes and Rumbaut (2001) state:

> Latinos tend to share Spanish as the common language of origin (with the exception of the Brazilians and indigenous speakers) but language loss is very rapid across generations and it is rare to encounter a completely fluent Spanish speaker by the third generation (Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in Orozco, Carhill and Chuang 2011, p. 12)

The benefits of retaining language mean that the maintenance of an ethnic identity is easier to accomplish, there is a facilitation of communication between generations in the same family household and the benefits of bilingualism are extensive (Helms-Park, 2009). However, as Portes and Rumbaut (2001) in Orozco, Carhill and Chuang (2011) show, romance languages such as Portuguese and Spanish may be lost, especially after the second generation.

(iii)   <u>Linguistic Life Expectancy</u>

Today, the Portuguese language retention rate in Toronto and the CMA (Census Metropolitan Area) is quite strong with a 'complete retention rate' of 51.1%, a 'partial retention rate' of 27.8% for a total retention rate of 78.4% (Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2011) (please see Appendix 2 for Chart). The statistics in this case state Toronto but refer to Toronto and the GTA as a Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) meaning that the numbers include the GTA. Statistics Canada (2011) has tested for three different but connected aspects of language retention: 'Portuguese as mother tongue', 'detailed language spoken most often at home', and

'detailed other (other than English or French) language spoken regularly at home' (Census of Population, 2011). By 'detailed mother tongue' Statistics Canada (2011) is referring to the first language learned by the individual at home and during childhood, and one that s/he still understands up to the date of research. The number of females who responded to retention rates was higher than males in all three categories (Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2011). In Toronto (CMA), the total number of individuals who stated Portuguese as their mother tongue was 104, 110 (Census of Population, Statistics Canada, 2011). In Ontario the number was 147,725 (Census of Population, Statistics Canada, 2011). For 'detailed language spoken most often at home' only 52,755 people stated this was the case and for 'detailed other language spoken regularly at home' only 38,475 people stated this was their situation (please see Appendix 3 for charts). Although there was a high association with Portuguese as a mother tongue, the number dwindled when referring to its use within the home. Even when it is the 'other' language spoken at home i.e. other than English or French, the numbers are even smaller with even fewer speaking it as their 'other' language. This may mean that although Portuguese is the mother tongue of second or third generation Portuguese-Canadians, their use of it is not as frequent as previous generations and ultimately there may be factors hindering the ability to use the language at home frequently. Nonetheless Portuguese remains one of the twenty-two most spoken immigrant languages in Canada (Language, 2011, Census of Population, Statistics Canada) (please see Appendix 2).

There is one limitation to this recent and important Statistics Canada (2011) information. Although the data is testing for language, it does not specify country of origin. Since Portuguese is one of the most spoken languages in the world, this can mean that the people responding are not necessarily from Portugal. Nonetheless, it is important to note because the immigration of

Portuguese people to the GTA is extensive and has expanded over five decades. Although the individuals asked spoke the language and may not necessarily be from Portugal, they still reflect the retention rate of the language in the GTA.

Although the Portuguese language still has significant use in the GTA, the linguistic life expectancy for languages after the second generation is precariously low. This is similar to what other languages experience. Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean (2006) conducted a study on linguistic retention rates in southern California and found that linguistic survival curves exist for all languages. Their study measures survival of immigrant mother tongue by asking two significant questions: how well the respondent can speak the mother tongue language, and which language the respondent preferred to speak in the household (Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean, 2006). These questions offer critical insight into how the respondents feel because as the authors state " if the respondent answered "English", then the mother tongue was also considered to have "died" because it was no longer used within the intimate confines of family life" (Rumbaut, Massey, Bean, 2006, p. 454). If language is not used within the home, then the ability for children to pick up on their familial mother tongues is more difficult as conversation is not occurring in that language on a regular basis. This result has been termed "language death" whereby many languages are lost by the third generation and thus cannot be reproduced within the family or larger community for future generations (Rumbaut, Massey, Bean, 2006, p. 459). Therefore, traditionally by the third generation, English monolingualism is "achieved" in the United States and one can argue in Canada (Alba, 2004, p.3). However, as Alba (2004) states, bilingualism still persists in North America and is more evident than in the past.

III.   <u>Cultural Retention</u>

Language is the primary conductor of culture and is extremely important when teaching and transmitting cultural knowledge. Hence, cultural retention is much more difficult if language is not understood. The preservation of Portuguese cultural practices, language, and ethno-cultural traditions like cooking traditional Portuguese cuisine is most often the immigrant woman's role (Noivo, 1997, p.107). The responsibility on women as the primary bearers of cultural retention and transmission has not changed from the immigrants who first migrated to the GTA and the Luso-Canadian women in the GTA today. It still remains the Portuguese woman's primary role to cook and to transmit cultural knowledge. In a study by Gomes (2008), her respondents indicated that they considered their mothers more Portuguese because of the traditional family roles they implement in the home, while their fathers as only Portuguese in relation to Portuguese media and popular culture (p. 28). The reinforcement of traditions as the mother's role in the household and family ensures that she bears and carries transmitted cultural knowledge and has implications for the prospects of a Portuguese community in the GTA.

One method second generation Luso-Canadians have relied on in order to transfer Portuguese culture including the Portuguese language is to allow the children's grandparents (second generation Luso-Canadian parents) to care for their grandchildren (Januario and Marujo, 2000, p. 108/9). In this manner, third generation Luso-Canadians have a direct link to their Portuguese culture through their engagement with their grandparents. This can mimic the relationship that second generation Luso-Canadians had with their parents in terms of translating the English language if it is not yet understood by the first generation Portuguese-Canadians. Also, it is a direct link to Portuguese culture in terms of traditional Portuguese gastronomy. The act of consuming traditional Portuguese cuisine assists in transmitting culture that is not

necessarily based on the entire Portuguese ethnicity but can encompass only regional cuisine familiar to first generation Portuguese immigrants from particular geographies of Portugal.

(i)   <u>Acculturation</u>

Acculturation, the cultural modification by adapting traits from another culture, or merging cultural traits through contact, is often stressful and often affects personal mental health (Noivo, 1997, p. 13). The process of acculturation affects family members differently whereby children may often teach their parents how to speak, read and write in English before their parents can teach their children (Orozco, Carhill and Chuang, 2011, p.8). The discourse on acculturation especially in Canadian terms has its roots in the assimilation of different groups to Canada prior to the Portuguese. Porter (1965) contends:

> Many of these non-British immigrants went into low status occupations because there was a fairly high rate of illiteracy among them, and few of them spoke the charter group languages of English and French. Thus cultural barriers at the time of entry harden into a set of historical relations tending to perpetuate entrance status (p. 69).

The language barriers and illiteracy hindered their successes of learning the new Canadian languages. Further he states:

> In Canada, ethnic segregation and intense ethnic loyalties had their origins in French, Scottish, and Irish separateness from the English. In time they became the pattern for all cultural groups (p. 71).

This process of assimilation is different from that of the United States whereby all immigrants are encouraged to accept their American status and assimilate fully. The difference has prohibited Canadian culture from becoming a melting pot like its southern neighbour- or at least to the same extent as the United States.

Often, children of migrants are not considered fully Canadian in terms of their ethnic background. The term 'Luso-Canadian' assumes at least a partially assimilated individual where the presence of a hyphenated ethnic identity determines the individual's background. The hyphenation may give individuals a different perspective on integration and assimilation and may influence the manner in which these individuals eventually define themselves in relation to the mainstream (Gomes, 2008, p.12). Ethnic pluralism as Porter (1965) suggests, is unique to Canada and can be attributed to the division between English and French speaking Canada (p. 73). Individuals develop their own sense of what it means to be an integrated individual and must define themselves in relation to their personal beliefs as well as both cultures. Also, individuals may realize the potentials, or lack thereof of constantly using their roots for identity (Yon, 2000, p.91). Subsequently, the inclusion of strategist essentialism in terms of defining Portuguese culture and community may well be perceived as a benefit and a recognized limit to growth (Yon, 2000, p. 93). This may affect the overall importance of the Portuguese language in their lives and maintaining it in their everyday experiences. If they define themselves as a mixture of both, they may value English and Portuguese equally and engage on a regular basis. If not, they may have no use for Portuguese and disregard it altogether.

The relation to culture is changing and cultural connections are not as simply defined as they used to be, especially in relation to different generations. The second generation is an integrated generation: socially, economically and politically in both Portugal and Canada (Universidade Aberta, 2012). This means that its position and interest in both cultures is contextualized in a manner that bridges both cultures together for a hybrid relation to both. At the International Seminar on the Engagement in Multiculturalism and Transnational Spaces (2012) the issue of culture was discussed in relation to its association to ethnicity (Universidade

Aberta, 2012). It noted that the associations to traditional Portuguese symbols like soccer/ European football is huge in multicultural societies like the GTA and that sometimes the pride in these symbols like the Portuguese national soccer team is greater than in the nation itself (Universidade Aberta, 2012). The association to ethnicity and culture has changed, whereby traditionally the association to Portuguese culture resided in the Portuguese use of folklore dance and music and that today, the association to this symbol is not as common (Universidade Aberta, 2012). In its place are soccer and other multicultural associations to the culture. Yon (2000) makes a critical connection when he states:

> A view of culture as elusive and fluid, rather than rigid and determining, helps us to understand the multiple strategies and shifting positions that youth take up in these different and conflicting discussions. It also helps us to understand how they live their lives and construct identities in relation, and often in opposition, to the constraints imposed by gender, race and culture (p. 122).

It is understood that culture is elusive and that its position in different cultures and spaces shift and change, along with their definitions and importance.

    (ii)   <u>Institutional Culture</u>

Much like the institutionalization of language in schools and educational facilities, Portuguese culture is institutionalized through various outlets in Canadian society. This can take the form of cultural associations that usually specify themselves on the basis of region, religious affiliation, or sporting group. These cultural groups as da Silva (2011) states were occasionally funded by Canadian multicultural policy that advocated for ethnic diversity in the past (p. 95). This trend led to the expansion of neighbourhoods that included shops and other ventures as well as more associations, clubs, religious groups, and Portuguese language schools (da Silva, 2011, p. 95). Eventually, the promotion and assistance led to the Portuguese enclave of 'Little Portugal'. Another form of institutionalized culture is organized national pride events that the

GTA hosts to promote the Portuguese culture and community. These public performances of culture are institutionalized through government and economically through businesses (da Silva, 2011, p. 98). As da Silva (2011) states, what began as a weekend to promote Portugueseness in Toronto has now become a fully fledged weekend event and month long awareness campaign to promote the presence of Portuguese people in Toronto called "Portuguese Heritage and History Month" since 2002 (p. 98). da Silva (2011) makes a critical point when he states that these are classed events, whereby most people cannot take time off of work to attend the political speeches, celebratory events that promote nationalism like flag raising and anthem singing, and other unifying, nationalist ceremonies (p. 98-99).

(iii)   <u>Waning Interest in Culture?</u>

The lack of interest in cultural retention is termed the 'third death of the immigrant' by Selim Abou (1981) where the loss of language in younger generations is a harsh reality for the original immigrants to the country (Oliveira, 2009, p. 97). The cause of this language loss in Portuguese descendants is complex and has roots in the dialect and language of groups and the harsh criticism they receive from those who do not have their accent but nonetheless have an accent of their own (Oliveira, 2009, p. 97). According to Oliveira (2009), this is termed 'the great taboo' where it is uncomfortable and very problematic to discuss the issue of language and accent as significantly different even in Toronto where Portuguese-Canadians migrate (p.100). In fact, Gomes (2008) admits she found it uncomfortable to report on certain taboo findings especially when her participants made negative claims against the Portuguese community (p. 21). Another significant difference is cultural whereby the individuals who migrate from certain regions of Portugal largely migrate never to return or at least never to permanently reside in Portugal again (Oliveira, 2009, p. 98). This is often the case with immigrants from the Azores

islands (Oliveira, 2009, p. 98). On the other hand, some Portuguese people from other regions, like the mainland of Portugal live with the assumption and expectation that they will return to Portugal and permanently reside there. The impact on permanence in a country has resulting differences in cultural retention and importance of language and other cultural factors (Oliveira, 2009, p. 104). If one is not returning to her/his country of origin, there is less of a need to remain attached to one's ancestors and culture and therefore it makes more sense to assimilate and acculturate to the new culture. However, if one desires and imagines they will one day return to their previous community, it is in their interest to maintain and remain as connected to that as possible.

    (iv)   <u>Academic Underachievement</u>

Academic underachievement is one of the issues most discussed in the literature on the Portuguese in Canada and needs to be mentioned in relation to mapping Luso-Canadians in Canada. This relatively recent discourse has opened the way for critique on why there is such a high level of academic underachievement in the Portuguese community. Nunes (2005) states that academic underachievement is highly gendered, whereby Luso-Canadian males are most likely to drop out of high school and Luso-Canadian females are achieving college or university degrees at the same rate as the Canadian average (Nunes, 2005, p. 151). According to Giles (2002), "children of first generation Portuguese parents are described as the second most likely immigrant group in Toronto to drop out of high school (p.10). This may be due to a number of factors but primarily, although they may be born in Canada, English is not their first language and may only be introduced once they enrol in primary education, which may hinder their ability to 'catch up' with the education system. This can potentially stunt their understanding of the English language and hinder educational success.

Failure, as Nunes (2005) states may be attributed to the neighbourhood in which Portuguese Canadian males are born and raised in, due to the connection with dropout rates in this group and specifically in the city of Toronto and especially the old Toronto before its amalgamation to include the GTA. Noivo (1997) notes that even after twenty-five years of Portuguese people living in Canada, the overall socio-economic conditions of migrants is well below the national average (p.33). One reason for this may be illiteracy with first generation Portuguese-Canadians and a lower literacy rate in second-generation Portuguese-Canadians (Noivo, 1997, p. 44). The association with academic underachievement is a critical component as its discussion during interviews often sparked many feelings that subsequently influenced the mother's perceptions of education and schooling. It also impacted the desire to teach a language other than English to children. This will be discussed further in the key themes and research findings section.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter explored several key themes that frame Portuguese descendants or Luso-Canadians within a Canadian context. These themes included: gender and migration, households, language retention, and cultural retention. The issue of immigration, acculturation, and academic underachievement are some factors as to why language and cultural retention may not necessarily be a typical choice for immigrants, as it can remind them of the difficulties they endured during the migration and settlement process. Most importantly, it shows how for one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian women, maintaining ones traditional culture and values can be perceived as a negative action since it means possibly accepting jobs that are socially and financially undervalued, which, in turn can hinder familial financial success. This can infinitely challenge familial associations to cultural norms and can be a reason why some

mothers may not want to maintain cultural norms and values and not want the same for their children.

On the other hand, one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian women may hold a sense of pride in maintaining a cultural connection as well as positive perceptions of being a Luso-Canadian in the GTA due to the possible struggles they witnessed their parents experiencing and their own experiences. Their home, family, community, education, and overall socialization inhibit a perspective that is unique to each individual. Although the academic literature used has maintained that there is a community of Portuguese immigrants in Canada and in the GTA, attention must be given to the fact that this is not a homogenous group. The Portuguese community in the GTA is a discursively constructed 'community' that is as unique as the individuals who may contribute to this censured 'whole'.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Overview

Introduction

My focus on Luso-Canadians and their stories is inspired by four distinct and critical theoretical perspectives. The first is sociological and based on Michel Foucault's (1990) concept of 'discourse', as well as his concept of 'discipline'. The concept of 'discourse' is particularly useful in terms of discussing the discourse surrounding the analysis of discussion itself and the power created in 'creating discourse'. 'Discipline' as a concept is useful in relating the experience of individuals in relation to the surveillance allotted to particular groups and in relation to power. The second is based on Bourdieu's concepts of 'language and symbolic power' and 'symbolic capital'. Language and symbolic power and symbolic capital are two concepts that help to situate and connect the use of Portuguese language and culture in the GTA. The third theoretical perspective is rooted in Diaspora studies, in post-colonial discourse with specific attention to the ways in which Diaspora studies theorizes migration, hybridity, and language by using interdisciplinary academic material relative to Diaspora studies. The fourth is rooted in theories of mothering/motherhood and social reproduction. Here I focus on the ways in which socio-economic influences impact and influence the choices mothers make in their everyday lives. Also the intersection of ethnicity and class and its underlying effects on families and mothering is discussed. These multidisciplinary theoretical perspectives also provide a framing for the ways in which I analyzed my project's discourse as well as the narratives collected.

I.   <u>Foucault</u>

(i)   <u>Discourse</u>

Michel Foucault's concept of 'discourse' discusses the creation and process of creating discourse and the implications involved in the production of knowledge. 'Discourse' for Foucault (1990) is used to focus on written words, texts, and the ways events are discursively constituted (p. 100). Discourse in itself represents a form of power whereby aspects of language are censored in order to control real events and lived experiences (Foucault, 1990, p. 92). By censoring language and subsequent discourse surrounding particular words, words and their meanings become controlled and help to shape power relations (Foucault, 1990). Foucault (1990) in 'The History of Sexuality Volume 1' refers to power as something that arises from multitudes of places, that is, it is not binary or vertical, and, further, where there is power there is also resistance (p. 94-95). Foucault (1990) also contends that it is through discourse that power and knowledge are joined together:

> …discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (p. 101).

Although Foucault (1990) is referring to 'sex' and its subsequent uses in discourse, it is still relevant to discuss the historical and theoretical premise that frames his work as it reflects other aspects of language and censorship evident today. Also, in his quote he is reflecting on the manner in which force relations create and redistribute aspects of power that affect individuals in its practice. As he states:

> One must suppose rather that the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups, and institutions, are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole. These then form a general line of force that traverses the local

oppositions and links them together…they also bring about redistributions, realignments, homogenizations, serial arrangements, and convergences of the force relations. Major dominations are the hegemonic effects that are sustained by all these confrontations (Foucault, 1990, p. 94).

This is important to include as it shows the myriad of ways in which discourse and power are fluent and in constant 'discussion', and it is through this 'discussion' that power relations become evident.

(ii)   Discipline

Another term that is popularly used by Foucault is the concept of 'discipline'. Although this term reflects a magnitude of important and critically engaging forms of knowing as well as issues of surveillance, I am paying particular attention to the ways in which Foucault discusses 'discipline' as a normalizing judgement. This refers to the ways in which individuals are always being evaluated to the 'standard' and to each other. When individuals are judged, they can enable an object of analyzing and consequently form what is and what should be. This produces 'normal' and 'abnormal' behaviour as well as acceptable and unacceptable ways of being in relation to the conceptualization of normality.

Discipline is connected to this in that the hyper surveillance and monitoring of one's Portuguese is connected to aspects of power and power relations in the community. If one is not using the language and its dialect 'properly' as purported by the small majority who holds power in the community (see da Silva, 2011) then one should correct their dialect to match or sound like that version of the language. This is very problematic, but it is this hyper surveillance of speaking that has hindered some communities from speaking the language at all. The discourse and language is also connected to regions and thus regionalism is critical in terms of defining who is responsible for surveilling and who is subsequently surveilled. This has implications for

language and cultural retention because if one feels as though they are not speaking a language properly, they may feel less inclined to teach it to their children or even engage with it.

(iii)   Connection to Thesis

The use of both discourse and discipline is, in terms of discourse, the ways in which Portuguese language and dialects of Portuguese are treated in terms of power and the myriad of power relations associated and connected to each form of dialect, create, force, and reinforce aspects of power and manipulate power relations in the GTA. Dialect carries with it forms of power that is automatically detected when spoken. Historically the Portuguese dialects have, as previously mentioned, been regionalized; with this regionalization forms of power relations come to be associated with discourse, accents, and dialects. This is not an automatic occurrence and has been purposefully situated in a historical framework that is still evident today. This impacts perceptions of language and imposes power relations on various groups of individuals speaking the same language, albeit with a different dialect.

II.   **Bourdieu**

Bourdieu's use of 'language and symbolic power' and 'symbolic capital' are two terms that are related and connect with one another. The use of Bourdieu (1991) in this chapter is used especially in terms of defining and describing language as a form of power, the symbolic power associated with language, as well as symbolic capital and its connection to power. Then, the use of these terms in my thesis will also be discussed.

(i)   Language as Symbolic Power

Language according to Bourdieu (1991) is connected to his other theoretical work, including his insights on 'Theory and Practice' 'Field' and 'Habitus'. For the purpose of this

thesis, I only discuss language as it relates to symbolic power. Bourdieu (1991) discusses

language as a social process whereby the ways in which people speak or express themselves

verbally is always situated in a particular context, and that context appropriates a particular

'value' to the speech. According to John Thompson (1991):

> Through a complex historical process, sometimes involving extensive conflict (especially in colonial contexts), a particular language or set of linguistic practices has emerged as the dominant and legitimate language, and other languages or dialects have been eliminated or subordinated to it (p. 5).

The connection to legitimacy and language is rooted in the production and reproduction of what

is deemed appropriate and proper language, including dialect. The 'official' language is then

associated with politics, bound with the state, and unified to be considered the proper version of

the language (Bourdieu 1991, p. 45). The legitimate language is then connected to anything the

state controls like education systems, government, and public institutions (Bourdieu, 1991, p.

45). In this manner, the legitimacy of the language becomes the legitimacy of the state itself as

the formation of the state is the condition in which the constitution of a 'legitimate' language

may be formed (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 45).

Legitimacy in language is connected to authorization as it is authorized in powerful social

institutions. As Bourdieu (1991) states:

> In order for one mode of expression among others (a particular language in the case of bilingualism, a particular use of language in the case of a society divided into classes) to impose itself as the only legitimate one, the linguistic market has to be unified and the different dialects (of class, region or ethnic group) have to be measured practically against the legitimate language or usage (p. 45).

This means that in order to legitimate a particular dialect as the 'proper' one, there must be a

discrepancy made against the other dialects, ethnic versions of language and regions, in order to

successfully implement that particular dialect as the official one. Once this is done, the legitimate

language holds all of the power. Authorized language in turn is used in the manner as much as the substance of discourse which depends on the speaker and her social position (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 109).

(ii)   Symbolic Capital

Symbolic capital is the way in which symbolic productions are used as instruments of domination (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 166). Language is a form of symbolic capital; that is, its function as a form of communication renders language a form of capital. Language becomes attributed to class due to dialects and the power given to language through the association to its proper-ness and improperness. These differences with language are subsequently classed and reproduced and hierarchical. Language thus becomes not only a method of communication but a mechanism of power whereby the symbolic capital of language and in specific appropriate language, becomes recognized as a power (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 72).

(iii)   Connection to Thesis

Language as symbolic power and symbolic capital serve two purposes. First, language as a form of power in Bourdieu's perspective serves as a mechanism of control, whereby language creates and manipulates the discourse according to the speaker of the language. If the speaker of the language uses discourse that is congruent with the state and therefore what is deemed as legitimate language, then that speaker represents power and legitimacy. If the speaker fails to do so, they fail to enact in the manner deemed legitimate by the state and therefore are 'politically incorrect'. Including this perspective in this thesis serves the purpose of recognizing the importance and difference between language in terms of regions and the implications this has on individuals who fail to legitimate the language. In terms of the Portuguese Diaspora, most

Portuguese people do not adhere to the 'politically correct' manner of representing the state through language as most of the Portuguese population is more closely tied to their region and not the state. Regions adhere to different dialects, versions of the Portuguese language, and representations of Portuguese in a myriad of ways. Therefore, especially in relation to Portuguese individuals who are not residing in Portugal, language and symbolic power becomes even more evident in other social spaces.

Second, in terms of symbolic capital, the speaker gains capital through their legitimacy in terms of representing the state. This empowers certain individuals and disempowers others who do not present a legitimate version of the state's ideal. Underlying these assumptions are critical theories surrounding nationalism and ethnic heritage. In terms of the Portuguese Diaspora in the GTA, there are a number of reasons why certain individuals have been empowered by their use of language and others disempowered. Predominately, those who legitimate the state's version of the language are often favoured in comparison to those who do not- even though they are speaking the same language with few differences in dialect. I would argue that there is no 'correct' version of language as it is such a fluid and constantly changing mechanism of social interaction, but those individuals who perform a version of the language most similar to that of the capital of the country and in turn represent the state through their language, are given the most social capital in the country which is then reproduced throughout diasporas.

III.   Diaspora Studies

 Diaspora studies used to relate to different groups of people who were displaced due to circumstances like war, poverty, and forcible movement. The displacement relates to those who moved voluntarily or who were forced to move (Van Hear, 2010, 34). Studying 'Diaspora' is itself a challenging task as it is an interdisciplinary term which is difficult to define as its

political significance has varied as well as its definition over time (Knott and Mcloughin, 2010, p.2). Diaspora studies are multi and inter-disciplinary ranging from Geography to Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology, post-colonial literatures and cultural studies (Knott and Mcloughin, 2010 p. 7). Three broad sections make up Diaspora studies: concepts and theories, intersections, and empirical and metamorphic Diasporas (Knott and Mcloughin, 2010, p. 8). I discuss the 'concepts and theories' and 'intersections' aspects of Diaspora studies. I only discuss aspects of Diaspora studies that are most relevant to my topic of study.

Within Diaspora studies and theory, there is acknowledgement of the dispersal of people and the rise of new forms of connectedness as well as the difference between geographies and its connection to particular Diaspora's (Banerjee, McGuiness, and McKay, 2012). Relatively, there are specificities associated with each connected Diaspora in relation to its geographic location (Banerjee, McGuiness, and McKay, 2012). This means that each Diaspora is different in relation to other Diasporas across space, even though the group may be similar. Diaspora studies is not often congruent with issues like cultural politics or social identities as its theoretical position deems that individuals never 'originate' from anywhere and that the myriad of mixes of people disallows any possible connection to a 'nationalist' perspective. For example, Buff (2012) makes a critical point when discussing Diaspora studies when she states "the discourse of Diaspora implicitly contests the hegemony of the nation and its claims on social identities and cultural politics" (p. 123). I am using this theoretical perspective to explain that although I understand the hegemony of a nation and its claim on social identities can be problematic, I am more so confirming the role of the **narratives** that create this 'imagined hegemony' even if it is nonexistent in reality due to the movement of people over time, and thus the impossibility of 'pure' nations/cultures. The role of the narratives included in the social identities discussed by

Buff (2012) play a critical role in its creation and therefore I would argue **do exist**. Thus, although Diaspora studies do not often use the nationalist perspective of united identities, I am more interested in *if* these social imaginaries exist in the Greater Toronto Area, and *how* they affect the outcome of the Diaspora in question, paying particular attention to the distinct creation of a diasporic subjectivity or lack thereof in this community.

(i)   Migration and Place

The notion of migration and 'home' are two concepts that have lasting effects on the manners in which individuals who make up diasporic communities relate, communicate, and identify with particular groups. There is messiness, unevenness and meaningfulness of migration that is difficult to trace to a specific 'people'. There is both a temporal and spatial distance between remembering 'home' and conceptualizing its importance in everyday life (Stock, 2010, p. 24). Also the notion of migration and place of origin has roots in generations, specifically between migrants and their children (Stock, 2010, p. 24). As Stock (2010) states:

> …the notion of home is referred to and employed in diverging, sometimes contradictory ways. Two rather common areas of enquiry concern the relationship of (descendants of) migrants to an 'originary homeland', and questions of 'feeling at home'. The first might focus on (material or symbolic) transnational ties, myths of migration and dreams of return; while the second might trace the desires and the (im)possibilities of making oneself at home- in the different spaces diasporic subjects inhabit, but mainly in the current place of residence (p. 25).

Places of 'home' and symbolic connections may often become imagined communities for future generations who do not connect to the 'home' of their parents (Stock, 2010, p. 26). Therefore, discussing migration and diasporic communities has a definite difference in terms of the generations within that Diaspora, the age of the Diaspora, migratory lifespan, and the linguistic

viability within that group. If the particular Diaspora is significantly gentrified, it may be more difficult to connect its generations to aspects of the Diaspora that preceded them.

Diaspora straddles divides in the migration field in terms of the distinction between voluntary and forced migration and the implications of these 'moves' for specific groups (Van Hear, 2010, p.34). Diaspora is the analysis of migration itself- the process, experience, and dynamics of mobility- and the outcomes of migration, such as the integration, assimilation, segregation, or exclusion of people of migrant background and changes in society that result (Van Hear, 2010, p. 34). It also invites the connection according to Knott (2012) in creative tension notions of 'home' and 'away' while unsettling both:

> Every Diaspora… has its 'distinctive spatiality', informed by actual journeys past and present, the particular forms and distribution of its settlements, its demography, the nature and extent of its social networks (intra-, inter-, and transnational), the characteristic circulations of its members, goods culture and religion, its local inflections (social, linguistic, cultural), and its distinctive imagined, historical and present geography (p. 81).

Therefore Diaspora is viewed as a type of cultural production that shifts and changes in relation to its geographic location and the makeup of its people. It is difficult to pin-point then, who exactly belongs in particular Diasporas as their generation and migratory status may be well older than the individuals themselves. Huggan (2010) contends that Diaspora is a mode of cultural production, a type of consciousness, and a social form.

Discussions of migration and place are significant as they analyze the effects of geographic difference on a Diaspora and community, and regard the group as fluid, intersectional, and not homogenous. However, the generalized stereotypes, assumptions, norms and values attributed to the Portuguese Diaspora in the GTA has an underlying effect on the connections individuals within the Diaspora make to the community as a unified entity- which

we know it is not. The imagined community created through nationalist contentions and powerful claims to place, whether realistic or not, play a significant role in the making/breaking of connections individuals have with the culture (Anderson, 2006). The imagined community is imagined as a 'community' because: "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (Anderson, 2006, p. 7). If individuals do not connect in terms of the 'imagined hegemony' culture and notions of origin imply, then individuals will not feel as though they are a part of that group and may distance themselves. However, if individuals understand these narratives as their 'own' by appropriating them to their own identities, they may be more inclined to accept narratives surrounding this imagined hegemony. Even if they do not appropriate themselves or connect, they are still recognizing this altruistic, hegemonic imagined narrative of what it means to be a migrant, or person with a nationalist connection to a particular place. This becomes more difficult when individuals hold multiple identities and connections to groups. In other words, the narratives become challenged when there are multiple frameworks of narratives contending with each other within the Diasporas.

(ii)   Hybridity

The concept of hybridity discusses the various ways in which forms of change alter the connections people make to identities, cultures, and communities. Diaspora connects to hybridity whereby forms of hybridity are evident in individuals who make up distinct groups of people (Hytnyk, 2012). As Hutnyk (2012) states, "hybridity is a convenient category at the edge or contact point of Diaspora, describing cultural mixture where the diasporized meets the host in the scene of migration" (p. 59). Hybridity is used to describe the innovation of languages, a code for creativity and translation (Hutnyk, 2012, p. 60). Boym (2001) makes a further connection in

relation to Diaspora when she discusses diasporic intimacy, or the closeness to a previous

homeland, that is geographically distant from the diaspora itself. Boym (2001) states:

> "diasporic intimacy" – that is not opposed to uprooted-ness and defamiliarization but is
> constituted by it. Diasporic intimacy can be approached only through indirection and
> intimation, through stories and secrets. It is spoken of in a foreign language that reveals
> the inadequacies of translation. Diasporic intimacy does not promise an unmediated
> emotional fusion, but only a precarious affection- no less deep, yet aware of its
> transience. (p.252)

Diaspora is used in a variety of ways to refer to a mixture of two distinctly separate identities that

form a new, innovated reality (see Gilroy 1993, Bhabha 1994, Chambers 1994, Clifford 1994,

Hall 1995). The term is not without conflict. For example Gilroy (1994) moves away from the

allegiance to hybridity and declared: "Who… wants purity? The idea of hybridity, of

intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities… I think there isn't any purity… that's why I try

not to use the word hybrid… cultural production is not like mixing cocktails…" (Gilroy, 1994, p.

54-55). Boym (2001) makes this connection through her exploration of the intimacy associated

to a Diaspora although the physical space, like the homeland, is largely out of proximate reach

for extended periods of time:

> ... diasporic intimacy is dystopic by definition; it is rooted in the suspicion of a single
> home, in shared longing without belonging. It thrives on the hope of the possibilities of
> human understanding and survival, of unpredictable chance encounters, but this hope is
> not utopian. Diasporic intimacy is haunted by the images of home and homeland, yet it
> also discloses some of the furtive pleasures of exile (p. 252-253).

In this quote, Boym (2001) explores the relationship between the Diaspora and its imagined

closeness to a homeland, although it is separate from the homeland group, it recognizes the

benefits of being in this excluded social position. The "…longing without belonging…" (Boym,

2001, p. 252) is especially indicative of a Diasporic community that does not entirely relate to its

imagined homeland and its changes over time, due to its exclusion from the homeland group and

the tensions this may cause in relating through the lens of the Diasporic community members themselves. Thus a feeling of nostalgia is conflicted with memories of the past and the way things 'used' to be, and the guilty nervousness associated with being a part of a group, while being separate from that group.

I am using hybrid not to presuppose that there are two anterior purities to the 'mixing'. I am using hybrid to affirm the multitudes of the individual in terms of their connection to culture. In other words, I am not stating that there is a purity in culture, but that the ways in which people connect, believe, imagine, and associate themselves to culture enables a form of hybridity that is undeniably evident, especially when referring to generations and diasporas who have moved over time. This is also clear when referring to people of varied cultures, or who identify with more than one cultural heritage.

(iii)   <u>Language</u>

Diaspora and language are connected with the second dimension of Diaspora studies, that being 'intersections'. Language plays a crucial role in Diaspora studies. Beswick (2012) connects notions of language between the heritage language and the host language. Her study on Portuguese in New Jersey, compares the relationship individuals have with their spoken language, especially in terms of the variation of language and what that means for individuals who speak different dialects of Portuguese. Languages frequently embrace extra linguistic characteristics and play important sociolinguistic, sociocultural, and even sociopolitical roles in the conceptualization of Diaspora (Beswick, 2012, p. 134). Beswick's (2012) explanation for the variation of language dialects and its connection to diasporic language retention and use is explained historically in the following quote:

Indeed, during Salazar's dictatorship the transition for rural Portuguese migrants to the cities of other European countries was problematical, but by clustering together in particular neighbourhoods, they were able to maintain their sociolinguistic and socio-cultural identification practices through the use of Portuguese. In this way, the heritage language upheld the Diaspora's own sense of legitimacy and authenticity within an alien environment, reinforcing the sense of historical and cultural difference, as well as being a pragmatic communication tool (p.134-135).

This shows the reason for people, and their linguistic usage to stay connected, and ultimately to succeed as a migratory group. The ways in which dialect historically played a critical role in connecting individuals, group and simultaneously disconnecting others, created acceptance and adherence to a certain dialect and ultimately legitimized ones and delegitimized others.

The notion of holding onto language for diasporic survival is, however, not always the case. Beswick (2012) explains how acquiring the host language is financially advantageous and therefore members will lose their heritage language purposefully in order to financially succeed. Beswick (2012) uses the Portuguese community in Venezuela as an example of a migratory Diaspora that has foregone its heritage language (Portuguese) for both economic and political power in Venezuela through the acquisition of the Spanish language (p. 136). Code-switching is another method of using language to communicate and control types of communication. This method allows the speaker to choose to switch between languages (the heritage language and the host language) for particular events in relation to their identity, either to reinforce their language skills, and/or changing of topics within the conversation (Beswick, 2012, p. 137). Beswick (2012) contends that this "may lead to the loss of one of the language varieties, typically that of the Diaspora" (p.137).

IV.   <u>Mothering/Social Reproduction</u>

Although the literature on mothering and social reproduction is vast, I focus specifically on the ways in which mothering practices are influenced by social class and the socio-economic status of the mother and its effect on childrearing. In particular, I discuss the ways in which mothers engage in mothering practices that are influenced by their class status, their material and social resources, and the ways in which this alters their children's experiences with childhood. Since mothers are the gatekeepers of language and cultural retention and transmission of language, focusing on their material and social resources enables a critical perspective on their motives for mothering.

(i)   <u>Mothering and Socio-Economic Status</u>

Social class and socio-economic status has a critical impact on the manner in which mothers provide and their lived realities. The material and social resources granted to mothers of different social classes ultimately affects the way in which they mother their children, and the environment in which their children are raised. Garey (1999) termed 'constellation of resources' as the material and social reasons for engaging in social reproduction. In specific, she refers to family support as resources (p. 97-102), in-voluntary part time work (p. 92-102), night shift workers (p.111), and voluntary part time employment (p.63-65) to name a few (Garey, 1999). These resources help to shape social reproduction- being the work involved in meeting the everyday needs of family members, and is grounded in material conditions and social organization more generally (Fox, 2009, p. 33).The form of engaging with the economy is influenced by their ability to care for children during other hours, the support systems mothers in these situations have to go to work, and in the case of voluntary work, if they do not have to

work full time to subsist (Garey, 1999). Also, Garey (1999) discusses the strategies for

negotiating meaning between being a mother and being employed (p. 13).

The crux of Garey's (1999) argument is that of the differences between social classes

and the strategies mothers use to weave their work and mothering lives. It is imperative to

understand the connection between women's choices and their socio-economic status. Mothers

choose forms of care-giving based on their availability to do so socially and economically and

thus an inequality in terms of what some mothers are able to do versus others is evident. Fox

(2009) contends that social class can affect many parenting experiences like: differences in age

of pregnancy, feeling trapped, handling problems, handling responsibility, time scarcity,

meanings of parenthood, stress, and women's dependence during maternity leave.

Socio-economic status also remains a highly influential aspect of mothering practices in

general and negotiating the economy of care between parents. Mothering as Fox (2009) states is

a class act and there are prerequisites for certain types of mothering like for example 'intensive

mothering' (p. 126). Intensive mothering for Fox (2009) means a freedom from economic

pressure and financial worries and more material security. Thus the mothers who practice forms

of intensive mothering reflect their economic security like not going back to work for extended

periods after having a baby (Fox, 2009). However, Fox (2009) found that it was necessary for

mothers to have a partner who earned enough money to support them both, or replacement

earnings from maternity leave (p. 126). Thus, middle class mothers tend to have these sorts of

economic and social conditions to engage in intensive mothering practices. Also, parents of

middle class couples offer financial assistance and often help, while working class grandparents

cannot engage in these practices (Fox, 2009, p. 22).

 (ii)   <u>Mothering and Concerted Cultivation</u>

Concerted cultivation is the cultivation of children in a concerted fashion which includes organized activities that are established and controlled by parents (Lareau, 2011, p. 1-2). Lareau (2011) describes the different ways in which parents of different social classes' child rear their children and the impact this has on their children's prospects. Concerted cultivation is not for everyone; it is a classed behaviour that reflects the middle class parenting style and not working classes (Lareau, 2011, p.3). That is because it is an economic decision by which parents must pay for extracurricular activities and events for their children to engage in throughout their childhood. Working class parents opt for 'natural growth' methods of childrearing that focuses on children learning lessons and growing in their 'natural' environment (Lareau, 2011). In terms of natural growth methods of childrearing, there is no organized daily life, the use of extended family is extensive, keeping language short and simple, discipline is directive and threatening, and physical discipline occurs. The reason for the choice in natural growth is that an alternative is not attainable due to the financial burden extra-curricular activities cost families. Thus it is an unachievable outcome for working class parents to afford.

Concerted cultivation is also connected with language use that Lareau (2011) contends is also relative to class relations. Language use between the middle class and working class is very different; that is, the purpose of using language to communicate and the mechanism in which the language is used between parent- child as well as what children are taught is vast. For example, Lareau (2011) states that language use in middle class families is more egalitarian, not as authoritarian, and encouraging of children to speak to other authority figures in a more equal manner (p. 116). This means that when middle class children enter the school system, they are well equipped to maneuver through learning institutions due to their childrearing's focus on

reasoning and decision making. However, Lareau (2011) finds that middle class children show

emerging signs of self entitlement at a young age due to this type of practice (p. 124).

The critical aspect of concerted cultivation is the connection between concerted

cultivation in middle class children and the connection to the education system. Socio-economic

status seeps into education issues in terms of offering guidance for children and organizing their

futures. Lareau (2011) finds that middle class mothers take on responsibility for managing their

children's transition to college (p. 287). Working class mothers on the other hand, rely more

heavily on the institutions for advice and assistance through the transition process. This does not

mean that working class mothers cared less for their children's future but that they do not have

the socio-economic means to approach their children's transition to college in the same manner

as middle class mothers. As Lareau (2011) states:

> a variety of social class issues spring from this: language use/disuse and development,
> educational attainment, knowledge of education systems, power and privilege, economic
> resources, income, organized activities, race, use of time, upward mobility, and social
> networks.

It is clear that middle class parents are at an advantage in terms of child-rearing that working

class parents just cannot afford.

(iii)   Connection to Thesis

Mothering and social reproductive practices include the ways in which class affects

parenting styles and mothering in general, are critical theoretical frameworks due to the

connection between mothers and their children, and the impact of social class on everyday lives.

It is important to recognize the social class positions the women in this study are coming from

and understand how to theorize their social class status. I borrow from Lareau (2011) in terms of

theorizing the mothers' social class status. Lareau (2011) defines middle class families as those

who live in households where one parent is employed in a managerial position, or that draws upon complex educational certification- like university level skills. Laureau (2011) considers working class families those who live in households where neither parents are employed in managerial positions, and employment that does not draw upon highly complex, educationally certified skills. The reason for using this method of theorizing class as opposed to another that focuses on income, education, and home ownership (see Fox, 2009) is because I did not ask the women their incomes and thus could not use Fox's (2009) categorization. However, I borrow from Fox (2009) in her categorization and use of home-ownership as a signifier of class status. Also, the work from Vincent et al (2012) builds on concerted cultivation and adds the intersection of race as an added component to class differences. I intersect issues of social class with ethnicity, and in specific Luso-Canadian ethnic heritage and class (see appendix 5 for a chart displaying socio-economic status).

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined some of the theoretical literatures which inform and frame my thesis. The theoretical literature is rooted in insights from Foucault, Bourdieu, Diaspora Studies, and social reproduction and mothering. For Foucault, both the issue of discourse and discipline are used to discuss the ways in which discussion and language, writing, and speech are controlled and managed by a power authority. Foucault's use of discipline is used to discuss the ways in which those who contradict this discourse are rejected and excluded from the dominant discourse due to its binary. Bourdieu is drawn upon to relate language more closely to power and the symbolism language holds with its use. Specifically, language as symbolic power and symbolic capital refers to the ways in which certain accents, dialects, and forms of speech are dominant and placed in a hierarchy of 'properness' and 'appropriateness'. The power dynamics

have implications for those who do not follow. Migration and place, and hybridity in Diaspora

studies have implications for those who belong to these groups as well. Mothering and social

reproduction theories highlight the importance of social class, the economy, and its impact on the

socio-economic prospects and childhood families can provide their children. Inevitably the

current economic climate shapes and is shaped by individuals, including mothers.

This chapter and **Chapter Two** combine to present a portrait of the Portuguese people in

Canada and more specifically in the GTA, as well as the theoretical underpinnings of this

project. The following chapter- **Chapter Three**- will lay out the methodological approach and

process taken for this project.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

As a researcher, I position myself as the 'moulder' of this study. It is clear that the time spent with the women provided answers but is by no means entirely reflective of the Portuguese community in the GTA or even the women in their entirety. Therefore, as the moulder of clay does, so too does a writer, whereby the questions asked, the control of the information gathered and ultimately the manner in which the data is analyzed is in my hands. This is not an easy feat and is loaded with ethical and moral dilemmas for social scientists. My approach to this research is proudly personal, both in terms of the participants and what they chose to disclose through their narratives and the way I understood and developed their stories. This chapter will offer my narrative in accessing the mothers' narratives; I will elaborate on the ways in which the women (my sample) were asked to be part of this project, the way the data was collected and then analyzed. The chapter is divided into four sections as follows: (i) in the field where the participants are introduced and methodology for accessing the sample and field is discussed; (ii) data collection including a discussion of my interview process; (iii) data analysis; and finally (iv) a section on self-reflexivity within the methodology section. The chapter will conclude with a summary on methodology and introduce the next chapter.

I. In the Field

(i) Accessing 'the Field' and Finding My Sample

I interviewed six Luso-Canadian women over the course of a two-month period in the winter of 2012/13. Initially I felt that I could access the 'field' and specifically these women relatively easily as my relation to the Portuguese community including my Luso-Canadian status

has granted me the proximity to many women through my neighbourhood as well as through friendships and acquaintances. However, gaining access to the women took longer than I had anticipated. There were two reasons for this. First, given that the women were busy young mothers, it was difficult to fit an interview into their schedule. Second, as I was conducting the interviews in winter, the weather was a factor. My goal was not to negatively affect the women through taking up their time or even feeling like they had to be interviewed. I did my best to be as non-invasive as possible in terms of asking the women and following up with them. This will be discussed further in the self-reflexivity section below.

After I received ethical approval from the University Ethics Board for conducting research with human subjects, I made appointments and week by week interviewed at least one woman. Prior to interviewing, I received informed consent in the form of verbal consent from each woman. Four of the women interviewed were through liaison members whom I am familiar with through friendships. Most of them offered to ask the women on my behalf. I gave the liaison members my phone number and asked them to inform the participants if they were willing to be interviewed, to contact me. This form of contact enables the women to feel empowered by their decision to participate and disallows any potential pressure from the researcher to engage the women in the project. One other interview was a direct connection that I had through a long friendship and I asked her personally if she would be willing to be interviewed. The last interview was a snowball from one of the interviews I had conducted already; the participant asked her sister if she was willing to be interviewed.

I wanted to facilitate a conversation that was guided by my interview guide; yet it quickly became clear that there would also be conversation that was not necessarily on my research topic. There were various reasons for this but primarily this impact resulted from the

status of our relationship and the fact that I was a part of the same community and larger social circle as these women. Issues of insider/outsider status will be discussed further below. Nonetheless, I accepted this and I feel it brought a different dynamic to the interviews because what we discussed is very important to the overall issues I was interested in but was framed in a conversation that was not originally a part of my interview guide. Also, I felt like I was giving parts of myself during the interview to the women and not solely taking their knowledge and information from them. This will be explained further below.

After my experience with the first interview, I noticed that some of the information the liaison member was delivering to the participant was not entirely true. An example of this was when I met up with one participant, she relayed what the liaison member had said and it was very different than what my project is. The participant thought that my project was about generations and being an immigrant to the country. This was discussed because the participant was concerned she could not help me with the interview as she felt she was not an immigrant due to her living in Canada most of her life. I felt like the information was not being delivered well and clearly enough and so for the following interviews I changed my tactic. I decided to send a text message to five of the women with information on my project prior to them calling me. This was not direct contact but was a manner in which I could control the information concerning my project prior to them agreeing.

The texting of the project details was informal and written clearly and in a manner that the participant would be able to understand. It was also a manner in which they could receive the information directly from me and not have to respond right away, or at all. In fact, one liaison member connected me with her sister-in law; once I texted my thesis details, she responded later with a text that I had the wrong number. The liaison member had told me that the potential

participant was willing to be interviewed. However, upon my delivery of the text message, it was proven otherwise. Clearly this potential participant did not feel comfortable being interviewed.

(ii)   <u>Overview of Participants</u>

Selecting the women meant amalgamating certain qualities and attributes that most of the women share. To get the information I was looking for, I chose a small non-random sample; I used a purposive sampling approach (Palys, 2008). The non-random aspect stems from the participants volunteerism and thus the selection does not claim to be representative of the Luso-Canadian Diaspora. The six women are either one and a half generation or second generation (two are one and a half and the other four are second generation). The women are Luso-Canadians, meaning they are descendants of Portuguese people, mothers, and either married or cohabiting with their partner, and have children ranging from 12 months to 8 years. The ages of the six women range from 23-39. The six interviews were semi-formal, semi-structured interviews that occurred in coffee shops, the participant's homes or on one occasion, in my car. The reason for the interview location being in my car is because the coffee shop we chose was full of people and quite loud, she suggested we proceed to conduct the interview in my car. As it was my first interview, I was reluctant to disagree with her and went along with her suggestion. Although the lighting was bad, the clarity in terms of reviewing the interview verbatim was actually the best in comparison to the other interviews.

The sample of women is varied in terms of region where their 'Portuguese-ness' is from. The women can trace their background to specific regions of Portugal: one woman is from the Madeira Islands, one is from Angola but her parents are from Terceira Island in the Azores, two are from the Sao Miguel Island in the Azores, and two are from the north of continental Portugal.

Further in this chapter, there is a detailed chart mapping the participant profiles. Although the chart essentializes the women by picking traits and an aspect of their identity, it is only included as it gives a clearer insight into my participants' demographic information and helps organize the women's narratives. I included it for both personal organization as well as for the reader's interest to help map and determine each woman individually and as a group.

Although the sample of women I interviewed is not representative of Portuguese people in the GTA, by including Luso-Canadian women from various parts of Portugal, I feel as though I have done the best I can in terms of attempting to broaden such a small sample. That is, I did not want to only interview Luso-Canadians from a specific region in Portugal and then generalize that they were all Luso-Canadians. I wanted to open my sample to include many Luso-Canadian narratives with rich and varied histories which meant widening my sample to all types of Portuguese descendants and not just those from the same region which could potentially have the same experiences. The reason why I was so intrigued and interested in the issue of region is because the literature on Portuguese people in Canada speaks about region as though it is a determinant of many qualities and qualifications in terms of retention as has already been discussed earlier (see Oliveira, 2008; da Silva, 2011). I was interested because I wanted to know if the women I interviewed felt any of these connections that the literature speaks of. I did not make it an issue in terms of asking women where they are from or potentially making them feel as though their background location determines their potential rates of retention, but this did come up in almost all of my interviews in one way or another. This will be explained in the key themes and research findings chapter. The following is a chart offering a more detailed description of the participants:

Names:	Age:	Family Origin:	Partner:	Child/ren:	Education:	Employment Status
Deidra	33	Madeira-came when she was 11	Canadian of Italian descent	3 yr old son-Andrew*	University Degree-Chartered Accountant	Full time
Desiree	35	Sao Miguel, Acores- she was born in Canada	Canadian of South-American descent-named David*	8 year old daughter-Zeriah*, 8 month old son Patrick*	High school education	On maternity leave
Susana	39	Terceira Island, but she was born in Angola, Africa. Came when she was a toddler	Portuguese-Canadian, born in Portugal named Alex*	6 year old daughter named Aaliyah*, 4 year old son named John*	High school education completion unknown	Full time
Jasmine	23	Sao Miguel, Acores, she was born in Canada	Brazilian-Canadian named Christian*	14 month old son named Elijah*	High school completed and currently in College course	Full time
Ana	23	Northern Portugal, she was born in Canada; Ana and Rita are sisters	Canadian of Jamaican Descent named Chandler*	12 month old son named Aries*	High school completed and formal college trade completion	Part time-just back from Maternity Leave
Rita	26	Northern Portugal, she was born in Canada; Ana and Rita are sisters	Jamaican-Canadian named Nick*	4 year old daughter named Imani*, 18 month old son named Joshua*	High school completed	Part time-full time caregiver

(iii)   <u>Politics of Naming</u>

One of the issues was deciding on a pseudonym for the participants. Also choosing names for the women is complicated as finding names that are traditionally Portuguese is not the best option as their real names are not traditionally Portuguese, and I did not want to represent them in this way. The method of choosing names that coincide with ethnic origin to make the narrative more realistic in terms of representation is not easily conducted when as it has been mentioned before, there are mutual identities at play that affect and impact each woman differently. I made a joke with the women when I read the ethics forms to them that they could pick their pseudonym by choosing alter ego names. This mode of conversation with humour often put the participants at ease in terms of forms and reading ethics at the commencement of the meeting and informalized the interview substantially. I guaranteed confidentiality towards my participants in its entirety (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2010). The option of the participants choosing their pseudonym did not come to fruition and therefore I stuck to English names that I find are popular names on baby websites online, or ones that I am fond of.

II.   Data Collection

(i)   <u>The Right Tools: Interviews</u>

Conducting interviews is an enriching and important way to obtain information that is relevant and qualitative in nature. The quality of the information gathered through in-depth interviews is based on both the relationship with the participant but also the time allotted to participating in the interviews. In-depth interviews with an ethnographic objective also enable the possibility of 'thick description' which through its emphasis on words and text rather than numbers highlights the lived subjectivities of those interviewed (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2010).

Interviews were the method of choice when collecting the data (see appendix 1 for interview

sample guide). The interviews lasted from half an hour to four hours, or an entire afternoon with

most of the interviews. I had coffee with the women, ate lunch with a couple of them and spent

the interview time on the floor with them playing with their children. As most of their children

were present during the interview, the interview was often interrupted to attend to the child/ren's

needs.

At every home I visited (I conducted interviews in homes for four of the six) there was a

hospitable and welcoming environment. Actually, conducting interviews in the women's home

positively affected the interview experience because the women are in their own space. The issue

of space is critical and I found that the interviews that occurred in the women's homes were

more comfortable from the beginning. Undoubtedly this can be because of other issues as well,

but I felt that interviewing within the home is beneficial to both researcher and participant. Also,

the children's presence helps to facilitate the conversation. Interviewing in the women's homes

was also illuminating because I got to view regular interactions that occur in the home which is

where most of these women are (especially the ones with very young children). I watched

mother- child interactions in terms of affection, feeding, play, encouragement, and teaching.

Most importantly for interacting with the mothers at home, I experienced situations in

which the women's narratives, did not entirely coincide with their interactions with their

children. For example, some of the women stated that they speak occasionally in Portuguese to

their children and translate words and texts, but during my stay with them, this never occurred.

One of the mothers had a video for toddlers in Portuguese which she played for her son to

distract him while we were talking. This interaction is something that I would not have been

exposed to unless I was physically present in their home. It was a very positive experience to visit the mothers in this way.

While I had initially thought about using a short questionnaire to collect demographic information, I decided to include it as part of the interview as this way allowed me to glean all the information I needed; I thus collected demographic information such as age, age when first child was born, age of children, nationality of partner (see appendix 1) within the context of the interview. Initially, the geographic location of these women in relation to the 'Little Portugal' neighbourhood in Toronto was of importance to me but I realized shortly after that this imagined connection to the community discussed in various texts on the Portuguese, did not apply to the women I interviewed. The interview questions were pre-written and prepared and the interviews were semi-structured. I had my layout of questions but often the conversation varied and other questions and answers, and other completely different conversations occurred.

Initially, I asked women about 'Portuguese-Canadian-ness' by asking them what it means to be a "Portuguese-Canadian" but then realized that asking them the question in that manner automatically assumed that they would consider themselves Portuguese-Canadians. I imagined that this was a safe enough assumption, but I was wrong. That is why I changed the description of Portuguese-ness to that of Luso-Canadian as it is broader and more encompassing of these women's narratives. Luso-Canadian is a more appropriate word as it implies descent from Portuguese but not Portuguese in itself like Portuguese-Canadian implies. Portuguese-Canadian implies a dual identity, or mixed identity, that includes Portuguese and Canadian in its description. I recognized this during my first interview; my participant stated that she does not consider herself Portuguese at all. This error on my part opened my eyes to the politics of naming as well as the implementation of assumed identity on individuals. Even though I asked

the question in this manner, the woman was still able to maneuver and decide whether she wants

to be considered in this way and had no issues with challenging the title. After that interview I

began to ask the question with "do you" as opposed to "how do you". This leaves open the

option of asking how or how not and presented a learning curve for me with my first interview.

    (ii)   <u>Recording</u>

    I recorded every interview with a recording device during the time that I was present with

the women, often recording more information than actual interview questions and answers. Field

notes were conducted after my interview with the women as I felt that writing notes while the

women spoke was distracting to them and to myself and could prevent me from really engaging

with the conversation. However, this does not mean that I was not aware of the non-oral and

non-textual data present. This can include but is not limited to: changes in voice depth and pitch,

body language throughout the interview process, mannerisms, first impressions, the context in

which interviewees comment, my own biases or thoughts during the interview process and my

pre-existing feelings and thoughts prior to entering the 'field'. I feel as though by not writing

field notes during the interview process, I was hyper sensitive to everything going on in terms of

deciphering and analyzing the women's narratives because I was afraid to miss something. I

listened more intently, I followed for changes in voice depth, speech, and when narratives that

were sensitive were brought up, I was able to navigate the conversation in ways that if I was

writing field notes I may have missed.

    Upon completion of the interviews and when I left the 'field', I used my recorder while

driving home to discuss my thoughts, personal opinions, theoretical underpinnings, connections

to the literature that was evident during my interviewing and other thoughts, experiences, and

knowledge that was produced during the interview. Once I got home I inputted both the interviews and my spoken notes in my computer and then began transcribing both.

(iii)   <u>Transcribing</u>

Although it is tedious and difficult work, transcribing is nevertheless a critical component of qualitative data collection and analysis. Not only does it provide a description of the conversation verbatim, it is a permanent recording of the conversation that as a researcher is always beneficial if the need arises to re-read or listen to the interview again. I debated getting someone hired to transcribe for me but as I had not requested in my ethics and had not informed my participants, I did not do this. Therefore, the interviews were recorded and transcribed by me.

(iv)   <u>Data Analysis</u>

In order to analyze my data, I drew upon a data analysis approach called the Listening Guide. My reasons for choosing this was that I was unclear as to how to use other approaches and had the opportunity to be trained in this approach by my supervisor. As Mauthner and Doucet (2003) note, data analysis methods are "difficult to use without the guidance of an experienced facilitator" (p. 414). The approach to analyzing interview transcriptions reads the interview through at least four lenses that focus on narrative, reflexivity, subjectivity, and the relationships and structures within which narratives are told and heard; this is an approach that has been developed over the past three decades and is rooted in feminist methodologies and qualitative research, and is currently being revisioned by many researchers including Doucet and Mauthner. 'The Listening Guide' posits a notion of subjectivity that is constructed in relation to social contexts, discourses, and social structures; it is also a concept of subjectivity that is interdependent instead of independent (Mauthner and Doucet 2003, p. 422; Doucet 2006, p.65).

Each researcher tends to adapt and appropriate methods of sociological analysis to meet their

projects needs and Mauthner and Doucet's (1998) work fit well with my project. This method of

analyzing my data was as unique and interesting as it was new for me and because it varied from

traditional notions of coding, I wanted to use it. Traditional coding schemes work to determine

which words, themes, and topics consistently arise during the interview and then a comparison is

conducted with all of the interviews to build themes. These themes become the coded material

that usually composes chapters in theses. Mauthner and Doucet's (1998) version of 'The

Listening Guide' first developed by Brown and Gilligan (1992) model uses three or four lenses

or perspectives to read the same interview transcription and from this, they build their

interpretations of their data.

Mauthner and Doucet (1998, 2003, 2008) focus on three or four readings of the same

interview transcription to find specific versions of narratives of the interview with each reading.

This method of reading the text for different aspects and layers of the interview help to build a

strong understanding of the interview in its entirety, and not solely on the themes that can be

removed and discussed in the text. By using different coloured pencils to represent each of the

four versions of the reading of text, the interview transcription is coded. The first reading of the

text is for the plot or narrative and for the researcher's responses to the narrative (Mauthner and

Doucet, 1998, p. 11). So, the researcher reads the text for the overall plot that is told by the

respondent, and then reads the text again to search for the researcher in the text, and how she

places herself in relation to the respondent (Muathner and Doucet, 1998, p. 11). This method

uses aspects of self-reflexivity and epistemic reflexivity because it is situating the researcher in

the interview as a member of the experience and their theoretical framework, and locating the

interviewer in relation to the interview narrative. As Mauthner and Doucet (1998) state:

Thus being reflexive about our data analysis process involves for us: (1) Locating ourselves socially in relation to our respondent; (2) Attending to our emotional responses to this person…(3) But also examining how we make theoretical interpretations of the respondent's narrative; and (4) Documenting these processes for ourselves and others (p. 12).

The importance of being critical and reflexive in the data analysis stage of research is crucial to the validity of the research and as Mauthner and Doucet (1998) note, this helps to shape our interpretation of the research in ways that other methods may not be considered important.

The second reading focuses on the voice of 'I' in the interview text (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 12). This refers to ways in which the respondent experiences, feels and speaks about herself (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 12). The use of personal pronouns like 'I' and 'you' when the respondent talks highlights the way the respondent is either attaching herself to the story she provides or distancing herself (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 13). It can also highlight areas where the participant is struggling to discuss something or can show where there are shifts between the conversations. The reason for this type of in-depth reading analysis as Mauthner and Doucet (1998) and Brown and Gilligan (1992) state, can show ways in which the respondent speaks about herself prior to the researcher speaking about her. By reading for this, researchers can get at the respondents sense of agency, while amplifying the persons voice in the text rather than organizing the thought patterns and interview in the researcher's perspective (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 14).

The third reading focuses on reading for relationships present in the text which can include: "…how respondents spoke about their interpersonal relationships, with their partners, their relatives, their children, and the broader social networks within which they lived, parented, and worked" (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 16). Reading for relationships is especially

valuable when discussing sensitive issues and very personal experiences. This includes searching

for theoretical insights that may permeate through the third reading (Doucet 2007, p. 284).

The fourth reading places the respondent within cultural contents and social structures

and focuses on the intersections of these institutions (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 17; Doucet

2007, p. 284). Therefore, in this reading, the researcher makes connections between the

respondent's experiences and the social, political, cultural, and structural contexts the

respondents live in. Finding broader social meanings for the respondents assists in connecting

them to possible positive or negative social contexts in which they are situated.

I decided that because I only had six interview transcripts, I would implement these four

versions of analyzing data for all of the interviews I conducted. For the first interview

transcription, I worked closely with Dr. Doucet to conduct this type of coding and data analysis.

There are many types of coding mechanisms that researchers use to 'get at' the information they

are looking for. Using this method of analysis greatly influenced and inspired my learning and

the experience with power and privilege within the research process. I agree with Mauthner and

Doucet (1998) when they state that "…this approach respects the role of the researcher and

indeed the necessity of the researcher having their own voice and perspective in the process" and

further when they state "…this approach respects and to some extent exposes the relationship

between researcher and researched" (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998, p. 19).

There are positives and negatives to using this type of data analysis approach. Positively,

reading a transcription of an interview at least three times while reading for three or four

different aspects of the narrative and its interpretation, offers a rich understanding, new

perspectives, and overall more multi-layered understanding of the interviews. It also gives the

researcher opportunities to understand their interpretation of the respondent's narrative. Negatively, this method of coding takes more time, as the transcriptions must be read at least three times. So although it is an innovative, creative, and important method of conducting coding for data collection, it does take longer and therefore is costly for time. I found that the cost was well worth it.

III.   **Self-Reflexivity**

I employed a reflexive approach throughout the research process. Reflexivity refers to the impact of thick description and field notes, how the researcher is affected and subsequently records these issues (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2010). Doucet (2006) defines it as:

> reflexivity, broadly defined, means reflecting on and understanding our own personal, political, and intellectual biographies as researchers and making explicit our location in relation to our research respondents. It also means acknowledging the critical role we play in creating, interpreting, and theorizing research data (p. 47).

The researchers own positionality impacts the information that is collected and the reflection of the researcher's power, position and influence all must be accounted for when collecting data (Babbie and Benaquisto, 2010). Also, when writing the research, the researchers own reflexivity should be apparent within the written work.

(i)   Insider/Outsider Status

My relationship to the community as well as to the informants is determined on the basis of their identity and my own as well as my insider/outsider identity in terms of being a Luso-Canadian woman but not a mother. The issue of insider/outsider status is one that is included I most sociological and anthropological studies due to the recognized importance of researcher's position towards the data that is gathered with the intention and recognition to include their own

positions within their work (Meriam et al 2001; Ergun and Erdemir 2010). A contested and debated practice is how to differentiate and determine that one is either an insider or an outsider, and how to 'know' the difference. For the purpose of my research, I feel I carry both an insider and outsider position.

My position as an insider assists me because at some degree, I have an association with these women as we are both from the same cultural background. As a Portuguese descendent and Luso-Canadian woman, my insider/outsider status highly influences my ability to converse, discuss, and maneuver the complexities associated with multiple fragments of identity. Since I am a Portuguese descendant myself, my proximity enabled a facilitation of conversation. I had access to the group I was interested in studying. However, my position as an insider can constrain my ability to understand these women as my preconceived cultural knowledge can interrupt my research interests. My personal associations with Portuguese culture and cultural retention can constrain my project as I seek to form intellectual analysis from personal knowledge. My outsider status comes from the fact that I am not yet a mother and so to a degree, I may not understand on a personal level explanations or justifications for mothering styles, use or disuse of the Portuguese language or other issues. This required more attentiveness and sensitivity surrounding these issues as I am not personally in them.

I was often afraid of the fact that women would not tell me things because they would assume I already knew them. For example throughout all of my interviews the "you know what I mean" phrase came up many, many times. In almost all of my interviews this phrase was often stated after a strong opinionated justification for a response. This instilled a fear in me that the women would not get into detail because they figured I understood so they would not describe their explanations to me. However, the fact that I was not a mother gave me some leeway in that

respect because they thoroughly discussed what it was like to be a Luso-Canadian mom and the responsibilities that are attached to that identity type of mothering. Also I was afraid that they would not tell me things that strayed from the 'norm' of Portuguese culture. Therefore when I began, I would tell them what my interests were in these questions because I was coming from a position of inquiry. I told them that these questions were both academic and personal; that is, I was interviewing them for an academic project but I also have a personal connection to the topic in that I will someday battle these issues around language, cultural retention, and mothering. Assuring them of this seemed to put the women at ease and to know that I would not be judging them on their decisions. These shared aspects of our identities helped to facilitate rapport in the interview; I felt the women enjoyed discussing these issues without feeling judged or critiqued because I genuinely did not judge or critique them. I valued each and every one of their opinions, stories and experiences. Finally, it is important to note that regardless of my views on this issue, I was aware that I was in a position of power in the interviews and did not want any of my view's to inhibit any of the women's perspectives on these issues.

I found that during my interview and then during the transcription I kept listening to and working on conversation parts that I included about myself. I was aware that I had also talked a lot during the interviews. Initially I wondered: why did I constantly talk about myself during the interview? What was I trying to accomplish by telling her (the woman at each interview) my family's situation? I realize however, that interviewing can be a form of conversation (Oakley, 1982) and this act of conversation actually benefitted my overall interview experiences. There was more discussion because I was giving them my story too. It was not a one way interview process because I engaged in dialogue that was about my family, my life and my personal connection to the questions I was asking. For example, I often told the women that the reason

why I am so interested in this topic is because of the fact that my partner is not a Portuguese descendant and therefore I like most of the women interviewed, may one day be in their situation. I did this subconsciously; probably because I was trying to make the interview as comfortable as possible and a good way to do this is discuss one's own family stories as well. It worked in that I interviewed the women and really felt that the conversation was engaging, interesting and a positive experience for the *both of us* and not solely for me.

The manner in which I decided to interview the women and infuse the interviews with my own story, that of my parents, my life history and my parents immigrant story, my well intentioned feeling towards the Portuguese language and culture, as well as my response to some of my own questions- at least the ones that I can answer- gave, in my opinion, the up-most reflexivity possible within an interview setting. I was not interviewing myself, but I was giving these women pieces of my story and my narrative as they were giving me pieces of theirs. It also allowed me to be reflexive when I listened to my interviews over again and when I transcribed them. I thought to myself: what did I mean when I told them that? How accurate were my statements? How willing after I shared my stories were the women to share more of theirs? The reflexive aspect of this interview process transgressed to when I transcribed the interview using Mauthner and Doucet (1998) to code and read over the transcriptions verbatim.

(ii)   Reflexivity in the Write-Up

Most researchers tend to appropriate and include issues of reflexivity within the methodology section as it is important to be self-reflexive during the process of interviewing and data collection. Although this is a crucial aspect of conducting research today, the issue of self-reflexivity has traditionally been bound to the methodology section of research and does not

transgress other parts of the research. As Mauthner and Doucet (1998) state, reflexivity should be conducted throughout the research process and especially in the data analysis section of one's research. This is critical because the molding researchers do to conclude and understand the data they have gathered is processed by the researcher. The individuals who are interviewed are not solely the narratives they offer during the interview and they tend to be magnified and portrayed in this way with research. Of course, it is impossible to document and capture the extensive and interesting lives of all individuals but as researchers, it is important to reflect on the researcher's role in the gathering of data and then the analysis of that data.

In terms of the data analysis section, I found it the most lonely to write as I was working with data that I recorded and transcribed myself. It feels as though when writing a literature review, methodology, or theoretical framework sections that are you are not alone: you are guided and given information from those who you are reading and working through. When it comes to doing so for your own research, listening to your own voice in the recording over and over, ensuring you correctly transcribed the interviews in their entirety, and focusing later on analyzing this becomes taxing. Personally, reflecting on this experience especially in terms of organizing it and piecing themes together was the most challenging for me. The manner in which I decided to organize the mountain of information I gathered was through building my themes and then plugging in quotes that fit into that theme. It is difficult to explain the every little detail of writing something like this; yet it is important to note that although the quotes are unchanged, and never taken out of context, which is a reason why they are sometimes so long (I had a difficult time splitting up the quote because I felt it would hinder the explanation and silence the woman's voice); they have been placed in this order and not exactly in the order they were spoken in. Therefore, sometimes what the women say in one quote, may conflict with what they

say in a later quote. This is because there were substantial changes throughout some of the interviews that were changes in the mother's opinions in terms of feeling towards the topic.

<u>Conclusion</u>

This chapter described the methodology conducted prior to and during the interviews as well as the manner in which the information was coded for data analysis. The chapter began with a discussion of 'the field', and then proceeded to discuss methods of data collection, and self-reflexivity. Its offering of a detailed and descriptive methodology section aids in the transparency of this project and assists in keeping the upmost reflexivity possible. The data analysis process is where the interviews are described and where the narratives of the interview text develop into coherent thoughts, patterns, and themes relevant to sociological methods of analysis. The following chapter is where my project binds - both in terms of what has already been mentioned within existing literature as well as what I have found with my research. As previously, I will maintain my connection to reflexivity within the data analysis section as conducted by Mauthner and Doucet (2003, 1998). In terms of analyzing the data, I arrived at the themes discussed in Chapter Four through the use of my own theoretical lens as well as what the women had stated. Many of the women told stories that overlapped with one another and through a chart I used to map my connections, the themes were apparent. The themes will be discussed in the next chapter in further detail.

Chapter 4: Key Themes and Research Findings

Introduction

This chapter is divided into five themed sections. They are as follows: (I) fear of academic underachievement in children, (II) the grandparent connection, (III) the partner connection, (IV) Disassociation and Acculturation, or feelings of non-conformity, detachment or disconnect from the perceived Portuguese community, and finally (V) prospects of higher socio-economic status for children. Following the themes, I also have a brief discussion of a word that recurred many times in as a 'key' code in the interview transcriptions: *discipline*. It is indeed, a word that is mingled and mixed with some of the five themes and so has been given its own section- even though it is not a direct theme per say- to discuss some interweaving and overlapping connections within the interviews.

I often found it alarming how similar women's stories were, even though I was travelling from one part of the city to the other, the women's ages varied so substantially, their parents are from various regions in Portugal, and even though their parents migratory experience is so vast from the ages when they migrated to their family history. Initially I imagined there would be some obvious differences in responses between the women in their late thirties and the women in their early twenties that were interviewed. However, for each woman, there were two overarching and competing narratives. On one hand, there was always an overall narrative that underlined and understood the relevance of their parents migration and the positive impact on their living conditions today; on the other hand there was a narrative that understood the challenges this caused their childhood and what they 'missed' due to the hardships they faced due to their parents migratory status. The tension this causes some of the women includes

feelings of confusion and questioning. Therefore, sometimes the interview narratives would begin in a direction and by the end of the interview seemed to change, either from a negative perspective to that of a positive perspective or vice versa in terms of discussing Portuguese language and cultural retention. This was primarily explored through the Listening Guide method of data analysis as I first listening for what I thought was the 'overall story' or the 'plot' of the story (Mauther and Doucet 2003, 1998; Doucet 2006). Also reading the second time for the 'I' and 'you' as well as the third time for relationships and connections helped me to pull out competing stories as well as tensions within the research respondent (the subject) and her story.

The five themes I will discuss in this chapter were not universally expressed by all of the women. The fear of academic underachievement in children is a theme that was found in five out of the six interviews with varying degrees of importance for the interview. In one, it was the crux and entire purpose of the interview as the theme kept coming up in discussion. The 'grandparent connection' is evidenced in all but one of the interviews. All but one of the mothers sees her parents frequently and her children see them even less frequently. The 'grandparent connection' delves further into just interaction with grandchildren which will be discussed further in that section. The 'partner connection' is evidenced in all of the interviews. The partner's perspective, identity, ethnicity, and connection to children are clearly an important and critical aspect of parenting and a valid and detrimental inclusion for the purpose of this project. The feelings of disassociation and disconnection from the perceived/imagined Portuguese community in the GTA are evidenced in four of the six interviews. The fifth and final theme 'prospects of higher socio-economic status' are evidenced in all of the interviews. This theme is left for last because of its overlap with some of the themes previously mentioned.

I.   <u>Fear of Academic Underachievement in Children</u>

The issue of academic underachievement in Luso-Canadians is not something that I had originally intended on discussing in any significant length for this project. Initially, I imagined its importance in including it in my literature review as it is a topic that has been mentioned within the literature and therefore I felt it must be included as a preliminary overview of the Portuguese in Canada (see: Nunes, 2005; Giles, 2002; Noivo, 1997). However, once the first interview commenced I knew that this may well become one of my themes, and I was correct. All of the subsequent interviews spoke at some length to their child/ren's success in school and how important it was for the mothers if their children succeeded academically. All six of the interviews mentioned education whether they discussed their child/ren's education or their own experience with education.

The Luso-Canadian mothers interviewed had an issue with teaching their children aspects of Portuguese language and culture because they felt it would hinder their child's ability to learn in English and subsequently do well in the Canadian education system. This was even though when asked if they thought teaching Portuguese language and culture is important, all of the women exclaimed yes they did think it was important. For example Desiree states:

> …If they understand the language then they can partake in more cultural events and understand… their culture a lot more. And then I also think it's important for their future because it can only benefit them to know another language. It can only be an asset to them.

 Even though all of the women recognize that having another language other than English is an asset for employment, communication, and a positive future for their children, most did not partake in any form of language transmission. This was due to their fear that by learning the

Portuguese language first as they did, their children would take longer to learn English or

confuse both languages. One of the interviewees Deidra (33 years of age) says:

> Bottom line is we didn't want to confuse him because us being Portuguese and talking, speaking English with my mom. You know Portuguese people talk English and talk Portuguese at the same time right? So with Andrew we didn't want to confuse him…

Later on in the interview she added:

> …What I learned from our time is education is very important, I have to look after my son and I always have to, I'm also worrying about his education already at this point in time.

Like Deidra, Susana also felt that multiple languages would hinder her children's success and

affect their stress and happiness:

> … I'm trying to get the Portuguese in there but I don't want them to be you know, in school 'in school'. See when I was young I had to learn the English, the French, you know what I mean, and then the Portuguese. I had to learn those and they were very difficult for me. It was hard. So with my kids I don't want them to go through that. I'm like you know what when you get older this and that, eventually you'll want to learn our culture, they have classes there. Go learn it. And we're here to help them right. You know they're going to learn French in school. They're going to have to take that so I don't want to put all that pressure on the kids. Like you know what they'll learn whenever they're ready to learn. I'm not going to do that to them.

Therefore only one of the six women said they spoke Portuguese to their child on a regular basis,

being every day many times a day. The others said they would translate words or reiterate things

in Portuguese like when they disciplined their child, but that speaking the language was not

conducted daily. Often when 'why' was asked, the women would discuss their own experience

with the Canadian education system and their lack of understanding English even though they

were born in Canada, due to their parents inability to speak the language, and even though one of

the women works in high paying jobs as an accountant. They attribute their difficulty in school

and their own experience with their knowledge of the Portuguese language before that of

English.

The fear of children not being able to communicate is evident and related to some of the mothers own experiences in the Canadian education system. As Desiree (36) says:

> Because my parents were from Portugal we spoke Portuguese at home which was cool and all but because I was born here and I was learning English at the same time and a lot of the Portuguese was lost, I found it harder to communicate. Actually it still… amazes me that some kids grow up speaking English… because that's the way they were raised and I thought wow you know if I spoke English to my parents I'd be able to communicate a lot better.

Ana even uses her knowledge of Portuguese prior to English as a sign of a 'connection' to Portuguese culture. When asked if she considers herself a Portuguese-Canadian she replied:

> Yea. Even though maybe the language I'm…but like a lot of stuff, I guess from being raised in that household and I learned English at school. Anything English wise was taught at school. People tell me things and I'm like oh I didn't know that. You know like the Portuguese way so. When people ask me I don't say I'm Canadian I say I'm Portuguese. I don't know too much about Canadian culture.

The experience the women had with their education in Canadian schools, and their perceptions of their education ultimately informs the ways they treat their children's education. The best example of this is Deidra, whose quotes will be used extensively throughout this section to describe and illustrate the tension she experiences with wanting to teach her son Portuguese language and culture, and yet feeling as though it may conflict with his English learning and subsequent success in school. Deidra, out rightly rejects her parents use of Portuguese language with her son which is the only language they know how to speak, and thus quite rapidly, the communication between her parents and her son is lost. The following interview excerpt shows this tension:

> Sara: And do you speak Portuguese to your child?
>
> Deidra: no
>
> Sara: uh why or why not?

> Deidra: Bottom line is we didn't want to confuse him because us being Portuguese and talking, speaking English with my mom. You know Portuguese people talk English and talk Portuguese at the same time right? So with Andrew we didn't want to confuse him. So I'm like that makes right so I'm just going to stick with English, I'm going to teach him the English language but I think I'm not sure if I made a mistake because when I was with my mom I'm like "you guys have to speak English to him" but my parents barely know how to speak English right. So I didn't really understand what they said "you got to only teach one language"… really what they were saying is: if you're going to teach him English then you speak in English only. But your parents if they talk Portuguese then it's okay... you as a mom you can't go back and forth between two languages... Like stick cuz that way he'll know "ok I'm speaking this language to my grandparents. Portuguese. And then with everybody else I'll just you know speak only English".

This excerpt highlights the tension that exists with Deidra's desire to give her son the best opportunity and chance to succeed academically in the education system and her fear of confusing him by taking on too many languages at once. The advice she was given (by her sister in law who holds a B.A in Psychology) conflicts with a painful outcome of this decision: the loss of Portuguese language and transmission between herself and her son, and between her son and his grandparents. Further Deidra states:

> My family definitely when I was doing… when I mentioned that I want everybody only to speak English with Andrew… but they don't understand why. Ok I'll be honest I think I'm going to bring the education back again just because being educated, my siblings are not, not that they are not educated, I just went further. I went to university. My siblings didn't do that. I'm more exposed. I'm more Canadian because I'm more out there. They didn't understand why I was doing, the reasons I was doing so, but… they respect it you know. And now… they'll say a few things here and there. Because I mean at the end of the day Andrew knows how to speak English already.

The decision Deidra has made has clearly taxed her in that she feels she has lost something profound; her son's inability to communicate with his grandparents and larger family network and thus a sense of disconnection and alienation between him and his Portuguese cultural background. She also notes that her family does not understand why she chose this but respects her decision anyway. She attributes her decision with her own success in school and her

knowledge of Canadian education and what she deems 'Canadian culture'. Even though her son

is only three years old, she is already worrying about his English skills and language acquisition.

When asked if she felt knowing Portuguese has disadvantaged her in any way, and how her

mothering is different to that of her mothers, Deidra stated:

> … not that it has disadvantaged me but I really hate the fact that Portuguese are considered one of the like statistic wise, one of the biggest drop outs in high school. And that really upsets me because you know I have a lot of friends who are Portuguese and they're very successful. So that bothers me. Yea. But other than that what I learned from our time is education is very important. Aside from what I learned from my mom I incorporated other stuff that I know because I'm obviously educated. I went to university. That's a big thing, my mom never had the opportunity to go to university so she was always you know more like "I gotta provide for my family. I got to work". Whereas… with me I got to provide for my family. I have to look after my son and I always have to, I'm also worrying about his education already at this point in time... Other than that we're very much alike.

Deidra's feelings are community related, whereby her disappointment in the fact that Portuguese

students have one of the highest drop-out rates statistically is a sad realization and one that she is

desperate her son does not fall into. During this interview, Deidra actually came to the realization

that she wants her son to learn Portuguese and that it makes her very sad that her child will not

be able to communicate with his grandparents. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Also, her discussion of 'different times' and what that means in relation to the fifth theme will be

discussed.

II.   The Grandparent Connection

(i)   Grandparent as Transmitter

I found it difficult to understand why women thought it important to teach their children

aspects of language and Portuguese culture and then not proceed with any actual 'teaching'. All

of the women except one thought it was important to teach their child/ren language and/or

culture. However, only one actually engaged in the 'teaching' aspects associated with

transmitting the language and culture. What I refer to as 'teaching' is an active engagement with the language and culture through transmitting language via verbal communication, as well as cultural knowledge through partaking in food consumption, and other culturally relative actions. Why was this so? What was the connection I was missing? After analyzing the similarities and differences between the women (most had more similarities than differences), I noticed a trend in the data: all of the mothers who said it is important to teach Portuguese language and culture but did not do so themselves had someone else to do it for them: their mothers or fathers. Most of the children have direct contact with their grandparents on a daily or weekly basis. The connection is that the grandparents speak little or no English and so speak in Portuguese to their grandchildren. Some of the grandparents care for their grandchildren on a daily basis after school, or when their daughters are working, while others spend entire weekends with their grandchildren. The chance for transmission of language and culture and subsequent potential retention of Portuguese occurs in these instances when grandparents are performing the transmission through communication.

In this scenario, the transmission and retention of language and culture is not occurring within the nuclear family of the child, but in the grand-parents household if they do not live in the same home. Of the six mothers, only one permanently lives with her mother- that being she lives in a separate apartment in her mother's house. This may explain why the mothers think it is important to transmit Portuguese language and culture but do not do so themselves: they may feel their parents communication is enough and they do not have to engage in it themselves because their home and partner may encumber their success through the lack of Portuguese in these spaces. The women presume that because their children have direct contact with their grandparents who only speak Portuguese and very little English, their children receive Portuguese from their grandparents. This point is further emphasized when Deidra who did not

let her parents speak Portuguese to her child is the only woman who regrets her decision and regrets her child's inability to communicate in Portuguese to her parents. Deidra states:

> Yea yea! But now no definitely now there's… Andrew. They encourage cuz they think it's important cuz once again being Portuguese everybody loves their avo (grandmother) right and it's not nice like I really want my son to be able to speak Portuguese to my parents and be able to have a normal conversation and not just like: oh hi, bye. You know. I don't like that. That really bothers me. When I realize that, that's when I'm like ok you know what Andrew really needs to know at this point he has to speak Portuguese cuz it's not fair because it will impact their relationship. I'm a strong believer in that. Because Andrew he's like… he won't understand them, what they're saying it's like: "oh I don't want to hug her. I don't want to kiss her." So that's very important now. My parents definitely encourage that. They want to have a normal conversation with him and they really can't you know and I don't like that. I really don't like that. But they're very encouraging and I agree with them.

 The other women's children do not have extensive language or cultural knowledge due to their age, or have a very limited understanding of the language and culture, but the guilt is not present for the mothers because they allow their parents to speak Portuguese to their children and so it is assumed that inevitably *some* language and culture is transmitted. In fact, for Susana, her mother is actively engaged in Portuguese language and cultural transmission to her grandchildren but this is fraught with tensions from Susana who insists it cannot be forced transmission:

> Sara: so you're mom helps you, your mom helps you transmit some Portuguese aspects to your kids?
>
> Susana: yea she does.
>
> Sara: language, speaking?
>
> Susana: yea she'll try… with Aaliyah she'll try the dance… you know what I mean?
>
> Sara: yea
>
> Susana: thing is I don't… with my kids if they want to learn it that's fine but sometimes my mom she'll go a little bit, I'm like listen, they want to do it they do it, if they don't they don't.

Sara: yea.

Susana: that's it I don't care. You know what I mean? We're not there, we're here. But yea like she tries. You know like do this or say this. She tries but I don't mind it. I don't care as long as she doesn't force it. You know. Then that's when I, when she sees the devil in front of me. I don't tolerate that.

The transmission of culture and language then is a part of the workload and mothering that these women do not engage in themselves because they have others doing so for them, except for Jasmine who purposefully speaks in Portuguese constantly to her son. Jasmine is engaging in what Giles (2002) and Noivo (1997) refer to as a part of the gender work of women. The other mothers are not engaging in this type of work with as much emphasis. If the grandparents taught the mothers the language and they retained it fairly well, then the logic would imply that the mother's children will learn it as well. What the women may fail to realize is that the level of engagement in these two scenarios is vastly different. For example, in the first scenario and the one that the mothers experienced, they interacted with the language and culture on a daily basis because they lived in a household that was conducive to Portuguese learning. They experienced what it was in the home, in the nuclear family and sometimes elsewhere such as in the community. Primarily, language and cultural transmission was experienced within the home and through parent to child interactions. In the second scenario, and the one that the mothers' children are experiencing today, the children are subject to language and culture when they are exposed in external fields and do not primarily interact within the nuclear family. According to Rumbaut, Massey and Bean (2006) this is considered "language death" and refers to when a language is no longer spoken in the home (p. 29). The extended families, like the grandparents are the transmitters of language and not the actual children's parents. In the second scenario the children are not learning language and culture from their parents but from grandparents, cultural events and education, and other external structures. This is because the

nuclear family may clash when teaching language and culture which makes it difficult to teach in the home. If one parent knows the language and the other does not, preferring to teach that language may be slim. Instead, mothers choose to let their parents do the language and cultural transmission for them and with good reason: all of the mothers said they were fluent in Portuguese so evidently it worked quite well for them.

(ii)   Grandparent Relationship

The grandparent connection also serves a deeper purpose. In most cases (five out of the six) the grandparents are the retainer and transmitters of language to grandchildren. The mothers are only retainers as they have only retained the language to varying degrees of success and do not engage in transmission to their children. However, the grand-parents position as grandparents affects and affected their daughter's perceptions of Portuguese when they raised them. Therefore, the grand-parents' reactions, connections, or disconnections to the Portuguese community in the GTA has a significant impact on the choice for daughters to teach Portuguese language and culture to children because in many ways, grandparents who did not engage with community events prevented their daughters from engaging in them and familiarizing with them as well which I would argue, makes it more difficult for daughters to engage in them now. The cultural connection is already lost from grandparent to daughter. For example, Susana remembers that her father did not engage with what she deems is 'Portuguese culture' on a regular basis and that only her mother maintained aspects of traditional Portuguese customs at home:

> Yea my parents they've never done that. …When they came here they had, the only one I think that had the Portuguese in her was my mom. My dad was more like he did whatever he wanted. He didn't follow Portuguese culture, he didn't do the way they used to do you know grow tomatoes in the backyard, or… she's the one…My dad was more… I would say my dad was more can… he was Portuguese but more Canadian. Like he never felt that go to church, or lets go to as dancas (the dances), never. Or you know how those

> Portuguese guys used to sit there, you know the boys, the men a queles bars de guys (portingles for a bar for men). My dad would go drink, like if he had to go to that area if there was one there, he would go, have a sip, out the door. He wouldn't sit there play cartas (cards). My dad was never like that. So to me he was more Canadian than Portuguese the way I seen it."

In this example, Susana clearly specifies that in her opinion, her father was not 'Portuguese' in that he did not engage in Portuguese customs and what she described as actions that Portuguese men engage in. For her, her mother was the one who maintained Portuguese at home through keeping a tomato garden in the backyard. The actions of the grandparents inevitably affect the connection and associations Susana makes to the culture and language. Their connection affects their desire to transmit language and culture to their children. It also connects to what Gomes (2008) says is primarily the migrant mother's role of retaining and transmitting language to children. For Susana, her mother was the retainer and transmitter while her father was more "Canadian" as she states. When asked if it would be a good thing for her children to know Portuguese and Portuguese culture, Susana states:

> Yea to each their own. If they want to know about that like who knows? They might not want to know about Portugal. They might want to know oh mommy's from here. They might say ok I want to learn from here or learn from dads. That's fine. Whatever they want, it's their choice. I'm not going to force them to do something because you know it's my parents and his parents. No too bad you know what were in the 2000's, we're not back home. That's why we're here in Canada.

Susana does not have a particular passion or preference for teaching Portuguese language and culture because for her, the association to Portuguese language and culture is also an association to her mother who she associates as traditionally Portuguese and backwards. This is in contrast to her association to her father who she maintains was more Canadian than Portuguese and who she is particularly fond of. During the interview, Susana discussed her father's last moments with her and the way she felt about her father as a man and a human being:

> We had that talk right. And to my dad, "you know what I hope I find somebody like you." And he goes "a son of a bitch like me?" What a stupid answer, you know my dad would say… "What an asshole like me?" I go: "you're a very hard worker, you respect mom, you never cheated on her, yea you get into your fights who doesn't? But you put your family first. That's what I want." And then my dad looked at me and he goes "olha (look) maybe." And then he passed away and the weirdest thing was in my heart I believe it was from him above brought me to Alex (her partner). I really believe that.

In this passage, Susana reflects on her last discussion with her father and the traits that made him such a wonderful father and Portuguese immigrant. The narrative of hardworking, loyal husband and caring provider are all evidenced in her narrative, as well as in larger narratives and stereotypical assumptions of Portuguese men in general. She truly believes that his death brought her to her partner and father of her children.

Desiree also felt that her parents did not connect with the Portuguese culture in the GTA. When asked if she cooks 'traditional' Portuguese food she responded:

> …I do to a certain extent but **because my parents have already been here for 30 years, they've lost it themselves.** Right? I mean when I was younger there was all kinds of things on the table like rabbit, little birds, and whatever they were trying to shove down my throat. I was like what's that? And now that I ask them to make it my mom's like "oh I don't know!"

It is clear that over time, these women recognize the difference in their parents' lifestyles, behaviours and connections to Portuguese, and ultimately this affects their relationships as a family and subsequent transmitting/non-transmitting unit.

The most telling of all of the questions I asked during the interviews (see appendix 1 for the interview question guide) relates to the issue of 'mothering'. The question I asked the women is *'how is your mothering, like the way you mother your children similar or different to that of your mothers?'* The answers I received were so telling of these women's narratives and what they were willing to share with me that I felt this question alone could have been the crux of my

thesis' project and purpose. There are a couple of themes that this question brought forth in regards to the 'grandparent connection'. The first is knowledge based, which is rooted in the difference between mothers and their mothers, with regard to language and culture choices. The second is based in a discontent with their mothers mothering and its connection with culture.

Two of the women, Ana and Desiree both offered similar narratives when discussing their mothers in terms of what their mothers know, or their knowledge on particular topics. For these women, their mother's' lack of knowledge and understanding hindered their communication in terms of asking mother for advice in raising children culturally and with an emphasis on language. For example, Desiree gives a clear comparison of her mothering versus her mother's when she states:

> I think it's similar in a lot of way. Whether you want to admit it or not. It's just the way you're raised it's in your every fiber but …a lot of… the myths… I guess I know better. Like if a baby's choking my mom would say you know: "blow on his forehead". Obviously I'm not going to blow on his forehead because it's just going to annoy him. It's not going to get the food that's lodged. But I mean in regards to like reaction and caring, making food, and wanting the best for them, and spending time with them, that comes from your parents. I think that's deep rooted. Opposed to whether I should give like soup at three months. Right we know obviously which foods are better for them through science and that sort of thing.

Ana provides a similar narrative when asked the same question, in the following interview excerpt:

> I don't know how to explain that. Like I can give you an example. So my moms the type that when it comes to babies she's like you got to feed them feed them feed them, because that's how they grow. Where you know now when I have certain questions I'll research it and it breaks it down like oh they're only supposed to have 20 to 30 ounces of milk. So I'm feeding him the soups and everything that she does but I'm not stuffing his face every five minutes and stretching out his stomach because that's the only way he grows.

Sara: yea.

Ana: When it comes to things like that I'll research if I have questions and they just stick to their ways.

In both of these interviews, there is a clear distinction between the knowledge afforded as mothers and the experience that their mother's had; as Ana states they "stick to their ways". Due to technological advancements and other easily accessible knowledge bases, these mothers do not rely on cultural capital to answer their questions or ask their mothers for advice with their children. They autonomously choose the information they convert to practice when raising their children. Because of their understanding that their mother's' knowledge is not 'productive' knowledge or is somehow backward, the women are not receiving traditional familial narratives of what to do when children are sick, choking, or growing. There is a loss of grandparent connection solely in terms of the narrative transmitted to daughters who will not perform these types of care giving; that is, they are choosing what they consider the best, scientifically informed knowledge rather than familial and cultural knowledge.

The second part of this response is the relationship between the grandparents, and especially grandmothers and the mother-'s' experiences growing up. The most telling of these narratives is Rita. Rita when asked how her mothering is similar or different to that of her mother's responded:

Well they were very strict, obviously because they're Portuguese. I started learning how to clean at a very young age. I let them be kids' (points to children). I didn't like the way my childhood was so "you're going to be kids. If you don't want to clean your room I'll do it for you". And I'll get my daughter; I'll ask her "do you want to do the dishes?" Sometimes she'll be like yea, sometimes she doesn't want to do it and that's fine right. That's how we're very different. She (her mother) was like: "Ok. number one you're a female so here, start cleaning, start cooking, no fun times, we watch TV you don't, go downstairs and be quiet." They can be as loud as they want. Very different. Like I'll go to my mom's house sometimes and she'll be like shaking her head, like you know you're

getting them into bad habits this and that. They're my kids. I do what I want with them. They're just kids they're having fun."

She goes on to further state:

> When I go there I'm so easily angry and frustrated by their behaviour and I just want to leave. I can't handle it sometimes I'm like I'm ready to go home now. Sorry bye. They're just… crazy. Even with us, we don't sit down as a family. I don't know why but like I'm not comfortable at times but that's one thing I do the same is between 5:30 and 6 o'clock she's sitting down for dinner (points to her daughter). It's just a routine like that's your dinner time you gotta eat, not 7 or 8 it's not good for you. But I don't sit down with her and eat because then I have this one (points to son) to feed. I cook separate foods completely different from mine. It's the same thing like if I'm making fried chicken and rice it's the same thing but my seasoning that I do for myself is different than hers cuz she's a kid she can't eat a lot of salt and stuff so I cook it in a different pot for this one.
>
> Sara: do you think it's a positive thing the way your mothering is different than your moms?
>
> Rita: is it a positive?
>
> Sara: yea do you think it's a good thing?
>
> Rita: that I'm different from her? yea! oh yea! Very much different. It is because I wasn't happy growing up and I want them to be happy so. You didn't teach me nothing that's how I see it, it taught me to be the opposite so it was a good thing she raised me the way she did. So yea the only reason why I do give a few words here and there is for my parents sake other than that it doesn't really like, it's not important for them to know and I don't know it so.

Clearly, Rita did not have the best, most positive upbringing by her standards and blames it on the fact that her parents are extremely strict, both in terms of strict gender roles and patriarchal ideals of how heteronormative households should function. Due to her children not acting in the manner her parents deem appropriate, Rita does not feel comfortable being at her parent's home and subsequently spends very little time there. Her children do not know how to communicate in Portuguese to any extent, and she is not the least bit concerned that they are missing out on some type of cultural experience. For Rita, Portuguese means strict gender roles and guidelines, and ones she is not willing to expose her children to. The 'grandparent connection' is weakened

because the grandparents spend little or no time with their grandchildren and do not communicate as frequently as some of the other children in the family.

Overall, most of the mothers spend enough time with their parents that the grandparent connection is strong. All but Rita who does not visit frequently and Deidra who visits every weekend but who has disallowed her parents to speak to her son in Portuguese, do not actively engage in what I term 'the grandparent connection' which is the powerful connecting tool that these Luso-Canadian children have to their heritage and Portuguese language and culture. Most of the mothers state that one of the biggest reasons why they even allow this interaction is because they want their children to communicate with their grandparents freely and to do so, Portuguese must be learnt. For example as Ana states:

> The fact that he can, hopefully he'll be able to communicate with my parents because then he'll be screwed and if I ever wanted to take him there, so I don't want him to look at people like "huh" even if he knew just to say hello, goodbye, and thank you. I think that even helps so. And just like if someone asks him what's your background he can say "Jamaican, Portuguese but know a bit of both cultures."

One of the first reasons Ana gives as a benefit is the fact that her son can communicate with his grandparents, something that her sister Rita does not worry about. The grandparent connection is an important connection to make as it is one of the most common occurrences with all of these women, whether they allow the transmission of language and culture or not, it is evidently present in their parents. This leads into another important figure in these families, the partner and his role in Portuguese language and cultural retention.

III.   <u>The Partner Connection</u>

Where Portuguese women have traditionally been forced or strongly encouraged to practice endogamy, most of the women interviewed practice a form of exogamy. This may be

due to the fact that parents in Canada have become more lenient in their opinions concerning

their daughters love interests, or may be due to the fact that the women are surrounded by many

cultures and ethnicities and so it a natural occurrence to fall in love with people of different

cultural background. From the women interviewed, only two are partnered with Portuguese

speaking men (Susana and Jasmine), and of those two, only one is from Portugal (Susana's

partner), the other is from Brazil (Jasmine's partner). The other women are partnered with men

from a variety of places: Deidra is partnered with a man of European descent, Desiree is

partnered with a man of South American descent, both Ana and Rita, who are sisters, are

partnered or married to men of Caribbean descent. This section is broken into two parts: one is

'partner and language' the other is 'partner and culture'. The manner in which the women

discuss their partner and his impact on the use of language and culture within the household and

the desire to transmit language and culture to children is emphasized. The father's have an

extremely important role in the makeup of the household and their views matter. Due to time and

size limitations for this project, delving into father's opinions was not possible. I relied on the

mothers lens to get her perspective on her partner's role and impact on the family. There are

issues with relying on the mothers lens to ask about fathers but for this project it was the only

way the father's role could have been included and it is striking what the women said about their

partners. To an extent, this 'lens' offers even more sociological data because it is using the prism

of the mothers lens to get at the opinion of her partner. These opinions are biased but it offers a

perspective from which to discuss the father's role in language and cultural retention within the

household and nuclear family unit.

(i)   <u>Partner and Language</u>

An important factor is the role of the partner in mothers' decision making. The lack of Portuguese language knowledge by the father has a huge impact on the family unit in terms of active engagement with the language at home. Communicating with children in a language that the children's father does not understand seems to be an unfair and unrealistic expectation for Luso-Canadian women, or at least it makes it more difficult. As Desiree states:

> I do. I did more with Zeriah not so much with Patrick. The difficulty with that is **because John doesn't speak Portuguese he can't really…I guess join in the conversation that way.** But um I thought with Zeriah it was a lot more important but now that I see it hasn't really worked… it's worked to a point where she can understand her grandparents, she understands it but she's not fluent in it because I don't force her to speak. But it's something I think that's important.

> Further she states:

> Well like I said with the language it affects because if… if him and I were able to speak in Portuguese, the kids would pick it up and would be a lot easier for them to um… to pick up the language. It would be a lot easier for me to teach them. So it affects it that way."

For Desiree, her partner's South American heritage and lack of understanding Portuguese language prevents her from feeling like it is the easiest form of communication and so she does not actively engage in its use within the household. She also feels as though her daughter who is eight years older than her son did not retain the language as well as she has hoped and so engaging with her son in the language seems even less important. Desiree goes on to say that: "I think if I had uh met somebody or married somebody who was Portuguese it would have been I guess a lot more concentrated. But David has different uh…" In this quote, Desiree recognizes that her partner's ethnicity does have an impact on her use of Portuguese within the household and her children's knowledge of the language and culture.

Ana whose partner is of Caribbean descent encourages their son's knowledge and retention of Portuguese language even though he does not know the language himself. In her family, she is the one who is hesitant of actively engaging and teaching her son because she does not think it is possible: "Chandler wanted him to be fluent (in Portuguese) I'm like that's impossible. I'm like for him to be fluent we'd have to speak it all day to him, not let him speak English, not let him understand English." Due to their son's young age of only 12 months, they have time to formulate their options in terms of teaching another language, but it was clear during the interview that her husband's encouragement of Portuguese to some extent affected her desire to teach the language to their son. For example, during the interview in order to distract and keep little Aries entertained, Ana opted to play a DVD of cartoons and the entire video is in Portuguese, with Portuguese songs, music and language. Although she does not actively and consistently speak to her son in Portuguese, he is still experiencing some form of language retention and transmission through the videos that her husband encourages them to use. Her husband was the one who made the DVD by using various online free videos in the Portuguese language for children.

In the scenario where the partner speaks Portuguese language the outcomes are not what would be expected. For example, it may be imagined that by having both parents who speak the Portuguese language and who share similar heritages, the connection to the heritage may be somehow facilitated. That is not entirely the case. In Susana's case, her engagement with Portuguese even though her partner is Portuguese is very similar to the other women except Jasmine, that being there is no significant difference in any type of retention and transmission even though her partner is of Portuguese descent and a Luso-Canadian. Jasmine is the one anomaly. She is the actively engaged individual, who spends her days speaking to her son in

Portuguese even though she is fluent in English and was born and raised in the GTA like the other women. The difference lies in the partner connection. Jasmine's partner is of Brazilian descent and a relatively recent immigrant to the country. Although he is fluent in English and knows how to speak it well, he is most comfortable speaking in Portuguese and thus her use of Portuguese is encouraged within the home and their nuclear unit. The following excerpt demonstrates this:

> Sara: how does the ethnicity of the father of your child affect your parenting, especially in terms of your child's Portuguese heritage?
>
> Jasmine: Well I think it coincides very well because it's also a Portuguese language… So he also speaks Portuguese so that helps me having the child speak Portuguese and things are pretty similar. It goes well.

In this excerpt, Jasmine recognizes that her partner assists and encourages her retention of Portuguese and the transmission of Portuguese to their son who is only 16 months at the time of the interview. It is clear that the partner connection especially in terms of Portuguese language retention plays a crucial role in the household, and this occurs regardless of partner's ethnicity. Chandler, who is of Caribbean descent encourages Portuguese language retention in his son even though he is not Portuguese while Susana's partner Alex, is a Luso-Canadian himself but does not encourage or engage in its retention. Therefore, even though ethnicity plays a role in the options for retention and transmission within the nuclear household, it is not the end all and be all of Portuguese language and culture in the household.

(ii)   <u>Partner and Culture</u>

The partner's connection to Portuguese culture is also a critical aspect of retention and transmission as the partner inevitably influences the household and decides with the women what the best options are for their children. In particular, the experience of the family is affected by

both parents working together to manage the household. As Deidra recognizes, it is both

partners who must decide on the future of their child and the conflict that may arise due to

differences in cultures and understanding of goals. When asked how the ethnicity of her partner

affects her parenting, especially in terms of her child's half Portuguese heritage she said:

> Well it's a different bringing right. It's almost like a conflict of interest because, you being the mom, you know you gave birth and you think: your values that you were brought up with you think those are the ones and that's what they should know and you're not really thinking about what that other person…feelings, how they were brought up. So it affects… but at the end of the day I think what's the most important is communication. If you talk, let's think about what is important for the child and come up with a common… I work based on that. It actually can be very good because you can learn different things from the other ethnic background and you incorporate it into that because sometimes even my own values may not work for that situation right. Maybe his will be better so it's good. The more the merrier.

Deidra and her partner actively choose which aspects of culture they incorporate in their lives

and it is with communication for a common goal that this is achieved. Deidra recognizes that her

culture may not be the only fit and that it is difficult to understand that as the mother, she holds a

lot of power in terms of what her son is exposed to and what she teaches him, but also that her

partner has a huge impact on her son as well and his opinions are just as important as hers. For

Jasmine, her partner's ethnic heritage blends well with hers and she feels as though their

relationship works well because of this:

> Sara: how does it affect your parenting especially in terms of your Portuguese heritage?

> Jasmine: he's pretty similar. I wouldn't say he's… even though he's Brazilian, because Brazilian culture is different even though we speak the same language so I don't know **it seems like he's Portuguese**. He's very like… I don't know how do you say it when they're like brought up in certain way.

Jasmine's ability to understand her partner's ethnic heritage and its role in their son's upbringing is reflected in the fact that she says "he seems like he's Portuguese". For Jasmine, this facilitates her connection to culture and her son's which is reinforced by her partner.

Food is one of the biggest issues within the cultural realm because many of the foods traditional to Portuguese gastronomy are not consumed in the same manner elsewhere. Also, due to the already expanded cultural experience with Luso-Canadian mothers in the GTA, Portuguese gastronomy is not their only option and many mothers actively cook different foods that they have learned. However, all of the women said that they do cook traditional Portuguese food, and then followed by naming some of the dishes they make most often. These foods are typically foods that are most common in Portuguese culture globally, and not specifically regional. The partner connection in this sense holds a great deal of importance because the partner is also consuming the food and many times making food. As Desiree states:

> In regards to the food too. He hasn't grown up with a lot of the same foods I have so I don't cook it as much. But I'm able to cook some of the food that you know his mom has taught me so it enriches the kids because they're not only learning one culture; they're learning another culture as well.

For Desiree, she feels as though it is an asset to learn and know how to cook foods that her partner's mother taught her and cook it for her partner and her children. She also recognizes that because he has not been raised with the same food as she has, cooking some of the food does not facilitate dinner, and so she does not cook it. Rita also faces this food issues with a different level of intensity. The following excerpt shows the importance of food within the home and in relation to the partner connection:

Sara: do you cook Portuguese food?

Rita: no not really.

Sara: no. ur not into the…

Rita: I am but because living with their dad, he's Jamaican. He taught me how to make Jamaican food and he won't eat anything else. So pretty much I'm cooking Jamaican style chicken. Yea. Just because of him. And then it's the macaroni and cheese and boiled eggs. But I don't really make like the codfish.

Sara: no bacalhau (codfish) for the family? (laughing).

Rita: No must be made his way. I find him to say a lot of stuff like "when I was growing up I wouldn't get away with this," am I'm just like…don't say anything but in the back of my head I'm like well we're not in 1987 its different nowadays. I don't like his ways either. Yea I don't like his ways so I do it the way I want to do it. I find him to be like my dad, very strict and no common sense going on, like old fashion even though its 2013. So I do it my way. He's lucky he gets them for two days. Then he can like… but he goes nuts he's like she doesn't eat, because she's not used to your way. So we get into a lot of arguments. Like I'm pretty sure if I was with a… Portuguese and if he was like strictly straight on Portuguese I'd be different. But I'm not with a Portuguese person so I don't even follow his ways. I'm like no, no I'm not doing that.

Rita feels as though her partner's inability to bend in terms of what food he can consume has completely disregarded any food that she may want to eat or prefer to eat. For Rita, the strict and severe manner of her partner's inability to understand reminds her of her father whose strict gender roles and patriarchal assumptions mentioned earlier in the grandparent connection made her aware of her dislike for Portuguese culture. Now, she is feeling the same thing with her own partner who has a disregard for things she knows how to make or do.

Sometimes, culture can work in opposing ways whereby the partner may want to insist on a cultural action that is not his own but that the mother's culture engages in. This is opposed to what the Luso-Canadian mother's desire or want because even they do not follow these guidelines. For example, Ana offers a narrative of her partner's connection in relation to Portuguese culture and his desires for them to take on some of those traditionally gendered roles:

 That's like Chandler now I remember when he started coming around more and now like Christmases and all that, my cousins are kind of like old school, like the wife does most

of the stuff... He started commenting and almost wanting that and I was like "no I didn't marry Portuguese for a reason". Yea so now it's not going to start. I was like we were never like this and it's not going to change. He looks at it to him "oh I don't have to make lunch". I'm like no I'm sorry but your mom raised you to be independent and you were until now so that's what I mean. Certain things I'll stick to culture but other things…

Ana's partner actually wanted her to follow more strict gender roles and patriarchal assumptions because he recognized the advantage that he would have as the father and male of the household. Ana is not accepting of that idea and reminded him of his own upbringing and how he was taught to be independent. It is interesting to note that although Chandler (Ana's partner) was raised in a household that promoted and encouraged his independence, he desired it in his own nuclear family because he recognized the amount of work he would not have to do.

So far we have discussed three themes: the fear of academic underachievement in children, the grandparent connection, and the partner connection. The next two themes are more personal and reflect the women's narratives more intensely. The fourth theme is the disassociation theme while the fifth reflects a more generalized desire for a brighter future for children.

IV.   Disassociation and Acculturation

(i)   Language Disassociation

All of the mothers except for Jasmine discussed some aspect of Portuguese language retention that they associated personally as 'incorrect' or 'improper' and therefore presented a narrative resembling an inability to communicate fluently and confidently. This feeling of unsuccessful language ability prohibits the mothers from associating fully with the culture because at some degree, they already feel as though they are excluded or detached from the perceived 'norm' of the language. This is even though many of the mothers were language

brokers for their parents when they grew up and so had some type of knowledge on the Portuguese language and English language (see Orzco, Carhill, and Chuang, 2011; Araujo, 2008; Noivo, 1997 for literature on language brokers). Since language is one of the most powerful markers of culture, speaking it or failing to do so embarks not only ideologies of place and acceptance, but also norms and values attributed to the culture (Bourdieu, 1991). The variance from perceived norm is both inclusive of lack of confidence when using the language, and difference of dialect and its underlying cultural and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Also, the consequences for those who do not speak the language with a particular dialect may be severe, and reflect larger discourses on the use of discourse to perpetuate and control power in a given community (Foucault, 1990). The normalizing judgment created through the normalization of a particular form of discourse, leaves room for the approval and disapproval of certain types of discourse and allows for the creation of normal and abnormal behavior and speech (Foucault, 1990). The hyper surveillance of normalizing judgments are accorded to those in power and control who in the case of the Portuguese community in the GTA are primarily those from the capital of Portugal, Lisbon, and their particular form of the language and disempowers those from other regions of Portugal whose dialect varies (Foucault, 1990; da Silva, 2011).

(ii)   Lack of Confidence with Portuguese Language

The following quotes show the depth with which Ana, Desiree, and Susana lack confidence in speaking the Portuguese language and the ways this prohibits their confidence in speaking and associating with the Portuguese community. Ana associates her lack of Portuguese language retention with her lack of practice and communication with her family:

> That's how it is, you know your parents understand, they speak Portuguese, you speak English back. I'm like I've lived there, I was more fluent then but now because I don't

hear it as much I don't speak it as much, I'm on the phone with my mom. Maybe now because I see her more and stuff its coming back but it's hard. I'm always on Google translate. I'm like you know and ill say the word. But it gives you the Brazilian way.

She further states:

I forgot a lot of stuff now like I would say my Portuguese was better when I lived at home. Now because of Chandler I speak English mostly. I'm still pretty fluent but I stutter more right. It's harder to get the words out.

Desiree associates some of her lack of Portuguese language to her parents and her inability to communicate with them:

So I found that there was a little bit of I guess a break in communication with my parents because I wasn't able to convey what I wanted to say to them because I didn't know how to in Portuguese.

Susana associates her lack of Portuguese language confidence in her cultural background and her different heritage: being born in Angola, Africa and not in the country of Portugal.

Well if they say "oh you're Portuguese"… I'll say no I'm not, I'm from Angola to be honest. I'll say I'm from there. They're like "oh but your fathers from there." I'm like yea. And they're like "oh tu es portugesa" (oh you're Portuguese) I'm like yea but I'm from Angola. You know what I mean? I'm not from Portugal. I tell everybody that. And even though there's people that sit there and you know, try to argue with me "oh but you're still", I'm like yea I got the Portuguese lineage but if you're going to ask me if I'm from Portugal: NO. I am from Angola.

In all three of these examples, there are distinguishing factors that differentiate the mother's experience but the end result is that of lack of confidence in Portuguese language and subsequent disuse of it. Ana uses an online translator tool to find some of the words she cannot remember in Portuguese in order to communicate with her mother better. Desiree, when reminiscing about her parent's relationship, states that when growing up, she could not convey to them what she wanted because she would misuse words or forget words. Susana's place of birth conflicts with her understanding of the language as she already does not associate herself as a Portuguese

woman and thus does not need to learn the language in its entirety. These mothers present a lack of legitimacy in terms of the dominant discourses that are present in the current Portuguese community in the GTA. They recognize this lack of legitimacy as stemming from the fact that they do not understand, or speak the language confidently, and speak versions of the language that are different from the normalized and hierarchal Portuguese in the GTA. Thus do not fit into a mould created by the dominant discourses that demands perfection when speaking.

(iii)   <u>Language Dialect and Disassociation</u>

In these interviews, and some of the others with varying degrees of mention, the narrative that kept coming forth is that of dialect and the disassociation the mothers had with Portuguese language because of their self perceptions and the community surveillance of what is 'proper' or 'improper'. This is a 'hot topic' in the Portuguese community as dialects within the language are varied, unique, and situated in regions throughout Portugal and the islands of the Azores (see Gomes, 2008). It was clear that mentioning this disassociation due to the perceived neglect or rejection present with the mothers' form of speech was important and mentioned with five out of the six women. Also, the mothers recognized a form of 'legitimate' Portuguese and placed themselves as out of this 'legitimate' speaking group. In so doing, they recognize that there is a 'proper' dialect, form of speech, and manner of communication, albeit an imagined one created and controlled by a minority of individuals in the Portuguese community in power (see da Silva, 2011; Foucault, 1990; Bourdieu, 1991 for literature on language and power). For example, Rita's discussion shows the way in which this is a recognized and understood 'norm', and how she does not situate herself within this:

Sara: are you fluent in Portuguese?

Rita: not fluent. I understand it but **I don't speak in the proper way it's more of a slang of Portuguese** what my parents taught me but if I was born in Portugal, I would know it.

Sara: did your parents speak to you in Portuguese at home?

Rita: they did at home growing up. Then we went to school and started learning English, kind of forget about the Portuguese and it's not the same here but I'm not going to talk to Portuguese people like oh.

Sara: do you ever speak Portuguese to your children?

Rita: umm not like sentences, I might say words here and there but only because when they go to my mom's house and they… my sister teaches them words but I don't really like speak to them.

Sara: why don't you speak Portuguese to them? What's holding you back? Do you even want to?

Rita: not really. I'm just kind of like **I know English and that's what I know more of so…. It's not, it doesn't come to me naturally to speak to them in Portuguese.** Like I don't find it important that they need to know the language. We're in Canada right. If they want to learn they can always go in school and learn and I can help them with **what I know but Portuguese is just the basics.** So yea the only reason why I do give a few words here and there is for my parents sake other than that it doesn't really like, it's not important for them to know and I don't know it so.

Further in the interview Rita states:

   And yea we have a big number of Portuguese workers and the ones that don't and we want to talk about so and so and they're sitting beside us my friend will speak to me in Portuguese and I'll look at her like… **and I'll answer right back in English. And she'll be like "Hello speak Portuguese!" and then when I do they're like "what did you just say?" I'm like forget it like don't ask me. Or I'll do it with Ana (her sister) like if Joseph's around and I want to talk shit about him and I'm on the phone with her I'll speak to her in Portuguese. She understands me right because we grew up speaking the same slang Portuguese so she understands so yea.** That's the only time it'll benefit me, when I want to gossip.

 Rita mentions a number of reasons as to why she does not speak to her children in Portuguese.

Primarily, it is a lack of confidence in speaking, a lack of understanding or communication, and a

feeling of not knowing how to speak with what she deems as 'properly'. Also, there is a

disassociation in terms of location, where she recognizes that she is not in Portugal and neither

are her children and so there is little desire to speak to her children in a language other than English, especially if she does not speak it comfortably. Also, she feels as though there is no point in speaking Portuguese because every time she engages with the language she is asked to clarify and so she only feels comfortable speaking to her sister as she states they speak the same slang of Portuguese.

The dialect difference is present in Susana where she states she does not say the words in Portuguese the same way as others. There is a self recognized difference in the way she speaks:

> Sara: ok do you cook any traditional Portuguese food?
>
> Susana: yea.
>
> Sara: what do you make?
>
> Susana: feijoada (chili with leftover meat), caldo verde (traditional cabbage and potato soup), umm what else… bacalhau (cod fish), **I say it different**.”

Without even recognizing it, Susana differentiates herself from what she perceives as the 'imagined norm' in the Portuguese community in the GTA by stating that the way she speaks is different. I did not recognize it as an important part of the sentence as I was listening for aspects of cultural retention especially in terms of gastronomy; yet when I transcribed the interview verbatim, I realized that she had said this and this type of language came up often. It is a recognized difference and an underlying important issue to note in terms of disassociation because it shows the ways in which these mothers already perceive themselves as 'othered' and not a part of the hegemonic norm. Susana goes further to state:

> I've never had that problem. The only problem I had with a Portuguese was what you call it, *was my speaking*. You know what I mean? **That was the only thing I'd be like you know what screw it, I'm not even going to bother talking Portuguese.** If we're like at Alex's parents I pretend I didn't know anything. In the beginning, I pretended I didn't know anything because I know **some of the stuff would say out like the words**

would come out, they'd come out dirty. It wouldn't come out right. It wouldn't come out right so it would be like the bad words.

Sara: like the grammar? You mean like the grammar?

Susana*:* **yea. So I'd be like you know what… I don't know how to speak it. And there's certain people all that you know like… if we're all like a bunch a group of Portuguese and if I don't know them too well, no I don't know how to speak it. I just play dumb and I won't do it because I know if I'll say something that's uh… "Oh that's not how you say it" or something's going to come out bad. Right because that's happened. So I'm like forget it.**

Susana: and the thing that bugs me about it… like no offence but the thing that bugs me about the Portuguese is… like I know it's my culture but why are you dissing, you know each other? **No matter what dialect you** are. Why are you saying "you suck, we're better" like no you're supposed to be all like… you know and they only do that when it comes to sports.

Susana explains why she pretends to not know how to speak Portuguese when she is surrounded by people who speak the language. It is pertinent to understand that this mechanism of pretending not to know how to speak the language has prevented her from being even more rejected from people who correct her language. It also has inevitably caused her to resent speaking the language and disassociate herself especially when she does not feel comfortable to even say she speaks the language. Susana does not feel like she speaks the same way as her parents and family back in Portugal and this too adds to her disassociation from the language:

> But don't you feel weird when you go out like I know when I went to Portugal I felt like I'm 100 percent Canadian because **I'm telling you it was like the way their dialect from my mother, it's like uhhh I didn't understand half of their stuff**… what they would say and their money. I felt like I'm like k… I don't belong here. You know what I mean?

Further she states:

> Now they sit there and look at you like when I went back all of my cousins were like "uh you got like Spanish mixed in here, or Brasileiro, and you're make-ups Portuguese there". I'm like well what do you want? I'm sorry.

Susana is an excellent example of the ways in which disassociation with language is caused by multiple factors, including dialect and forms of speech, as well as the acculturation present in these mothers in terms of association to a particular culture. The recognized form of speech holds values that both Rita and Susana feel they do not possess. They feel as though their language acquisition is less than the norm and is not valued or legitimate, and due to community members, family members, and others negatively correcting them, they have given up on it entirely.

The ways in which cultural understandings of dialect and accent are valued, appropriated and appreciated in the Luso-Canadian culture and context are varied. For example Jasmine stated:

> Sara: it's not right or wrong. I'm not pro teaching.
>
> Jasmine: wait, you wouldn't do it?
>
> Sara: I think so but then I see other people and it's like, what the hell is going to make me any different?
>
> Jasmine: Because you know that more languages opens more doors to opportunities so why wouldn't you? **Plus you speak perfect so, plus your parents. You speak with your parents.**

 The speaking 'perfect' as Jasmine states is in relation to my dialect and its proximity to the perceived and imagined 'norm' of Portuguese language. In reality, my version of Portuguese and the one that these mothers heard me speaking is actually a dated and static Portuguese that I have learned through my parents understanding of Portuguese, and not any different than the ones that the mothers learned in their childhoods and their households. When I got to Portugal, I too get corrected on my form of language and dialect because as I have been told many times it is "from the village". In the social context of the GTA, my version of Portuguese is closely associated with what has been normalized as 'proper' Portuguese in the community. Jasmine recognizes this

and feels as though I have an advantage in speaking and teaching Portuguese to my future

children as it is recognized as the imagined norm.

(iv)   <u>Cultural Disassociation</u>

In terms of cultural disassociation, there are two parts that intermingle but have been split

into categories for the purpose of organization: that of nationalism and institutionalism. In the

first, notions of belonging to a 'culture' or 'ethnicity' are intertwined as there are two nationalist

agendas at play: that of Portuguese as well as that of Canadian, or in Susana's case, three nations

at play: Angola, Portugal, and Canada. This 'hybridization' of culture as mentioned before (see

Hutnyk, 2012; Gilroy 1994) inevitably gives Luso-Canadian mothers more options in terms of

deciding what forms of culture and identity they want to partake in and transmit to their children.

When asked if she considers herself a Portuguese-Canadian, Jasmine responded:

> Jasmine: yea I am. I have my Portuguese citizenship. I'm definitely a Portuguese
> Canadian.
>
> Sara: what does it mean to be Portuguese Canadian for you?
>
> Jasmine: that's a hard question Sara. What does it mean to be Portuguese Canadian? Ok
> like I belong to two different communities, the Canadian community and the Portuguese
> community. I'm part of both cultures.

 Jasmine has purposefully appropriated the nationalist identity of Portuguese as well as that of

Canadian as she has citizenship for both countries even though she was born in Canada. It is

interesting to note that Jasmine is the only mother who fully delves into Portuguese speaking for

her son's sake as she wants him to know the Portuguese language. The connection she has to

culture shows the depth of interest she has in maintaining these nationalist ties.

Desiree discusses her progress with understanding her multiple identities in a Canadian

framework. In the following quote, she expresses her change in regards to her interest in

Portuguese culture, and how previously she strayed away and was as she says 'embarrassed' but now has come to appreciate her heritage:

> Well I love Canada and I'm really grateful that my parents came here and I was raised here because I have no idea what I would do if I was in Portugal. But at the same time I'm really proud of my culture. And I didn't understand it so much when I was a child and I value it a lot more now. **I think as a child I was more so embarrassed of it and I wanted to be more Canadian, a little more English but as you grow older and stuff like that you realize** that umm.. you know what I mean? Our food is great, our language is good, our music is hilarious, you know… we're messed up just like any other culture… but you know.

She further states:

> But the thing is I'm not the type of person that's always surrounded myself and always had just Portuguese friends or just gone to Portuguese dances. I know a lot of people like that and I would consider them to be 'true Portuguese'. You know and they shop at the Portuguese shops and you know what I mean, they'll speak English and then half their sentence will be in Portuguese. … have been really that Portuguese.

It is clear that multiple identities and connections to nationalist ideologies have an impact on these mothers even if they do not necessarily solely engage in any of their discourses. The fact that they are present, enables mothers to decide what nationalist ideologies they want to connect with and which ones they want to reject. Susana, who has three nationalist ideologies, makes a clear distinction between what she accepts as her identity and what she rejects and why:

> "But see with me… with me it's like because to me even though my parents are Portuguese,…it's like yea but your parents are Portuguese, yea but I was born in Angola. You know what I mean? That's where my… I was born there. I came out of you there. So to me it's like yea I know the Portuguese. Angola is Portuguese too right. So what am I going to say? I'm from Portugal or from Angola? I stick to Angola, that's where I was born. So that's why Portuguese is not too much in me.

Susana is bombarded with multiple nationalist identities to choose from and her choice is that of Canadian but of Angolan birth. The reason for this may be due to the fact that as mentioned previously, her lack of confidence with Portuguese language and her experience with speaking it

in a Canadian context has de-legitimized her form of language from the community and thus her options are that of Canadian or Angolan. Also, her multiple identities can confuse her sense of acculturation and in a sense, may entice her to feel as though she is not a part of any of the groups (see Januario and Marujo, 2000; Yon, 2000; Portes, 1965).

Susana's cultural disassociation also stems from her perception of Portuguese culture as different from the way she was brought up as a child in her family's household. For example, in the following quote Susana discusses how her parents never forced her to marry anyone Portuguese and that she never thought she would be with anyone Portuguese:

> See my family, ***they didn't force us to stay with our culture***, my parents were like you know "it's gotta be Portuguese"- they never did that. My parents whoever you fall in love with so be it. You know what I mean? And I'm not going to, I never after that one Portuguese guy, I never in a million years after him I'm like you know what screw this. I never want to see a pork-chop in front of my face. And look I have one with kids. Know what I mean?

The action by her parents strays from what she perceives as the norm. Further she explains how these actions and actions like this make her different from the Portuguese culture in the GTA:

> Never in a million years and I guess whatever comes, comes right? **I know a lot of the Portuguese don't like my, the way I'm brought up. Not so much brought up because my mom tries to bring me up the old fashioned way. I'm not. I'm sorry.** I am who I am and you like it you like it, you don't you don't. fode-te, fuck off. Excuse my language but sorry, you know.

Clearly Susana recognizes that aspects of her hybridized culture are not congruent with what Portuguese people in the GTA do or the Portuguese culture condones. These excerpts empirically show the mother's reactions and feelings towards the Portuguese community, and how they identify their exclusion as part of a rejection from the community towards its members through selection. Whether the community does so on purpose or not it is the inevitable consequence of

such strict guidelines on 'Portuguese-ness' in the GTA imposed by the community members themselves. This point is further emphasized in the next subsection on institutionalization.

(v)   Institutions and Structures

In this section, I demonstrate how institutional structures in the community, such as the education system and the women's experience with it, can ultimately be a deciding factor in cultural disassociation. I was able to glean these insights from the fourth reading using the Listening Guide, where I analyzed the women's narratives in relation to the institutions and structures of which they are a part. The predominant example is Rita who discusses her experience with Portuguese school in her youth and how this was the deciding factor in completely rejecting the Portuguese culture and community:

> Sara: do you remember a time when speaking Portuguese benefited you somehow? Or a time when it didn't benefit you?
>
> Rita: no. nothing. **I spoke Portuguese in school and that's it. When we went Saturdays to learn Portuguese because I was forced to and I hated it with all my heart and still hate it.**
>
> Sara: Portuguese school? You went to Portuguese school?
>
> Rita: yea on the weekends for four hours and **I would cry every day I don't want to go!** But not I never had to use it and I embarrass myself if I do speak Portuguese sometimes they'll be like huh? What is she saying? I don't get it.
>
> Sara: you need to practice.
>
> Rita: I know. Like I feel embarrassed because I have Portuguese friends and sometimes they'll be speaking to me in Portuguese because they don't want so and so to hear, we're like gossiping…
>
> Rita: then you go back to your homeland and they're like what is she saying? Like we're going to Portugal in August and I'm taking them, so I do see the difficulty ill have. I'm going to need a lot of translation but I think that's going to be my last time going to Portugal unless she wants to. If she wants to go she'll have to fend for herself down there.

Not only did Rita have a difficult time in Portuguese school as she did not want to be there to begin with, she feels as though it did not benefit her in any way because she does not feel confident in speaking it now. Her negative experience with the education she received on the weekends inevitably causes tensions in relating to the Portuguese community and speaking the language. It is difficult to learn something when you are constantly being corrected, even though there are many ways to explain yourself, and the only way that is accepted is the institutionalized method, and I would argue is one of the biggest reasons why Rita does not appreciate and engage in any Portuguese. Also, because versions of the Portuguese language have been institutionalized, meaning there is a 'proper' and 'improper' way of speaking that reflects the minority norm version of the language, influences the overall perception of Portuguese for children who are constantly being told they are not speaking properly, even though issues of 'properness' can be debated (see da Silva, 2011; Helms-Park, 2009; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Foucault 1990; Bourdieu 1991).

The home is the final site where cultural disassociation is present, or at least where it is evident that there is a shift from Portuguese migrant home to one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian home. The Portuguese home is one that is discussed in the literature and is viewed as a critical hub on social interaction and transmission of familial ideologies and cultural influences (Gomes, 2008; Teixeira and Murdie, 2009). The home is an important 'site' from which to understand and connect dots so to speak. The interview with Ana is most telling of this cultural transition from Portuguese migrant home, to Luso-Canadian home.

> Sara: do you remember any distinct Portuguese aspects of your home that other people in your neighbourhood didn't have, that weren't Portuguese?
>
> Ana: I don't think so. We had a cold cellar but they're not the type that had saints at the front or did their lawns all pretty. My dad was the type who had shit grass and didn't care

because he wanted to park his car. No I wouldn't say they did. The galo (rooster) inside like hanging in the kitchen. The tablecloths. Yea maybe little things like that but they weren't big with saints and stuff like that at all.

Sara: do you have any Portuguese tablecloths?

Ana: I do! I bought one recently. It says Portugal across it. I'm like ok thank you.

Sara: the question I have is do you carry any of the traditions of your parents? Do you make your own wine for example?

Ana: well because we're in an apartment, like I probably would if I had a house because Chandler always wanted to see how it' made so he went to help my dad. I've seen them make roast peppers and stuff like that, chorizo. They're always like do you want some but because Chandler, a lot of things I say no because then I'm by myself eating it. Maybe like the wine we would attempt to do. The other stuff…they used to kill a pig every year but now they end up throwing out half the stuff so they just buy meat now.

The connection Ana has to her Portuguese things is automatically connected to her parents and what they had in their home when she was growing up. This connection is crucial in understanding cultural flows and the ways in which culture is transmitted via material culture-like symbols and other material goods. The section on disassociation has presented the factors by which some one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian mothers may feel disassociated with the Portuguese community in the GTA (see Murdie and Teixeira, 2011; Teixeira and Murdie, 2009; da Silva, 2011; for literature on 'Little Portugal'). It has shown that there are two main factors: language disassociation and cultural disassociation. From language disassociation there is lack of confidence, and language dialect as two main factors why women feel a disassociation with the Portuguese community in the GTA. From cultural disassociation there is nationalism and institutionalism. The next theme is the last and is where many of the themes we have discussed so far intermingle and relate to one another.

(V) Prospects of higher socio-economic status for children

The migration narrative is strongly woven with the prospects of a Canadian dream for people of Portuguese descent. When asked why their parents came to Canada, the mothers all gave the same exact response: for a better life, for better opportunities. But where did this narrative come from? The fact that every mother mentioned this proves that this narrative of prospects is evident in the mothers and their parents and is weaved into the migration history of many people, including Portuguese migrants and Luso-Canadians. Although they felt as though their parents came for a better life, the women also felt as though they missed out on some type of childhood, some type of imagined ideal that they did not receive due to their parents migratory story, their employment and other factors. This rings true for Portuguese migrants who found employment in traditional migratory employment opportunities. The reality that first generation Portuguese migrants are predominately employed in these types of employments: men in construction work, and women in factory work or cleaning, further enhances the public's perception of Portuguese people as a community. This becomes not only a community perception and perspective, but a more widely Canadian reality and subsequent stereotype. Also, this means that the arduous labour and type of work that it is, as well as the precarious living conditions the first generation found themselves in, ultimately meant consequences for the one and a half and second generation mothers interviewed. This section discusses two themes: (1) stereotypes of employment, and (2) family matters and relationship. The underlying and critical focus of this chapter is the impact on socio-economic status for these families and the ways in which their social class frames their realities.

Stereotypes of Employment

In terms of employment, Portuguese migrants have generally stuck to the same types of industries (Aguiar, 2009; Miranda, 2009). For example, when asked if their parent's employment affected their perception of Portuguese culture, Rita said the following:

Rita: (bursts out laughing).

Sara: was your dad a construction worker?

Rita: yea. Does your mom clean or babysit?

Me: yea. Did that affect your perception of Portuguese people, what they do?

Rita: yea. You think that's all we're good for right. Males do construction and females either stay at home but I don't want to be at all like that and I don't want to be a single mom while the guy goes out. I want to be independent I want my own money. I would NEVER clean houses unless I was desperate because I have to feed my kids. But that's like no. Or babysitting nope. None of that! That's why I don't want to be at all like that.

This interaction shows how both the participant and I were aware of the responses for the two

most common employments of Portuguese people. This conversation shows how imbedded the

stereotype of Portuguese construction worker father and seamstress, factory worker, or babysitter

mother is. Along with how telling her response is prior and her mention that she would never

want to work in these types of employments, the fact that she could complete my sentence and

gender specify the employment is telling. Almost all of the other women are aware of the same

stereotypes. Their association and feelings towards these stereotypes are varied. Rita stated she

would do anything except engage in the stereotypical employments for Portuguese people. Ana

feels the same way about stereotypes and how it affected her growing up:

Sara: did your parent's employment affect your perception of Portuguese culture when you were growing up?

Ana: In a way because everyone would stereotype like the dads are construction workers and the mothers clean homes. So my mom never cleaned homes she was a babysitter so at that point I was like my mom's different she doesn't clean homes. But then I had a close friend and she was Italian and she would always remind me "you know have you ever realized all the teachers in our school are Italian? Italians are teachers and Portuguese men are construction workers but the Italians own them." **So you go through a point where you're almost embarrassed of your culture like why aren't you guy's doctors and lawyers and why do you guys work construction** until you realize we came from another country and whatever. At that point, and then you start thinking yea you're supposed to be a wife cook and clean, you're supposed to find a husband that works construction.

Deidra, on the other hand sourced a sense of pride from her parents employments. She stated the

following:

No. not at all. Honestly I'm proud of my parents because they did what they had to do you know like to… to survive.... **no I'm really proud of them. I don't think it affected me at all. I mean my parents are… they don't even have grade 3 so I can't expect my mom being in a country with a totally different culture to just go and take on a secretary job where she doesn't even know the language.** You know what I mean? She did what she had to do. Her kids grew up, got to a certain point that she was able to do cleaning. **She's proud of doing cleaning and working and I am proud of my parents because my parents were able to pay a house in ten years. How many people do you know even they have great jobs they can't even pay a house in ten years!** And my parents raised 10 kids! So I'm proud of my parents. I'm really proud of them. I'm not materialistic at all so if I were then I'd be like "oh why can't my parents have this great job?" No. it didn't affect my perception at all. No I'm proud of them! **It encouraged me you know what I mean? It encouraged me. My dad always encouraged me.** (Speaking like her dad) "You speak good English you can do better! Don't stay in cleaning. Just keep on going forward you know. You can do much better than that. And that's what I did but I'm proud of them. Yea I'm really proud of them.

Her discontent with the negative stereotypes of Portuguese people is evidenced where she

reflects on the stigmas of working in these employments:

I hate that because there's like this stigma with the Portuguese people. Yea they're… or they're just knows as cleaners or carpenters I mean what about us? Like you just said. You're seeing the small; you're not seeing the whole picture you know what I mean? There are successful people so, I hate that. I really hate that.

Deidra's anger towards the perception of Portuguese in the GTA is reflected in her strong

feelings concerning her son's education, mentioned earlier. Deidra does not want her son to fall

into stereotypical employments and desires for her son to achieve more, or be upwardly mobile

in terms of socio-economic status much like her father encouraged her to do. Deidra's conflicted

decisions about teaching or not teaching Portuguese language to her son is because she desires

for him to supersede his class background and the class based stereotypes that continue to haunt

the community and public perception of Portuguese people in the GTA.

(ii)   Family Matters and Relationships

Due to the precarious work first generation Portuguese migrants worked through, child

and parent relationships struggled to find a balance. With both parents working for a wage and

busy saving money to set up an economic foundation for their families, the mothers interviewed

were often left to fend for themselves during their childhood, to understand school and

homework on their own, to find part time employment when they were of age, and to fulfill care

giving duties in the home like sibling care and cleaning. These lived experiences were directly

tied to their socio-economic status as a family unit at that time. Within these households there

just was not enough money to afford luxuries that other children in school had. As Desiree states:

> But I mean as a child growing up you don't… I don't think you really appreciate it or understand it until you get older. And I think that culture just makes your life a lot richer… I don't think you realize until you get older and start meeting more people because when you're a child your whole world kind of revolves around… I don't know… in my case my little small community, **my parents didn't do very many extracurricular activities with me. They couldn't afford it and they didn't know either because language and the culture.** So I grew up kind of in this little bubble and then when I got to high school I started meeting people of different cultures or Canadian people, I started realizing what I had, what was… valuable and I started to appreciate it a lot more.

Although she appreciates it now, Desiree states that she was raised "in a little bubble" where she thought that everything she experienced was replicated everywhere. She recognized that she was not able to do any extra-curricular activities because her parents did not know the language and so were verbally constrained in communicating with extra- curricular facilities, and more importantly could not afford it. Migratory experiences hinder familial bonds and relationships and especially hinder children's success in learning, school, and extra-curricular activities because parents do not know how to enroll their children or cannot afford it. Jasmine makes a similar comparison when discussing her situation with that of her mother's:

Sara: how is your mothering similar or different to that of your mothers?

Jasmine**: I think it's identical except since I was born here I know about more programs and things so I'm able to take him more places than my mom actually was able to take me.**

Sara: so you have similar parenting?

Jasmine: yea very loving and nurturing, and she always put me above everything just like I put my son above everything.

Jasmine like Desiree recognizes that her mother could not put her in programs and other extra-curricular activities because her mother just did not have access to this type of program information when Jasmine was a child. It is interesting to note that with these two women, Desiree and Jasmine, there is a thirteen year age difference. This signifies that within thirteen years and almost two generations, not much changed in terms of migrant children and enrollment in extra-curricular programs due to (1) the cost of programs, and (2) the knowledge of the programs, whether in terms of communication or lack of access to them. The mothers do not want to fall into the same hardships that their mothers did and want to provide ample opportunities for their children to engage in sport and extracurricular activities, as well as and most importantly, ensure their children succeed academically by whatever means necessary.

The change in mothering by Desiree and Jasmine reflects what Lareau (2011) discusses as unequal childhoods due to class, race, and family life. Lareau (2011) explains how middle class parents usually take the 'concerted cultivation' method of parenting whereby they use their children's interests, abilities, and talents and place them in extra-curricular programs to build on these skills or interests (p. 2). Concerted cultivation is an essential component of middle class parenting styles and to the development of children in these families (Lareau, 2001, p. 11). In families where this is not a possibility due to economic and financial means, like in working class families, the parenting method is mostly a 'natural growth' method whereby children use the skills they acquire and learn in their natural environment like home, school yard, neighbourhood, and do not engage in any paid extra-curricular activities (Lareau, 2011, p. 3). In both Desiree and Jasmine's case, there has been a shift in discourse surrounding what works best for raising children and these mothers are taking the 'concerted cultivation' method of parenting that they did not receive as children. As Lareau (2011) notes, children in middle class families grow up to hone skills that assist them in navigating the school system, dealing with adults, and communicating in a more egalitarian and not hierarchical way- even at a young age. However, they may also grow to be self entitled and have different expectations for themselves and others than do children in working class families (Lareau, 2011, p. 124).

Desiree and Jasmine are explicitly attempting to modify the way their child is learning and developing in her/his social space with the use of programs and other methods of engaging children in different opportunities. Desiree and Jasmine are attempting to move away from their working class background and their childhood, and assert themselves as middle class parents through the use of extra-curricular programs that provide opportunities for their children they would otherwise not have. Their children are subsequently being raised in a middle class method,

regardless of whether or not they are middle class. Although Desiree is a home owner and currently on maternity leave at the time of the interview, she still encourages her daughter to take piano lessons, and takes her son to attend baby programs in her community. Jasmine, who has recently re-entered the labour force at the time of the interview, also placed her son in extra-curricular activities that were not available to her when she was growing up. Desiree and Jasmine take all of the opportunities they can to provide different learning experiences for their children. If they cannot afford them, they attend free community events and programs in local centres that still provide an experience for their children that reflects the 'concerted cultivation' aspects of child rearing and not a 'natural growth' method (Lareau, 2011). They are knowledgeable of these free programs because they can communicate in the language, unlike their mothers.

Another issue with relationships and family matters is the desire for mothers to not replicate the abuse or bad memories they remember as children. This can include but is not limited to verbal abuse, spanking, and negative attitudes and perspectives they received from their parents. For example, Susana reflects on her mothering in relation to her mother's and says the following:

> Susana: uhh as much as I try to fight it, I know there is… you know what I mean**? Like sometimes I'll say something to my kids and I'll be like** (puts hand over mouth) **that's what she used to say to me** (pointing upstairs to where her mother lives). **You know what I mean? Like noooo. But yea. Yea… I … I… yea. It's sad but.**

> Sara: how is the way you mother similar or different to that of your mother? So you kind of just hinted at that…

> Susana: I'm more open with my children**. I'm still like that strict but I'm not going to be at strict as they were. I mean, with me I wasn't even allowed to go outside at 18. I'd be in the house. It was always cleaning, cooking, cleaning, screw the school work, parents didn't believe in school work.** They thought school in Portugal was better than here. **With my kids no. I'm more on their education.** I'm, you know I don't want them to be you know, shy won't say anything to me, you know what I mean? Whatever the

cause is. See with my parent, with my mom there's certain things we couldn't talk because it's not appropriate. And umm yea.

Sara: yea I feel the same way. There's some things. I wish I had that though.

Susana: my mom I wish too. And the funny thing is with my mom… I hate to say it but all Portuguese old, especially from her, when they hear something it's worse than Facebook. You know what I mean? And it's worse than Facebook. My mom is the best we call her CNN. And with my kids it's funny how my son even knows that. He's like grandma tells everyone.

Sara: oh yea they pick up.

Susana: I don't want my kids to be like that towards me or their father. I want them to have that trust with us and… you know I don't want that. I don't want because that's… to me it's sad, it hurts**. There's certain things that we want to talk to them about. Or even if we do say something, they give us the old fashioned feedback that we don't want to hear instead of comforting.** So yea.

This excerpt with Susana demonstrates the challenge she feels with teaching her children and parenting in a manner that is not replicating her mother and the way her mother made her feel. She is focused on their education and their progress in school, unlike her parents were with her, and she hopes for a future where her children will be open with her and have a relationship that does not resemble the one she has with her mother.

A part of this relationship is the issue of discipline and its connection to the mothers mothering and what they experienced themselves. Discipline was not a topic I asked about in the interview guide but somehow it found its way into discussion through various mediums. Therefore, I have included it as it reflects a number of changes both generational and personal that shows the changes of Luso-Canadian mothers and their decisions. First, it shows the ways in which the women have taken on roles and ideologies that are not based on physical abuse for discipline but on issues of mutual respect and understanding. This is in stark contrast to what some mothers experienced themselves and what is commonly understood as a Portuguese form

of physical discipline that is normalized. Desiree explains her conflict with disciplining her children in the manner she learned in her household and family, and the way this conflicts with her cultural and social understanding in Canadian culture:

> … I know coming from Portugal a lot of parents would hit their kids and they thought that was… the best way or the only way or they didn't know better in regards to discipline**. Um I don't hit the kids. I mean there's a lot of times I REALLY want to and trust me they deserve it. But in the end, if you do end up hitting them, you end up feeling really bad.** It's not like I haven't spanked Zeriah, or pushed or grabbed her arm or squeezed her. right? But then in the end, I frickin end up feeling bad myself so um I try not to. I do the time out and tried and true, I take away things they like to do and you take away their toys. And that gets them where it hurts. That's the way to go. I find that works the best when you separate them from the rest of the group and you take away the things they like to do and their toys. That's I guess their currency, their language. They understand that the best.

Second, it shows how some grandparents have changed their perspective on the topic of discipline through their interaction with disciplining methods for their grandchildren, and how they do not want their daughters to punish their grandchildren in this way. Jasmine discusses this change in the following quote:

> Well the thing is my sons not that old to be punished so but still. Yea she did hit me. I don't think, I hope I never have to hit him. **And she says "oh you don't have to hit". It's like she already taking back what she did. She's like: "oh if I ever see you hitting him I'll be very very sad".** That's what she says.

Third, it shows the interaction between a Luso-Canadian and her partner and the reasoning and problem solving required meeting a mutual understanding and cultural appropriateness for disciplining children. In the interview with Ana, discipline was most prevalent and something that her husband and she have discussed even though their son is only twelve months old. The following excerpt shows the mutual understanding and cultural

awareness required when discussing discipline with a couple who has different ideologies on disciplining standards:

> Sara: how does the ethnicity of the father of your son affect your parenting, especially in terms of your child's Portuguese heritage?
>
> Ana: so far it hasn't been bad but**, I guess when it comes down to discipline I think it's going to get tricky because there's going to be things where like our parents did for me and I feel that's right because it worked and his parents did it like this so he feels like that right. So certain things we've mentioned that.** We still have like years to see what happens but my heads already when it comes down to that.
>
> Sara: like what?
>
> Ana: … We argued before when it comes to beats let's say. He (referring to her husband) was pretty much raised by everyone. Anyone can hit him. If he did something bad, his uncle could throw him a beating, he thought that was okay. **And I said no one's touching our son except for us. And then when I was pregnant he's like well he's disrespectful to my parents and I said well if he's disrespectful to your parents I want your parents to tell us and we deal with it.** Luckily once he was born, he has a soft spot for him so now if he sees it he won't let anyone. But at first he thought like they did it to us and I was fine but no I don't care. I don't want my sisters touching him, I don't want my parents. I was like your parents barely see him because they work and stuff and then he's going to do something wrong and they're going to have the right to smack him**. If we're going to smack him that's us! We're here to discipline him.** Even though my mom is going to be with him every day, always raising him when I'm at work but no I wouldn't want her to. I'd rather her tell me when he does something wrong and then I can deal with it.

The challenges with debating and discussing discipline and methods of discipline, who disciplines, and what it means to spank children is clearly a familial matter. The relationship between mother and her husband, mother and her child, as well as mother and her parents (or the children's grandparents) is always in transition and a fluid concept. It is evident that some mothers may try to reproduce the disciplining methods they learned at home, or tweak them to meet their familial needs but that there is recognition that disciplining children is a family and relational issue.

The discussion of discipline and different forms of communicating is reflected in language and the different ways socio-economic status affects language use and purpose. In working class families, language is often used to discipline and is directive and threatening (Lareau, 2011, p. 153) which is what the mothers experienced in their childhoods. Their use of language now mostly reflects what Lareau (2011) explains is a middle class perspective on language use and discipline whereby mothers are engaging in language use to reason with children, as Desiree stated above by taking away toys and engaging in other disciplinary methods other than physical discipline (Lareau, 2011, p. 116, p. 127). However, when many women discussed their use of Portuguese language, they said that they would discipline their children in Portuguese and therefore almost replicating what they experienced as children. As Susana mentioned above, this action of replicating what her mother told her as a child and her recognition that she does not want to engage in this type of disciplining method is a clear indication that she struggles with the working class ways she was taught to discipline and the middle class desire to do so in a different manner.

Conclusion

In this chapter I argued that there are five factors that influence Luso-Canadian mothers in retaining and transmitting language and culture to their children. The five factors are fear of academic underachievement in children, the grandparent connection, the partner connection, disassociation and acculturation, and prospects of higher socio-economic status for children. The chapter has discussed the ways in which the five themes interact and reflect some of the lived experiences of these women. The narratives that were shared by the six participants offered mutual understanding between myself and the women, and many times overlapped with one another. Even though the mothers were not with each other at the time of each interview and

even though they varied vastly in age, these five themes have been outlined and expressed with each interview to varying degrees of importance. I have attempted to use as many quotes from the interview transcripts as possible to show the importance of the womens voices and the narratives they chose to share with me. By letting the women speak for themselves through their quotes, I have attempted to facilitate the discussion and reflect the importance of what the women chose to say.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

In contrast to other studies on language and cultural retention that focus on Chinese (Cheung, 2012) and Spanish (Tran, 2010) immigrant families as important language retaining agents, the impact of religion on Indians in the Canadian prairies (Dhruvarajan, 1993), socio-economic status and its impact on language retention (Ma, 2012), and the loss of language in the second generation (Portes and Lingxin, 1998), this project focuses on the factors that influence Luso-Canadian mothers in the GTA to retain and transmit language to their children. In my findings, only one of the six mothers does engage in language and cultural retention and transmission through actively communicating in the language and participating in the culture on a constant (being every day many times a day, or all day) basis. This conclusion will provide a summary of the proposed project, my reflections on the research process, the limitation of the research and my sample, my key learning insights from this process, and its potential for future research in this field. I also offer a section I refer to as 'on writing and recommendations' which is a brief noted advice section for individuals interested in pursuing a Master's degree in Sociology, or a Master's degree in any academic field (refer to Appendix 4).

(i)   <u>Summary</u>

Chapter One reviewed the informing literature on Luso-Canadians in the GTA by reflecting on critical work by academics in this field. Primarily issues concerning gender, Portuguese mothers and employment (Miranda 2009; Aguiar 2009), gendered households (Giles 2002; Noivo 1997) migration and Portuguese mothering (Orozco, Carhill, and Chuang 2011; Nunes 1998), migration, culture, and housing for Luso-Canadians within the GTA (Teixeira and Murdie 2009; da Silva 2011; Murdie and Teixeira 2009; Iacovetta 1992; Gomes 2008; Murdie

and Ghosh 2010) were discussed. In the second section 'Language Retention' issues of

regionalism (Oliveira and Teixieira 2004; Gomes 2008; da Silva 2011; and Bourdieu 1991),

language brokers (Orozco, Carhill, and Chuang 2011; Araujo 2008, Noivo 1997), institutional

language (Helms-Park 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001), and linguistic life expectancy (Statistics

Canada 2011; Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Alba 2004) were discussed. In the third section

on 'Cultural Retention' issues of acculturation (Januario and Marujo 2000; Porter 1965; Yon

2000; Universidade Aberta 2012), institutional culture (da Silva 2011), lack of interest in culture

(Selim Abou 1981; Oliveira 2009; Gomes 2008), and academic underachievement (Nunes 2005;

Giles 2002; Noivo 1997) were discussed. These themes help to build a foundation on which to

reflect and discuss the Portuguese community in the GTA through an academic lens.

Chapter Two reflected on the theoretical lens that positions this thesis and frames its

analysis. Foucault (1990) focuses on discourse and discipline, and Bourdieu (1991) focuses on

language as symbolic power, and symbolic capital. From Diaspora Studies (Van Hear 2010;

Knott andMcloughin 2010; Banerjee, McGuiness and McKay 2012; Buff 2012) I borrowed from

topics of migration and place (Stock 2010; Knott 2012; Anderson 2006; and Huggan 2010),

hybridity (Hytnyk 2012; Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994; Chambers 1994; Clifford 1994; and Hall

1995), and language (Beswick 2012). Also, mothering and social reproduction discourse focused

on mothering and socio-economic status (Garey, 2009; Fox, 2009) and mothering and concerted

cultivation (Lareau, 2011; Fox, 2009).

Chapter Three discussed the methodology I employed to engage in my study. I reflected

on three issues: 'in the field' that included accessing the field and my sample, an overview of my

participants (Palys 2008), and the politics of naming (Babbie and Benaquisto 2010). The second

is 'data collection' where I reflected on the interview process (Babbie and Benaquisto 2010),

recording, transcribing, and data analysis (Mauthner and Doucet 1998, 2003, Brown and Gilligan 1992). The third is 'self-reflexivity'(Babbie and Benaquisto 2010; Doucet 2008) where I reflected on my insider/outsider status as the researcher (Meriam et al. 2001; Ergun and Erdemir 2010), and the reflexivity in the write-up (Mauthner and Doucet 1998, 2003).

Chapter Four develops the key themes and research findings of this thesis. There are five themes or five factors that influence these mother's in choosing to retain Portuguese language and culture and transmit language and culture to their children. The five themes are (I) fear of academic underachievement in children (II) the grandparent connection (III) the partner connection (IV) disassociation and (V) prospects of higher socio-economic status for children. I have explained how these factors influence the decisions of Luso-Canadian mothers to either transmit language and culture to their children or not. I have found that although all of the mothers believe the importance of Portuguese language and culture in children, only one mother out of six actively chooses to retain and transmit Portuguese language and culture to her son. All of the factors independently and when there is more than one simultaneously influence the mother's in choosing what they deem is best for their child/ren which in a sense is a product of their experience with Portuguese culture and language.

The most critical of these factors and the theme that I want to discuss here is 'disassociation' (see Orozco, Carhill and Chuang 2011; Araujo 2008; Noivo 1997; Foucault 1990; and Bourdieu 1991 for literature on disassociation) as it is the ultimate determining factor in deciding whether or not to teach children Portuguese language and culture. This disassociation does not occur in a social vacuum; it is not a sporadic and random decision the women make. The fact that the language is constantly critiqued, judged, and corrected within social contexts is the single most disassociating action the women I interviewed experience in their use of the

language (see Foucault 1990 for literature on discourse and discipline). The normalizing judgments the women experience through their constant corrections by others in the community, and their realization that they are hyper surveilled, leaves the women feeling as though they are being disciplined and controlled by others and discourages their connection to the language (Foucault, 1990). By creating a language that is so controlled by a minority in power who decides the characteristics of the language that make it 'properly spoken' and 'improperly spoken' is the main reason why the mothers I interviewed begin to feel as though they do not belong. Also, the action by the community leaves the mothers in a position where they lose symbolic capital through their speech (Bourdieu 1991).

Whether they experience it themselves, or whether their family does, causes the women to feel disassociated from what they consider the 'Portuguese culture' in the GTA, but what I would consider the minority of Portuguese culture in power in the GTA (da Silva 2011). The language issue is one that is so deeply entrenched in Portuguese culture in the GTA that you may ask people of Portuguese descent and they can explain in varying amounts of detail the politics of language in this community. It is entrenched and developed, and has fully infected the minds, community, and manner in which Portuguese migrants and Luso-Canadians associate with the community. The woman in this group who decides to speak the language to her son speaks a version of Portuguese language that is unfortunately considered 'improper'. It does not seem to affect her desire to teach her son Portuguese even though she recognizes that it is not 'perfect' as she stated. This means that there may be other factors that influence the women in deciding to transmit Portuguese to their children, factors that may not have been discussed in this thesis.

On the basis of my findings, I have come to several views and arguments about the cross-generational transmission of language and culture in the Luso-Canadian community. First,

if the Portuguese community in the Greater Toronto Area desires to remain a vibrant and critical

component of Portuguese recognition in Canada, there will have to be a loss of its strong

connections to discrimination in the form of both dialects of language as well as hierarchies of

regionalism (see Oliveira and Teixeira 2004; Gomes 2008; da Silva 2011 on literature on

regionalism). These forms of discrimination can potentially lead to the loss of Portuguese culture

in the GTA due to a small minority filling the 'proper' discourse while others who hold a

Portuguese heritage may choose not to engage in the community as the community discriminates

and normalizes judgments against them (Foucault, 1990; da Silva 2011). As revealed in the

narratives of the women I interviewed, the tensions in their views shows the extent to which

some women are conflicted in their decisions and the role the community plays in promoting or

isolating them. Desiree, Susana, Ana, and Rita all expressed this in their narratives. Also, the act

of these judgments and surveillance potentially prohibits members of the community with

various dialects to gain any language and symbolic power through the use of the Portuguese

language (Bourdieu 1991). Moreover, the use of language includes a class factor whereby

prospects of higher socio-economic status for children is associated with different mechanisms of

engaging with language (both English and Portuguese) and child rearing in general (Lareau

2011, Fox 2009). Thus, the push factor for the mothers is to acculturate. The current Portuguese

community in the GTA is committing a mild degree of cultural suicide whereby individuals with

specific accents of regions and who do not fit 'proper Portuguese' are potentially discouraged

from engaging in the community and thus do not do so (da Silva 2011; Gomes 2008; Oliveira

2009). If only certain beliefs, dialects, and aspects of culture are recognized as Portuguese, others

are automatically disassociated with 'proper' Portuguese language and culture and subsequently

children of these families who witness this type of discrimination or experience it themselves do

not want to subject their children to the same treatment. In my view, the Portuguese community in the GTA needs to be more inclusionary and less discriminatory because there are potential implications for the social interactions that occur within the community. The mothers interviewed for this project feel excluded.

Another relevant theme to discuss is the aspect of the partner and the partner connection. Is there a positive future for children who grow up in dual or multi-ethnic households? The mothers in this project certainly felt so and I would concur. At least in these households it seems as though there is more of an understanding for cultural integration in the form of family function and everyday interactions. This is another action taken by the women in disassociating with the strict guidelines they experienced in their childhoods (see Noivo 1997; Januario and Marujo 2000; Giles 2002; Trinidade 2007; Miranda 2009). It is their choice to teach Portuguese language and culture to children; although I do see the benefits of teaching another language to children, I also recognize all of the points that the women made in determining and deciding what to do when it came to retention and transmission of Portuguese language and culture.

(ii)   <u>Limitations of the Sample and the Study</u>

Although the methodology and literature provided thus far offer a preliminary perspective on the Portuguese in Canada (Luso-Canadians) there are substantial limitations to this study. Due to its size and scope, this project and its small sample does not claim to reflect all of the Portuguese community in the GTA or even the women in this ethnic group. Therefore some of the information provided can be similar and familiar to many people who are either in this situation or know of people in similar situations. Yet these findings cannot be generalized to the larger Luso-Canadian or Portuguese Canadian communities.

Another limitation is the fact that although the women I interviewed came from various places throughout the Portuguese Republic, they cannot be considered representative of those women from those regions in Portugal. Their associations and opinions may only be anomalies and therefore cannot be conclusive. This is important to note as the sample of women vary substantially and thus, although this is a positive attribute to this study as it offers a varied sample in terms of familial region, it does not generalize or represent those regions. Also, there is an absence of the fathers' narratives within this project. I asked the mothers about the fathers experience and therefore was asking questions through the mothers' lenses or perspectives about fatherly experiences and assistance. Although this is problematic because it does not offer an opportunity for the fathers to speak for themselves, the responses given by the mothers still offer some relevant data on their perceptions of their partners' contributions.

The research is rich with data and lived experiences of individuals who do see themselves in these situations and I would argue there is much to learn from these narratives. The lived experiences of people and the narratives they tell offer rich and telling data regarding the lives of Luso-Canadian women in the Greater Toronto Area. In terms of contributions, my research adds to scholarly literatures on this topic and can also bring public understanding to issues of mothering and language retention faced by one and a half and second generation Portuguese-Canadian mothers' in the GTA.

(iii)   Reflections and Research Expansion

I have attempted to be as self-reflexive as possible by actively recognizing my role as the researcher and writer, and the responsibility I have to produce a piece of work that represents what the women stated well and thoroughly, without taking their ideas out of context. This

project focuses on one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian mothers and in so doing, leaves out the opportunity for others to voice themselves. The project does not discuss the partner's opinions by asking the partners themselves, but relies on the mother's perspectives. Given the increase in fathering involvement across many cultures (Doucet 2006; Marsiglio and Roy 2012) an interesting question would be how gender intersects with the transmission of language and culture from fathers to children. Also, interviewing couples where the father is a Luso-Canadian and the mother is not to see if there are issues with tensions in language and cultural transmission between father-son/ family-son. How do one and a half and second generation Luso-Canadian men engage in Portuguese language and culture? Do they desire to transmit language and culture to their children? What influences their choices?

Further research could also interview the children or the third generation, once they are old enough to offer their thoughts on this topic. This project has inspired me to pursue further studies on this topic by focusing on the fathers, the children, and the community in a more in-depth basis than what was done here in the context of an MA thesis project.

This project could also have taken different forms both methodologically and theoretically. In terms of methodology, using the questionnaire I had originally planned to use could have facilitated my organization of data collection. Also, my recruitment method could have been different. I could have expanded my search for women in this situation by relying on community services and centers instead of relying on liaison members of the community that I was familiar with and also women I am acquainted with. Although, I am very pleased with the women I recruited and I feel as though their differences in terms of regions, age, number of children, and age of children gives this project a good frame on which to begin answering this question. If I had searched for other women in the community I may have received different

responses. In terms of theoretical framework, using a theoretical framework that did not focus on language and symbolic capital and issues of discourse and power would have given this project an entirely different purpose. If, for example, the project had been informed by a feminist political economy framework, I would have asked different questions and received different answers and findings. However, I did include social class and socio-economic status as part of my theoretical approach (see Chapter 4), and have theorized it in chapter four of this thesis.

During the time that I was writing this thesis, the economic recession in Portugal was well into its fifth year; many Canadians of Portuguese descent who lived in Portugal found themselves returning to Canada and reintegrating in Canadian culture. In many instances, even though they were born in Canada, they have limited knowledge of living in Canada. An excellent follow up to this research would be a study how their re-integration will occur and how this will impact their 'Canadian', 'Portuguese', and 'Luso-Canadian' identities. The remittance of people to Portugal is common especially with Portuguese from continental Portugal and it would be fascinating and interesting- theoretically and empirically- to further document and study this phenomenon of Diaspora movements through spaces and over time. What does the return mean for these Canadians who have never lived in Canada? What are their plans for the future? Do they have a difficult time assimilating to Canadian culture? Is this what they expected? All of these questions are timely, difficult and very important; they require greater research attention.

<u>Key Concepts</u>

The following are terms I used throughout my thesis. As these terms have varying meanings and contexts in popular culture and within academe, I feel it is in my benefit to define the ways in which I understand and apply these terms. I recognize that there are a variety of uses for these words and have appropriated their definitions to the manners in which I consider them for my thesis project.

<u>Luso-Canadian Mothering</u>- refers to the manner in which one and a half and second generation Canadians of Portuguese descent enacts her parenting practices with specific attention to the ways she enables or disables connections to her Portuguese heritage. This can include but is not limited to the ways in which mothers feed/do not feed their children Portuguese cultural foods, the teaching of norms and values that have roots in Portuguese culture like religious holidays with particular heritage in Portugal and other daily tasks that have roots in Portuguese definitions of mothering. The acts have similarities to cultural retention but for this purpose the acts most closely related to feminine gender relations. An example of this is cooking in Portuguese culture is considered a feminine and motherly trait and responsibility.

<u>One and a Half and Second Generation Portuguese-Canadian</u>- refers to a person who is born in Canada or who has lived most of their life in Canada- i.e. migrated to Canada at a young age. One who has parents who were not born in Canada but born in Portugal and who migrated anywhere from the 1950's to the present day.

<u>Cultural Retention</u>- refers to the manner in which Portuguese-Canadian mothers are able to maintain the cultural norms and values of their place of origin or their parent's place of origin. This will refer specifically to manners in which second generation mothers retain Portuguese cultural norms, if they teach them to their children and continue the cultural education, reject the Portuguese identity completely or hybrid both cultures to create a self lived and experienced Portuguese-Canadian reality.

<u>Cultural Transmission</u>- refers to the manner in which Portuguese-Canadian mothers transfer their cultural knowledge through practice to their children who are third generation Portuguese-Canadians

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Appendix 1

Sample Interview Questions:

Family History:

1. When did your parents first come to Canada?
2. Where are they from in Portugal?
3. Do you know why they came to Canada?
4. Do they plan on going back to Portugal permanently?

On Mothering and language retention:

1. Are you the primary caregiver?
2. Are you fluent in Portuguese?
3. Do you speak Portuguese to your child/ren? Why/why not?
4. When/ under what circumstances do you speak Portuguese to your children in Portuguese?
5. Does your family ex. your parents or siblings speak primarily Portuguese to your child/ren?
6. Do your kids like Portuguese? Learning, speaking, reading?
7. Do you feel like language is important in maintaining a Portuguese ethnicity?
8. Are there changes from your first child to your other children in terms of language retention? Has your parenting strategy changed?
9. Do you feel you take on the Portuguese role of mother and caregiver?
10. How is your mothering similar or different to that of your mothers? Do you think this is a positive thing?

On Cultural Retention:

1. Do you value being a Portuguese-Canadian?
2. On a scale of 1-10 (1 being not at all and 10 being exactly that) how 'Portuguese' would you say you are?
3. What constitutes being Portuguese Canadian to you?
4. Tell me a time when you felt teaching your child/ren Portuguese would benefit them? Tell me a time when speaking Portuguese benefitted you somehow?
5. Can you think of a time when you felt teaching you child/ren would disadvantage them? Or, do you remember a time when speaking Portuguese disadvantaged you somehow? Explain.
6. How do you relate to the Portuguese community in Toronto?

7. Do you attend cultural events that the Portuguese community in Toronto hosts? For example religious parades and festivals? Why/ why not?
8. Do you think your child/ren will benefit from learning Portuguese- language or cultural practices? Why/why not?
9. Do you ever visit Portugal? Would you take your child/ren there?

On the Home:

1. Please tell me about your home growing up. Do you remember any distinct 'Portuguese' aspects of your home that other people in your neighbourhood/ community who were not Portuguese did not have?
2. How is your home today? Do you carry on any of the traditions of your parents in terms of the home?
3. Since you parent at home, do you think your house has an influence or impact on being a 'Portuguese-Canadian'?

On Partner and/or husband/ and immediate family:

1. Does your boyfriend or husband speak a language other than English to your child/ren?
2. How does the ethnicity of the father of your child/ren affect your parenting, especially in terms of your child's Portuguese heritage?
3. Do you think this is a positive aspect? Why/ why not?
4. Please describe your family structure. Who lives with you and your child/ren? Does your family (like your parents or siblings) encourage your transmission of Portuguese to your child/ren? Do they assist in this? How? How not?
5. Were you pressured into learning Portuguese? Explain.
6. Do you feel pressure from your parents to teach your child/ren Portuguese?
7. Did your parents' employment affect your perception of Portuguese culture when you were growing up? How/how not?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Appendix 2

Figure 1: Language Retention Rates (2011)
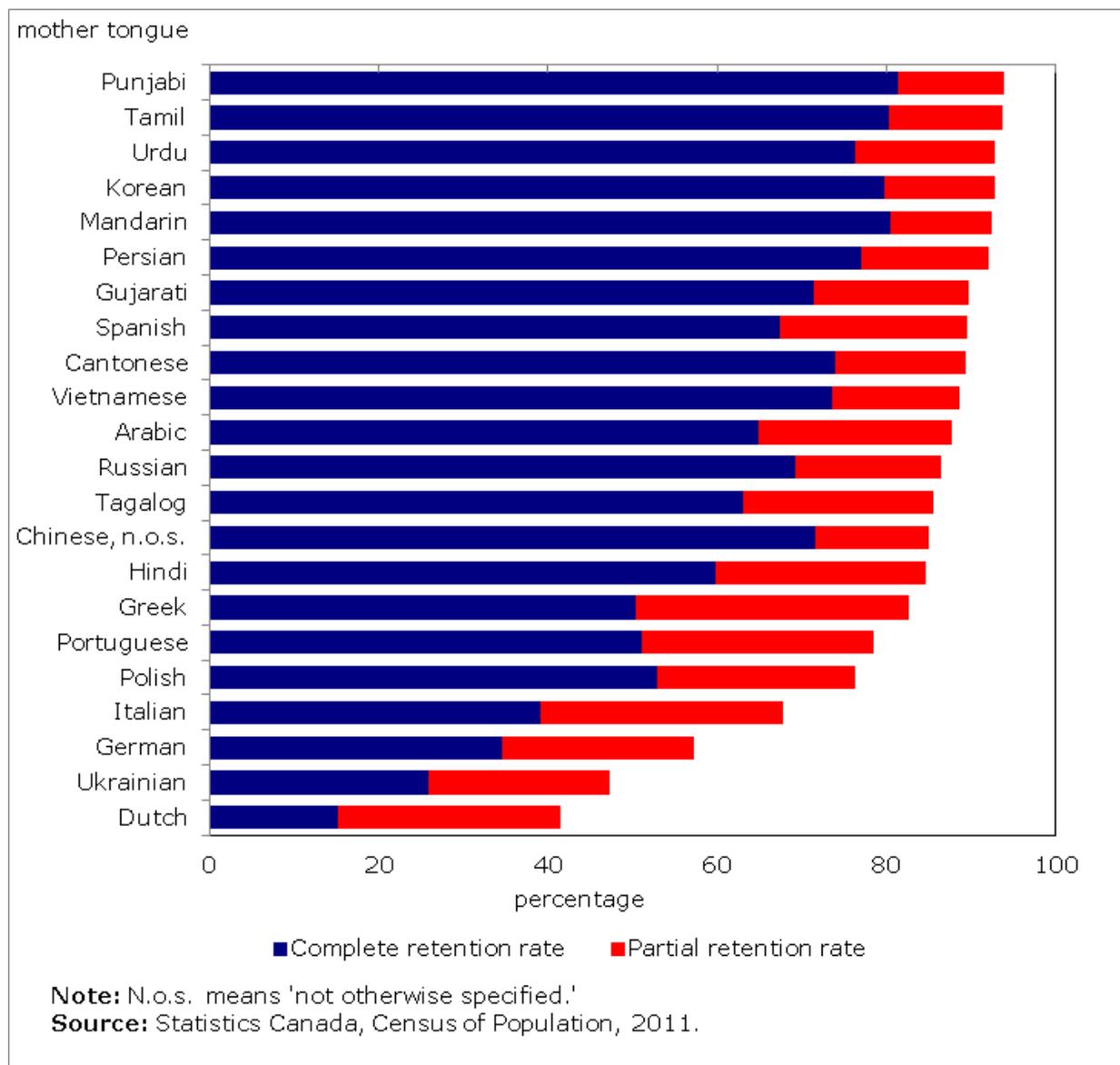
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Appendix 3

Table 1: Census Data 2011

⊙ Portuguese Mother Tongue

Total:	Male	Female
Toronto- 58,175	28,185	29,990
Ontario- 147,725	71,605	76,125

⊙ Detailed language spoken most often at home- Portuguese

Total:	Male	Female
Toronto-34,585	16,820	17,760
Ontario70,210	33,690	36,520

⊙ Detailed other language spoken regularly at home (Portuguese)

Total	Male	Female
Toronto-18,660	9145	9520
Ontario-56,065	27,195	28,865

Appendix 4

On Writing and Recommendations

This is a short section on my experience with a Master's Thesis, what I wish I had changed and what I wish I did differently. It is a section that is dear to me because it reflects my experience with my qualitative research process. The following are key lessons learned about qualitative data collection and interviewing.

1. Ask direct questions during interviews. What I mean by this is that when I was transcribing my interviews I felt that for a lot of the questions I was 'beating around the bush' so to speak and not directly asking the mothers how they felt about a certain topic. The reason for this is (1) because of my inexperience with interviewing people and thus my lack of confidence when probing and (2) Because I did not want to seem biased in a certain direction and so I opted for asking questions that were less direct. Like for example, *"do you feel language is important in maintaining a Portuguese ethnicity"* is one of my questions. What I should have done is ask that question but followed it with a more direct question like, "do you feel like this is the case for yourself? Why or why not?"

2. Do not be afraid to talk about yourself during interviews. People tend to open up if you engage in a reciprocal conversation. My experience found that. My first interview was 25 minutes and it was short because I did not engage in a reciprocal type of conversation. By my third, I was at the woman's home for four hours and I felt as though she knew just as much about my life and I did of hers. And that to me is reciprocal and fair learning and knowledge production.

3. Have a backup plan of questions. For example, during my interviews I had one semi-structured guide to assist me in getting some answers but some questions no longer made sense to ask because of the prior responses. Therefore, I should/could have planned two sets of questions: one for if the participant answered in a particular way and another. This method of guiding the interview would have worked well than what I did where I tried to think on the spot and sometimes found myself flustered.

4. I should have included a question in my questions for the interviews about what language do they feel most comfortable communicating in. If they said English, this may have given a clear indication of what language they prefer to speak in the home and elsewhere. Not that they didn't say this in other terms, but if I had asked it clearly, I wouldn't have had to read and reread my transcripts to be absolutely certain. This is probably my biggest regret because I felt as though I would have gotten concrete responses and examples from this question and I did not realize it was so important until I was deciphering how to work through my data.

Appendix 5

Table 2: Social Class Determinants*

Name	Lareau (2011) definition of social class	Homeownership (Fox 2009)	Social Class
Deidra	Yes	No	Middle class
Desiree	No	Yes	Middle class
Susana	No	No	Working class
Jasmine	No	No	Working class
Ana	Yes	No	Middle class
Rita	No	No	Working class

*This chart describes the Social Class determinants for the women interviewed in this study. Lareau (2011) uses education with at least one parent employed in a job that requires some type of complex education like management as a signifier of class. Lareau (2011) contends that concerted cultivation is another signifier of class as parents who engage in these parenting practices are reflecting a social class. Fox (2009) uses homeownership and education as signifiers of class status. Three women are determined as working class (with both categories being 'no', and three are considered middle class (with at least one category being 'yes').Refer to Chapter four, section (v) for detailed discussion on social class.