



UNIVERSIDADE DO ALGARVE

*Developing and transmitting a
Portuguese-American identity*

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Abstract

This study, an exploratory qualitative multi-case case study, is particularly interested in the possible development of a bi-cultural, transnational identity of the Portuguese citizens who emigrated to the United States during the second half of the twentieth century, as well as that of their descendants. Aretta (2011) suggests that, “to tell a story is to retell the world. To retell the world is to renew the world, or at least to renew *a* world” (p. 3) and in following Aretta’s train of thought this study retells the stories of immigration and adaptation to a new world in order to understand the processes of acculturation and assimilation that are involved. In order to do so during an initial phase of the study, participants who identified themselves as Portuguese-Americans who were at the time living in the United States, were asked to answer a survey created for this purpose, *the Portuguese-American Identity Survey*. During a second phase, a sub-sample of the population was selected for the multi-case case study and individual, semi-structured interviews were conducted, allowing for the collection of participants’ life stories, as well as any recollections of their immigration experiences or those of their family. In doing so, the study analyzed participants’ perceptions of cultural identity, language use and acquisition of English and/or Portuguese, as well as their participation or lack of, in a bicultural and bilingual community. Conclusions led to a greater understanding of the endurance and transmission of a transnational, bicultural and bilingual identity, the Portuguese-American identity, specifically how it has come to exist, what it is comprised of, and what its implications in the lives of the participants are. In addition, the results reveal the need for further discussion amongst community members, researchers and language experts to ensure that the Portuguese language and culture survives in the future Portuguese-American generations.

The key words:

Immigration, transnational identity, first/second/third generation, cultural identity, identity constructions, cultural heritage

Resumo

O presente estudo, um estudo exploratório qualitativo do tipo multi-caso, incide no desenvolvimento da identidade bi-cultural e transnacional dos cidadãos Portugueses que emigraram para os Estados Unidos durante a segunda metade do século vinte, bem como a dos seus descendentes. Aurette (2011) sugeriu que, “contar uma história é recontar o mundo. Recontar o mundo é renovar o mundo, ou pelo menos renovar *um* mundo” (p. 3) e, no seguimento do pensamento de Aurette, este estudo conta as histórias de imigração e da adaptação a um novo mundo, a fim de compreender os processos de aculturação e assimilação que nela estão envolvidos. Para que tal fosse possível, durante uma fase inicial do estudo, foi solicitado aos participantes que se identificam como Luso-Americanos e que vivem nos Estados Unidos, que respondessem a um questionário criado para este efeito, o *Portuguese-American Identity Survey*. Durante uma segunda fase, uma subamostra da população foi selecionada para o estudo multi-caso e foram realizadas entrevistas individuais, semi-estruturadas, que permitiram a recolha das histórias de vida dos participantes, bem como quaisquer lembranças das suas experiências de imigração ou das dos seus familiares. Assim, o estudo analisou a percepção da identidade cultural dos participantes, o uso da linguagem e a aquisição do inglês e / ou do português, bem como a sua participação, ou a falta dela, numa comunidade bi-cultural e bilíngue. As conclusões levaram a uma maior compreensão da resistência e da transmissão de uma identidade transnacional, bi-cultural e bilíngue, a identidade Luso-Americana, demonstrando, especificamente, como esta se desenvolveu, em que consiste e quais as suas implicações nas vidas dos participantes. Os resultados revelam ainda que há necessidade de uma maior discussão entre os membros da comunidade, pesquisadores e especialistas em linguagem para garantir que a língua e a cultura portuguesa sobrevivam nas futuras gerações luso-americanas.

Termos chave:

Imigração, identidade transnacional, primeira/segunda/terceira geração, identidade cultural, construções de identidade, herança cultural

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Problem

Taking into account the past, present and probable future trends and numbers in emigration from Portugal, it is the intent of this research to study the effects and characteristics of the transmission of the Portuguese cultural and linguistic identity from the individuals who emigrated from Portugal to the United States of America to their descendants, who may or may not have developed, fostered and nurtured a Portuguese-American bicultural and bilingual identity.

Initially the main question guiding this study was what it meant to be Portuguese-American, especially what it meant in terms of a cultural identity. Having been raised in the United States of America from the age of 5, I consider myself Portuguese-American despite the fact that I only have Portuguese nationality. When people ask, “What are you?” I often feel the need to break down that question into its indefinite possibilities. Does the question ask, where I was born, where my ancestors came from, where my passport is from, where my national identity card says I am from, or does it ask, where I feel most at home, culturally and linguistically? The awkwardness of this question is that it is often only partially answered by truth, for it is extremely difficult, if not nearly impossible to answer the question, “what are you?” unless I give my long-winded, very confusing answer. First of all, I am Angolan by birth, as I was born in Luanda to Portuguese parents who were raised from a very early age in Angola. I am also the descendant of Portuguese emigrants to the United States of America who found that for economic reasons, post-revolution Portugal was not an option for their family and thus opted to follow in the footsteps of my paternal great-grandfather, who was adventurous enough to explore the Western United States in

the late 18th century and early 19th century. Thus, at some point, I became a New Yorker, and consequently, an American, at least at heart. New York is where I am most at home. It is where I know the language, where I understand the jokes, the sarcasm and the rules of engagement. This however, does not help me to fit in at a hundred percent. My first name for instance, in a land of such a vast variety of names, still makes the reader of a list come to a full stop, usually urging the reader to call me by my last name, automatically bypassing my first name. Today, not surprisingly, amongst my non-Portuguese group of friends I am often simply “*Costa*” (pronounced *Kosta*).

On the other hand, I am Portuguese. I understand, speak, read and write the language at a near native level. Nevertheless, the fact that my family is Portuguese and that I can physically trace my genealogical roots to mainland Portugal, is what most makes me Portuguese. However, my linguistic and cultural ability does not make me fit in at a hundred percent all of the time. I frequently fail to understand the jokes and even some of the rules of social engagement, which often leads to social retreat. Furthermore, after living in Portugal and working at a Portuguese university for the past ten years, I still at times have difficulty following formal academic lectures and the intertwining question and answer sessions that usually follow.

The reality is that both Portugal and the United States of America are embedded into the person that I have become. Nevertheless, they divide me. Despite the fact that I am functional in both countries, the degree of functionality is not the same. Fundamentally, I am both, and I probably could not be who I am if it were not for both of my “nationalities”, my Portuguese side and my American side. Nevertheless, this trans-nationality, this duality between countries, languages and cultures makes me, more often than I would like to, question who I am.

My suspicion is that in this increasingly global society, there are immigrants and their descendants, who also linger in this transnational world, between a bicultural and/or bilingual identity. Ideally, I would like to have a more noble understanding of how a dual, transnational identity develops, how it comes to exist within immigrant societies and whether it contributes to the survival of

such societies. Thus, in contemplating this study, the questions regarding the existence and survival of a bicultural, bilingual identity became increasingly pertinent, both on an individual and on a community level.

As the design of this research project began evolving, I sought to explore the stories and experiences of the Portuguese immigrants residing in the United States of America. Initially the focus was on the Portuguese immigrants residing in the state of New York and their descendants, specifically those who had emigrated on or after 1950. The decision to focus on New York State was because despite the fact that I have not lived there for ten years, I still feel an enormous connection to this location and its people and thus believed this would facilitate the process of reaching the target population. In addition, I felt the need to limit the study to a state since the numbers of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants are quite high across the United States of America. However, early on in the data collection phase, it became evident that it would be best to expand the study to include all Portuguese immigrants and their ancestors, living in the United States of America who would be willing to participate, to ensure that the sample would be significant enough.

As I read the autobiographies of Portuguese immigrants and the existing studies on Portuguese-Americans, I become curious about the steps taken to develop such an identity. Furthermore, I became curious about the language acquisition process of the individuals and the balance, or lack of, between the first language and second language. As a group, I wondered whether this community lives a balanced life, both socially and linguistically between the Portuguese speaking community and the English speaking community. I wondered about their identity. Is it strictly an American, a Portuguese identity, or a combination of the two? In the cases where there is a blending of the two identities, I became curious about the details. For instance, what in the lives and identities of these individuals is Portuguese and what is American? Additionally, does language alone make individuals identify as Portuguese-Americans? Ultimately, I wondered whether there were differences and, or similarities that constitute the identity of such a community and its individuals, and how these were affected by a number of external factors such as: age, level of education, place of residence, type of

employment, language(s) spoken, etc. These questions eventually led to a more detailed structure of this study and its foundation.

1.2 The Research Questions and Objectives

My suspicion is that, similarly to what has occurred with other immigrant groups, over time with the adoption of and adaptation to a new culture and a new language, Portuguese immigrants and their descendants that are living in the United States of America have undergone significant alterations to their cultural and linguistic identity. Hence, the investigation questions guiding this study, seek to provide additional information about the cultural and linguistic identity of the participants. These questions are:

1. Who are the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America who self-identify as Portuguese-Americans?
2. What are the subjects' representations of the English and/or Portuguese language?
3. How do the subjects identify themselves American and/or Portuguese? Why? In what context(s)?
4. Has the Portuguese language and culture been transmitted to younger generations? If so, how and why?
5. What is, if any, the personal, societal and educational impact of the subjects' experiences?
6. What are, if any, the lessons to be learned from the subjects' experiences?

The research objectives pursued in this study in order to answer the above stated research questions are:

1. To characterize the participants' representations identity and language preferences of the Portuguese-Americans living throughout the United States of America.
2. To understand how the Portuguese culture and language have been transmitted to younger generations.

3. To examine the personal, societal and educational impact of the subjects' experiences.

Finally, this study also aims to contribute to a wider comprehension of the nature and struggles of immigrant families and their descendants and the social implications of their incorporation or lack of into the mainstream society, while attempting to maintain their language and culture alive. As memories of a time long gone fade, as a language becomes replaced in a rapidly changing world, what can the newer generations do to maintain to maintain the cultural and linguistic links alive, however small they may be?

1.3 The Thesis Structure

This dissertation is consequently organized into five chapters, besides this introductory chapter. The first part of Chapter II provides the reader with a brief historical overview of immigration based on the existing literature, bringing the reader to the second part of the chapter which reviews the existing literature on Portugal's history as both a country of emigration and immigration, focusing on a more detailed perspective of the immigration literature published by and about Portuguese-Americans. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the issues of connected to immigration including language acquisition (most often a second language, but not necessarily), language loss, bilingualism, multilingualism and identity. Chapter III describes the methodology employed, including the reasoning behind the research questions guiding this study, identifies the participants and the instruments designed to conduct the research. Chapter IV discusses the data treatment, both of the survey and the interviews, and reports results of the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Chapter V interprets and presents the author's findings as well as conclusions and suggestions for change both in the integration of new immigrants and for the cultural and linguistic maintenance of future generations of Portuguese-Americans in the United States of America. Pertinent information that supports and validates the findings of the research such as the sample questionnaires and interview guide, graphs, maps and transcripts of interviews has also been included in Appendices (A, B, C and D).

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The immigrant's heart marches to the beat of two quiet different drums, one from the old homeland and the other from the new. The immigrant has to bridge these two worlds, living comfortably in the new and bringing the best of his or her ancient identity and heritage to bear on life in an adapted homeland. He becomes a transmitter of his own culture and a contributor to the deepening of the culture in his new homeland. His children live with intertwined identities ...

(Irish President McAleese, remarks at St. Michael's Irish Centre, Liverpool, Wednesday, 4 June, 2008)

2.1 Immigration: An Historical Overview

As President McAleese suggests, many men and women have indeed created bridges between their "worlds" and they continue to do so, for the movement of human beings from one corner of the world to another is neither a new nor a recent phenomenon. In Böhning's words (1978, p.11), "the history of mankind is the history of migration" (as cited in Rystad, 1992, p. 1172). Despite its vast history various experts and people that have shown interested in this area and its history, including but not limited to historians, anthropologists, politicians and even the media have given this worldwide movement different labels. Whether they have labeled it emigration, immigration or migration, whether, this movement is national or international, or even legal or illegal, what seems to be relevant is that as a worldwide phenomenon it has always involved a significant number of

people from all races, creeds, colors, backgrounds and corners of the world. The 20th century alone saw significant alterations in numbers. Data published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicates that the number of people, the so called migrants moving around the world, has significantly increased from an estimated 77 million individuals in 1960 to 214 million in 2010 (2012, p. 3). Messina for instance emphasizes that post-WWII there were three distinct migratory phases especially to Western Europe: 1945-79, 1973-2007 and 1989-2007 (2007, p.19), which would definitely corroborate the numbers reported by the OECD, at least within Europe.

Besides the importance of its vast history, the human phenomenon of migration, is now and has always been the result of an array of circumstances and these circumstances are just are crucial to the history of mankind. In fact, the *World Migration Report 2013 - Migrant well-being and development*, published by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) states that,

Throughout the history of mankind, human beings have migrated in search of greater opportunities and a better life. While migration is driven by many complex factors, most migrants want to earn a better living, to live in a more agreeable environment or to join family or friends abroad. Many, however, do not move of their own free will but are forced to do so – refugees escaping persecution, for instance; people devastated by conflict or natural disasters; or victims of trafficking. But those who willingly choose to migrate are largely driven by the desire for greater happiness, prosperity and well-being. (2013, p23)

The above description of migration focuses on two key aspects of the migration process, it not only describes the forces pushing many individuals towards a voluntary move, it also reminds the reader of the numerous men, women and children who face an involuntary move. Nevertheless, it is a description that focuses on the so called *desire* to improve one's life, regardless of whether this *desire* to leave is a direct consequence of one's voluntary wishes or a direct consequence of external circumstances that in fact push or force one out of his/her own country. Interestingly, whereas the online Oxford English dictionary offers a more one-sided definition of immigration as an, "action of coming to live

permanently in a foreign country”, the IOM’s Glossary on Migration offers a definition that does not restrict immigration to a permanent action of settlement but includes a broader, less time-specific definition, in which immigration is, “a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement” (2013, p. 49), a more restrictive definition than the one given in the above mentioned *World Migration Report 2013 - Migrant well-being and development*. Nevertheless, regardless of the length of stay, temporary or permanent, immigration has historically been linked to the already discussed an array of reasons including but not limited to those of a political, religious and/or economic nature. Ignatiev for instance, reminds the reader about how the Irish Famine period of 1815, an event that is neither political, nor religious, nor economic, but which led to a mass exodus of the Irish towards the United States of America (2009, p. 45). Lick recounts the Azorean immigration as the final consequence of an assortment of factors including those related to natural causes, “In addition to the economic and political factors that spurred many Azoreans to emigrate in the late 1800s and early 1900s earthquakes and volcanic eruptions destroyed entire villages and sent their residents fleeing to America” (1998, pp. 40-41). Gardaphé (1996) compares literature that recounts the lives of southern Italian peasants who emigrated to the United States of America in search of a better life but essentially a better control over their own lives. They emigrated between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, most were illiterate because literacy was a way for those in power, the politicians and the Church, to keep them under control (1996, pp. 26-27). On the other hand, Teixeira and Da Rosa point out that the Portuguese who emigrated to Canada around the middle of the 20th century did so because Canada needed laborers and so it endorsed the immigration of, “agricultural and railway construction workers” (2009, p.6). These are some of the numerous examples available in the immigrant literature that has been published, more of which will be discussed in detail later on in this chapter. However, these examples illustrate just how some of the unexpected factors have throughout the history of mankind pushed or pulled emigrants into what to them were unknown territories, something that continues to occur today. An example being the uncontrollable number of refugee and/or migrant men, women and children who have already arrived upon the shores of Greece in 2015, both terms, refugee and migrant are used on purpose here because there seems to be a worldwide disagreement over which to use.

Not surprisingly, when it comes to present day discussions about worldwide migration issues, Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross alert for a need of a worldwide discussion regarding the definitions as they, “are often vague, controversial or contradictory. There is an absence of universally accepted definitions, which stems partially from the fact that migration is something which has traditionally only been addressed at the national level ... may vary according to a given perspective or approach” (2011, p. 5). Yet, despite the numerous attempts to define the concepts within the field of migration, whether emigration or immigration, the truth is that these define an intricate and constant worldwide movement of people. The reality is that an imperative difference between these concepts is rooted in the point of view as Perruchoud and Redpath-Cross (2011) point out. Thus, if one focuses on the point of departure, then one refers to emigration, but one focuses on the point of arrival, then one refers to immigration. Furthermore, as Rystad explains,

Migration is a remarkably broad and multifaceted field embracing a multitude of issues, even when limited to international migration. Seasonal and temporary migration as well as migration with the intent of permanent residence all figure in this phenomenon, as do forced migration of various kinds, the expulsion of entire ethnic groups and the deportation of certain individuals. Flight triggered by political persecution, by civil war, by famine, by environmental disasters, etc. also falls under the general category of migration. (1992, p. 1168)

In fact, scholars as well as non-scholars, from a variety of fields have studied the phenomenon of migration for various purposes (political, economic, legal, etc.) and from various perspectives. Martin and Widgren (2002) note that migration became a topic of interest amongst anthropologists around the middle of the twentieth century and has continued to be of interest until today, especially because by 1990 there were believed to be 120 million people living outside their country of origin, a number which a decade later had already risen to 160 million (as cited in Bretell, 2003, p. ix -x). Furthermore, data published by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) indicate that the number of people, the so called migrants moving around the world has

significantly increased from an estimated 77 million individuals in 1960 to 214 million in 2010 (2012, p. 3). Bretell goes on to explain that anthropologists have not only focused their interest on, “the impact of out-migration on sending communities, they have also increasingly turned their attention to the study of immigrant populations in the United States” (2003, p. x). While some of the studies conducted have focused on the *emigrant*, defined by IOM’s Glossary on Migration as, “a person undertaking an emigration” (2011, p. 32), and *emigration* as, “the act of departing or exiting from one State with a view to settling in another” (2011, p. 32); others, have focused on the *immigrant*, defined by IOM’s Glossary on Migration as, “a person undertaking an immigration”, being that *immigration* is defined as, “a process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement” (2011, p. 49). Even worldwide organizations such as the United States, through the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) have studied the effects of international migration on the world’s development (*World Migration in Figures* © OECD-UNDESA October 2013¹) in an attempt to improve policy making strategies, which contribute to a better informed worldwide population and eliminate or at least diminish the myths pertaining to immigrants and migration in general. While it is clear that a worldwide consensus on definitions may be a necessity, for the purposes of this research I will follow the IOM’s definitions for *emigrant* and *immigrant*.

2.2 Immigration Today

Today’s global events, including a growing global economy and the increasing ease of travel, continue to contribute to an on-going flow of international migration. Mota (2010) in Pires et al., describes the 21st century as the “century of people in motion” (2010, p. 14). In fact, the *World Migration in*

¹ *World Migration in Figures* © OECD-UNDESA October 2013 – A joint contribution by UNDESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, 3-4 October 2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>

*Figures*² report released in October 2013 places the number of worldwide international migrants at about 232 million, a number which when further analyzed according to place of settlement in a developed or in a developing part of the world, or even the broader analysis by continent of settlement, indicate an overall increase in international migrations, especially between 1900 and 2013, despite the fact that this increase occurred at a lower rate after 2010. More specific quantitative data of the on-going movement of human beings from one country to another is depicted in an interactive map entitled, *International Migrant Populations by Country of Origin and Destination, mid-2013 Estimates*. The map published on the website of the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), shows how Portugal is no stranger to the worldwide trend of international migration. Based on mid-2013 estimates from the UN Population Division, the first map (see Figure 1.1) illustrates the migrant population originating from Portugal, as well as the worldwide present day settlement of the Portuguese. As per data depicted in this map, in mid-2013 there were an estimated 175,000 migrants in the United States of America from Portugal, as compared to a mere 6,444 migrants in France and a substantial 203,000 migrants in Switzerland, just to name a few of the countries to where those who were either born in Portugal or who have legal citizenship, have chosen to emigrate to. This information is further corroborated by the work of Machado et al. (which states that if one looks at emigration from Portugal there were two main waves or cycles of emigration. The first between 1855 and 1935 a transatlantic migration when almost 2 million people left Portugal for various parts of the world, being that Brazil was the most popular destination for the Portuguese during this time. The second wave of Portuguese emigration, between 1931 and 1975 was intra-European, and it was during this time that the number of Portuguese emigrants increased, being that the main destination was France (Machado et al., 2010, p. 22). Nevertheless, the Portuguese still left for the Americas during this latter wave of emigration.

² *World Migration in Figures* © OECD-UNDESA October 2013 – A joint contribution by UN-DESA and the OECD to the United Nations High-Level Dialogue on Migration and Development, 3-4 October 2013. Retrieved from: <http://www.oecd.org/els/mig/World-Migration-in-Figures.pdf>

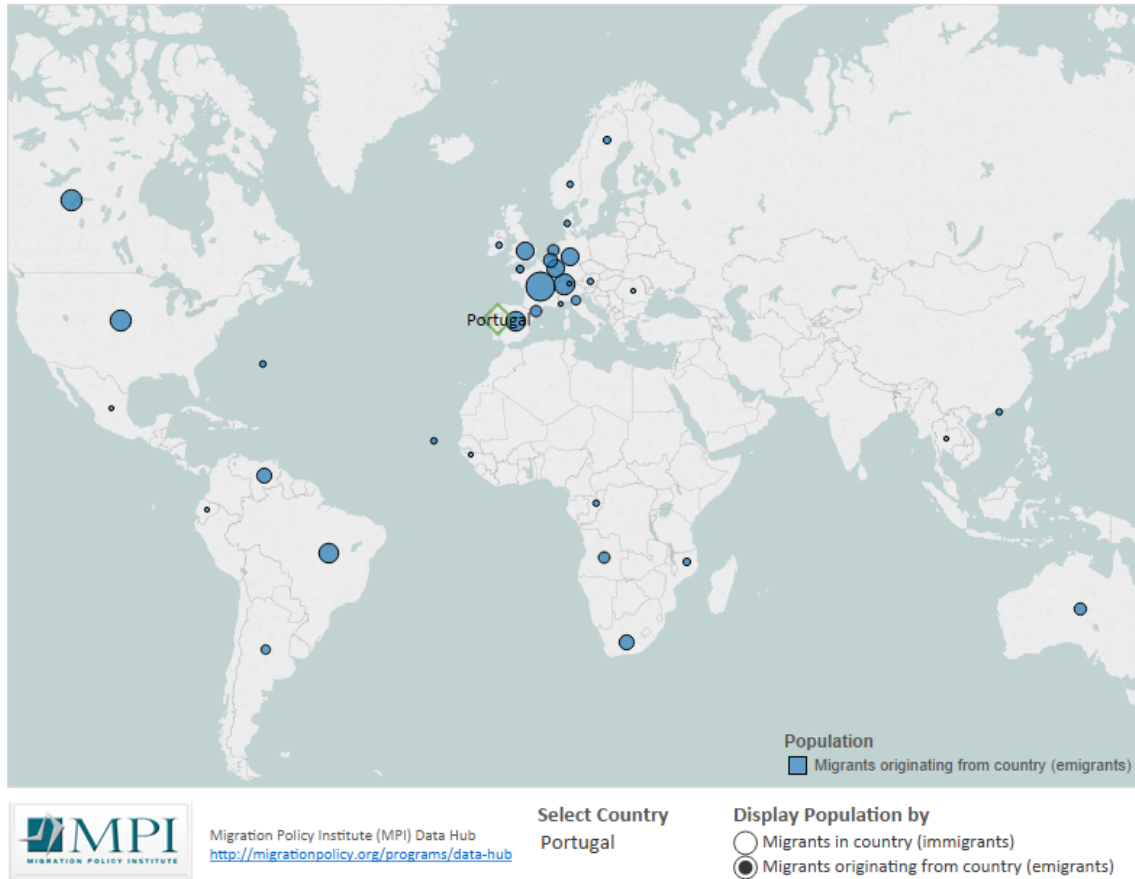


Figure 2.1 Emigrant populations from Portugal, mid-2013 Estimates³

When compared to the number of migrants that have come into Portugal during the same period of time, the number of migrants that left Portugal is much higher (see Figure 1.2). The following data is available for migrants that have emigrated to Portugal: there are 7,000 migrants from the US in Portugal, 94,000 from France and 17,000 from Switzerland, numbers, data which shows the lack of balance between those leaving and those coming into Portugal.

³ Source: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/maps-immigrants-and-emigrants-around-world>

Migration Policy Institute tabulation of data from the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Origin and Destination, 2013 Revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013). Available here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/TIMSO2013/migrantstocks2013.htm>.

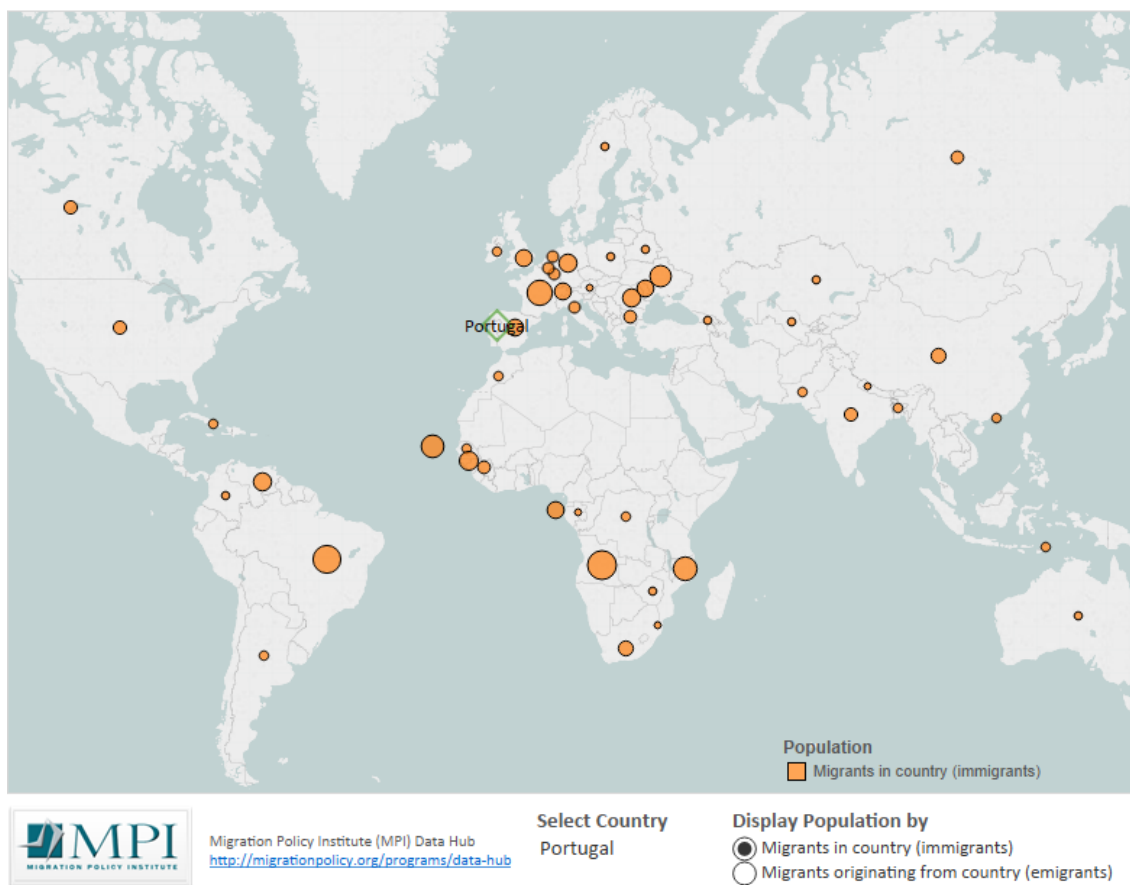


Figure 2.2 Immigrant populations in Portugal, mid-2013 Estimates⁴

A closer look at the approximate time period with which this study is concerned leads us to yet another MPI map entitled, *The International Migrant Population by Country of Destination*, which allows the viewer to look at the years between 1960 and 2013, while specifically depicting the international migrant movement per decade (see Figure 2.3) focusing on the countries that have hosted 20,000 or more international migrants.

⁴ Source: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/maps-immigrants-and-emigrants-around-world>

Migration Policy Institute tabulation of data from the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). Trends in International Migrant Stock: Migrants by Origin and Destination, 2013 Revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013). Available here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/TIMSO2013/migrantstocks2013.htm>.

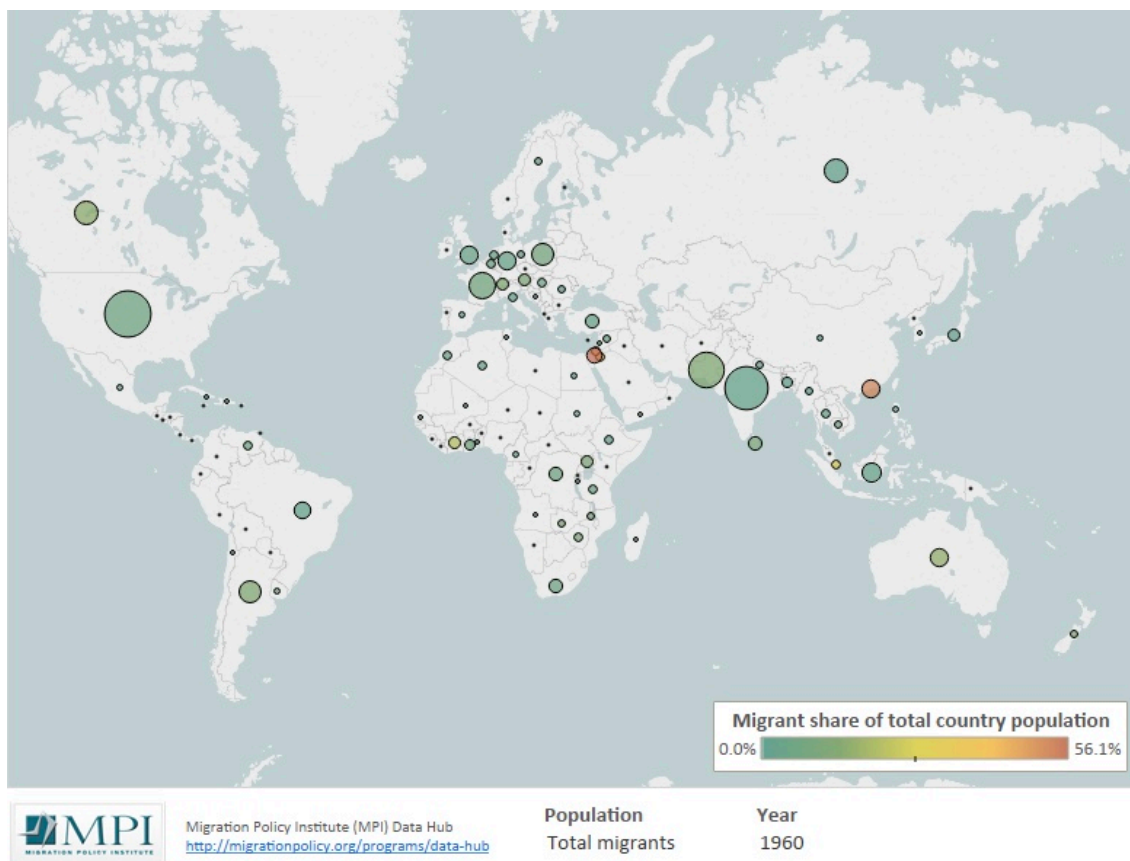


Figure 2.3 International Migrant Population by Country of Destination, 1960⁵

A quick analysis of the graphic shows that each one of the colored circles drawn on the map represents a percentage of the migrant population as compared to the total amount of population within a country. For instance, the total population in the United States in 1960 equaled 186,326,000 people, out of which 10,826,000 were international migrants, meaning the migrant share of the population was 5.8%. More specifically, the total male population at the time in the US was 92,215,000; out of which 5,293,000 were male migrants, which means that 5.7% of the total male population at the time was made up of male migrants. In contrast, the total female population in 1960 in the USA was 94,111,000; out of which 5,533,000 were female migrants, which means that 5.9% of the total female population at the time was made up of female migrants. A slightly higher number when compared to the total male migrants. In the same year, in 1960, in Portugal the

⁵ Source: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/maps-immigrants-and-emigrants-around-world>

Migration Policy Institute tabulations of the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 revision* (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013). Available here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/migrantstocks2013.htm?mtotals>

total population equaled 8,858,000, out of which 39,000 were migrants, a 0.4% of the population. Interestingly, the statistics for male migrants for this year are not depicted, meaning that the number must have been below the 20,000 mark. However, the total female population was 4,619,000; 23,000 were female migrants, making the female migrant share of the total female population 0.5%. It would be interesting to further research this difference in a subsequent study, my initial suspicion is that the high number of women that entered the country could be due to domestic help brought from the colonies and/or the family reunification laws of the time.

As shown in Table 2.1 *The United States as a Country of Destination, 1960 – 2013* and in Table 2.2 *Portugal as a Country of Destination, 1960 – 2013*, the number of migrants in the United States and in Portugal increased significantly between 1960 and 2013, nevertheless it is crucial to advert the reader to two of MPI's notes on this data and the fact that the statistics represented in these graphs⁶ can be slightly altered or dependent on several factors⁷, including:

- the different ways which countries use to collect data;
- the actual definition of “migrants” that countries may or may not use, an issue that is also discussed in Leite (1987);

⁶ Source: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/maps-immigrants-and-emigrants-around-world>

⁷ “1) Because governments collect statistics on international migrants residing within their countries' boundaries in varying ways, there is no consistent cross-country definition of this population. The UN Population Division provides the mid-year estimate of international migrants based on official statistics on the foreign born, i.e., people born outside of the country of current residence. However, for countries that do not collect data on place of birth but have data on citizenship, the estimated number of noncitizens is used instead. In both cases, migrant stock also includes refugees, some of whom may not be foreign born. Most of the data were obtained from population censuses; population registers and nationally representative surveys were also used for information on the number and composition of international migrants. For more information on the UN Population Division's methodology to estimate the size of international migrants, click here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/migrantstocks2013.htm?mdocs>

2) Changes in countries' geographic and political boundaries over time affect the size of the total and international migrant populations as well as countries' rankings in the chart above. For example, part of the increase in the world international migrant stock observed between 1980 and 2000 was due to the break-up of the former Soviet Union into 15 independent countries. Because of the changed political boundaries, about 27 million persons were "added" to the 2000 world total international migrant stock. Thus, a person born in the Soviet Republic of Ukraine but residing in Russia was counted as an "internal migrant" during the Soviet Union time and as an "international migrant" after the Soviet Union's dissolution.”

- the UN’s Population Division estimates, which depend on the data provided by the countries depicted, “foreign born people”, “non-citizen” data and refugee data
- data from national censuses or surveys
- the fact that some of the countries depicted have undergone changes in boundaries (geographic and political)

Table 2.1

The United States as a Country of Destination, 1960 - 2013

	Total population	Migrants	Migrant share of the total population
1960	186,326,000	10,826,000	5.8%
1970	209,464,000	11,974,000	5.7%
1980	229,469,000	16,364,000	7.1%
1990	254,507,000	23,251,000	9.1%
2000	284,594,000	34,814,000	12.2%
2010	312,247,000	44,184,000	14.2%
2013	320,051,000	45,785,000	14.3%

Note: Adapted from Migration Policy Institute tabulations of the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 revision* (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013). Available here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/migrantstocks2013.htm?mtotals>.

Table 2.2

Portugal as a Country of Destination, 1960 - 2013

	Total population	Migrants	Migrant share of the total population
1960	8,858,000	39,000	0.4%
1970	8,680,000	102,000	1.2%
1980	9,766,000	266,000	2.7%
1990	9,899,000	436,000	4.4%
2000	10,306,000	635,000	6.2%
2010	10,590,000	854,000	8.1%
2013	10,608,000	894,000	8.4%

Note. Migration Policy Institute tabulations of the United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (2013). *Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2013 revision* (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2013). Available here: <http://esa.un.org/unmigration/migrantstocks2013.htm?mtotals>.

A map published on the website *itsallaboutculture.com* (see figure 2.4) shows patterns of human migration around the world since the 1500s. In fact, the patterns outline a transnational movement of people, which has gone in a multitude of directions. The most evident pattern being the one depicted by the green arrows showing a migratory pattern from Europe to the New World, more specifically the continents of North and South America, Australia (possibly due to colonization) and towards Asia (possibly due to the discoveries period). A second significant migratory pattern is illustrated by the red arrows leaving the western coast of Africa in the direction of the again, the New World, which most likely depicts the history of slave trade as well as later moves due to emigration from Africa to America. A third migratory pattern, depicted by the burgundy arrows, is that of the South Asians towards Australia, the United Kingdom, South Africa, the US and Canada. This latter pattern could be explained by the historical political and economic connection, which these countries have with the East India Trading Company and later, the British Commonwealth. Additional patterns include the move of the Chinese, the Southeast Asians and the Russians towards the east; the European Jews' move towards the south most likely caused by their persecution during WWII; the move of Central Americans, Mexicans and Caribbeans towards North America; and finally, the move west of Americans and Canadians within their own countries. These migratory patterns are probably best known as historical migrations but the question is whether these are still happening today. If in fact they are, have they remained the same or have they been altered? In what ways?

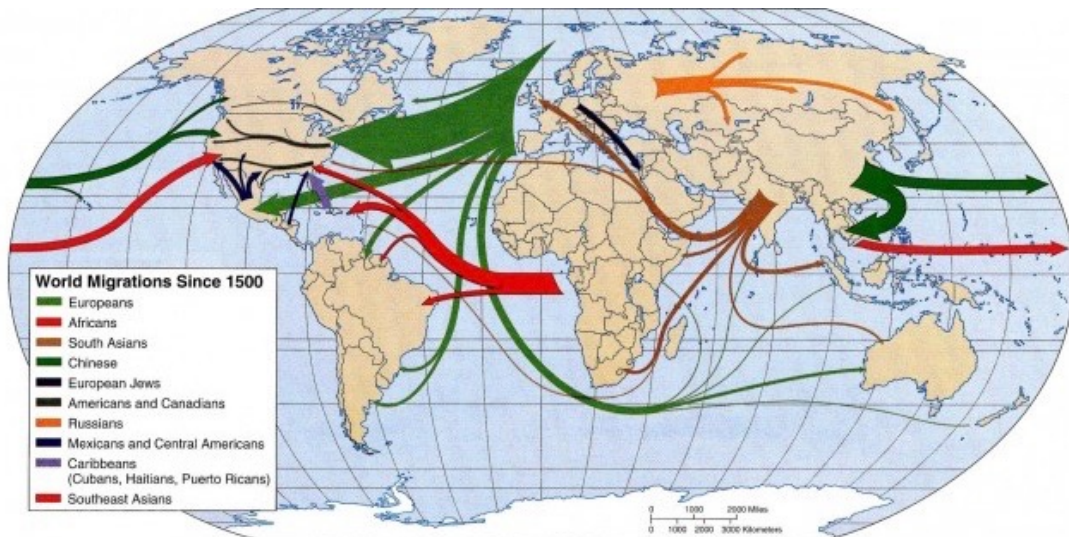


Figure 2.4 Map of world migrations since 1500⁸

To answer this question, one can refer to data which the World Bank published in 2010 and which the IOM while working alongside the company *Locus Insight* has used to develop an interactive application called *Where We're From*⁹, an application that allows the user to trace and visualize the movement of people from one country to another. It is extraordinary to visually witness the comings and goings of people around the world. Upon consultation of this interactive application the user can choose a specific country by clicking on the map and literally visualize the numbers for “outward migration”, people leaving the country, or for “inward migration” people coming into a chosen country. The symbols used are colored circles each representing up to 20,000 migrants, which as the “move” occurs cluster into a country or spread out across the world. For instance, after clicking on inward migration and on the USA, a quick reading of the graph shows that according to the data presented by the IOM there are 176,694 emigrants from Portugal, 11,635,995 emigrants from Mexico and 6,150 from the Republic of Congo. On the other hand, once I clicked on outward migration and on Portugal the circles that emerged to represent Portuguese emigration spread out across a number of countries, including: Canada, the United States of America,

⁸ Source: <http://itsallaboutculture.com/great-migrations-lecture-and-maps/>

⁹ Source: <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/about-migration/world-migration.html>

Mexico, Belize, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Republic-of-the-Congo, Angola, Mozambique, Spain, France, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Luxembourg, Germany, Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Check Republic, Austria, Hungary, Ukraine, Poland, Romania, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Lithuania, India, Japan, Thailand, Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. This illustration appears to confirm the old saying that the Portuguese are in all corners of the world.

Nevertheless, what the graph also shows is that the worldwide movement of people is not limited to Portugal or the United States of America. As Rystad argued, “One could reasonably claim that mankind’s entire history has been a history of migration.” (1992, p. 1169). Throughout history, the movement of people from one part of the world to another has been constant, whether due to wars, religions, including religious persecution, and last but not least weak and unpredictable economies. Nevertheless, it is relevant to point out as Rystad (1992) did Charles Tilly’s (1978, p. 62) list of the most influential causes of “long-distance migration” since the 1500s:

- “1) the changing demographic distribution of employment opportunities;
 - 2) demographic imbalances, alterations of regional differentials in natural increase; and,
 - 3) actions and policies of nation states; i.e., making war, expelling or relocating specific ethnic groups, controlling migration.”
- (1992, p. 1169)

Regardless of the driving reasons and the worldwide migration of people has caused numerous alterations to national and transnational cultures and the languages spoken throughout the world, going as far as contributing, at times, to the linguistic death of some languages. For example, Crystal alerts the reader to the fact that one of the issues causing language loss, otherwise known as language death, is in fact “cultural assimilation” (2000, p.77). In other words an overbearing linguistic, cultural, economic or even military influence of a more dominant group over a weaker group. The worldwide push of English as a *lingua franca* can be an example, but so can the United States’ English as a second language programs which for many years were considered superior and more beneficial than bilingual

programs. Crystal (2000) points to yet another example, colonialism and its fatal impact on both Australian and North American indigenous languages.

Regardless of the impact, positive or negative, today's events all over the world continue to contribute greatly to a continuous flow of migration. Confirmation of this is the data published by the *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development*, otherwise known as the OECD, in conjunction with the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) in *Connecting with emigrants – a global profile of diasporas*, which states that, “International migration has risen significantly in recent decades, from 77 million persons in 1960 to 214 million in 2010 – an increase of 177%” (2012, p.16). The OECD's report also goes on to explain that part of the reason for this increase is that when compared to the not so distant past, there is a greater ease in migrating today due to the fact that a globalized world and further advances in technology, including new methods of communicating (2012, p.16) have diminished the price of immigration, both the economic cost of emigrating and the individual cost.

Nevertheless the patterns of emigration have undergone significant modifications. Whereas, the United States of America was for many years since the beginning of its colonization the sole country of choice for many emigrants, especially due to its promise to be the land of dreams and possibilities, today it is no longer an exclusive choice and definitely not the first for many who wish to emigrate. Furthermore, there are reports of Americans looking to settle elsewhere. Wood (2014)¹⁰ indicated that out of the 7.6 million Americans who in 2014 were thought to be residing outside of the US, nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of them were contemplating on whether or not to give up their American citizenship. Hence, it is not a surprise when studies such as Kelo and Watcher's (2004) suggest that there are alternatives to the less traditional options for those seeking to emigrate. Countries that were once the providers of emigrants have become those where immigrants now choose to settle. Portugal is one of these countries, especially for people looking to leave eastern European countries such as the Ukraine, as well as other parts of the world,

¹⁰ <http://www.forbes.com/sites/robertwood/2014/10/27/5-5-million-americans-eye-giving-up-u-s-citizenship-survey-reveals/>

like China for example. This newer pattern may be best explained by Kelo and Wachter's remarks, "Globalization is, as already its name suggests, a development affecting the whole world. It is also viewed as being driven in the main by economic forces. Next to globalization, regional integration is perceived as a major factor in migration. The prime example is the European Union ..." (2004, p. 6). Remarks which can potential explain not only new migratory trends but also the underlying reasons for such trends.

Kelo and Wachter focus on a more recent phenomenon, the migration into the original European countries, an older *European Union*, within which the authors place Portugal. It is crucial to note the various types of migration described by Kelo and Wachter and the differences between them:

First of all, there is the differentiation into "forced" and "voluntary migration". Refugees, seeking asylum or at least temporary shelter in another country as a consequence of armed conflicts, persecution or serious discrimination in their country of origin, are a typical case of "forced migrants". "Labour market migration", i.e. mobility for the purpose of employment, is one frequent form of voluntary migration. Second, there is the distinction between "permanent" and "temporary" migration. A foreign student would be a classical case of a temporary migrant, whereas a husband joining his wife (or *vice versa*) is expected to stay in the destination country and therefore thought to be permanent. There are, however, groups (growing in size) who do not clearly fall into either category: cross border commuters, for example, who continue to (formally) reside in their home country, but work in another. Seasonal workers are hard to classify, too. This is why some researchers have suggested the introduction of an intermediate category, that of "incomplete migration". Third, there is the categorization into "legal" and "illegal immigration". (2004, p. 15)

In fact, their study describes an international migration within the EU entailing all of the types of migration described above. However, this movement has suffered some modifications and consequently it has since the 1990s, with the entrance of additional countries into the European Union, been a movement of people from East to West.

As is evident from the above data migrant paths and the consequent numbers are relevant worldwide, it is for this reason and because immigration is something that is personal to me, that I have decided to embark on this study in an attempt to develop a deeper understanding of those who were courageous enough, desperate enough or simply forced to leave, and consequently leapt into the unknown certainties of a new place, a new culture and a new language. In doing so, I hope to gain an understanding of the development a bicultural, bilingual, transnational identity of the immigrant and his/her descendants, especially those who left Portugal for the United States of America during the second half of the 20th century. In order to do so, I will first look at how this phenomenon has played out in two countries, the United States of America and Portugal and consequently, its effects on the people involved, their language (Portuguese and English) and their culture, one I will refer to as the Portuguese-American culture.

2.3 Portugal: Emigration and Immigration, an Historical Perspective

Portugal is not an outsider in the migratory cycle. In fact, Warrin and Gomes emphasize that, “for most of the past millennium the history of the Portuguese people has been intimately connected with migration ... an early Portuguese diaspora that stretched virtually from one end of the globe to the other with well-established emigration patterns” (2013, p. 1 - 2). Likewise, Newitt (2015) describes the migrations of the Portuguese from the 15th century to the 21st century stating that, “over the centuries the idea of emigration has become deeply embedded in Portuguese culture” (2015, p.10). Yet, Feldman-Bianco narrates the migration of the Portuguese as follows, “ Ever since the era of seafaring exploration in the 15th and 16th centuries, the world – rather than the nation-state – has been the spatial unit for the Portuguese. Starting with the voyages of discovery and the colonizing of new lands and later (since the 19th century) continuing with labor migration, the movement of people across the globe has been constitutive of the Portuguese experience” (2009, p. 51).

The Portuguese have made the world their “home” and they are no strangers to recent migratory trends, in recent years much like other “old” European Union countries, Portugal has become a welcoming country, opening its doors to immigrant families from a variety of socio-cultural, linguistic and ethnic backgrounds. To clarify Portugal’s current situation within the realm of present day European migrations Kelo and Watcher pointed out that, “In the 1980s and 1990s, migration balances turned, for the first time, positive also in Finland, Ireland, and the United Kingdom (UK), followed by Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. Apart from the UK, these had all been traditionally emigration countries.” (2004, p. 33) Such migration patterns are not the traditional patterns many Portuguese were a part of during the 1800s and the early 1900s, when Portuguese emigration laws were characterized as being limiting and most definitely not encouraging (Leite, 1997). In fact, Maria Baganha recounts the years between 1975 and 1920 as years of increasing Portuguese governmental legal control (as cited in Newitt, 2005, p. 191). As Machado (2011) points out, despite the fact that Portugal went from being a country where emigration numbers dominated, to a country with increasing immigration numbers, emigration from Portugal never ceased. Subsequently, the Portuguese government saw the need to review and revise the laws that controlled all the migratory movement of the Portuguese and the foreigners, in other words entrances and exits, as well as those that regulated the residency and citizenship of foreigners.

In fact, there have been numerous social, linguistic and political changes in Portugal. For instance, in 2014 Migrant Integration Policy Index, a worldwide evaluation of integration policies of immigrants, ranked Portugal, second out of 38 countries, in the categories that analyze migrant labor market mobility and the reunification of migrant families. In its role as the host country, Portugal has become a country which opens its doors to welcome immigrants, regardless of whether these immigrants are looking for a temporary or a permanent home or whether they have come to Portugal voluntarily or involuntarily depending on the specific situation in their country of origin. Baganha and Góis (as cited in Machado, 2011) pointed to 1981 as the turning point in Portuguese immigration due to significant legal alterations, namely law 264-B/81, which made Portuguese legislation more similar to that of other EEC (European Economic Community)

countries, followed by further legal changes in 1998, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007 (Machado, 2011). Such legal alterations, according to Baganha and Gois allowed Portugal to become more European and move away from the dictatorship State it had been. As Baganha and Marques explain it was only after the 1974 Revolution and the decolonization process that followed it that the number of foreigners living in Portugal increased to an annual average of about 12.7%, of which by 1980 out of the 58,000 foreign residents living in Portugal, 48% were from Africa, 31% were from Europe and 11% from were from South America (2001, p. 15).

Consequently, as the years have passed as a host country Portugal has seen the number of foreign residents increase. According to data published by Portugal's Borders and Immigration Service (SEF), there were 332,137 authorizations for residency issued in 2006, a number which highly contrasts to that of 1980 when a mere 50,750 authorizations were issued. More recently, in 2013 the number of residency approvals approved rose yet again to 398,268 (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3
Foreign Population Residing in Portugal in 2013

Distritos	Total	TRs	VLDs	H	M
Total Nacional	401.320	398.268	3.052	195.544	205.776
Aveiro	12.566	12.489	77	6.067	6.499
Beja	6.781	6.777	4	3.858	2.923
Braga	9.280	9.124	156	4.392	4.888
Bragança	2.282	2.266	16	1.163	1.119
Castelo Branco	3.009	2.959	50	1.530	1.479
Coimbra	11.387	11.082	305	5.622	5.765
Évora	3.702	3.679	23	1.897	1.805
Faro	58.839	58.743	96	29.264	29.575
Guarda	1.794	1.788	6	916	878
Leiria	15.076	15.054	22	7.559	7.517
Lisboa	176.963	175.509	1.454	85.472	91.491
Portalegre	2.715	2.713	2	1.333	1.382
Porto	23.701	23.428	273	11.044	12.657
Santarém	12.509	12.496	13	6.265	6.244
Setúbal	41.711	41.518	193	19.563	22.148
Viana do Castelo	2.994	2.988	6	1.509	1.485
Vila Real	2.140	2.138	2	1.015	1.125
Viseu	4.428	4.427	1	2.333	2.095
Açores	3.614	3.289	325	1.845	1.769
Madeira	5.829	5.801	28	2.897	2.932

Note: Adapted from <http://sefstat.sef.pt/distritos.aspx> (February 27, 2015); TRs are residency titles; VLDs are long term visas; H = men; M = Women

Furthermore, the data presented by SEF (Borders and Immigration Service) and corroborated by Machado et al. (2010) for the years between 1980 and 2008 show an increase in immigration to Portugal. More specifically by 1980 a significant number of European Union nationals were residing in Portugal as seen in Table 2.4, the largest group originating from Romania with 27,410 individuals, while the smallest originated from Cyprus with a mere 8 individuals (Machado et al., 2010, p. 54).

Table 2.4
European Union Nationals Resident in Portugal in 2008

Foreigners (total)	443,102
Europe (total)	168,203
EU-27	84,727
Austria	422
Belgium	1,560
Bulgaria	6,456
Cyprus	8
Czech Republic	203
Denmark	432
Estonia	79
Finland	354
France	4,576
Germany	8,187
Greece	139
Hungary	333
Ireland	616
Italy	3,915
Latvia	240
Lithuania	505
Luxembourg	124
Malta	17
Poland	925
Romania	27,410
Slovakia	173
Slovenia	44
Spain	7,220
Sweden	1,058
The Netherlands	4,360
United Kingdom	15,371

Note: Adapted from INE (Statistics Portugal) and SEF (Borders and Immigration Service) as cited in Machado et al., 2010, p. 54.

For the same period of time Machado et al. also cite statistics from the INE and SEF showing that Chinese nationals in Portugal accounted for just for 13,384 residents, Pakistanis accounted for 2,736 and residents from the United States of America accounted for roughly 2,500 (2010, p. 60) and claim that for whatever their reason or regardless of their origins, for the most part these groups of immigrants have revived a Portuguese population that was growing old. However, according to data published by SEF in 2014, ever since 2010 the requests for Portuguese residency titles have been diminishing with 443,055 requests made in 2010, as compared to the 390,113 requests made in 2014 (see Table 2.5).

On the other hand, today, when compared to the rest of the countries around the world the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) places the emigration rate in Portugal at number 34 out of 203 countries; and when compared to the region it places Portugal at number 2 out of 34 countries (2012, p. 204). In addition, when the OECD analyzed the emigration rate of the highly educated, it placed Portugal at number 63 out of 157 countries when compared to the world and at number seven out of 34 countries when compared to other countries in the region. These numbers might be a direct consequence of the economic hardships the Portuguese citizens have felt over the last couple of years and their consequent need to emigrate, a topic that has been discussed at length in the news and in the social networks.

Even members of the Portuguese government, namely Prime Minister Passos Coelho and the Minister of Finance Maria Luísa Albuquerque, have strongly suggested emigration for the numerous Portuguese individuals who are unemployed, while the country and its economy attempt to recuperate. Possibly history is repeating itself and the Portuguese today are doing what their ancestors did, for Williams (2007) reports (based on data from the Immigration Naturalization service from 1976) the existence of immigration to the United States of America as early as 1870, “They were seeking to improve themselves economically and were willing and capable of working hard to achieve that aim” (2007, p. 44).

Table 2.5
Evolution of the Foreign Population in National Territory, 1980 – 2014

ANO	Títulos de Residência	Concessão e Prorrogação de AP's	Prorrogação de VLD's	TOTAL	VARIAÇÃO %
1980	50.750			50.750	
1981	54.414			54.414	7,22%
1982	58.667			58.667	7,82%
1983	67.485			67.485	15,03%
1984	73.365			73.365	8,71%
1985	79.594			79.594	8,49%
1986	86.982			86.982	9,28%
1987	89.778			89.778	3,21%
1988	94.694			94.694	5,48%
1989	101.011			101.011	6,67%
1990	107.767			107.767	6,69%
1991	113.978			113.978	5,76%
1992	123.612			123.612	8,45%
1993	136.932			136.932	10,78%
1994	157.073			157.073	14,71%
1995	168.316			168.316	7,16%
1996	172.912			172.912	2,73%
1997	175.263			175.263	1,36%
1998	178.137			178.137	1,64%
1999	191.143			191.143	7,30%
2000	207.587			207.587	8,60%
2001	223.997	126.901		350.898	69,04%
2002	238.929	174.558		413.487	17,84%
2003	249.995	183.655		433.650	4,88%
2004	263.322	183.833		447.155	3,11%
2005	274.631	93.391	46.637	414.659	-7,27%
2006	332.137	32.661	55.391	420.189	1,33%
2007	401.612	5.741	28.383	435.736	3,70%
2008	436.020		4.257	440.277	1,04%
2009	451.742		2.449	454.191	3,16%
2010	443.055		2.207	445.262	-1,97%
2011	434.708		2.114	436.822	-1,90%
2012	414.610		2.432	417.042	-4,53%
2013	398.268		3.052	401.320	-3,77%
2014	390.113		5.082	395.195	-1,53%

NOTE: Adapted from <http://sefstat.sef.pt/evolucao.aspx>

Brettell's words are very fitting, "if America is a nation of immigrants, Portugal is a nation of emigrants" (1993, 51), for the necessity to emigrate is not new to Portugal, nor is it a consequence of the most recent economic crisis, it goes

back a number of centuries as we have seen. In the words of Fagundes, Blayer, Alves and Cid, “Diaspora, as its very etymology denotes and connotes, is a sowing and a scattering of seeds” (2011, p. xiv). This scattering of seeds that the editors describe is well known to the Portuguese emigrants who have been growing and spreading their roots around the world for centuries. According to the data from the *Observatório da Emigração*¹¹, data last updated on January 24, 2013 and collected between 2001 and 2011, the ten countries with the highest number of registered Portuguese immigrants who listed Portugal as their country of birth are:

- France with 580,240 Portuguese residents;
- the USA with 166,583 Portuguese residents;
- Switzerland with 164,691 Portuguese residents;
- Canada with 150,390 Portuguese residents;
- Spain with 146,298 Portuguese residents;
- Brazil with 139,973 Portuguese residents;
- Germany with 92,343 Portuguese residents;
- the United Kingdom with 84,000 Portuguese residents;
- Venezuela with 53,477 Portuguese residents;
- Luxembourg with 41,690 Portuguese residents;

This information is also supported by the data published by the OECD in 2012, which claims that the main destinations specifically in 2005/06 were, in decreasing order, France, the United States, Canada, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, Belgium and Australia (2012, pp. 204 - 205). A closer look at the numbers reveals that amongst those that emigrated there was a significant difference between the levels of education of those who left Portugal in that, 68.6% were low-educated men as compared to the 71.9% of women who were low-educated; while 6.7% men were highly educated men and 6.8% were highly educated women. According to information published by the INE (see Table 2.6)

¹¹ The Observatório da Emigração was created in 2008, based on a protocol between Direção-Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e das Comunidades Portuguesas (DGACCP) and the [CIES/ISCTE - Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa \(ISCTE-IUL\)](#). (translation from website). Source: <http://www.observatorioemigracao.secomunidades.pt/np4/observatorio.html>

the number of Portuguese emigrants between 1960 and 2015 has been constant, despite the fact that some of those emigrants have returned while others have chosen a permanent residency in their host country. Nevertheless, an analysis of the numbers reveals that between 1960 and 1970 the number of emigrants more than doubled, and then although there are some years where data is lacking, between 2011 and 2014 the data shows once again a significant increase in the number of Portuguese who once more left Portugal. If one compares then the number of decreasing immigrants coming into Portugal post 2010 to the rise in the number of emigrants leaving Portugal, it seems as though the reasons evoked by many of the researchers and even the media hold true.

Table 2.6
Number of People Who Left Portugal to Live Elsewhere

Years	Emigrant by Type		
	Total	Permanent	Temporary
1960	32.318	x	x
1970	66.360	x	x
1980	25.207	18.071	7.136
1990	x	x	x
2000	21.333	4.692	16.641
2001	20.223	5.396	14.827
2002	27.358	8.813	18.545
2003	27.008	6.687	20.321
2004	x	6.757	x
2005	x	6.360	x
2006	x	5.600	x
2007	x	7.890	x
2008	x	20.357	x
2009	x	16.899	x
2010	x	23.760	x
2011	100.978	43.998	56.980
2012	121.418	51.958	69.460
2013	128.108	53.786	74.322
2014	134.624	49.572	85.052
2015	101.203	40.377	60.826

Note: Adapted from INE, PORDATA. X= information is not available
<http://www.pordata.pt/Portugal/Emigrantes+total+e+por+tipo-21>

Still, as Warrin and Gomes state it was the most common reason for leaving Portugal was not politics, many of the emigrants who left Portugal and especially the islands left because, “the adventure of the sea and the knowledge that sooner or later they would arrive in America provided as much impetus to leave as did the growing economic difficulties in their homelands” (2013, p.9).

Such was the case of my paternal great-great grandfather who left mainland Portugal at the end of the 19th century for Brazil and then made his way to the vastness of the United States of America. My great-great grandfather eventually returned to Portugal in the early 1930s, with lots of tales of adventures and relics that were symbolic of such tales. Others, like my paternal grandparents left in the early 1950s for Angola, in search of a better life but as turmoil in the colony increased, they opted to emigrate to New York in 1970, once again seeking for a better, more economically stable life. Returning to Portugal, a Portugal that at the time did not have much to offer them, was never an option. They were able to leave thanks to a sister of my grandfather's who had already become a citizen of the US and due to a law that allowed her to invite her family to the US. In the words of Klimt, "...they wanted better opportunities for their children ... to avoid the possibility of sons being drafted ... the large majority emigrated to escape poverty ... most were peasants or rural laborers with few assets and minimal levels of schooling" (Klimt, 2009).

As Peixoto and Sabino explain how during the course of its history Portugal has been both a place to flee from and a place to flee to:

"For many Portuguese, emigration was the only possible solution for better living conditions. Between 1965 and 1974, as many as 1 218 000 Portuguese emigrated.... In 1974, the April revolution brought to an end the dictatorship and the colonial empire. Portugal had then to face different challenges. Economically, it had to reorganize an economy dependent on the colonies (based on raw materials), meaning many economic sectors did not survive and unemployment rose. After 1974 inflation increased to more than 29% and public spending nearly collapsed. The end of the colonies brought around half a million Portuguese back to Portugal, all of whom had to be reintegrated into the society, and, simultaneously, civil wars in the former colonies forced many Africans to leave their countries as refugees to Portugal. These population movements transformed Portugal into a more heterogeneous society, but also contributed to an increase in social problems at a time of economic crisis and unemployment." (2009, p. 6)

In fact, many Portuguese have followed one of the traditional emigration routes by making the decision to move to the United States. Warrin and Gomes place Portuguese Sephardic Jewish fleeing persecution settlers in the English

northeastern colonies of America as early as the 17th and 18th centuries (2013, p.8) and by the War of 1812 near New Orleans they also claim that there was an established village of Portuguese and Spanish fishermen (2013, p. 41). There are similarities between the information written by Warrin and Gomes and that, which had been written much earlier by Pap, who states that the first record of a Portuguese settler may have been, “that of a Mathias de Sousa, who arrived in Maryland in 1634. He may possibly have been of Jewish descent, one of that group which had left Portugal under the pressure of anti-Jewish persecutions (1981, p. 9). Once the Portuguese began emigrating to the United States of America they became involved in an array of industries depending on their area of settlement (New England, California, Hawaii and Illinois) including whaling, commercial fishing, textile mills, maritime trade, sugarcane, gold and precious metals, and livestock. Although, “In the beginning it was the whaling industry that brought the majority of Portuguese immigrants to the Pacific coast as crewmen on ships operating out of the ports in the northeastern United States and later San Francisco” (Warrin and Gomes, 2013, p.309). Nevertheless, the largest settlement of Portuguese immigrants outside of New England and California dates back to 1878, with the arrival of men from Madeira and the Azores in Hawaii but it was the California Gold Rush that brought the infamous Portuguese whale men to the western coast of the United States of America, namely to California (Warrin and Gomes, 2013, p.3). Despite the fact that Newitt (2005) also claims that it was the whaling industry that initiated the migration of the Portuguese to the United States of America, he does affirm that their migration, “During the second half of the nineteenth century Portuguese came to the United States in the same way that Italians, Irish and northern Europeans came, in search of land and employment” (Newitt, 2005, p.190). In fact, according to information posted on the Library of Congress’ website¹² and the 1870 United States Census 2,658 Portuguese entered the United States of America between 1861 and 1870. Two decades later, the Massachusetts Census of 1895, as reported by Hoffman (1899, p. 327) recorded 13, 298 Portuguese.

Today the numbers of Portuguese in the United States of America are quite different, although Newitt does warn that, “With the history of the

¹² <https://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/portam/chron2.html>

Portuguese in the United States, numbers move around as in a kaleidoscope with each author giving the data a shake ... if exact numbers are elusive, there are clear general trends...” (2005, p. 191). According to information available on the website of the Embassy of Portugal to the United States, which is based on the results of the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2010 American Community Survey, there are large communities of self-described Portuguese descendants located in California, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, in New Jersey, Hawaii, Connecticut, New York and Florida. For instance the data reported for the United States Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey (see Table 2.7) clearly shows the northeast with the highest percentage of Portuguese population, followed by the western United States, then the southern United States and lastly, the Midwest region of the United States.

Table 2.7

Population of Portuguese Ancestry Group by Region: 2009

Ancestry Group	Total (1,000) In thousands (307,007 represents 307,007,000)	Percent distribution by region			
		Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Portuguese	1,477	47	4	12	37

Note: Adapted from, U.S. Census Bureau, 2009 American Community Survey, B04006, “People Reporting Ancestry,” <<http://factfinder.census.gov/>>, January 2011

In a world of increasing access to information, increasing ease of travel and a greater ability to connect via technology, is there an interest on behalf of Portuguese immigrants and their descendants in maintaining a link to Portugal alive? Alternatively, is there a shame that has been felt for some many generations in being part of an outsider group - a group that was declared a minority by the United States’ 1972 Ethnic Heritage Program (Moniz, p. 409, Holton and Klimt).

When one considers the move of individuals or groups across international borders, it is fundamental to better comprehend the lives of those involved in what is often referred to as international migration, for in restarting or in recreating a

life some immigrants hold onto the roots that remind them of what once was, while others begin with what can only be described as a blank slate while gradually substituting what once was for what is to become. Regardless of how it is done, migrants (whether immigrants or emigrants) reshape societies all over the world. This reshaping is continuous and may have a cultural, linguistic, financial and/or political influence. Consequently, it is a phenomenon that is of incessant interest. Inevitably, when it comes to international migration there is an array of topics or fields which researchers can explore including: identity and the perception of home, assimilation, acculturation, language acquisition (first and/or second language) and language loss (first and/or second language). These and other relevant topics or keywords will be further discussed later in the chapter.

From my personal experience, I can say that this is a long process that involves both an adaptation to and an adoption of all that is new or foreign. Although, my experience also taught me that this process is an inevitable one, it may be different for those involved depending on the individual and the circumstances in which it occurs. Thankfully, numerous stories have been told depicting this process, its subsequent adventures, risks and turbulent journeys of individuals who dared to risk it all to improve their life or simply to initiate a new one for whatever the reason(s). Regardless, it is my opinion that through these stories one has the opportunity to learn about the past of our ancestors, which in turn may allow us the possibility to improve our surrounding world and its future. As Rystad explains, “history is an indispensable tool in comprehending the world” (1992, p. 1169) and so as August, one of Sue Monk Kidd’s characters uttered, “Stories have to be told or they die, and when they die, we can’t remember who we are or why we’re here.” (2002, p. 133)

Feldman-Bianco and MacDonald argue that depending on the context, the terms *Portuguese-Americans* and *Luso-Americans* are used to refer to anyone of Portuguese origin living in the United States of America that is either from mainland Portugal or from one of the islands. However, the difference between the terms is that the term Portuguese-American is used to identify a person that was born in America to Portuguese descendants; whereas a Luso-American is used to differentiate between an American-born descendant that arrived before 1950 and

one that arrived after 1950 (1997, p. 705). In spite of this, I have heard these terms used differently depending the individual using them and of course the context. One example I is how the term *Luso-American* can be used to refer to the Portuguese nationals who emigrated from one of the ex-colonies (Cabo Verde, Angola, Moçambique), to differentiate from those who strictly arrived from mainland Portugal, the Azores or Madeira, regardless of the time period. Regardless, the use of these terms will be further discussed in Chapter IV in the treatment and analysis of the interviews.

Regardless of the term used, first generation immigrants have indeed told their stories. Alfred Lewis (1951) and Laurinda Andrade (1968) wrote their own autobiographies describing their personal experiences as immigrants in the United States of America. Similarly, Serafim Alves de Carvalho (1985) and Lawrence Oliver (1972) dictated their own stories of immigration to professional writers. According to Suárez (1991-92), Alves de Carvalho, Andrade and Oliver demonstrated a process of both adaptation and adaptation to America despite the numerous difficulties, furthermore all four immigrants, in writing their stories encouraged others about the importance of education and perseverance. Hence, the stories of immigrant ancestors can be the “tools” Rystad mentions because only when such stories are orally transmitted or written, do we understand how we have gotten where we are and who we have become in the process.

This is especially true for the descendants of the brave souls that once emigrated who have written about the rollercoaster experiences of their families, themselves and others. Many of these stories honor the sacrifices and hardships of those who arrived first and of those who dreamt of leaving the only home they knew. Korth (1978) wrote a narrative of her own life and consequently her family’s, one she believed had been “very interesting” and she did so, as she explained in a preface written in 1976, in the hopes that it be passed onto her descendants as, “a very interesting way of not being forgotten.” In fact, not too far into her narrative Korth takes the reader back to her father’s adventurous, clandestine departure from the island of São Jorge, in the Azores to America,

When, on a dark night, the rumor went around that a whaling

vessel was seen at dusk anchored off shore a mile or so away, my father who was only sixteen years of age knew that his wish to leave the island had arrived. The ship was from New Bedford and was due to put in to its home port after its holding capacity was filled. That night my father and several other youngsters bade farewell to their families and under the cover of darkness boarded a dinghy that took them to the ship and on their way to America. (1978, p. 5)

The above quote not only gives the reader a vivid image of the history of the whaling industry that depended on the islands for supplies and also laborers but also of the eagerness of the young Azorian men to leave their home in search of a better life for themselves. Taft (1923) completes a study as part of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Columbia University, entitled *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*, in which he gives a detailed description of a community and its people. However, Vermette argues it is "...offensive to Portuguese-Americans because of its flagrant display of racial, ethnic, and religious biases" (1976, para. 2). On the other hand, Emery (2003) takes us across the United States of America with her narrative of her family's story, from their origins in the Azores to their life and adaptation across the generations in California. In her words,

"As I look back on those days from a distance of over eighty years, it seems to me that life on the Home Ranch was not only happy for me and my brothers and sisters but gave security and satisfaction to my parents, too. Those good years must have been compensation to them both for their long, hard early struggles" (2003, p. 20)

Yet another example, Chaplin (1989), gathered a collection of stories of Portuguese women dispersed by emigration throughout the world, they are stories of wonderful adventures filled with love, pain, courage and a whole lot more. Nevertheless, they are stories of women who attempted to pass onto the generations that followed their Portuguese heritage. One of those women, Maria Cecilia after years of suffering, got divorced, became an American citizen in 1953, changed her last name to Johnson, went on to receive a high-school diploma and finally in 1961 became a doctor of medicine (1989, p. 37). Freitas (1992) put together a pictorial history record of the Portuguese pioneers in Hawaii for the

community and the families who still to this day strive to keep the memories of their ancestors alive. There is also Marante and Ochoa (2012) who themselves went seeking the stories of Portuguese-Americans, in the words of the late Margarida Marante, “parti à procura de portugueses ou luso-descendentes de sucesso na América,” and so their work is a combination of stories told in the first person and telling photographs taken by Ochoa. Lick (1998) collected the stories of Portuguese women in California and in doing so tells the stories of communities and their struggles to assimilate (culturally and linguistically) but also to pass on their cultural values across the generations. As one of Lick’s interviews explained, “Grandma Souza never reached the point where she was comfortable speaking English beyond ‘yes,’ or ‘no,’ and ‘thank you.’ How I wish she were still alive today so we could sit down together and really talk. *‘Avó, agora falo português.’*” Tell me about your life. *‘Sim, falo português. Um pouco.’* Yes, I speak Portuguese. A little,” (1998, p. 123). Another Portuguese-American, Brian Sousa (2013) wrote a novel depicting the intertwining story of a Portuguese-American family across the generations taking the reader through Portugal, Spain, Brazil and the United States of America. Furthermore, there are the personifications of Portuguese characters in the works of authors such as Jack London, John Steinbeck, Frank Gaspar and Francisco Fagundes, which Newitt (2005) refers to throughout his own writing.

Whether the stories are of individuals, of a family or a community, fictional or non-fictional, all of these stories, like many others which I did not include here either for lack of time or lack of knowledge, are stories of the lives of immigrants, who like many who immigrated before them and many who did so afterwards, see their lives broken down into two different views of the world that are consequent to each other. It is these stories and these memories that allow for the continuous memories and survival of a people, and of the dreams and hopes of the ancestors who believed that elsewhere life could be better for them and their loved ones.

2.4 Identity and Language Issues in Immigrant Societies

2.4.1 Identity

Although each immigration context is unique in its own way researchers have over the years, identified similarities between immigrant communities throughout the world regardless of the reasons for leaving the country of origin, which can include but are not limited to survival due to wars, starvation or political turmoil, or economic reasons. Countless groups of immigrants, refugees and temporary workers have been studied throughout the world in Australia, Canada, Japan, the European Union and the United States of America, possibly due to the ease with which the world's population continues to move about. These studies have completed extensive research in a wide range of areas including, first and second language acquisition, bilingual education/bilingualism, multilingual education/multilingualism, language loss, just to name a few. In fact, many of these studies have looked at the communities from a cultural and linguistic perspective, in order to not only describe what is being observed but also to suggest improvements in the life and the adaptation of such communities to the host culture but also to their new reality. In this section, I would like to briefly discuss some of the issues brought about by previous studies as I believe they are relevant to my research on Portuguese-Americans in the United States of America, particularly issues of identity and language education including: language acquisition, language maintenance, language loss, bilingualism and multilingualism.

I love my home. I have put a lot into it. But is it really home? Home, as Winnicott says, is where we come from. When I go to Vienna I always go to the house where I was born and lived for twenty years. Is it home? It isn't. So in a certain way I don't have a home, but feel at home in many places. Emigration means among many other things being at home in at least two languages and maybe in many places. Having family and friends in many places, it also means to me, I think, an eternal belonging to belong which is never quite fulfilled. I "belong" to several analytic groups. I don't fully belong to any one. Only my children and grandchildren, who certainly don't belong to me, do I really belong to. (Personal communication of Anni Bergman, May 1999 as quoted in Akhtar, 1999, p. 104).

Bergman is not alone in this everlasting feeling of not fully belonging anywhere or to anyone, of not feeling at home, and not fully identifying with a group. Most immigrants and many of their descendants have described this sort sensation at one point or another in their lives. One possible explanation comes from Akhtar (1999) in citing Garza-Guerrero (1974), Handlin (1973) and Ticho (1971), who states that culture-shock is inevitable during a process of immigration, regardless of its type or duration a “coexistence of culture shock and mourning causes a serious shake-up of the individual’s identity” (Akhtar, 1999, p. 77).

If one looks for instance at the history of the *Hmong*, a refugee group from Laos, one sees a migration history that in many aspects parallel to that of thousands of other migrants that over the years have arrived upon the vastness of the United States America, hoping to restart a life where safety and stability are combined aspirations. Hones and Shou Cha (1999) vividly describe the experience of the Hmong as they were "pushed" out of China, “pushed” out of the high mountains of Laos into the jungles, and finally for those who survived the "Silent War" into the refugee camps of Thailand before being relocated to the United States of America. In Hones and Shou Cha’s narration Shou Cha describes his surroundings with a feeling of cultural shock and a consequent loss of self-recognition and belonging, "This place belongs to someone else. It's not my house. I don't belong to this Earth." (1999, p. 179). Similarly, when Fadiman (1997) asks Foua what she misses about Laos, she responds, “What I miss in Laos is the free spirit, doing what you want to do. You own your fields, your own rice, your own plants, your own fruit trees. I miss that feeling of freeness. I miss having something that really belongs to me” (1997, p. 105). Both Hones and Fadiman in telling the stories of the Hmong and their struggles to adapt to and adopt (at least to some extent) the American lifestyle, culture and language, tell the story of a people who have been violently uprooted from their home and then often misunderstood in their new “home”. Nonetheless, the goals and hopes of this community are not unique, they are too often the goals and hopes of most other immigrant communities, whether voluntary or not, regardless of the host culture and country that has received them. However, what many immigrants are repeatedly met with is an enormous lack of understanding by the host culture.

The struggle between cultures is familiar to many other immigrants, as they work to adapt to the "new" by often leaving behind the "old". The same kind of struggle is true of Hoffman's (1989), Rodriguez's (1982) "transformations", for while each author adapted as a child or adolescent to a new environment, each one of them recalls some sort of "loss" and the development of a "silence" within their families. A silence that created a certain distance between them, the world they once knew, their families and the world they were to discover. All of the misinterpretation that stems from the lack of knowledge between immigrants and the host culture, which often creates a feeling of homelessness and resentment felt by all involved. Witcomb (2007) also describes a life where language and cultural identity went hand-in-hand, where family relationships were affected by language or a lack of, by belonging or not to a place and hence feeling like a foreigner. As she explains, "I don't think I have ever belonged anywhere. Coming to terms with that knowledge has taken a while," (Witcomb, 2007, p. 83). In different words, but with very similar meaning Wong (2007) describes his struggle with identity and states how he came to understand and deal with his two cultures,

"Now I can say that I have at least two cultural personas - the Chinese and the Anglo - and, as mentioned, these two personas are in many ways incompatible. ... However, my experience as a Chinese-Anglo bicultural person tells me that, while two cultures can co-exist, they rarely 'meet', because of conflicting cultural values. Because of this, I guess I will continue simultaneously like a cultural insider and an outsider - in both cultures" (2007, p. 81)

The place Shou Cha claims not to be a member of, not "to belong to" does not belong to him because he fails to recognize himself in it. The failure to feel as though one has a place to which one belongs to is real, for "home" has been left behind and the new place has yet to become part an individual's or a group's identity, almost as if a piece of a puzzle that does not quite fit yet. Hones and Shou Cha go on to describe the feeling that arises once that missing or poorly cutout piece of the puzzle does fit, in other words, once some degree of adaptation to and a partial assimilation of the host culture has taken place:

Many different peoples live in the
same town
black, brown, yellow
if they look a certain way, they have
their own community.
I don't deny it,
it is good to serve your own
community.
Please do your best for them.
But then you should
treat others nicely, too.
Black, white, brown, yellow
we are the same people.
(Hones and Shou Cha, 1999, p. 180)

Through these words Hones and Shou Cha describe a developing sense of belonging to a “community” and a co-existing with “others” who deserve to be treated as well as those within the community, those on the “inside”. It seems as though there is an understanding that despite the existence of an “us” and a “them”, a new whole has been created. Regardless of how these stories are told or how they are written and regardless of the experiences they describe, it has been on account of the existing literature on immigration that readers have gained knowledge of the past. Such knowledge is significant due to its insight into the significant alterations to language, culture and identity so often brought about by immigration.

Within immigrant societies labels become an almost natural part of life, whether these labels are self-imposed or attributed to the newcomers by the host culture. As Olsen (1997) mentions in *Made in America* once a student is labeled an *ESL – English as a Second language* student or a *LEP – Limited English Proficiency* student, it is hard to leave behind the image created by others according to their already established, yet often inaccurate, culturally biased assumptions of who an “immigrant” or a “foreigner” is because of linguistic and cultural differences. Cultural differences, personal individualities and personal identities are too often seen as negatives, which need to be “fixed” and transformed into the ideal of the host culture. The question of language as it relates to a sense of identity is an especially crucial one when relating to second language students. Olsen states that, “The language in which they (newcomers) can express

themselves, the language through which they can understand the world becomes banished.” (1997, p. 92) Furthermore, “Put down for use of their mother tongues, and with no supports for continued development of their home languages, immigrant students not only fail to develop literacy in their native tongue, but begin to lose it.” (idem, p. 92) In losing the first language, a struggle begins to develop between the individual’s primary identity (the one related to the first language) and the identity that develops as a result of the second language acquisition and the connection to its culture. For instance, the newcomer students at Madison High which Olsen describes often spoke of, “trying to find their way and make life comprehensible in a new country, culture, and with a new language”, as well as, “how much has been given up to be American.” (idem, p. 44) Consequently, creating a “zone” of discomfort and uncertainty where questions such as, “Who am I?” and “What world do I belong to?” are often asked. As one of the students quoted by Olsen describes, “So, I’m not really Chinese and I’ll never be white.” (idem, p. 4) The key is that these students or outsiders must learn to maneuver between the two cultures, without being totally rejected by one or the other.

Another example of such identity loss or state of confusion is depicted by Nunes (2003) when he describes the failure of the Portuguese community to fully adapt to Canadian society, as well as its culture, language and academic opportunities. In his words, “the heart of the problem of academic underachievement is the economic, cultural and political marginalization that this community has suffered, within Canadian society” (Nunes, 2003, p.149). Despite the fact that the Luso-Canadians mentioned in the above study live for the most part in or around metropolitan areas such as Toronto and Montreal, generation after generation of Portuguese families have not yet fully demanded or fought for a full participatory role within the greater society. The question remains whether to blame the parents or the schools. On one hand the parents and/or the Portuguese immigrant society stress the importance of work and family, not necessarily of an education; on the other hand, schools have been accused of not doing enough to include this group of immigrants within the teaching and learning environment. Nunes goes further in stating that, “for some Luso-Canadian youth, entering into post-secondary education has often been tantamount not only to leaving behind

their family's class position, but also their sense of being 'Portuguese'" (2003, p.148). Research has shown that too often immigrants realize when it is already too late, that tremendous sacrifices have crept upon their families. Therefore, my concern is that the dream of a better life frequently masks the realities repeatedly faced by immigrants once they begin their new lives.

2.4.2 Language Acquisition, Language Loss, Bilingualism and Multilingualism

The attempt to include or teach the ways of the host culture to newcomers by many of the countries that have traditionally played the role of the host has to some extent been left to the classroom or the school in general. A classroom which regardless of the label attached to its second language teaching program, if it exists, for example, English as a second language (ESL) has not necessarily been free of criticism, continuous change and debates. Across the United States of America, the teaching of English as a second language has a long history of debates, as well as legal and curricular modifications. English language learners (ELLs) are often part of minority language groups, which include but are not limited to the Hmong (previously mentioned), the various Spanish speaking groups (mostly from Central and South America), the Vietnamese, the Chinese, the Koreans, not to mention various other linguistic groups from India and Africa

Part of this ongoing debate also involves bilingualism, which has been considered a threat by some in the United States. Those who are alarmed by bilingualism are so because they believe its support of minority languages will weaken the status of the majority language, English. As Baker states, "The dominant majority often see the minority language education as creating national disunity rather than unity, disintegration rather than integration. The frequent criticism of bilingual education is that it serves to promote differences rather than similarities, to separate rather than integrate." (1997, p. 364) The underlying question in this debate over the misconceptions of bilingualism in the United States seems to have a political and social nature. More specifically it seems to be a question of power, as power of the majority is threatened by the inclusion of the

minority. However, is it fair to say that today's majority might actually have been at one point in the history of the United States of America considered to be the minority? The point is that the times change, and consequently societies must adapt to these changes. In the case of Portugal, one must ask if the Portuguese society is ready to make this adaptation. Is Portugal ready to adapt in order to allow the wave of foreign residents/immigrants it has welcomed? The truth is that legal modifications have been added to the education system to ensure that foreign students get the linguistic and cultural support needed upon their arrival in Portuguese schools, however in practice that support does not always work well, as I was able to personally observe during school visits between 2008 and 2010 across the Algarve.

Many dare say that the entire field of education is in fact a political one. If education is considered a means of achievement in today's society, than education is certainly political, for by giving minority members of our society the equal opportunity to participate in our system, starting with language education we certainly allow this minority to bring their cultural values into the majority's cultural and political system. Is change threatening? Apparently it is for some.

Baker (1997) highlights Ofelia Garcia's Language Garden Analogy (Baker, p. 40), which Garcia uses to describe "language planning" since she looks at a language as being part of a garden where, the existence of various languages is symbolized by a garden filled with a wide variety of flowers. If the United States of America is used as an example or model, the flowers represented by the languages spoken within the borders of the United States of America are countless. The main idea is that a carefully planned garden is preferred, for if carefully planned there will not be an over abundance of a specific flower. In such an analogy, teachers can be regarded as the gardeners who "plant, water, fertilize and reseed the different minority language flowers in the garden to ensure an enriching world language garden" (Baker, 1997, p. 41). Nevertheless, teachers must battle against the politicians and policy makers "language landscape engineers" whose main goal is to control "the overall shape of the language garden". From Garcia's point of view, language is seen as one of the elements, which politicians use to control the "social, economic and cultural environment" of

a given region. However, this is only one of the views offered, there are of course opposing views which offer support to a diverse language garden, as those which can be found throughout Europe and Canada. In Canada and in some European countries, bilingual and even multilingual individuals are seen as positive attributes to the already existing culture. In the case of Portugal, such a garden is slowly but surely growing. However, J.A.Banks suggests that multicultural education if implemented early enough and correctly across the curriculum may be the much needed change worldwide education needs, but it needs not only the attention of the entire teaching and learning population (2004, pp. 22-23).

Interestingly, the article *Bilingual Education, Answers to an English Question* by Jacques Steinberg (2000) states that “anyone who raises questions about bilingual education runs the risk of being labeled anti-immigrant or racially insensitive.” Personally, I agree with this statement, for I believe that the beauty of multicultural and multilingual countries, such as the United States of America, Canada, England, France, Germany and others lies in the cultural and linguistic diversity of their population. Specifically in the case of the United States of America, if society fails to include all members of its population, in the opinion of some, it fails to include the very essence of what it means to be an American. For, regardless of language ability or cultural background most individuals are able to contribute to society in their own unique way, regardless of language ability.

If a society fails to include bilingual education in some format, it fails to include the opportunity for all members of the society to participate equally. The greatest loss however, comes from not being able to include the individual in his/her entirety. Bilingual education in my opinion enhances the majority as well as the minority, for it simultaneously increases the power of both. In today’s increasingly multicultural world, all children need to learn how to respect and value other cultures and languages, in addition to their own language and culture.

When a minority student is denied access to an education that not only teaches the target language but also encourages the maintenance of the first language, that student is being told that his/her home culture, the culture of his/her ancestors is not good enough or somehow something to be ashamed of. However,

the student in the same class who is part of the possibly oppressing majority culture is led to believe that only his/her culture is valuable within that society. Consequently, alienating both the majority and the minority students from the possibilities a multicultural, multilingual world has to offer.

Research has shown that language minority students enrolled in second language tend to demonstrate what researchers call *language loss* or *language attrition* (if the language loss occurs on a community level), a phenomenon that has been studied by researchers such as Cook (2003), Fillmore (1991b, 1996, 2000, 2010), Kouritzin (1999) and Merino (1983), Obler and Mahecha (1991) and Porte (2003). Kouritzin points out to the reader six terms that are associated with the phenomenon of language loss: language loss, language shift, language attrition/ language regression/ language erosion, subtractive bilingualism, language death and language change (1999, pp. 12-13). For the purposes of this study, I will use the term *language loss*.

In studying the loss of an individual's first language (L1), it is not merely the language loss itself that is crucial, equally important are subjects' and their families' responses to occurrences of first language loss which have also caught the interest of researchers, especially when it is the children within the family who experience this loss alone (Costa, 2001). In contemplating this particular study I wondered how families might be affected by the loss of the harmony of close family ties and the habitual communication within the family, since researchers such as Fillmore and Kouritzin have reported on "breaks" within the family relationships once the language (the L1) that unifies the family begins to disappear or fall apart.

An interesting point is made by Fillmore (1991) when she discusses one specific type of loss that many immigrants and their children face, which is what Wallace Lambert has termed "subtractive bilingualism", in other words the phenomenon of first language loss as a second language (L2) is learned and its possible consequences. Furthermore Fillmore claims that regardless of some degree of language loss which has been common throughout the history of immigration, there was always bilingualism, the problem has been she states

carrying out that bilingualism into the second and third generation (2010, p. 204) In the words of Triolet¹³, “You cannot keep (a language) safe deep within you, it must get some exercise. You must use it, or else it gets rusty, atrophies and dies” (as cited in Obler and Mahecha (1991, p. 53). Maher (1991) suggests that the use of a dominant language and a non-dominant language may in fact lead to the so called “language death” phenomenon or at least in changes to the way latter generations use the non-dominant language, although she alerts that it may not occur in all immigrant communities (1991, p. 80-81)

Furthermore, if the primary language is portrayed as being less important, then children and parents begin to believe that it is and they too begin to stress its value. Consequently, the status of the minority language is devalued and may eventually grow to extinction within that community. More importantly, what happens to a family and an individual once primary language loss occurs because of a lack of support for the maintenance or development of bilingualism? Fillmore claims that, “For language-minority children, any program that emphasizes English at the expense of the primary language is a potential disaster.” (p. 325). At this point I ask the following questions:

- 1) Do politicians who try to “tame” their gardens consider the consequences involved, in taming that which is only natural?
- 2) Do politicians simply choose to ignore the faces behind the languages in an attempt for political gratification?

According to Fillmore, the “disaster” occurs when children begin using less primary language as they substitute it for the new language being learned. Eventually, what often happens is that children cease to use primary language completely, undoubtedly but surely leading to the loss of the L1 and culture, one generation at a time.

In addition, Fillmore’s research indicated that as immigrant children learn English, the patterns of primary language used within the home also change. Regardless of the findings suggested by the survey, Fillmore does say that the

¹³ Elsa Triolet’s *Collected Works*, Volume 1, page 26, cited in Beaujour (1989).

phenomenon of “subtractive bilingualism” requires a more in depth research in an attempt to more fully understand and rectify the problem. Fillmore goes so far as to ask the question, “Why are so many children dropping their home languages as they learn English?” (p. 341), immediately stating that the societal context in which English learning takes place must first be considered before answering such a question, the reason being that not all contexts will promote primary language loss. Fillmore does suggest that primary language loss seems to occur more often in societies that do not value linguistic and ethnic diversity, in other words, societies that favor the majority language over that of the minority. Societies who rather sacrifice the cultural richness the world has to offer, in order to maintain a supposed social and economic ideal, which in my opinion seems incredibly selfish.

If language loss is such a common phenomenon amongst L2 (*second language*) English learners, we must then consider our multicultural and increasingly global world is truly accepting and understanding of other languages and cultures. *Improving Bilingual Education*, an article in the NY Times Editorial, (October 30, 2000), spoke of New York City’s bilingual education programs and its troubled history. As the article described, New York City’s program has been a program “that traps foreign-born students in substandard schooling instead of teaching them English”. However, the article balances this statement by mentioning that the most critical aspect of the program is an incredible shortage of qualified teachers. So, for a program that “enrolls about 176,000 students”, the question of whether the program is in fact inefficient or if the inefficiency simply lies in the above mentioned lack of qualified teachers, must be asked. As per the information given in this article New York’s bilingual programs will need to be looked at by the “city and state” as the two government agencies “embark on a vigorous effort to attract, recruit and retain talented teachers.” What then constitutes a qualified teacher?

It is a fact that language minority children are aware from day one in an American school that in order to fit-in and become part of the school environment, they must become successful English learners. As such, belonging and acceptance often become children’s main motivation in learning English. Unfortunately, the “danger” lies in that the same motivation also promotes a decrease in the usage of

the home language, since primary language becomes easily identified as a source of shame. In my opinion a sound bilingual or ESL program, should equally value all languages involved, so that neither the host nor the home language is associated with shame. In this way, there will be no necessity to create a struggle over the power emitted by each group through its language.

Personally, I believe it is crucial to remember that the consequences of primary language loss go far beyond the actual linguistic loss. As is suggested by Fillmore, other areas of life are just as affected. Including, “social, emotional, cognitive, and educational development of language-minority children, as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in”. (p. 341) Most importantly, what happens to the families of these children once communication lines are broken is of great concern to me. It seems inevitable that once parents and children begin to misunderstand and mis-communicate with each other, family ties disappear. As Fillmore suggests, parent’s inability to talk with their children takes away their capacity to transmit their values, culture and “consejos”, which together make up a family’s structure.

I have to agree with Fillmore in that “The problem is timing, not English” (p. 346) or bilingualism. Parents and teachers should be made aware of the “consequences” of demanding that children speak and hear only the target language at home. I believe this, in part because I wish someone had warned my parents about these same consequences. At eleven-years-old, my “timing” for learning English was perfect (in my personal opinion), for I had already mastered the Portuguese, so when I learned English I did not forget my L1. Today, I am bilingual. However, my brother’s “timing” at five-years-old was not as perfect and that caused a lot of grief for our family. I do not blame bilingualism, for I think it is a wonderful thing. I blame the way in which it is sometimes taught or not, encouraged or not. Languages are assets to individuals and to communities. Teachers should be looking to add to a student’s background, not looking to take away, for fear that their own place in society may be, in some way hindered.

Baker states that, “The dominant majority often see the minority language education as creating national disunity rather than unity, disintegration rather than

integration. The frequent criticism of bilingual education is that it serves to promote differences rather than similarities, to separate rather than integrate.” (Baker, p. 364) In revisiting Baker I would like to reword his idea according to how I see bilingualism and the education of minority languages: The dominant majority should see the minority language education as something that creates unity and integration, on a national level, as well as on an international level. At its worst bilingual education serves to promote differences that makes individual societies unique, at its best bilingual education, serves to promote the similarities, as well as the differences that allow unique cultures to exist in harmony within one space. As such bilingual education integrates all involved into the same host culture, so that all involved can work together towards the common goal of the overall society.

As Valdes writes in her article, “In coming to this country and adjusting to American schools, immigrant students and their families travel very long distances. These distances are physical, emotional, and psychological” (1998, p. 4). It is common for, second language learners, regardless of their age to realize that the dominant language, which they must learn, dominates their L1. As a result, one could ask about what happens to the self-esteem of second language learners if they are led to believe that the only language they have ever known, their L1, is looked down upon by a dominant language group. Equally important, what happens to a family once first language loss occurs, especially when the children within the family experience this loss alone? In her 1999 case-study, Kouritzin tells the life stories of twenty-one adult subjects, who experienced first language loss while learning English as a second language in Canada. In telling and analyzing her subjects’ stories Kouritzin came to the conclusion that issues of self-image (questions about ones’ identity) and cultural identity were directly linked. In some cases her subjects, “adopted a very negative view of their own cultural heritage or race.” (Kouritzin, p. 177) Such negativity was displayed in two distinctive ways, “When their negative views turned inward, they felt shame about their heritage, and often tried to adopt other cultural norms.” (Kouritzin, p. 177) On the other hand, “The negative view was sometimes turned outward ... in this form, negative self-image translated to racism within a race.” (Kouritzin, p.

178) One of the Kouritzin subjects described what it meant to him to lose language, in his words,

It's like losing half the man you are, you know, the man with whom – not to lose the language makes me twice the man, so the loss of the language is the loss of the soul I think for an Indian person. It's a loss of the essence of the soul, not to know the language, because you never know how beautiful you are until you know the language. Because you can only be described in a foreign tongue, right? (Richard, September 19th, 1995, p.6 / Kouritzin, p. 181)

Furthermore, the question of identity was often developed due to name changes, changes made to accommodate the dominant group, but which led Greta (one of Kouritzin's subjects) to believe that, "Your name is your identity." (Kouritzin, p. 181)

In considering the "distances" often traveled by immigrant families, I have become interested in a phenomenon which can be referred to as subtractive bilingualism, language loss and/or language attrition. In either case, language loss is repeatedly referred to as a phenomenon that occurs at an individual level. Language loss is therefore a significant decrease in the usage of a first language, to the extent that proficiency in the language is severely affected, hence, the cessation of the first language use by an individual. In contrast, language attrition has been studied as the loss of the ability to use a first language occurring on the community level. Zentella (1997) gives us a very important description of what she refers to as, language attrition in "el bloque", a Puerto Rican community in New York City. In this community, the use of Spanish diminishes significantly through the generations, as the English language infiltrates into the lives of the families portrayed, by means of the children. As the children gain access to the English language at school, their use of Spanish diminishes, eventually leading to an enormous decrease in the use of their ancestors' language. Regardless of the term used to describe language loss, it is crucial to remind the reader that previous research has not been systematic with the terminology used.

Coincidentally, at about the same time, Baker points out that language loss is most likely to occur in children, especially children whose first language is considered to be a minority language. As he explains, the loss of the first language can easily have “social, emotional, cognitive and educational” consequences in a child (Baker, p. 81). In a study by Fillmore (1991) findings also suggest a great deal of change within the “patterns of language use” amongst immigrant families, especially as younger children of these families learn English. In addition, in support of Baker, Fillmore also points out that losing a first language includes consequences that affect the “integrity of their families and the society they live in” (1991, p. 342). She explains that, “What is lost is no less than the means by which parents socialize their children: When parents are unable to talk to their children, they cannot easily convey to them their values, beliefs, understandings, or wisdom about how to cope with their experiences” (1991, p. 341). Consequently, as the members of a family lose the ability to talk with each other, sharing their past, their present and their future, bridges are created leading to endless degrees of separation, which are sometimes irreversible. In addition, Wong Fillmore found that the families, who had begun to experience language loss, worried the most about the growing lack of communication within the family, leading her to believe that language loss can be a strong contributing factor towards a negative interference upon family relations. As I continued to read studies on the subject of language loss, I began to wonder just how many immigrant families are truly affected by this.

Even though, Merino (1983) reports that of one of the first known cases of language loss was that of a young, six-year-old refugee of the Spanish Civil War this phenomenon needs further research. It seems and Merino alerts the reader to the fact that very little is still known about the nature of language loss on an individual level as, as opposed to that of a community (Merino, 1983). Regardless of how researchers have chosen to look at this phenomenon, "It is the story of countless American immigrant and native children and adults who have lost their ethnic languages in the process of becoming linguistically assimilated into the English-speaking world of school and society", (Fillmore, 1991, p. 324). As Professor Miriam Eisenstein Ebsworth discussed during her plenary presentation, at the 23rd Annual Applied linguistics Winter Conference, language loss leads to

language death, yet another related phenomenon that occurs when the last speaker of a certain community stops using that community's language. In fact, Fillmore (1991) forewarns the reader that some schools actually offer a language program for English language learners in which the learning of the English language is stressed. This is a crucial “warning” because when such importance is placed upon the target language, it fails to take into consideration the maintenance of the students' first language. In such cases, the school possibly becomes the instigator of "language death". As language minority groups of such schools stop using the language of their ancestors, they alienate themselves from that culture. In such cases, a community's language begins to disintegrate. This was the case of the New York City Puerto Rican community described by Zentella, “Second generation parents favored English with their offspring because it was their dominant language and because they considered it crucial to their children's ability to *defenderse* (“defend themselves”)” (1997, p. 244). As Zentella explains, the parents of this community grew to believe that English was a “safe ticket” to their participation in the culture and language that dominated their environment, a ticket into the “American” way. Knowing how to use and manipulate the English language, was important because it was the only way these families could fight for their rights in a society that was not (and still is not) always willing to grant these rights to incoming immigrants.

The commonality of this phenomenon is best seen by the variety of studies, by several researchers in the field, which report similar changes in language use in a variety of communities. For instance, Merino's study (1983) showed that although she had expected her subjects, California bilingual Chicano children to maintain an equal balance between the two languages (Spanish and English), over the course of two years the majority of the children's knowledge of Spanish decreased significantly, while their English improved. Merino concluded that although her findings were “tentative”, it was crucial that her study also be considered as a “warning to parents and teachers” (1983, p. 293). She found that children, who switched between languages with the same speaker, for instance in school with friends, were more likely to develop significant language loss. According to Merino, this is likely to occur because the amount of time children tend to spend in school is often greater than the amount of time spent at home.

Both my personal experiences and my observations of young second language students have led me to agree with the research discussed above. Once children return home, unless there is a source such as (native language television or radio) which will emit their first language, participation in this language becomes extremely limited. In fact in most cases, children return home to television programs and/or homework in the target/host language, reinforcing in the case of immigrants in the United States for example, the English language, while restraining the use of the first language. Unfortunately, this leaves little time for the continuity of the enhancement of the L1 language skills.

The immigration story of Eva Hoffman and her Polish-Jewish family's immigration to Canada is yet another example:

It is April 1959, I'm standing at the railing of a Batory's upper deck, and I feel that my life is ending. I'm looking out at the crowd that has gathered on the shore to see the ship's departure from Gdynia - a crowd that, all of a sudden, is irrevocably on the other side - and I want to break out, run back, run toward the familiar excitement, the waving hands, the exclamations. We can't be leaving all this behind - but we are. I am thirteen years old, and we are emigrating. It's a notion of such crushing, definite finality that to me it might as well mean the end of the world. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 3)

This was the sentiment of a young girl as she left behind the country where everything was familiar, the people she knew, the customs she understood and essentially her identity and consequently, “needs to renegotiate her self-identity” (Leimig, 2008: 4). What Eva Hoffman refers to as a “crushing, definite finality” in her autobiography *Lost in Translation*, is also a common feeling for many immigrants as they begin a journey to an unknown land and community. Like Hoffman, once this new journey begins, many immigrants, regardless of their country of origin, find themselves involved in an on-going search for their identity and in essence for themselves, much like what others have described. In essence, it is during this search that an immigrant must make an effort in order to attempt to translate who he/she is, not only for his/her own sake, but also for the sake of the

new community to which he/she must adapt. In addition, the immigrant must eventually find a way to participate even if just partially, in order to get through daily routines such as food shopping, medical appointments and schooling. However, numerous stories depict the children of immigrants as the official “translators” between the home culture and the host culture, as in Valdés (1996). In a comparative study of the autobiographical works of four early 20th century Portuguese emigrants to the United States of America, Suárez suggests, “... that there is in immigrant autobiography a new birth or “doubling” on the part of the author and not an erasing process” (1992, p. 25). It is this rebirth or doubling of the individual that I am interested in exploring. Additionally, I am curious about this “erasing process” and whether or not it exists and if so, how often it happens and what its consequences in the identity of Portuguese-Americans and their descendants.

Overall, it is crucial to remember that throughout history numerous emigrants have left their countries in search of a better life and in doing so, they left behind not only their hardships, economic, political or religious, but also their homes, both physical and imaginary, their families and their friends, in essence their roots. In making such a decision, whether in the past or today, immigrants have made and continue to make the unconscious decision to leave behind part of their lives and themselves; consequently, trading an existing, established life for what for many seems to be a promise of a better lifestyle. Thus the feeling of finality that Hoffman (1998) describes and the feeling of not belonging that Hones and Shou Cha (1999) describe, a feeling that is often crushing or at least life altering for many of those who face such a decision.

Andrade (1968), Alves de Carvalho (1985), Lewis (1951) and Oliver (1972) are just a few of the autobiographies depicting Portuguese immigration, not to mention other works included in the vast bibliography concerning the Portuguese in the United States of America put together by Pap (1976). Inevitably, some have used these tales as springboards for their own stories, while others have read them solely for academic purposes. Nevertheless, it is on account of this type of story telling that many people have gained greater insight into their own past,

their own family and inevitably their own cultural identity once that is often, transnational.

2.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to first and foremost contribute to a better understanding of the concept of the immigrant and the emigrant. The second part of this chapter revised and examined the published literature in regarding worldwide immigration, before reviewing that of Portugal as both a country of emigration and immigration. Doing so allowed for an understanding of how the Portuguese-Americans who are the subjects of this research and their ancestors arrived in the United States of America. Lastly, this chapter discusses and revises the published literature on the issues that immigrants and their descendants too often deal with: identity and those linked to language education and acquisition.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 The Study

This study focuses on the characterization of Portuguese-Americans living in the United States and the possible development of a dual, transnational identity. The study focuses on the immigrants who arrived in the United States on or after 1950 and consequently, their descendants. The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. Who are the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America who self-identify as Portuguese-Americans?
2. What are the subjects' representations of the English and/or Portuguese language?
3. How do the subjects identify themselves American and/or Portuguese? Why? In what context(s)?
4. Has the Portuguese language and culture been transmitted to younger generations? If so, how and why?
5. What is, if any, the personal, societal and educational impact of the subjects' experiences?
6. What are, if any, the lessons to be learned from the subjects' experiences?

3.2 Description of the Study and Justification of the Research Design Chosen

The methodological design of this study is qualitative in nature and the justification for this choice lays partially in Merriam's definition of qualitative research, which she describes as a research method that encompasses a variety of investigative procedures that are used to clarify the "meaning of social phenomenon" (1998, p. 5). As a qualitative multi-case case study, the purpose of this study is to investigate and explain the possible development of a dual or transnational identity as a result of the immigration and acculturation process of a particular group, the Portuguese-Americans, within American society. It is this reason, that a qualitative approach seemed most adequate, especially because the study seeks to explore said identity within the social context in which it has occurred. Further support for this methodological choice lays in Denzin and Lincoln's argument that qualitative research requires a focus on, "on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency. Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is being studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry." (2003, p. 13)

By collecting participants' answers to both opened and closed-ended survey questions and interviewing a sample of the population, the study seeks to understand their life experiences and tell the stories of a people. Although it is expected that such experiences and stories will not be representative of an entire population, they will be oral accounts that tell of the experiences of some, in the hopes of creating an understanding of a phenomenon. In addition, as Creswell (2007) suggests qualitative research is optimum when exploring or studying an issue or social phenomenon, while focusing on the concrete meaning that participants give to it. Hence, this study followed a descriptive qualitative approach as it sought to describe experiences lived by the target population, the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America and their descendants, especially those who self-identified as Portuguese-Americans, while exploring the consequences of immigration, through a process of cultural and linguistic adaptation and adoption across the generations. Using a descriptive approach to

qualitative research, this study explored the words of the sample in order to identify and describe their perspectives of the use of language (L1 and L2) and culture (home and/or host), and to explore how these may or may not influence the construction of a bilingual and bicultural identity, a Portuguese-American identity. By exploring, analyzing and closely listening to the voices of the participants and by granting them their due importance, the study permitted the development of a detailed understanding of the factors that sought to answer its guiding questions. Additionally, Creswell's (2007) assertion that qualitative study is most appropriate to use when the researcher has the intent of studying a people in a detailed manner in order to understand and value the stories and experiences of those people and at the same time find parameters to be evaluated, within specific contexts that are relevant to the stories collected, further supported the methodological design of this study.

Due to the nature of the research questions guiding this study, I believe that such an approach allowed for a closer analysis of the participants' stories of immigration and of life, in a multi-reality context which the individual participants shed light on by sharing their perceptions of immigration, identity, assimilation, culture and language. As Denzin and Lincoln (2005) explained, "Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or to interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (2005, p. 3). It is this *meaning* that I was particularly interested in and it is for this reason that the qualitative design of this research project is based on a descriptive and exploratory multi-case case study.

As such, in order to answer the questions guiding the research the study was developed in two distinct, yet complementary phases, dictating the need for the organization of time and distribution of the appropriate research instruments, which were adapted and built specifically for this purpose. The study includes a survey and a multi-case case study based on a selected number of semi-structured interviews comprised of mostly open-ended questions that sought to gain a greater understanding of participants' stories of immigration, acculturation, assimilation, second language acquisition (whether that language was English or Portuguese) and cultural acquisition (whether that of the host country in the case of first

generation immigrants or that of the descendant's country in the case of the second, third or fourth generations).

Despite the fact that the procedures inevitably included some quantitative analysis, whenever a quantitative characterization was needed, the majority of the data collected came from the survey and the selected interviews in the form of spoken and written words and were consequently treated with qualitative analysis techniques. Hence, data treatment included the treatment of all the answers to the online survey and the transcription of the twelve interviews conducted, as well as the treatment of the resulting data collected through these. Data was then subjected to content and statistical analysis and the results were organized according to emerging categories of analysis. As Guion (2002) suggests, in order to “check and establish” the validity of the results of this study, both data and methodological triangulation were used.

It was therefore the methodological intention of this study to uncover the significance of the life stories of the participants and of their families' and in doing so developing a deeper understanding of how possible bicultural and bilingual, transnational identities are formed, while transmitting a cultural heritage that may possibly define some individuals.

3.3 The Participants of the Study

3.3.1 The Survey Participants

As previously mentioned, the original intended target population for this study was originally restricted to individuals of Portuguese descent residing in New York State. More specifically, the study aimed to focus on participants who were either first, second, third generation or fourth generation men and women whose family members had left Portugal (mainland, the Azores or Madeira) or a colony (now an ex-colony) during the second half of the 20th century to start a new life in the United States of America. This particular time frame was especially

selected due to the elevated number of emigrants who left Portugal during after 1950 for an array of reasons, as discussed in chapter two. However, during the survey design phase, possible issues were anticipated with the collection of data, including the difficulty of distribution and level of participation of the desired population. Consequently, in order to ensure an adequate number of responses, should those from New York State be insufficient, the decision to open up the survey to all Portuguese descendants across the United States of America, regardless of their State of residence was made. Hence, the participants of the study are 473 both men and women of Portuguese descent, between the ages of 14 and 87 years old, residing across the 50 states of the United States of America. Based on the 472 answers collected to question number six of the survey, “*In which state or U.S. territory do you live?*”, the survey sample is made-up of individuals residing in twenty-nine of the 50 U.S. states. These states are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

3.3.2 Sampling and Selection of Cases (Multi-case Study)

As suggested by Denzin & Lincoln “to avoid systematic biases in the sample” (2011, p. 307) random sampling strategies were used to select the twelve individual cases for the multi-case case study. To do so, an in-depth analysis of the data obtained from the survey phase of this study was completed based on a global sample of 473 respondents. Afterwards, the first step in the stratification of the global sample was completed and in doing so, the global sample was divided into the following strata: state of residence, age, sex, formal education and nationality. Once these sub-groups or analyzed and the justification to use State of residence as the category to build the case study sample was found in that the State of residence was the only category that maintained all of the other categories and was consequently considered the most productive for data analysis.

With a particular focus on the data collected from questions thirty-five and thirty six of the survey, the multi-case study sample size was determined. The first step was to analyze the answers to question number thirty-five, “*Would you be interested in being contacted for a one-on-one interview to talk further about the issues addressed in this survey?*” Out of a global sample of 473 respondents, a total of 356 respondents answered this question, meaning that 117 respondents chose not to answer this question. As shown in Figure 3.1: *Number of survey respondents interested in participating in an interview*, out of those respondents that did answer the question, 219 people or 61.52% percent of the respondents answered *yes* while 137 people or 38.48% percent of the respondents answered *no*.

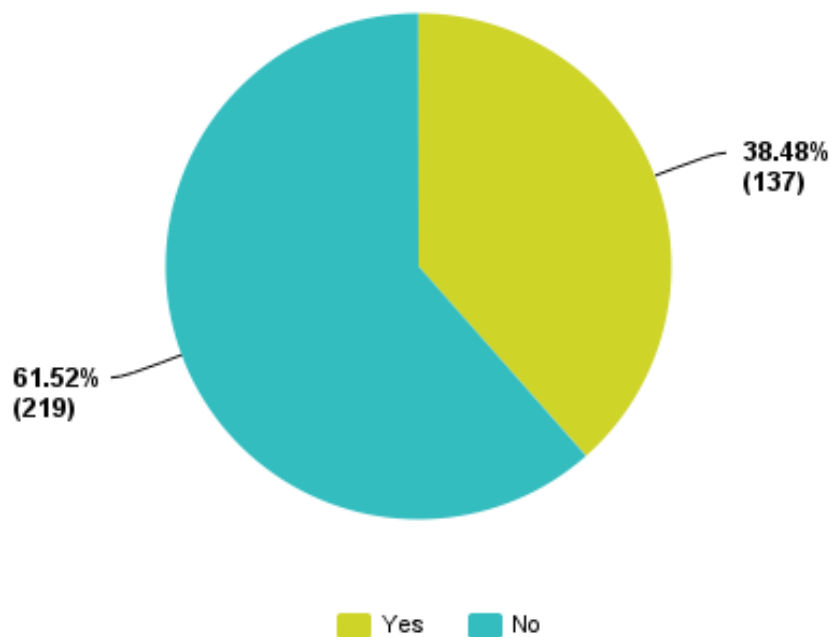


Figure 3.1 Number of survey respondents interested in participating in an interview.

As results demonstrated 137 participants answered yes, that they were in fact, interested in participating in the following phase of the study, the interview phase. These participants were then asked in question number 36 to provide their contact information (e-mail, phone number or Skype contact). The answers of the 137 that had responded yes and then provided their contact information were then

divided into 15 categories or states, according to their State of residence including. These included the following States: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Kentucky, Massachusetts, North Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Washington State. Two respondents did not provide the necessary information, and were therefore put in a different category, the *no contact given* category. As illustrated in Table 3.1, the results show that the majority of the interest came from four states: California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York, with 17, 13, 56 and 27 respondents, respectively. At the same time, six people from Rhode Island demonstrated interest in participating and provided their contact information, while there were five interested respondents from Florida who provided their contact information. The States with the least amount of responses, ranging between three and one respondent who were interested in participating and who provided their contact information were, Arizona, Hawaii, Kentucky, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Texas and Washington State.

Table 3.1
Participants Willing to Participate in an Interview According to State of Residence

State of Residence	Number of Participants Willing to Participate in an Interview
Arizona	1
California	17
Florida	5
Hawaii	3
Kentucky	1
Massachusetts	13
North Carolina	1
New York	27
New Jersey	56
Nevada	1
Pennsylvania	2
Rhode Island	6
Texas	1
Washington	1

Due to a lack of time, it was impossible to select all of the 137 respondents who had shown a willingness to participate in the interview phase of this study. Consequently, in order to randomly select participants for the interview phase of this study the average number of responses per state was calculated, by dividing 137 (the number of respondents who were willing to participate in the interview phase) by 15 (the total number of categories). The conclusion was that

the average number of responses per state was on average was 9.2. Thus the criteria for selecting the states from which the stratified sample would be taken was that only those states with nine or more responses would be included in the stratified sample. Being that California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York, were the states with a number of respondents that was equal to or higher than nine, the average response, candidates for the interview phase of this study were chosen from these four States totaling a number of 113 candidates. These 113 candidates were then numbered within each one of the four states. Thus, California's 17 respondents were numbered one through seventeen; Massachusetts' 13 respondents were numbered one through thirteen; New Jersey's 56 respondents were numbered one through fifty-six, and New York's 27 respondents were numbered one through twenty-seven. Given the time restraints, in order to further reduce this number to a more manageable number of interviews for the case study, three candidates were then aleatorily chosen from each of the four states using a table of random numbers¹. The sample on which the case study would be developed was therefore made-up of 12 interviewees.

3.4 The Research Instruments

3.4.1 The Survey

The use of surveys in data collection are traditionally linked to methods used in quantitative studies. Groves et al. (2009) define a survey as, "a systematic method for gathering information from (a sample of) entities for the purpose of constructing quantitative descriptors of the attributes of the larger population of which the entities are members" (Groves et al., 2009, p. 2). As Groves et al., further explain the reason for including the wording "a sample of" in their definition, is because although it is the intention of some surveys to collect data from an entire population, some only seek to collect data from a fraction of that population; hence, a *sample*. Contrarily, Dörney's (2010) definition of questionnaires does not make reference to qualitative or quantitative studies, instead his definition states that they are, "any written instruments that present

¹ http://www.sagepub.com/fitzgerald/study/materials/appendices/app_b.pdf

respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answers” (Dörney, 2010, p. 3), which by quoting Aiken (1997) he claims can have a variety of labels, including the one chosen for use in this study, the “survey”. Thus, the first instrument designed to collect data based on respondents’ answers to both closed and open-ended questions was a survey.

The data collection phase of this study began in May of 2014 with the building and the validation of the survey. After reviewing surveys built to study the identity and language use of immigrants that are available online, for instance Milja Seppälä’s survey, *The effects of the English language*² on the cultural identity of Chinese university students, *The New Zealand 2012 general social survey*³, and *The New York City Department of Education’s Parent/Guardian Home Language Identification Survey*⁴, as well as the available literature on the construction of surveys, a first draft of the survey was completed. However, before this version was even attempted a few decisions needed to be made. First and foremost, there was the question of how to distribute the survey from afar, in a secure, rapid and ethical manner. Electronic surveys, defined as, “one in which a computer plays a major role in both the delivery of a survey to potential respondents and the collection of survey data from actual respondents.” (Jensen, Corley & Jansen, 2007, p.1)⁵, seemed to be the best option. The benefits to using this alternative, non-traditional means of data collection include a more rapid response time, as well as a higher number of responses, and for this study such benefits were essential since time was very limited. Furthermore, despite the fact that I had initially believed the cost of the e-survey to be a more lavish option, I eventually changed my mind, because once a fee is paid most online survey software tools end up being less expensive in the long run since travel expenses can be eliminated.

² <https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/26616/URN%3ANBN%3Afi%3Aaju-201103011836.pdf?sequence=1> Retrieved on the 12th of May, 2014

³ <http://www.stats.govt.nz/survey-participants/a-z-of-our-surveys/general-social-survey/nzgss-questionnaires.aspx>. Retrieved on the 12th of May, 2014

⁴ http://schools.nyc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/2CF11E0F-BDBE-4DCB-9E7B-7452A6AB6CDF/0/HLIS_5_24_07_ENGLISH.pdf Retrieved on the 12th of May, 2014

⁵ http://faculty.ist.psu.edu/jjansen/academic/pubs/esurvey_chapter_jansen.pdf) Retrieved on the 4th of May, 2014

The decision to use the online survey software tool created by *SurveyMonkey, Inc.*,⁶ came after having six personal conversations with fellow faculty staff who have experience with similar online survey software tools, reading blogs and testimonies regarding the use of such tools, as most users expressed concerns about the privacy and confidentiality of some of the available software. A fellow faculty member in particular had used a free, online tool to distribute a survey and had experienced problems with the confidentiality of the respondents of her survey and was therefore advised by the Portuguese authorities to assure the confidentiality of her participants in the future. To avoid such issues the fact that the present study's survey was to be distributed in the United States of America made confidentiality and anonymity a more significant issue. The benefits of using *SurveyMonkey's* software, the "survey software tool for free professional research," as it is advertised on its website included: its relative ease of use; the availability of a professional support team; the option of distributing the survey via email, social media or a specifically created web link; its numerous statistical and data treatment options; and last but not least, its certified question bank. At first, all of this was a bit overwhelming at first for a beginner researcher, however, many hours of trial and error, as well as a significant number of e-mails sent to the support team, allowed for a positive and fruitful experience with *surveymonkey.com*.

An additional debate was whether or not to write the survey in English and in Portuguese, but in the end an English only version was created. The reasons behind this decision were first and foremost a lack of comfort with writing in Portuguese. A version in Portuguese would also require an editor and a translator in order to ensure the quality of the survey in both languages. Secondly, as a teacher with some experience in teaching English as a second language and as a foreign language, I felt that the questions that made-up the survey had been written in an everyday kind of English and therefore, linguistically accessible, even to respondents with a lower level of English proficiency. I suspected that considering the time period this study sought to analyze and the consequent length of stay of the immigrants and their descendants in the US, would have given respondents enough time to acquire a level of English that if not fluent, would at least be at a

⁶ <https://www.surveymonkey.com>

level that permitted the completion of the survey with minimal difficulty. Finally, the third reason for not including a Portuguese version of the survey was that during the validation phase of the survey, not one person asked about or recommended a version in Portuguese. Hence, the final version of the survey was made available to participants in English only. The initial draft of the survey included 18 printed pages (PDF format), including eight sections and a total of thirty-five questions, including closed and open-ended questions, which sought answers to the guiding research goals and questions of this study. Table 3.2 was built to verify and illustrate the correspondence between the questions included in the survey and the corresponding research goals

Table 3.2

Correspondence Between the Survey Questions and the Research Goals

SURVEY QUESTIONS (APPENDIX A)	RESEARCH GOALS: to find out about
<p>Section II: Identification</p> <p>a) What is your gender? b) What is your age? c) On which continent were your grandparents born? d) On which continent were you born e) What is your nationality? f) In which state or U.S. territory do you live?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who are the participants?
<p>Section III: Immigration</p> <p>a) Where in Portugal do you or your ancestors come from? b) Who was/were the first of your ancestors to immigrate to the United States? c) When did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States? d) When did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States? e) Why did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who emigrated to where, when and why and when? • What were the circumstances upon arrival?
<p>Section V: Language</p> <p>a) What language(s) was/were primarily spoken in your childhood home? b) In what language do you speak most often? c) In what language do you speak most fluently? d) In what language do you read most often? e) In what language do you read most fluently? f) In what language do you write most often? g) In what language do you write most fluently? h) What is your Portuguese proficiency level in (speaking, listening, reading and writing)? i) What is your English proficiency level in (speaking, listening, reading and writing)? j) What languages do you speak (Portuguese, English, both) at (home, school, work, with your children, with your parents, with your grandparents, with friends)? k) How frequently do you use Portuguese / English to (read a newspaper or magazine, read a book, go online, watch television, listen to music, write an email / letter, post online)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What was the participants' L1/L2? • What was the language learning process like? • Use of English and Portuguese currently? Contexts of use?
<p>Section VI: Identity</p> <p>a) How would you define your cultural origin? b) How important is your cultural origin to you? c) Evaluate the following statements about your cultural identity d) Please use the space below to write the three words that first come to mind when you think of what it means to be Portuguese. e) Please use the space below to write the three words that first come to mind when you think of what it means to be American. f) How often do you participate in activities in the Portuguese-American community?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you identify yourself? • What is a Portuguese-American? • Does your identity change depending on who you are with or where you are?
<p>Section IV: Education</p> <p>a) What is the highest level of education you have completed?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the academic qualifications of the participants?

b) Where did you attend school? c) Which of the following best describe your job function?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did participant (or children) attend Portuguese school? • Are language and culture being transmitted? How?
Section VII: Connection to Portugal, its language and its culture	
a) How often do you travel to Portugal? b) Why do you travel to Portugal? c) YES or NO. (questions 1-7)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is the culture being maintained alive? • Is contact with Portugal being kept? • What kind of contact is being kept? Why? • What is the frequency of the contact?
Section VIII: Thank you for participating in this survey!	
a) Would you be interested in being contacted for a one-on-one interview to talk further about the issues addressed in this survey? b) If your answer was yes to the previous question, please enter your contact information in the space below (email, phone number, or SKYPE contact). c) Is there anything you would like to add about the issues touched on in this survey? Please feel free to write as much as you would like.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which participants are willing to participate in a follow-up interview? • Any additional comments.

Page one of the survey contained section one entitled, “*Welcome to the Portuguese-American Identity Survey*” and the title of the survey. Like Dorney (2010) and most of the available literature on the building of surveys suggest writing a small, generalized introduction to the survey, the first contained a brief letter addressed to respondents, thanking them for their interest and participation in the study, giving them a brief explanation of the survey, ensuring them that the survey was subject to the Privacy Act of 1974 from the United States of America, offering them brief instructions on the completion of the survey, and finally giving them my contact information should they have any questions or concerns.

Pages two through four of the survey, contained section two of the survey entitled, “Identification”, a section which was comprised of five, *SurveyMonkey* certified, closed questions. The first question, “What is your gender?” where respondents answered by clicking on one of the two options given, male or female. The second question, “What is your age?” gave respondents the option to choose one of the seven age brackets: age 18 to 24, age 25 to 34, age 35 to 44, age 55 to 64, age 65 to 74, or age 75 or older. Question three asked respondents the question, “On which continent were you born?” and gave the possibility of choosing from one of seven continents (Africa, Antarctica, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America and South America). Question four, “What is your nationality?” gave respondents four possible answers to choose from: American, Portuguese, Dual: Portuguese-American, and Another country, which respondents were asked to specify. Question number five, “In what state or U.S. territory do you live?” listed all U.S. and territories and asked to respondents to choose one.

Part three of the survey was entitled, *Immigration* could be found on pages five and six and contained questions six through nine, all of which were *SurveyMonkey* certified, closed questions. Question number six asked, “Where does your family come from?” which could be answered by choosing one of the five options: mainland Portugal, the Azores, Madeira, I do not know, or other. Question number seven asked, “Who was the first person in your family to immigrate to the United States?” The possible answers for this question were: me, my parents, my grandparents, I do not know, or other. Question number eight asked respondents, “When did your family immigrate to the United States?” to which respondents were asked to choose their answer from seven options: between 1950 and 1960; between 1961 and 1970; between 1971 and 1980; between 1981 and 1990; between 1991 and 2000; I do not know; and, other. The last question of this section was question number nine, “Why did your family immigrate to the United States? Please check all that apply.” Possible answers to this question were: economic; work; family; politics; religion; I do not know; and other, an option that required further specification.

Section number four, which began on page seven, was made up of two questions regarding education. Question number 10, “What is the highest level of education you have completed?” was an open-ended question, while question number 11, “Where did you attend school?” was a closed question. Possible answers for the latter were: Portugal; the U.S.; both Portugal and the U.S.; and, other.

Section number five of the survey pertained to language and contained 12 questions, which occupied pages eight through fourteen. Question number 12, an open-ended question, asked respondents to describe what language(s) were primarily spoken in their childhood home. Questions number 13 through 18 were similar in structure, they were all closed, *SurveyMonkey* certified questions with 22 possible answers to choose from, including the option to enter a language which was not one of the possible answers listed. The questions were:

(13) In what language do you speak most often?

- (14) In what language do you speak most fluently?
- (15) In what language do you read most often?
- (16) In what language do you read most fluently?
- (17) In what language do you write most often?
- (18) In what language do you write most fluently?

Question number 19, a closed, *SurveyMonkey* certified question, asked respondents to rate their proficiency level in Portuguese, in speaking, listening, reading and writing, as poor, fair, good, excellent or to say that they are not sure or that it was not applicable. Question number 20 was exactly the same as question number 19 but it asked about respondents' proficiency level in English. Question number 21, a closed, *SurveyMonkey* certified question asked respondents, "What language(s) do you speak?" in the following contexts: at home, at school, at work, with their children, with their parents, with their grandparents and with their friends. In order to answer this question respondents were asked to check all of the boxes that applied to them, whether it was Portuguese, English or not applicable in cases where neither language was spoken. Questions 22 and 23 were both closed, *SurveyMonkey* certified questions that asked how frequently (often, sometimes, rarely or never) Portuguese and English were used to do the following: read a newspaper, read a book, go online, watch television, listen to music, write an email/letter and to post online (e.g., Facebook, Twitter).

Questions 24 through 29, on pages 15 and 16, were part of the sixth section of the survey, entitled *Identity* and were all *SurveyMonkey* certified questions. Question 24 a closed question originally read, "How would you define your ethnic / cultural origin? This is where you and your ancestors come from?" to which respondents could answer by choosing one of four options: Portuguese, American, Portuguese-American or other (which needed to be specified). Question 25 asked "How important is your ethnic / cultural identity to you?" Respondents were asked to select their answer from a scale of five items including: extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, and not at all important. Questions number 25 and 26 were open-ended questions that asked respondents to use a given space to write down the first three words that first came to mind when they thought of what it meant to be Portuguese and what it meant to

be American. Question number 28, a closed question asked respondents to answer 7 distinct sub-questions by answering checking either “yes” or “no.” The sub questions were:

- a) Do you have family in Portugal?
- b) Do you have friends in Portugal?
- c) Do you belong to a Portuguese club?
- d) Do you go to Portuguese bars / restaurants?
- e) Do you have a Portuguese channel subscription?
- f) Do you cook typical Portuguese food?
- g) Do you know any Portuguese people outside of your family?

Question number 29, a closed question, asked respondents how frequently they participated in activities within the Portuguese-American community. Possible answers for this question were: extremely often, very often, moderately often, slightly often, or not at all often.

Section number seven, entitled *Connection to Portugal, its language and its culture*, included three questions, all of which were closed and *SurveyMonkey* certified. Question number 30 asked how often respondents travel to Portugal, to which they could answer: always, very often, sometime, almost never or never. Question number 31 asked respondents to choose from a list of six possible reasons that would explain why they travel to Portugal. The given reasons were: I want to see my family; I want to see my friends; I want to learn about the place where my ancestors came from; I want to study the language and/or culture of my ancestors; I never travel to Portugal; and, other (please specify). Question number 32 was almost an exact copy of question number 28, the only difference was a slight word alteration in one of the sub-questions. Consequently, it was eliminated during the validation process.

The final section of the survey, section number eight entitled, *Thank you for participating in this survey*, included three questions. Question number 33, a closed, *SurveyMonkey* certified question asked respondents to check “yes” or “no” in response to whether they would be interested in being contacted for a follow-up,

one-one-one interview. Questions number 34, an open-ended, *SurveyMonkey* certified was directly related to the previous question, it asked those respondents who had answered “yes” to question number 33 to enter their contact information. And finally, question number 35, an open-ended question, asked respondents whether there were any additional comments they would like to add.

3.4.1.1 Triangulation and validation of the survey

*“The method must follow the question. Campbell, many decades ago, promoted the concept of triangulation – that every method has its limitations, and multiple methods are usually needed.”
Gene V. Glass as quoted in Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998, p.22)
and re-quoted in Patton (2002, p.247)*

In order to increase the validity of a study, especially those of a qualitative nature, research experts such as, Guion, Diehl and McDonald (2011), Denzin and Lincoln (2003), and Patton (2002), suggest using triangulation. Patton (2002:247) cited Denzin’s (1978) distinction of four types of triangulation: data, investigator, theory and methodological.

Consequently, investigator triangulation, which according to Patton (2002) allows for the use of various investigators or evaluators, was used to triangulate this study once the initial version of the survey was completed. For this purpose, a grid containing the questions guiding the study as well as the questions that made up the survey, was sent by e-mail in June of 2014 to six professionals who are not only professors at the University of the Algarve and but also active researchers from a variety of fields including: culture, communication, journalism, psychology, teaching and learning in a foreign language, and translation. This group of evaluators was chosen because of their overall experience with research, as well as their experience with surveys (both building and responding to them), but more importantly, their areas of expertise were considered relevant areas for this study. Each evaluator was sent a request to review the questions that made up the first version of the survey and provide feedback on the questions, the language

used and the structure of the overall survey. Evaluators were additionally asked to answer the survey in order to ensure that first of all, as non-native speakers of English the language used was accessible and that secondly, the overall experience of answering the survey was positive and the time it took to answer the survey was acceptable. Using the website *surveymonkey.com*, the website used to build and distribute the survey a link was created under the heading *validation* and this too was sent to the evaluator group so they could perform a test-run of the survey and of course, give feedback.

The second group used for the validation of the survey was similar to the target population of the study, except it was specifically made of up of individuals living in either the state of Connecticut, in the United States, or in Canada within the Toronto or Quebec provinces. The contacts I had in these regions facilitated the distribution of the survey and its validation process. Hence, an email was sent to a few people asking them to participate and to also pass on the link to the survey to other Portuguese-Americans they knew. In the end, a total of twenty responses were obtained for validation purposes from a population that was similar to the intended population of the study.

Feedback was received mostly by e-mail but also in person, and in some cases in both forms, throughout the month of July 2014. The feedback included suggestions to make changes throughout the survey. Overall, it was decided to shorten the length of the survey and whenever possible make it more inclusive. In the end the alterations to the original survey included changes to the format of some questions (i.e., closed-ended to open-ended questions or vice-versa), changes to the type of answers including multiple-choice, dropdown menu, matrix, single textbox or comment box, and finally changes in wording in order to avoid redundancy. The final version of the survey contained a total of 37 questions divided into eight sections which when printed in PDF format occupied eight pages.

In section one, *Welcome to the Portuguese-American Identity Survey*, the letter to the respondents was made less redundant by only using the word survey and not the words questionnaire and survey which had mistakenly been used. In

addition, the information given about the actual study was reduced, for it was the experience of some of the researchers consulted that too much information may sway respondents' answers one way or the other.

In section two, *Identification*, question number two, “*What is your age?*” was changed from a closed-ended question, with seven multiple-choice answers of previously selected age groups, to an open-ended question where respondents could enter their specific age in a single textbox, therefore providing more specific data that could be correlated during the data analysis phase and save space. A closed-ended question was also added to the final version, question number three, “*On which continent were your grandparents born?*” to allow for comparison and track any changes in location of family. In addition, a dropdown list of possible answers for this question was provided. Therefore, the original question number three became question number four in the final version of the survey and a dropdown menu of possible answers was also provide for this question, once again diminishing the length of the survey. Question number five became question number six, an open-ended question where respondents were asked to write in their State of residence in a textbox. This alteration would allow for the inclusion of all states, should the sample population need to be more inclusive or extended to participants outside of New York, while saving overall space.

In section three, *Immigration*, the first change was to the wording of the original question number six, which in the final version became question number seven, to include the respondent and not just his or her ancestors (*Where in Portugal do you or your ancestors come from?*). Consequently, the wording of the original questions number seven and eight, which in the final version of the survey became questions number eight and nine, was also changed. The final questions read as follows: question number eight “*Who was/were the first of your ancestors to immigrate to the United States?*” and question number nine “*When did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States?*” In addition, in question number nine the multiple-choice answer list provided was also altered to allow for an extension of the time span included ranging from before 1950 to 2014.

In section four, *Education*, a closed-ended question about the occupation of the respondent was added. It included a list of thirty-eight possible answers with the aim of collecting enough information to illustrate the participants' education levels and occupations.

In section five, *Language*, the wording of what became question number 14 was changed slightly. The more significant changes in this section were those made to questions 15 through 20 of the final version, as the answers to these questions were reduced to a list of three multiple choice answers including English, Portuguese and "other" so that respondents could write-in any other language spoken within the childhood home in a textbox. Questions 21 through 25, were unaltered as closed-questions but within the matrix for questions 21 and 22 the words "understand when it is spoken" were added in front of "listening" to clarify the intended meaning. In question 23 a column "both English and Portuguese" was added to the matrix.

In section six, *Identity*, the wording to question number 24 in the original version of the survey, which later became question number 26 was changed to read, "*How would you define your cultural origin?*" In the original question not only had the word *ethnic* had been misspelled as *ethic*, but it had also been included for trial-and-error purposes as an alternative to *cultural*, therefore after feedback it was removed as most validators preferred the word *cultural* for the intended purposes. The same alteration was made to the question that followed and in addition, its format was also changed from a multiple-choice type of answer format to a matrix format in order to save space. A new question 28, "*Evaluate the following statements about your cultural identity*" was added to this section to collect further information about respondents' perceptions of their Portuguese-American cultural identity, since the original question 28 was a duplicate from the following section of the survey. The last change in this section was to question number 31, which also changed from a multiple-choice to a matrix type of answer format.

In the last two sections, section seven, *Connection to Portugal, its language and its culture*, and in section eight, *Thank you for participating in this survey*, no alterations were made.

Once all alterations suggested during the validation phase were completed, the survey was distributed via my personal Facebook page and by the creation of a web link that would direct respondents to [surveymonkey.com](https://www.surveymonkey.com). The actual data collection took place between September of 2014 and April of 2015, being that the original time frame for this phase was subsequently extended to allow for the collection of additional responses.

3.4.2 The Interview

Yin holds the position that out of all the sources of information that one can use to build a case study, one of the sources that is most vital, least biased and accurate is the interview as other type of documentation may be biased or not fully accurate (2009, p. 106). Kvale postulates that the, “qualitative research interview attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ points of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples’ experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations.” (1996, p. 1) He further argues that what the researcher learns from conducting a qualitative research interview is connected to “five features of a postmodern construction of knowledge: the conversational. The narrative, the linguistic, the contextual, and the interrelational nature of knowledge.” (Kvale, 1996, 42). Additionally Dörnyei confirms that, “the most common combination of questionnaire research is an interview study” (2010, p. 109).

Hence the decision to use as the second research instrument used in this study became an interview based on a semi-structured interview guide approach built to answer the research questions. Moreover, according to Patton (2002) interviewing is a type of approach to qualitative research, which is structured around a list of questions or topics to be explored during the course of the interview, hence certifying that the interviewer maintains the same type of approach when conducting the interview with each participating interviewee. In

other words, “The interview guide provides topics or subject areas within which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate that particular subject. Thus, the interviewer remains free to build a conversation within a particular subject area, to word questions spontaneously and to establish a conversational style but with the focus on a particular subject that has been predetermined.” (2002, p. 343) Similarly, Yin makes reference to Rubin & Rubin (1995) work when stating that the list of questions in, “a case study interview is likely to be fluid rather than rigid.” (2009, p. 106) The interview guide approach was chosen because experts such as Patton (2002) postulate that it allows the researcher more flexibility while conducting the interview, leaving room for the eventual emergence of topics, which were previously not thought of by the researcher. Additionally, Patton describes this approach as being “more systematic and comprehensive” (2002, p. 343).

Patton explains that, “The purpose of qualitative interviewing is to capture how those being interviewed view their world, to learn *their* terminology and judgments, and to capture the complexities of *their* individual perceptions and experiences. ... a framework within which respondents can express *their own* understandings in their own terms” (2002, p. 348). Consequently, the questions guiding the interview phase of this study fall mostly into three categories, they are: experience questions, feeling questions and background or demographic questions (Patton, 2002, pp. 350-1). It is therefore based on a series of open-ended questions that respondents were asked to express in their own terms, their perceptions, experiences and understanding of their own reality as well as that of their community.

In writing the semi-structured interview guide, there was an attempt to write singular questions, that is questions that focused on one idea or topic at a time, so that not to confuse or mislead the interviewee, while also writing questions that were clear to the person being interviewed (Patton, 2002, p. 361). In addition, detailed oriented prompts, such as: who, where, what, when, how and why were also included as these often allow the researcher to search deeper for details not made explicit by respondents but highly relevant to get insights on the phenomenon studied. Additionally, as per Patton’s (2002) suggestion two kinds of

question probe were also used, those that seek for an elaboration of what was said and those that seek clarification, the idea behind using such prompts, is to solicit more detail and consequently to get a more complete picture of what is being said.

The overall goal of the interviews conducted was not only to answer the research questions guiding this study but in doing so to contribute to a deeper understanding of the meaning of the responses generated by the survey and to gain further, more in-depth knowledge of the immigration and its posterior assimilation process through the participants' lives and experiences. In addition, this phase of the research permitted the triangulation of the survey data collected and its results. Regardless of whether participants were first, second or third generation, I believe that their stories, as well as their experiences shed light on the development of a Portuguese-American identity, which when compared may be similar or significantly different, depending on the experiences of the participants, as well as on factors such as time of immigration, place, education and resources. Patton claims that as researchers, "We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. (...) The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person's perspective. Qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit. We interview to find out what it is in and on someone else's mind, to gather their stories" (Patton, 2002, pp. 340-341).

Based on the data resulting from the survey phase of this study and on the research questions guiding the study, a first version of the interview question guide was written using triangulation methods. Initially the interview guide included the following questions:

- a)** Please introduce yourself (age, place of birth, place of residence, what you do).
- b)** Can you tell me who in your family first immigrated to America, you or someone else?
- c)** What was that like?

- d)** What stories have you heard about when they emigrated or when they arrived?
- e)** Growing up in America, what it was/is like to be the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant?
- f)** When did you learn Portuguese / English?
- g)** What was that like?
- h)** When and for what purpose do you use English?
- i)** When and for what purpose do you use Portuguese?
- j)** What, if any, significance do these languages have for you?
- k)** In your opinion, what is the value of Portuguese and of English?
- l)** If you had to compare the two languages, what would you say?
- m)** In your experience, what does it mean to be Portuguese-American?
- n)** What would you say makes a person Portuguese-American?
- o)** In your opinion, does this “label” ever change depending on where you are or whom you are with?
- p)** Tell me about what it was like to grow up in a Portuguese-American house?
- q)** What would you say was “Portuguese” in your house and what was “American”?
- r)** In what ways were you taught about being Portuguese or being American?
- s)** How did you learn English and/or Portuguese?
- t)** Tell me about a time when the two cultures seemed to clash?
- u)** How did being an immigrant affect or change you?
- v)** How did growing up being Portuguese-American make you the person you are today?
- w)** If you could give any advice to new Portuguese immigrants and their families, what would it be?
- x)** If you could go back in time, what would you change?
- y)** “That covers the things I wanted to ask. Anything you care to add?” or “What should I have asked you that I didn’t think to ask?”

Once written a tentative interview guide was sent by e-mail to a group of six staff members at the University of the Algarve for peer review. This group was asked to not only review the questions but also to check these against the research questions guiding this study and the already validated survey questions. The next step in the validation of the interview guide was to pilot the guide in order to validate the list of questions that would later guide the semi-structured interview. For this purpose a group of twenty individuals that were in all aspects similar to the target population, were sent an email and asked to review and comment on the questions that constituted the interview guide. The email read as follows:

Dear Participants,

Thank you for taking the time to answer my questionnaire on Portuguese-American Identity. During the course of the past few months, I have been busy reading, writing and analyzing the results of the survey. Now, I am getting ready for the next stage, the interview process, which will begin shortly. However, I need to ask for your help once again.

Can you please read the questions in the attached WORD document and give me feedback by email on the questions themselves and if you think of any other questions that I should be asking, please let me know. You do not have to answer these questions right now, just let me know what you think about the structure and the content of the questions.

I truly appreciate your participation and your help. Thank you!

Sincerely,

Neuza Costa

Not everyone contacted during the piloting phase sent a reply. However, the comments and suggestions from those who did were extremely insightful. The comments and suggestions made during the three phases of the construction of the interview guide, triangulation, peer review and piloting, contributed to several changes including the elimination of some questions and the rewording of others. Nevertheless, most suggestions called for the addition of questions that had not been thought of. The first question added was about how the Portuguese language

and culture are being transmitted to the younger generations, which permitted additional data to be collected for research question number four, *Has the Portuguese language and culture been transmitted to younger generations?* It questions the children of immigrants acting as liaisons between the non-English speaking community and the American culture, as well as the possible challenges that arose from navigating between the two cultures were also suggested and therefore, added. Another response proposed asking whether the younger generations are being raised as Portuguese or Americans and consequently, how the parents would prefer for their children to identify themselves as, Portuguese or as Americans. In addition, in regards to the issue of education it was considered best to ask participants about the differences from one generation to the next when it came to education and its value. In order to have a deeper understanding of the answers given to the open-ended questions regarding the respondents' perception of Portuguese and American culture in the survey, a question about what is understood by the concept of culture was also added. Specifically, what is American culture and what is Portuguese culture, and what would be some concrete examples? In fact, one person also suggested adding a question about Portuguese feasts and traditions within the Portuguese communities. Additional suggestions required rewriting or rewording some of the questions in order to clarify what was being asked or to avoid ambiguity. As a result of this process, the final version of the interview guide contained 27 questions and was divided into six distinct yet complementary sections: (I) Identification of the respondent and immigration history; (II) Language and education; (III) Cultural identity; (IV) Cultural transmission; (V) Society and education; and (VI) Final comments and a thank you. The final interview guide reads as follows:

Introduction:

Good morning / good afternoon. As you already know, my name is Neuza Costa and I am doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering to participate in the interview phase of this study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask to record our conversation today so that later on I can re-listen to our conversation and make sure that I am not missing any important

information in my notes. Do I have your permission to do that? Your name will be changed, to ensure confidentiality, unless you would prefer me to use your real name. May we start?

Part I: Identification of respondent and family immigration history

- 1) Please introduce yourself (age, place of birth, place of residence, what you do).
- 2) Who in your family was the first to immigrate to the US? When was that?
- 3) What was that like? **or** What stories have you heard about when they emigrated or about what it was like for the upon arrival?

Part II: Language and education

- 4) At what age did you learn Portuguese? English? How would you describe that process?
- 5) Did you attend Portuguese school? Why or why not?
- 6) Did your children? Why or why not?
- 7) Did you or anyone you know act as a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American culture? Tell me about what that was like for you.
- 8) In what contexts do you use English? In what contexts do you use Portuguese?
- 9) In your opinion, what is the value of Portuguese and English (i.e., cultural, economic, personal)?
- 10) How would you compare the value you give to education to that which your parents and/or grandparents gave?

Part III: Cultural identity

- 11) In my survey, I asked respondents about culture. In your opinion what defines the concept of culture? What are some examples of Portuguese culture / of American culture?
- 12) In your opinion, what does it mean to be Portuguese-American?
- 13) What would you say makes a person Portuguese-American?

- 14) In your opinion, does this “label” ever change depending on where you are or whom you are with?

Part IV: Cultural Transmission

- 15) Growing up in America, what was it like it to be the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant? How would you describe your upbringing, as Portuguese or as American?
- 16) Can you describe the community in which you grew up (was it a community of mostly other Portuguese immigrants or mostly Americans)? How did you feel within the community (outsider/insider)? Why or why not? What, if any, were the challenges of living between the two cultures (i.e. in school, in the community)?
- 17) What was the Portuguese-American household like? How would you say it has changed?
- 18) In what ways were you taught about being Portuguese or American?
- 19) Do you now or did you ever participate in a Portuguese Club or in “festas”? Why? Why not?
- 20) How about the younger generations, how is the Portuguese language and culture being transmitted to the younger generations?
- 21) How would you want your children to view themselves (i.e., Portuguese-Americans, Americans, Portuguese)? Why?

Part V: Society and education

- 22) How did being an immigrant affect or change you?
- 23) How did growing up being Portuguese-American make you the person you are today?
- 24) If you could give any advice to new Portuguese immigrants and their families, what would it be?
- 25) If you could go back in time, what would you change?

Part VI: Final comments and a thank you.

- 26) That covers the things I wanted to ask. Anything you care to add?
- 27) What should I have asked you that I didn't think to ask?

3.5 The Research Procedures

3.5.1 Survey: Data collection and data processing

Initially, extensive online research was carried out in order to identify groups of interest that would facilitate the distribution of the survey and consequently, the identification of possible participants. A list of “advertising” venues for the survey, including Portuguese-American organizations and individual contacts was compiled. The final list included various Portuguese-American associations within New York State (e.g., the Portuguese American Club of Mount Vernon, the Portuguese American Club of New Rochelle, and the Mineola Portuguese Soccer Club. However, the need to expand the target population became increasingly apparent and consequently, the original list of possible contacts grew to include⁸: Portuguese consulates in the United States; Portuguese-American clubs across the United States from east to west, some of which were affiliated to national Portuguese soccer teams (Sporting Club do Porto, Sporting Club Benfica, etc.); Portuguese restaurants; and finally, charity clubs such as the American Foundation for Charities of Portugal. Some of the companies contacted this way included a Portuguese owned tax service in Massachusetts and a Portuguese sausage factory in California that was started by Portuguese immigrants in the 1960s. In addition, the use of the social media website *Facebook*, also proved to be essential at this stage, for on one hand it permitted

⁸ 2017 LUSO Convention Committee, Academia do Bacalhau de Long Island in NY, Alheirense of Mineola, American Foundation for Charities of Portugal, Chicopee Portuguese American Club, Comunidades Portuguesas nos Estados Unidos da América, Cooking Portuguese Food, Escola Júlio Dinis, Florida, Portuguese American Club, Gabriel Marques, Grupo Folclórico do Clube Português de Cranston, Henrique Mano, Luso-Americano, Long Island Portuguese. Massachusetts Alliance of Portuguese Speakers (MAPS), Meet Portugal in NY, Mineola Portuguese Soccer Club Fans, My Portuguese Family, My Portuguese Friends, New York Portugal Day Parade 2015, New York Portuguese, NY Portugas, PALCUS, Portugal Day in NY, Portuguese, Portuguese American Center of Suffolk, Portuguese American Community Center, Portuguese American Community Center (Yonkers), Portuguese American Cultural Exchange, Portuguese, American Historical and Research Foundation, Inc., Portuguese American Journal, Portuguese American, Police Association of New Jersey, Portuguese American Review, Portuguese Americans for Democracy and Liberty, Portuguese Americans in Rhode Island, Portuguese American Suncoast Association,, Portuguese and Proud, Portuguese Circle, Portuguese Fraternal Society of America, Portuguese Hawaiian Genealogy, Portuguese Heritage Society – Lusitano, Portuguese in California, Portuguese Kids, Portuguese Page, Portugueses em New Jersey, Portugueses nos Estados Unidos da América, Portugueses nos E.U.A., Rancho Folclórico Aldeias de Portugal: Farmingville, NY, Senator Jack Martins, SPT Portuguese Television, Vasco da Gama Portuguese Cultural Center, Virginia Portuguese Community Center

Portuguese companies to be located and contacted directly. On the other hand, it permitted searches possible participants to be made by simply entering phrases such as, “people from Lisbon, Portugal who live in Connecticut” or “people from Faro, Portugal who live in New Jersey.” The use of a social media website such as *Facebook* functioned well not only as distribution vehicles that allowed willing research participants to forward information on the existence of this research project to friends and at the same time encourage friends, family and acquaintances to participate, but also due to the fact that it permitted an easier access to possible participants from a distance, within the more condensed time frame of this study in particular.

In order to divulge the survey and solicit responses the web link was first posted on my personal Facebook page and then shared or re-posted by friends and acquaintances. The same web link was also posted on the Facebook pages of Portuguese-American associations and businesses across the United States. In most cases, contact was first made via e-mail or by *Facebook* message, asking permission to post the link to the survey and to request participation in the stud. A sample of the e-mails sent follows:

Sample 1:

Hello! My name is Neuza Costa. I am a PhD candidate at Universidade do Algarve. Could you please help me divulge my survey on Portuguese-American Identity? Maybe you can post the link on your timeline or share my post about it. Any help you can give me would be greatly appreciated. Thank you, I look forward to your reply.

Sample 2:

Hi! My name is Neuza Costa. I am a PhD candidate at Universidade do Algarve working on Portuguese-American Identity. If you are a Portuguese immigrant or a descendant of a Portuguese immigrant, would you please help me to spread the word about my survey? Any help you may be able to give me, would be greatly appreciated.

The link to answer the survey is:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/NCPortuguese->

AmericanIdentity
Portuguese-American Identity Survey

Sample 3:

To Whom It May Concern,

My name is Neuza Costa. I am a PhD student at Universidade do Algarve, in Faro, Portugal, working on a PhD regarding Portuguese-American Identity. I am writing to ask, if your organization would please help me to spread the word about my survey? ? Any help you may be able to give me, would be greatly appreciated.

The link is as follows:

<https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/NCPortuguese-AmericanIdentity>

Once the survey was ready to be administered, it was made available to the public via *surveymonkey.com* and the data collection phase began. Participants from all over the United States began answering and sharing the link with friends and family. In fact, at the end of the initial data-collecting phase, the total number of responses to the survey equaled 493 responses, twenty of which were specifically collected during the month of August 2014 for validation purposes through the creation of a *surveymonkey.com* collector, a web link entitled *Validation* and consequently, excluded from the data analysis process, leaving a total of 473 answers to be analyzed. Although the survey was opened and available to participants from September of 2014 to April of 2015, the majority of answers were completed by respondents during the month of October of 2014 with 243 responses, followed by September of 2014 with 190 responses. The majority of the respondents, 457 in total, answered the survey by using the *surveymonkey.com* collector entitled *Web Link 1*, while a significantly inferior total of 16 responses were collected via the *surveymonkey.com* collector entitled *Facebook Post 1*.

As Groves et al. suggest the data collection process and the data processing steps are often “performed simultaneously” (2009, p. 330), especially in

studies such as this one where a computer-assisted survey is used. Furthermore, *SurveyMonkey* facilitated the data processing phase of the study by:

- 1) allowing the creation of the coding of responses to questions when writing these, including the questions that were technically close-ended questions but included the option of an answer that was “other” which allowed the respondents to introduce a word or a phrase requiring further analysis
- 2) allowing text analysis and to search and then categorize the answers to open-ended questions in order to check for more commonly used words and phrases;
- 3) facilitating in the creation of word clouds to better visualize the answers to open-ended questions
- 4) creating graphs for statistical analysis as results came in on a daily, weekly, or monthly basis

Not all of the data processing was automatically completed by *SurveyMonkey*, nevertheless, it was enlightening to see the development of the data as it came in on a daily basis. As Chapter IV more explicitly explains the data collected for each question item of the survey was calculated for frequency of occurrences depending of course on the question item and whether or not it required a quantitative or a qualitative analytical approach.

3.5.2 The Interviews: Data collection and data processing

Once it was randomly established who would be interviewed and each one of those individuals was successfully contacted, the interview process began during the late spring and early summer months of 2015. Twelve individual, one-to-one interviews were conducted via Skype, FaceTime, Google Video Chat, Viber or by telephone (see Table 3.3) depending on the technology available or which one was working best at the time of the scheduled interview. Due to the time difference between the eastern coast and the western coast of the United States of

America all interviews were done between the later part of the afternoon and sometime during night (Portuguese time).

Table 3.3
Interview Information

Name of Interviewee	Gender	State of Residence	Communication Tool Used
Maria C.	F	NY	Skype
Sandra G. E.	F	NY	Skype
Andrea C.	F	MA	Skype
Alice S. M. L.	F	CA	Google Video Chat
Dan V.	M	MA	Phone
Rosemary C.	F	CA	FaceTime
Victor C.	M	NJ	Viber
Danny B.	M	CA	Skype
Jesse S.	M	MA	Skype
Fernando G.	M	NJ	Cell Phone / Home Phone
Liz S.	F	NY	FaceTime & Phone
Jennifer R.	F	NJ	Skype

At the beginning of each interview, each participant was asked permission to record the interview. As all 12 participants gave consent to record the interviews were all recorded using the recorder application on an iPhone. On average interviews lasted between 45 minutes to one hour and a half, depending on the contributions of the interviewees and the time they had available.

Once completed all interviews were carefully listened to and then transcribed word for word, in both Portuguese and English which were the languages used in all interviews. Although all interviews were conducted in English, with the exception of one, which was primarily conducted in Portuguese, there was some code-switching between English and Portuguese in all interviews.

The interviews were proofread numerous times to ensure the accuracy of the transcription and its content. Originally ten of the twelve transcriptions were sent to a company in Portugal to be transcribed but once the work was returned, the transcriptions were redone as most contained a vast number of serious errors. Therefore, all transcriptions were then re-transcribed by the researcher to ensure accuracy of content. Once all twelve transcriptions were completed extensive and

intensive reading of the participant’s stories was done in order to initiate the emergent coding of the interviews. Qualitative data were treated following a thematic analysis technique. Text coding procedures were developed as follows: the respondents’ answers were transcribed and systematically read in search for the emergence of relevant common themes representing the communality of the participants’ voice on the topics of inquiry. The thematic units found were labeled text units and were grouped under subcategories, which were then grouped under main categories labeled accordingly to the topics of inquiry (Anderson, 2007). All categories emerged from the reading of the participants’ answers. In addition, the coding of text units and its corresponding labeling process were subject to a process of intercoder agreement performed by three independent judges (average percent agreement 83,3%).

In order to run word frequency queries the entire interview corpus (total number of words equals 99,478) was uploaded into NVivo, which then performed word frequency calculations, which helped to identify the occurrences associated with each of the different subcategories. The text units associated with the different subcategories were then displayed in graphic representations in order to better illustrate the frequency of their occurrence in the respondents’ answers.

Tables 3.4 through 3.8 illustrate the category matrixes built for each of the research dimensions underlying the research questions of the study. These will be further exemplified and more thoroughly discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 3.4
Research Dimension – Participants’ Understanding of Culture

Main Categories	Subcategories
Culture	Music
	Family
	Folklore
	Food
	Rancho
	Religion (include here religious processions...)
	The past today
	Football, Tailgate parties
	Baseball
	Thanksgiving

Table 3.5 Research Dimension – Participants’ Views on Education

Main Categories	Subcategories
Education	Education differences between generations Value and purpose of education Opportunity Portuguese school Learning the language

Table 3.6 Research Dimension – Participants’ Representations of their Identity

Main Categories	Subcategories
Identity	Portuguese Portuguese-American American Whites Portuguese (other derogatory terms) Changes The immigrant/the American

Table 3.7 Research Dimension – Participants’ Representations of Immigration

Main Categories	Subcategories
Immigration	Giving value to past immigrants Suggestions for future Differences The idea of home Work Money Sacrifice Opportunity

Table 3.8 Research Dimension – Participants’ Representations of the Portuguese and the English Languages

Main Categories	Subcategories
Language	L1 - Portuguese L2 - English L1 as a mixture Language loss Different levels of fluency and acquisition English as economy Portuguese as heritage

Categories were built in an attempt to answer the questions guiding this research and its objectives, as well as any others that arose doing the conversations with the participants. As is shown, the final main categories are: culture, education, identity, immigration and language, which are consequently subdivided into emerging subcategories in the analysis of the text units found in the participants’ interviews. The formation of these categories and subcategories

contributed to a careful and detailed linguistic and cultural analysis of the participants' life histories in order to guarantee a triangulation of the results already acquired in the survey, with those acquired in the interview phase. Furthermore, two questions of the study still needed to be answered:

- a) question number five: *What is, if any, the personal, societal and educational impact of the subjects' experiences?*
- b) and, question number six: *What are, if any, the lessons to be learned from the subjects' experiences?*

The answers to both of these questions could only be attained through the exhaustive listening, reading and analysis of the stories of my informants. It was by listening to their voices, the emphasis they put on certain parts of their stories, their emotional descriptions, their eagerness on teaching, showing and sharing with me their culture and traditions, that I was able to come to some conclusions which permitted to me to create an understanding of the personal and societal impact of their experiences, as well as to extract the lessons learned from the stories told so that maybe, the experiences of future immigrants can be improved and also the maintenance of the Portuguese language and culture can be kept alive amongst the Portuguese-American communities in the United States of America.

The results of the interview phase include all of the details, which the seven women and the five men so graciously shared with me. They were in a way translated into the above categories and consequently, quotes were selected in order to create an overall representation of today's Portuguese-American which would not only answer the questions guiding this study but as is was intended would also provide suggestions for how the future generations of Portuguese-American descendants can be encouraged and strive to maintain the language and culture of their ancestors, that which many of their family members worked so hard to maintain over the years.

In the next chapter I will proceed with the detailed analysis of all the data collected with the survey and the interview in order to build a cultural portray of the participants and thus answer the research questions that have guided this work.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The current chapter presents and describes the results obtained throughout the study in two different sections, corresponding to the research tools used. The first section of the chapter specifically presents and describes the results of the online survey, referring to the results of one question at a time in either a quantitative or a qualitative manner depending on the type of the question. The second section of the chapter presents and describes the results of the analysis of the text units of each one of the interviews and allows for an overall comparison of the participants' life histories in an attempt to better understand the concept of identity and culture of the Portuguese-Americans living in the United States of America, it is organized according to the questions of the interview guide.

4.1 Question 1: Who are the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America who self-identify as Portuguese-Americans?

In order to answer the first question of the study, *Who are the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America who self-identify as Portuguese-Americans*, the first section of the survey aimed at the collection of information concerning the characterization of the participants.

Hence the first question of the survey, a closed-ended question, asked participants to enter their gender by selecting one of two options given, male or female. The results were surprising, for the number of female respondents significantly outweighed the number of male respondents. As the graph shows (please see Figure 4.1) the online survey resulted in an overall sample size of 473 respondents, although one person did not specify his/her gender. Hence the population sample from the survey consisted of 312 (66.10%) female respondents, and 160 (33.90%) male respondents, a difference that could be attributed to a

number of factors including occupation and percentage of time spent on the Internet, specifically on Facebook.



Figure 4.1 Participants' Gender

Question number two of the survey, an opened-ended question, asked respondents to enter their age. The total number of responses was 472, since once again one respondent did not answer this specific question. Respondents were asked to enter a concrete number, the analysis of this question required the creation of categories, thus respondents' answers were divided into the following eight categories or age groups: 10 to 19 years old, 20 to 29 years old, 30 to 39 years old, 40 to 49 years old, 50 to 59 years old, 60 to 69 years old, 70 to 79 years old and finally, 80 to 89 years old. As illustrated by Figure 4.2, the highest number of answers, a total of 128 to be exact, came from respondents who were between thirty and thirty-nine years of age. Respondents who were in their 40s were the second largest group, totaling 124 responses, followed by those in their 20s with a total of 100 responses. Outside of these three age groups, the numbers declined significantly. The least amount of respondents, three to be exact, were in their 70s, while only double that amount of respondents claimed to be in their 80s. While only 16 respondents claimed to be between 10 and 19 years old, 39 respondents said they were in the 60s and a total of 56 respondents were reportedly

in the 50s. According to data published by the Pew Research Center¹ in January of 2014, the most active Internet users in the United States are between 18 and 49 years of age, results that might justify the age bracket in which the majority of the population sample falls.

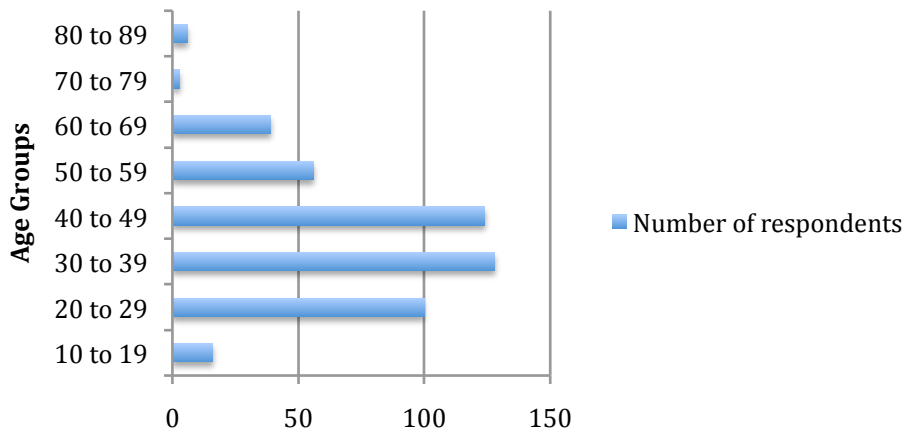


Figure 4.2 Number of Respondents per Age Group

Additionally the study sought to compare the place of birth of the grandparents of the sample population to that of the sample itself, in order to understand the mobility demographics of the families. Based on the data collected from survey question number three, an overwhelming number of the sample claimed that their grandparents were born in Europe. More specifically, 423 of the 472 respondents (please see Figure 4.3) who answered this question claimed to have grandparents who were born in Europe.

¹ <http://www.pewinternet.org/data-trend/internet-use/latest-stats/> Retrieved on June 11, 2015 at 12:30pm

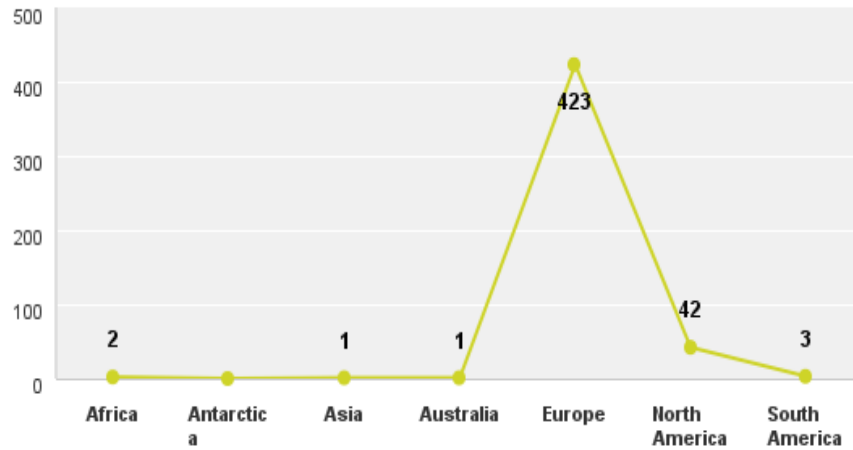


Figure 4.3 Place of Birth of Participants' Grandparent

Interestingly, 168 of the respondents themselves were also born in Europe, as compared to 288 who were born in North America (please see Figure 4.4). Contrarily, only 42 respondents reported having grandparents born in North America. Hence, it can be said that the majority of the sample is second or third generation Americans, if one is to follow the definition² used by the of the United States' government. An extremely small number, between one and three, of the remaining respondents claimed to have grandparents who were born in either the continent of Africa, Asia and South America. Such numbers could possibly be explained by the fact that some of the Portuguese emigration to the United States was done via the now ex-colonies (i.e., Brazil or South Africa), which is further supported by the percentage of the sample, 1.69% which is equaled to eight respondents, who were born in Africa and the same number who was as born in South America.

² The U.S. Census Bureau uses the term generational status to refer to the place of birth of an individual or of an individual's parents. Questions on one's place of birth and parental place of birth are used to define the first, second, and third-or-higher generations. The first generation refers to those who are foreign born. The second generation refers to those with at least one foreign-born parent. The third-or-higher generation includes those with two U.S. native parents.

Source: <https://www.census.gov/population/foreign/about/faq.html> (Retrieved on June 11, 2015 at 14:44pm)

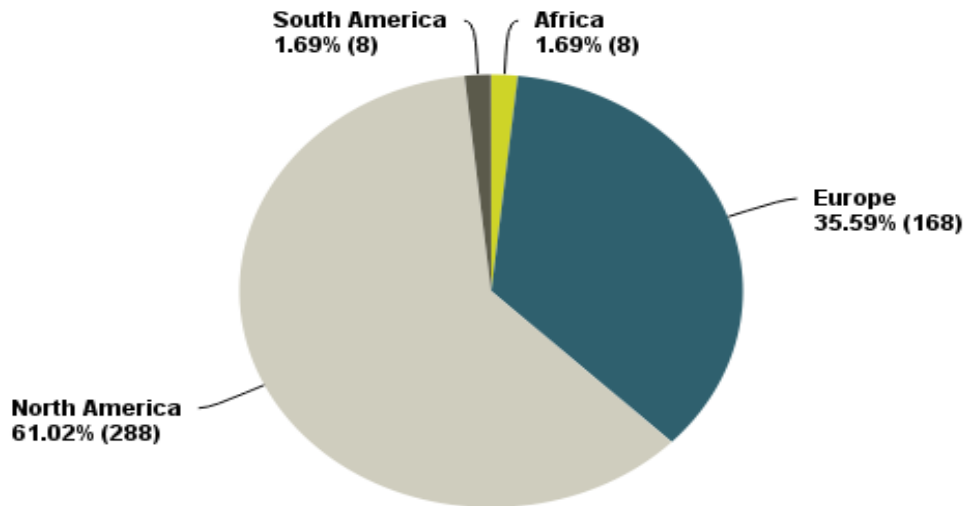


Figure 4.4 Participants' Place of Birth

If we then analyze the nationality of the sample, it can be seen that the majority of the respondents, 246 out of the 472 respondents (please see Figure 4.5), has chosen dual nationality, Portuguese and American. While 97 respondents claimed to have only Portuguese nationality, 119 respondents claimed to only have American nationality.

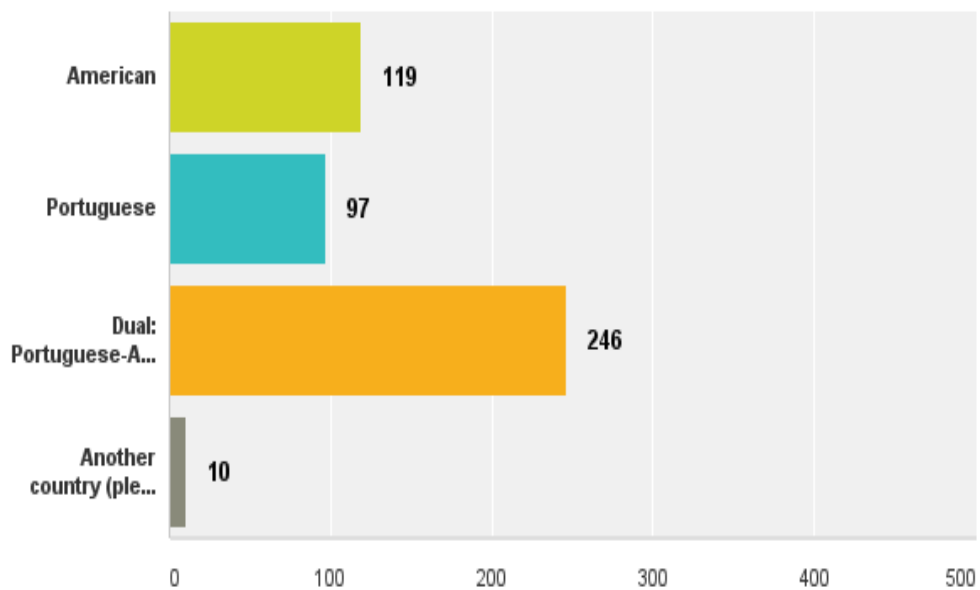


Figure 4.5 Participant's Nationality

As Figure 4.6 depicts the majority of the survey sample lives in the state of New Jersey, with a total of 189 responses or 40.04% of the survey sample. The second highest number of responses shows that 103 Portuguese-Americans who answered the survey reside in New York State, a total of 21.82% of the population surveyed. Interestingly, a similar number of responses came from the states of California and Massachusetts. Whereas California totaled 49 respondents or 10.38% of the survey sample, Massachusetts totaled 50 respondents or 10.59% of the survey sample. However, a much smaller percentage of the survey sample came from the states of Florida and Hawaii, as only 12 responses or 2.54% of the population surveyed claimed to reside in each one of these states, as compared to the 3.60% or 17 Portuguese-Americans from the state of Rhode Island. The remainder of the survey sample resides across 22 states, each with a total of five or less responses, being that Washington was the only state with a total of five respondents, which equal 1.06% of the survey sample. The states with the lowest number of responses, one response or 0.21% each of the survey sample per state, were Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Utah and Wisconsin. Arizona, Colorado, Missouri and Oregon totaled two residents per state or 0.42% each of the survey sample. Lastly, three respondents or 0.64% of the survey sample live in each one of the following states: Connecticut, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas and Virginia.

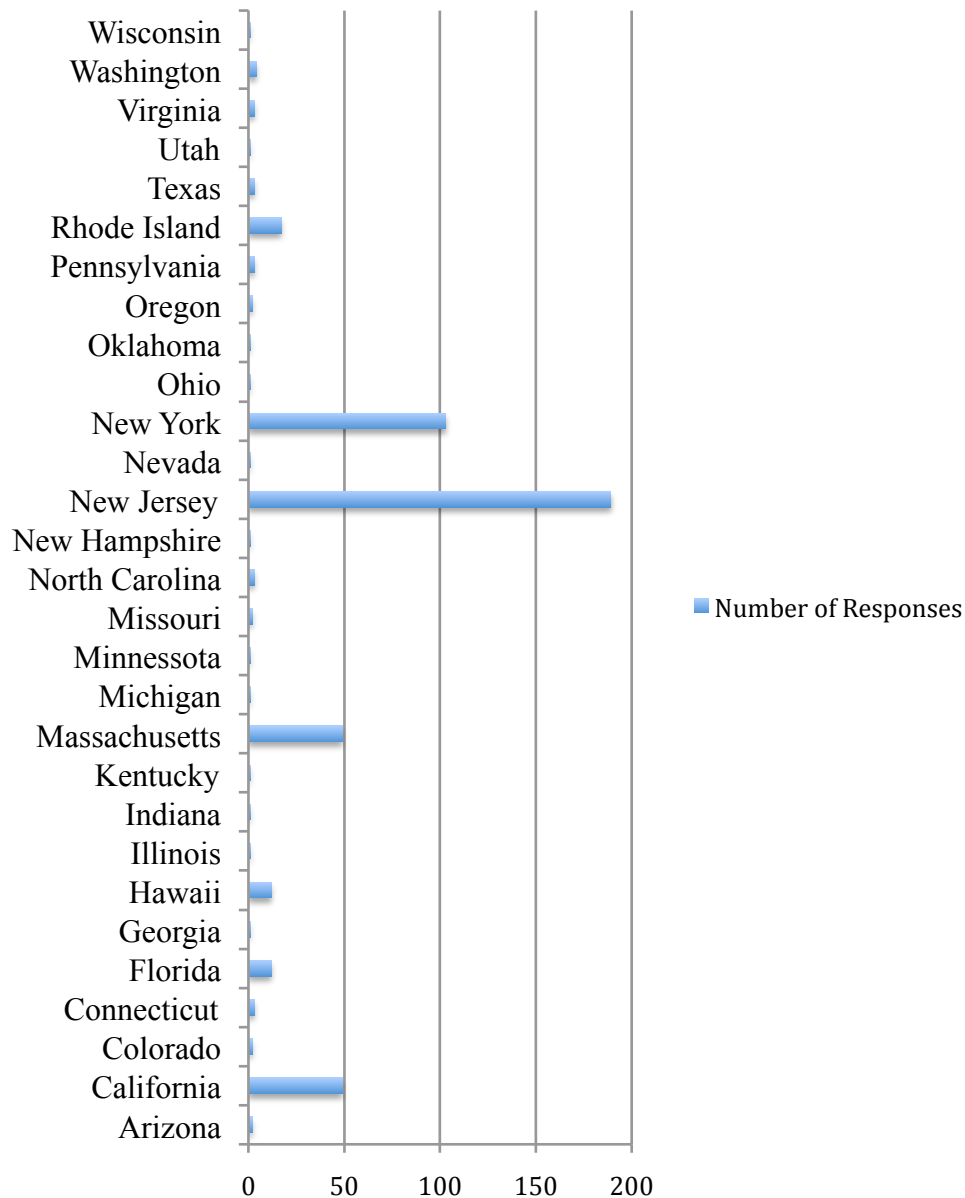


Figure 4.6 Participants’ State of Residence.

Part three of the survey, sought the answer to questions that would aid in understanding and classifying the immigration history and patterns of the survey sample. Hence the answers to question number seven, “*Where in Portugal do you or your ancestors come from?*” which was answered by 460 respondents (not answered by 13 respondents), showed that the majority, 308 respondents to be exact or 66.96% of the survey taster, has ancestral roots in mainland Portugal (please see figure 4.7).

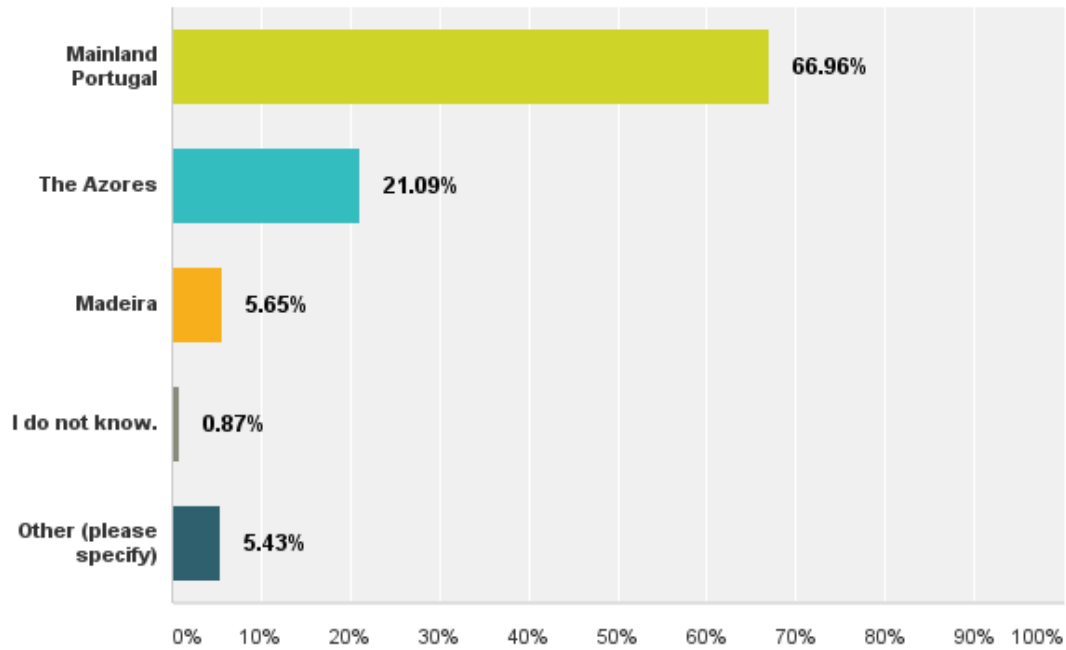


Figure 4.7 Participants' Place of Origin in Portugal

The second location with the highest number of responses equaled 21.09% of the survey sample or 97 of the 460 respondents, who said that they themselves or their ancestors had come from the islands of the Azores, while a mere 26 respondents or 5.65% of the survey sample said they had roots in Madeira. While only four respondents or 0.87% of the survey sample said they did not where ancestors had come from, 5.43% of the survey sample or more precisely 25 respondents chose to answer, “other”. When these 25 “other” responses were analyzed, 48% of the respondents (12) had specified “Azores and Madeira” as theirs or their ancestors’ place of origin, 44% of the respondents (11) written the names of either cities within mainland Portugal (i.e. Braga, Leiria, Vila Verde, Coimbra, Aveiro, Porto and Murtosa) or regions of mainland Portugal (i.e. Beira Alta, Minho, or the North). Despite number of responses labeled as “other”, mainland Portugal prevails as the place of origin of the survey sample.

Another relevant piece of information that pertained to the immigration process of the survey sample was who in the family had actually been the first to emigrate to the United States. Four-hundred-and-sixty respondents answered the

question, “*Who was/were the first of your ancestors to immigrate to the United States?*” while 13 respondents chose not to answer this question (see Figure 4.8).

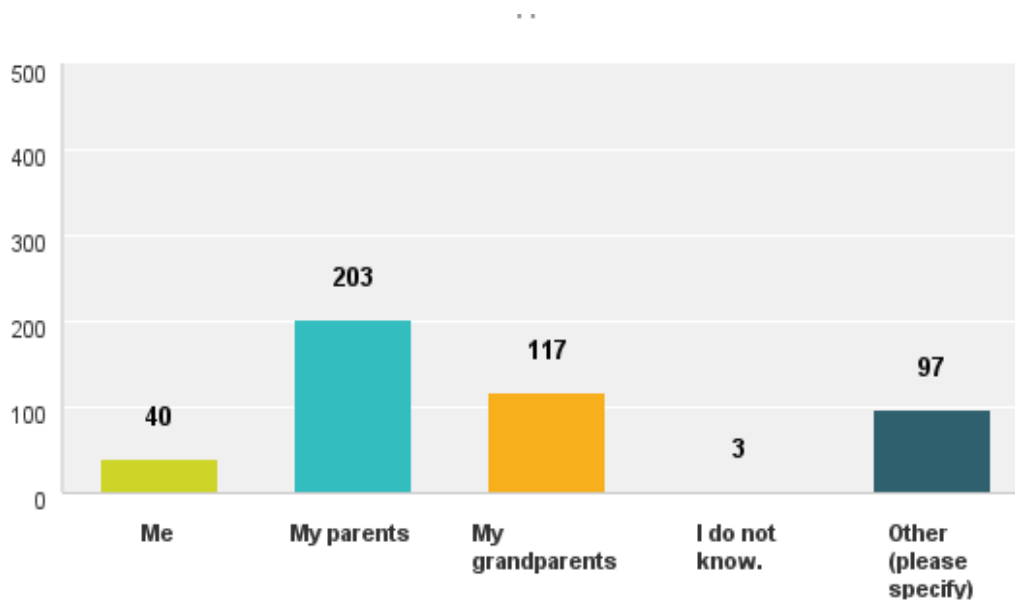


Figure 4.8 Participants’ Member of the Family to First Emigrate to the United States of America

The resulting data showed that it was the parents of the majority of the respondents, 203 respondents (44.13% of the survey sample) to be exact that first became immigrants in the United States, while 117 respondents (25.43% of the survey sample) claimed that it had been their grandparents who had made the move from Portugal to the United States. Only 40 respondents (8.70% of the survey sample) said they had been the ones that had emigrated, as opposed to the three respondents (0.65% of the survey sample) who did not know who in their family had originally been the ones to leave Portugal. Ninety-seven respondents (21.09% of the survey sample) answered “*other*”, therefore the subsequent analysis of these answers required the creation of 13 categories that would further specify which relative had in fact emigrated to the United States of America. The 13 categories were: aunt or uncle, unspecified family member, godparents, grandparents, great-grandparents, great-great-grandparents, great-uncle, in-laws, no answer given, parents or a parent, sibling, sibling of a spouse and finally, spouse. Out of the 97 people that answered “*other*”, 48.45% specified that it had been their great-grandparents who had left Portugal for the United States of America, whereas

9.28% said that it had been their great-great-grandparents. An additional 12.37% of respondents said they are now in the United States of America because of an aunt or an uncle, while 7.22% identify a great-uncle as the first emigrant to the United States of America. Interestingly, 9.28% of the respondents indicated that they had emigrated to the United States of America with either one or both parents, consequently making themselves part of the “move” as opposed to those who had answered parents only. The remainder of the categories included anywhere between one and four respondents, except of course for the one respondent who checked “*other*” but then failed to further specify.

The next piece of data needed to continue piecing together this puzzle, was the approximate date of arrival of those who had been first to arrive upon American soil. Question number nine, asked respondents to approximately indicate their own or their family’s time of arrival by indicating the decade of arrival, given choices that spanned from prior to 1950 to 2014. Although only 35 of respondents or 1.61% of the sample, claimed that their family arrived during the 1950s as can be seen in figure 4.9, the majority of the 460 respondents that answered this question claimed that either themselves or their family members arrived in the United States between 1961 and 1980, which is to be expected given the political and economic instability of Portugal at the time. More specifically, 111 respondents pinpointed the time of arrival as being somewhere between 1971 and 1980, while 99 respondents placed their own or their family’s arrival during the preceding decade, 1961 to 1970. Furthermore, the results shows that 83 respondents (18.04% of the sample) place the time of arrival before the middle of the century, a number that does not differ much from that of the 1980s, which totaled 76 respondents or 16.52% of the survey sample. In addition, the results shows a significant decrease in arrivals between 1991 and 2014, being that 12 respondents chose 1991 to 2000, 10 respondents chose 2001 to 2010 and a mere 5 respondents chose 2011 to 2014. Nevertheless, 11 respondents claimed not to know when their family had arrived, while 18 answered “*other*”. The majority of those who chose to answer “*other*”, specified that their family arrived in the United States of America sometime during the late 1800s (mostly in what later became the State of Hawaii), while two respondents placed their family’s arrival at different

times during the first six decades of the 20th century, and three other did not further specify.

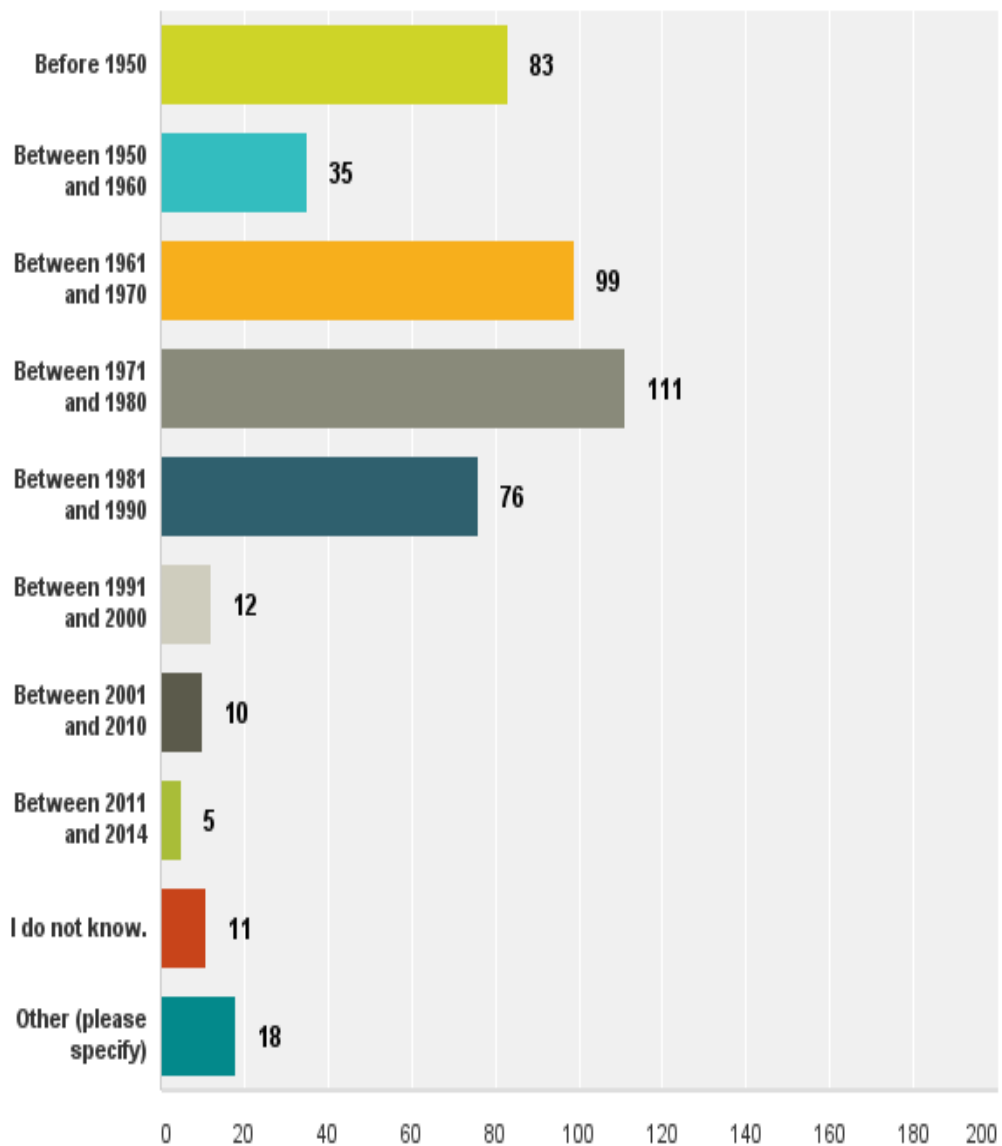


Figure 4.9 Approximate Date of Emigration of Participant or Ancestors

After knowing the approximate time of arrival of the survey sample or of their family, it was pertinent to understand the reasons that had pushed these individuals to become immigrants in the United States of America. Hence question number 10, “*Why did you or your ancestors emigrate to the United States?*” As the results show (please see Figure 4.10) a whopping 65.43% of the sample (301 respondents) stated that *work* had been the reason for leaving, while economic reasons accounted for 63.26% (291 respondents) of the survey sample.

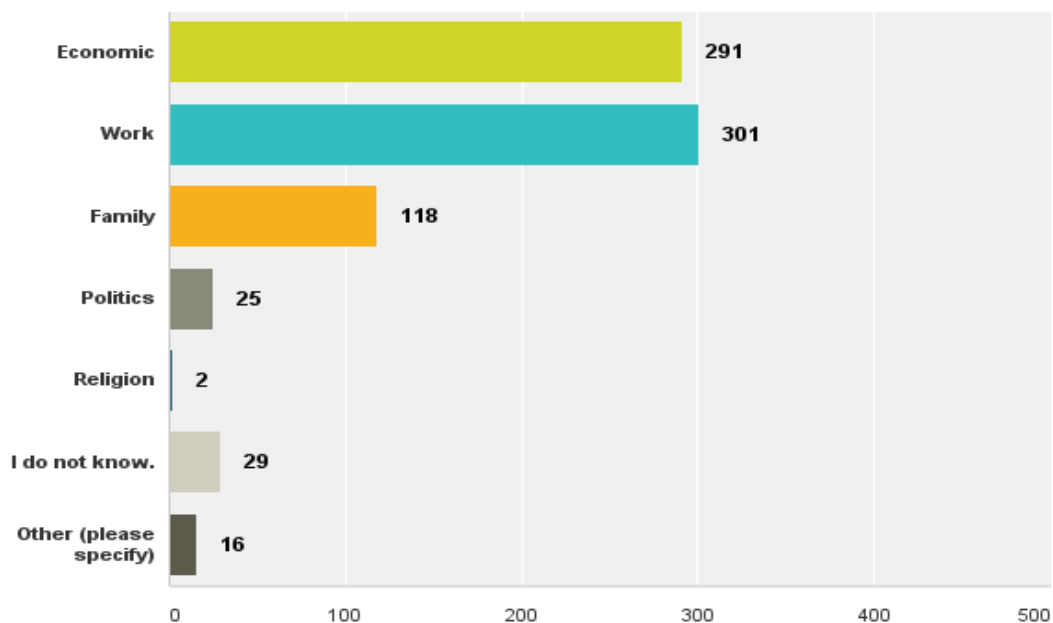


Figure 4.10 Reasons for Emigration

While 29 respondents or 6.30% of the study sample did not know why their family had immigrated, 118 respondents (25.65% of the sample) answered *family*, 25 respondents (5.43% of the sample) gave *politics* as an answer, and a mere two respondents answered *religion* (0.43%). The sixteen respondents who chose to answer “*other*” gave an assortment of answers that were no less significant than the ones above and in my opinion are worth pointing out. These answers included: love, the search for a better education and a better life, opportunity, marriage, the war in Angola, social-economic reasons, to avoid being drafted to “*ultramar*”, because it had always been a dream to live in the United States and lastly a very visual, very specific reason, “*In 1959 the volcano in Faial erupted and Senator J.F.K signed a bill allowing islanders with family in the states to emigrate. My family came about three years later because of that bill. The island had so much ash deposited on the island that the crops were spoiled and many could no longer survive there.*” (Respondent #432)

Once the emigration background of the survey sample was established, the section of the survey that followed sought a description of the educational

background of the respondents. According to the results collected out of 452 respondents that answered the question number eleven (see figure 4.11), *what is the highest level of education you have completed*, the majority, that is 136 respondents, obtained an undergraduate degree, 74 respondents obtained a graduate degree, and 73 respondents obtained a high school diploma. On the other hand, a significant number of respondents, 109 to be exact, enrolled in a university but failed to graduate, more precisely 38 of those completed their freshman year, 43 respondents completed their sophomore and 28 respondents went as far as completing up to their junior year of college.

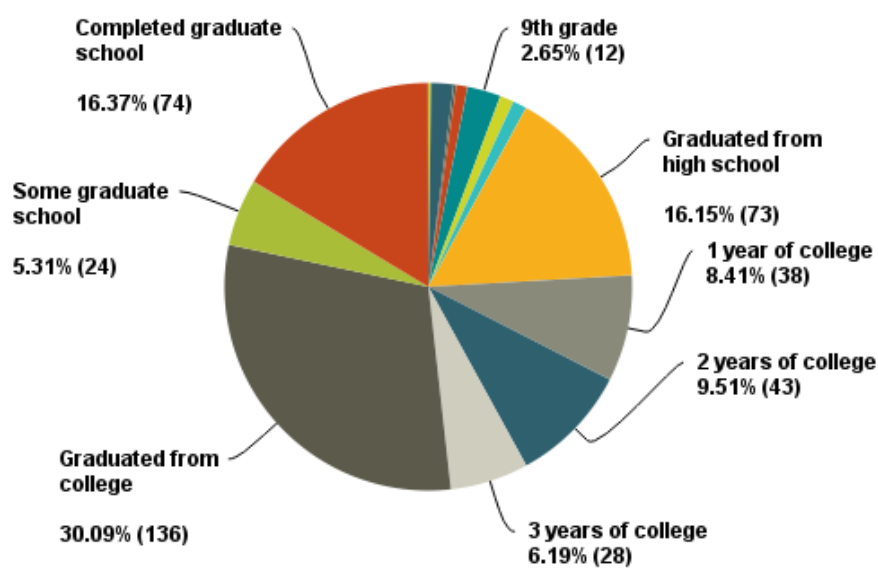


Figure 4.11 Participants' Level of Education

The results also indicate that 24 respondents completed some graduate school but did not receive a graduate diploma. Furthermore, the results depicting those who did not receive a high school diploma show a significant decline in numbers. In fact, five respondents did not go beyond eleventh grade and an additional five did not go beyond tenth grade. A total of twelve students completed their schooling up until ninth grade, but below that the numbers drop even further. For example, only one person claimed not to have attended school at all, eight people were not schooled beyond the fourth grade, one person completed up to the sixth grade and four people finished the eighth grade.

Out of the survey sample those that did attend school, for the most part did so in the United States, concretely out of the 449 respondents to question number 12, *Where did you attend school?* (see Figure 4.12) 339 respondents were schooled in American schools. While 77 respondents said that they were schooled between the U.S. and Portugal, a little less than half (31 respondents) were schooled strictly in Portugal. Twelve respondents said that they did not attend school in either solely the United States or Portugal, or in both the U.S. and Portugal, instead they specifically stated that their schooling also occurred in countries such as, Africa, Angola, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany and in year-abroad experiences at the University of Coimbra and at the University of the Azores.

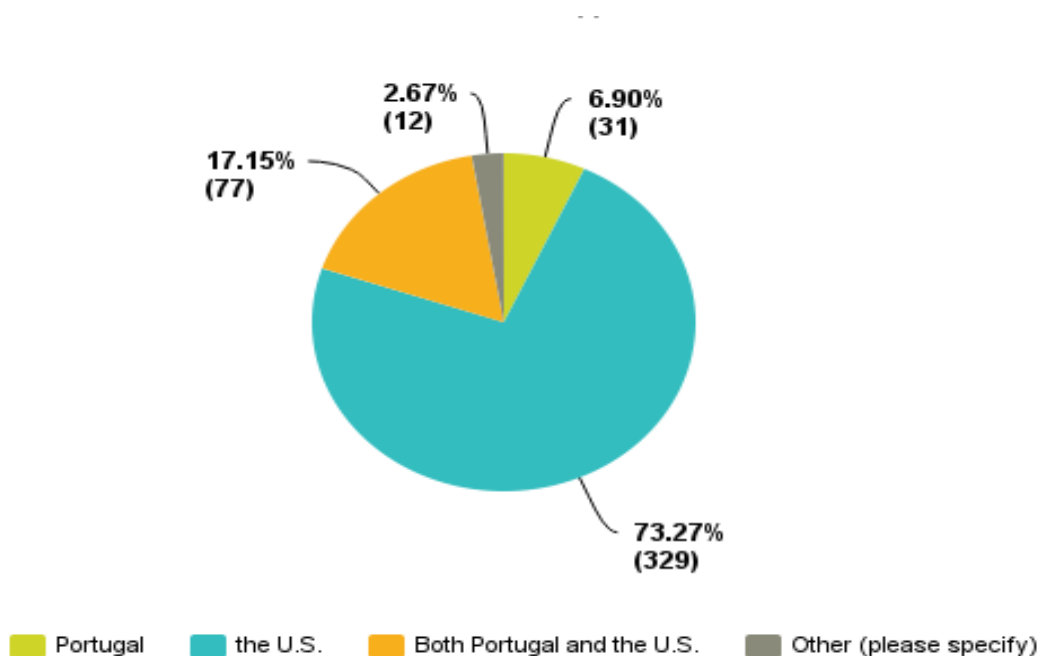


Figure 4.12 Where Participants Received a Formal Education

Once schooling patterns were established, the follow-up question of the survey sought to identify the occupation or employment status of the participants. As can be seen in the graph depicted in Figure 4.13, although 50 respondents said that they were not employed when they answered the survey, the job function that best describes the majority of the respondents falls under the *education* category, as 67 of the 452 responses to question number 13 chose this category. The second most selected category for this question was *health care provider (other)* totaling

30 respondents, followed by *legal* with 28 respondents, followed by the categories administrative, accounting and customer service, with 24, 23 and 22 respectively. Less than 20 respondents said they worked in each one of the following areas: construction (19 respondents), health care provider - nurse (11 respondents), engineering (14 respondents), finance (16 respondents), general business (11 respondents), management (19 respondents) and sales (18 respondents). An even lower number of respondents said they worked in the following areas or fields: advertising or marketing (8 respondents), analyst (3 respondents), art / creative or design (7 respondents), business development (6 respondents), consulting (3 respondents), distribution (3 respondents), health care provider – doctor (2 respondents), housekeeping (9 respondents), human resources (6 respondents), information technology (9 respondents), manufacturing (23 respondents), production (4 respondents), product management (1 respondents), project management (7 respondents), public relations (2 respondents), purchasing (1 respondents), research (5 respondents), science (8 respondents), strategy / planning (1 respondents), supply chain (2 respondents), training (3 respondents), and writing and editing (5 respondents).

Additionally 59 respondents added supplementary information to their answer in the comments section of question number 13, which when analyzed revealed the following: under the “*not employed*” category there were two business owners, five stay-at-home parents, five students, one inspector, one security guard, seven retirees, one homemaker, one technician, and lastly one individual that had worked as a receiving lead; under the “*finance*” category one person works as an internal auditor; under the “*education*” category there is one babysitter, one speech therapist, one person works in sports and one person is working on his/her EdD; under the “*customer service*” category there is one hairdresser, one passenger service agent, one person that works in the food service industry and one person that works in travel; under the “*writing/editing*” category there are two journalists; under the “*health care provider (other)*” category there is one person in the U.S. Air Force; under the “*administrative*” category there is one mechanic; under the “*information technology*” category one person does medical coding; under the “*finance*” category one person is in insurance; under the “*art/creative/design*” category one person is a chef; under the “*management*”

category one person is a homemaker; under the “*product management*” category one person is a Vice President in Product and Technology; under the “*project management*” category one person is an architect, while a second person is a mechanic; under the “*general business*” category two people are in banking and one person works in BSA (Bank Secrecy Act) compliance; under the “*legal*” category there are nine police-officers, one person working in criminal justice and one person who said the following, “(I) was a real estate law paralegal for over 40 years, and also do Portuguese radio for 35 years, correspondent for a Portuguese weekly for 8 years, translator for over 40 years” (Respondent #186).

These data led us to presume that, the Portuguese-Americans represented by Figure 4.13 are employed in a variety of areas that may or may not be linked directly to their formal education, if in fact one exists. These results do however pose a doubt as to whether or not there was some degree of ambiguity or room for interpretation in the question itself or the answer options given, possibly leading respondents to enter erroneous responses. In the analysis of these results I was left wondering whether a simple fill-in type of question where participants would enter their profession using a few words would have provided more concrete, reliable information, although the processing of such results would have been more strenuous. Furthermore, it would have been noteworthy, for example, to further learn what specifically it is that the participants who work in education do. Likewise, it would have been worthwhile to pursue more detailed information regarding the participants who claimed not to be employed, as this too could have provided more telling results.

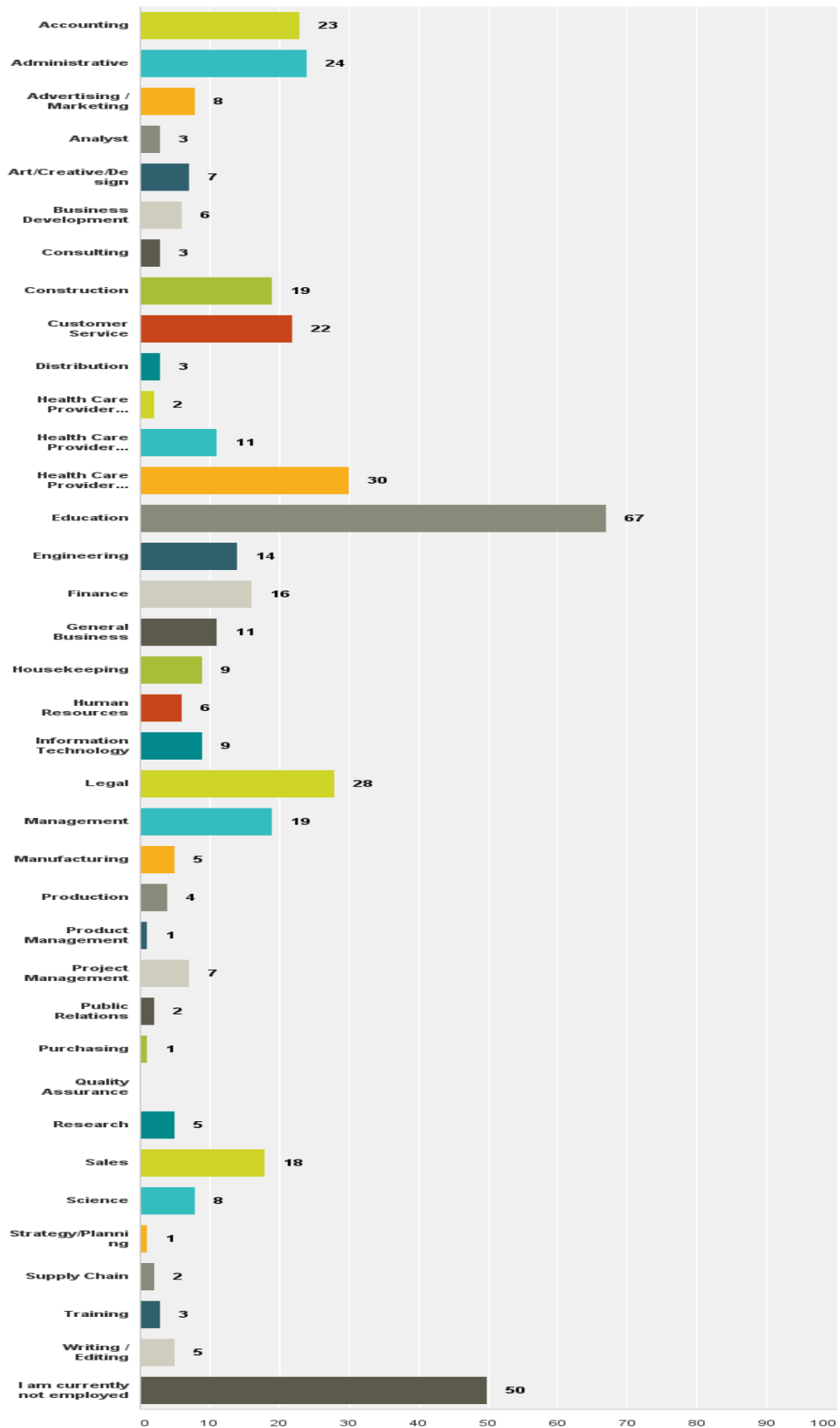


Figure 4.13 Participants' Job Descriptions

4.2 Question 2: What are the subjects' representations of the English and/or Portuguese language?

With the aim of identifying the subjects' representations of the English and the Portuguese language and respectively their cultures, section five of the survey inquired respondents about their language use and skills, beginning with question number 14, *What language(s) was/were primarily spoken in your childhood home*, to which 432 respondents answered.

According to results Portuguese was the language that was primarily used in the childhood home of 65.97% of the respondents (285 individuals), where as English was the only language used at home by 20.37% of the respondents or 88 of the 432 people that answered this question. However, 61 individuals or 14.12% of the respondents claimed to have used both languages, English and Portuguese, at home while growing up. Only one person claimed that Spanish was the language that was primarily spoken within his/her childhood home. Once the home language of the respondents was specified, the respondents were asked about their present-day language use and ability (please see Figure 4.14).

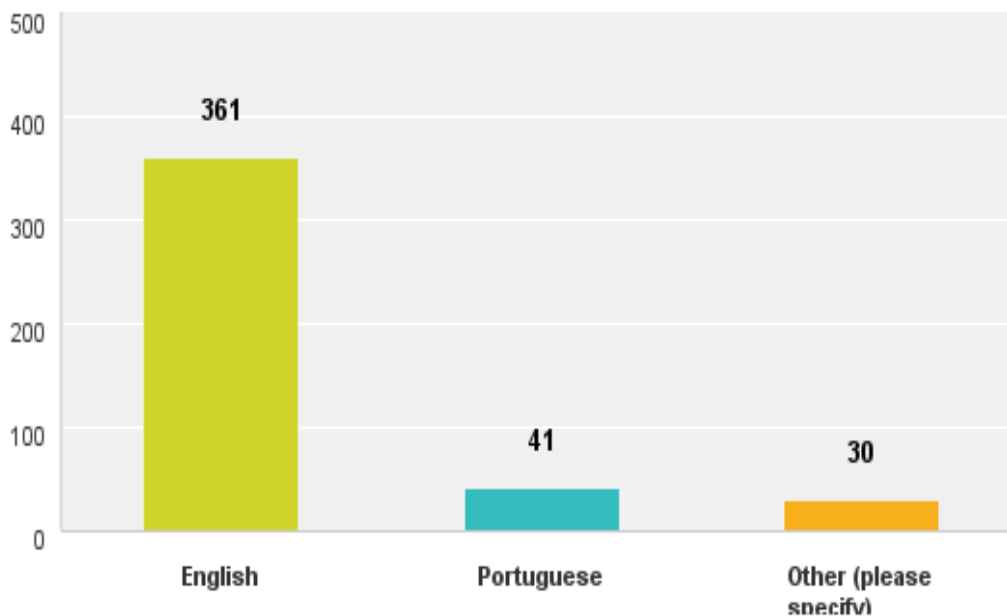


Figure 4.14 Language Participants Use Most Often

When asked what language was most often used when speaking, an overwhelming majority of the respondents, 83.56% to be more precise, said they use English the most, as opposed to the 9.49% who claimed to use Portuguese the most. Interestingly, out of the 30 respondents (6.94 %) that answered “*other*”, 28 of them specified that they use both Portuguese and English. The remaining two respondents claimed that the language they choose to use is a direct consequence of where they are and whom they are with. As one respondent explains, “English, unless I’m with other Portuguese speaking people” (Respondent #96) and as a second respondent explains, “it depends where I am at the moment, but mostly English. Portuguese is only spoken when I’m with my parents.” (Respondent #295)

While results shows that English is the language that is most often used by the survey sample, it similarly shows that English is the language that a majority of the sample, precisely 73.38% of the respondents, feel they are most fluent in when speaking (see Figure 4.15). Contrarily, only 12.89% of the respondents believe that they speak more fluently in Portuguese. Fifty-five respondents or 12.73% of the 432 respondents that answered this question neither chose Portuguese nor English as their answer. As a matter of fact, they answered “*other*” and explained in the comment section that they felt equally fluent in Portuguese and in English. Remarkably, three of the 55 respondents claimed to be trilingual.

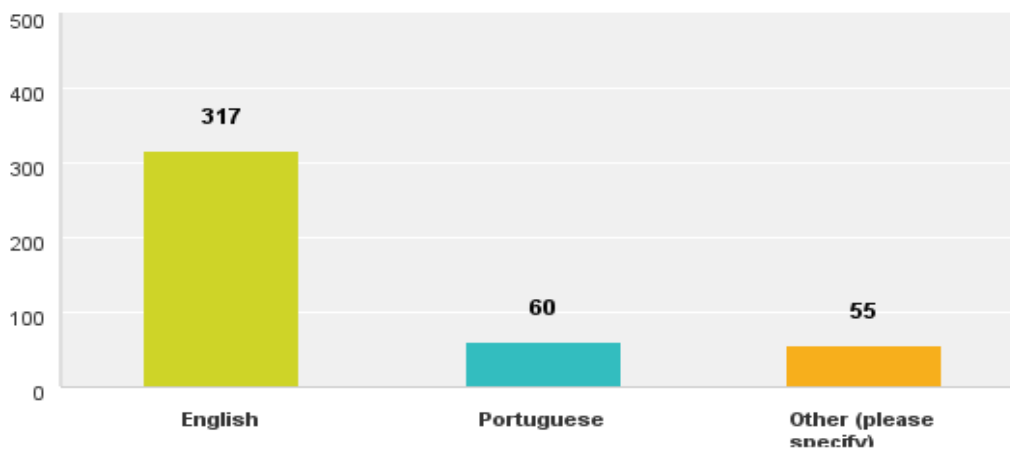


Figure 4.15 Language Participants Feel Most Fluent

When it comes to reading, an overwhelming majority of the survey sample, a total of 91.44% of the 432 respondents that answered question number 17 (see Figure 4.16), also claimed that English is their primary reading language, as compared to the 4.17% that said they read in Portuguese most frequently. The additional 55 respondents revealed that they use both English and Portuguese to read. Nevertheless one of these 55 people stated that although she uses both languages when reading for pleasure, English is used when reading for professional reasons (Respondent #142).

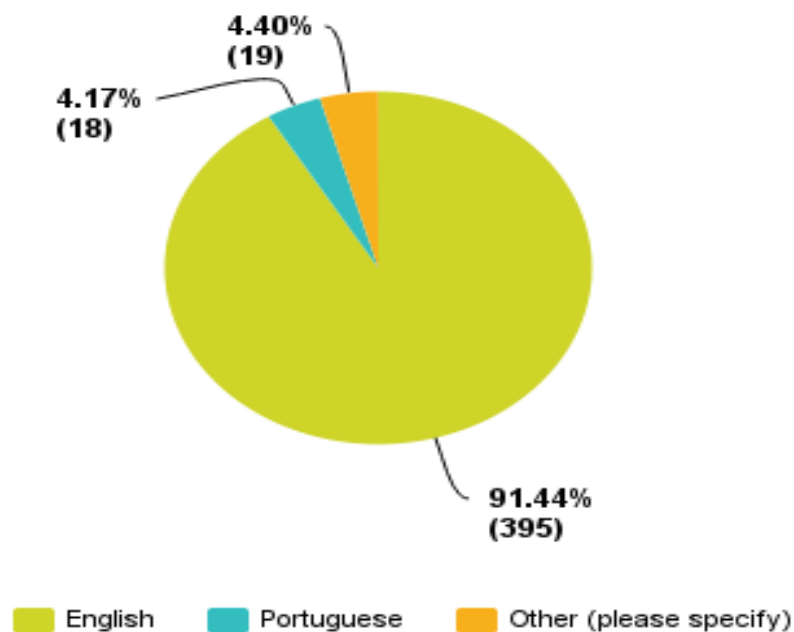


Figure 4.16 Language in Which Participants Read Most Often

Likewise 346 of the 432 respondents to question number 18, “*In what language do you read most fluently?*” also claim to read most fluently in English, while only 52 respondents claim to read most fluently in Portuguese (see Figure 4.17). Yet, 34 respondents say that their reading fluency is the same both languages, in English and in Portuguese.

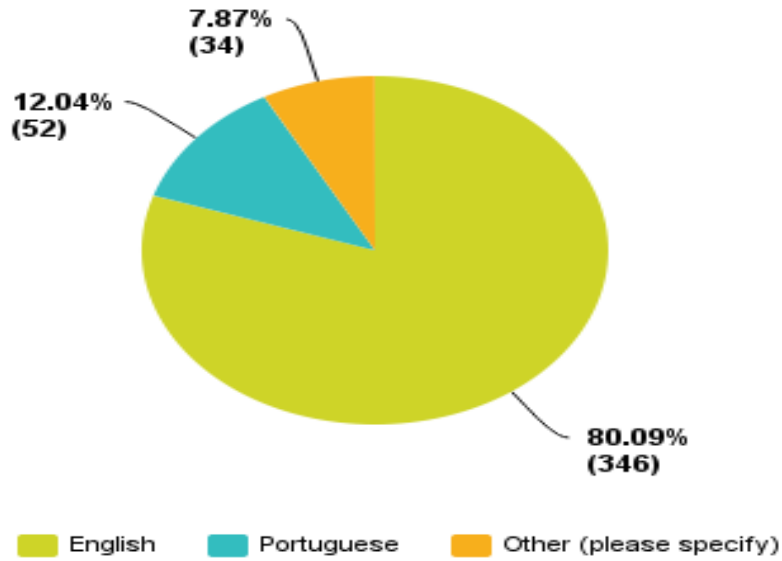


Figure 4.17 Language in Which Participants Read Most Fluently

When it comes to writing, the results show that the same pattern holds true and that English is both the language that is most often used in in writing and the language that the majority of the sample feels they write most fluently in. As Figure 4.18 shows, 392 of the 432 people that responded to the question “*In what language do you write most often?*” write most often in English as opposed to the 26 people who use Portuguese to write more often in.

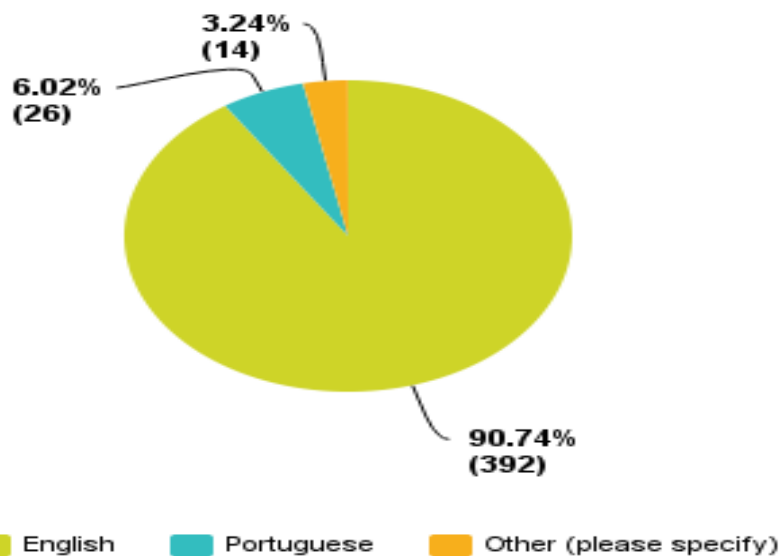


Figure 4.18 Language in Which Participants Write Most Often

Additionally, 14 people checked the answer “*other*” and specified that they use both languages equally. Similarly the results also show that the majority of the sample also writes most fluently in English, as 351 of the 432 respondents answered English, while a mere 53 respondents claimed to write most fluently in Portuguese (please see Figure 19). As in the previous questions regarding language use, the results pertaining from this question also show, in this specific case 27 respondents, feel equally fluent when writing in either one of the languages, while only one person claims to be more fluent in Spanish.

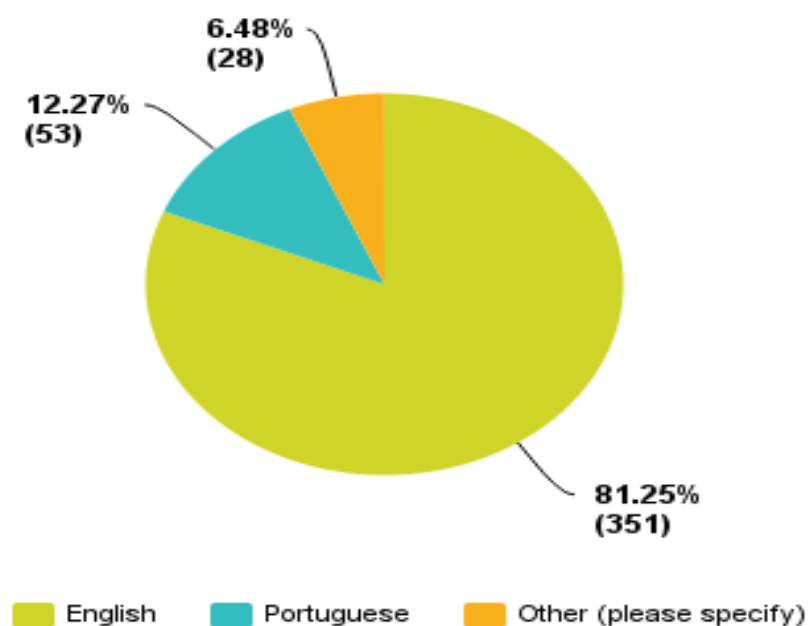


Figure 4.19 Language in Which Participants Write Most Fluently

When respondents were asked to rate their proficiency level in English and in Portuguese, in each of the four skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing) as either poor, fair, good, excellent or to choose the answer not sure or not applicable, English was yet again selected by the sample as the dominant language of the sample (please refer to Figures 4.20 and 4.21). Overall the results collected show that the sample rated their proficiency level in Portuguese and in English as *excellent* when it came to speaking.

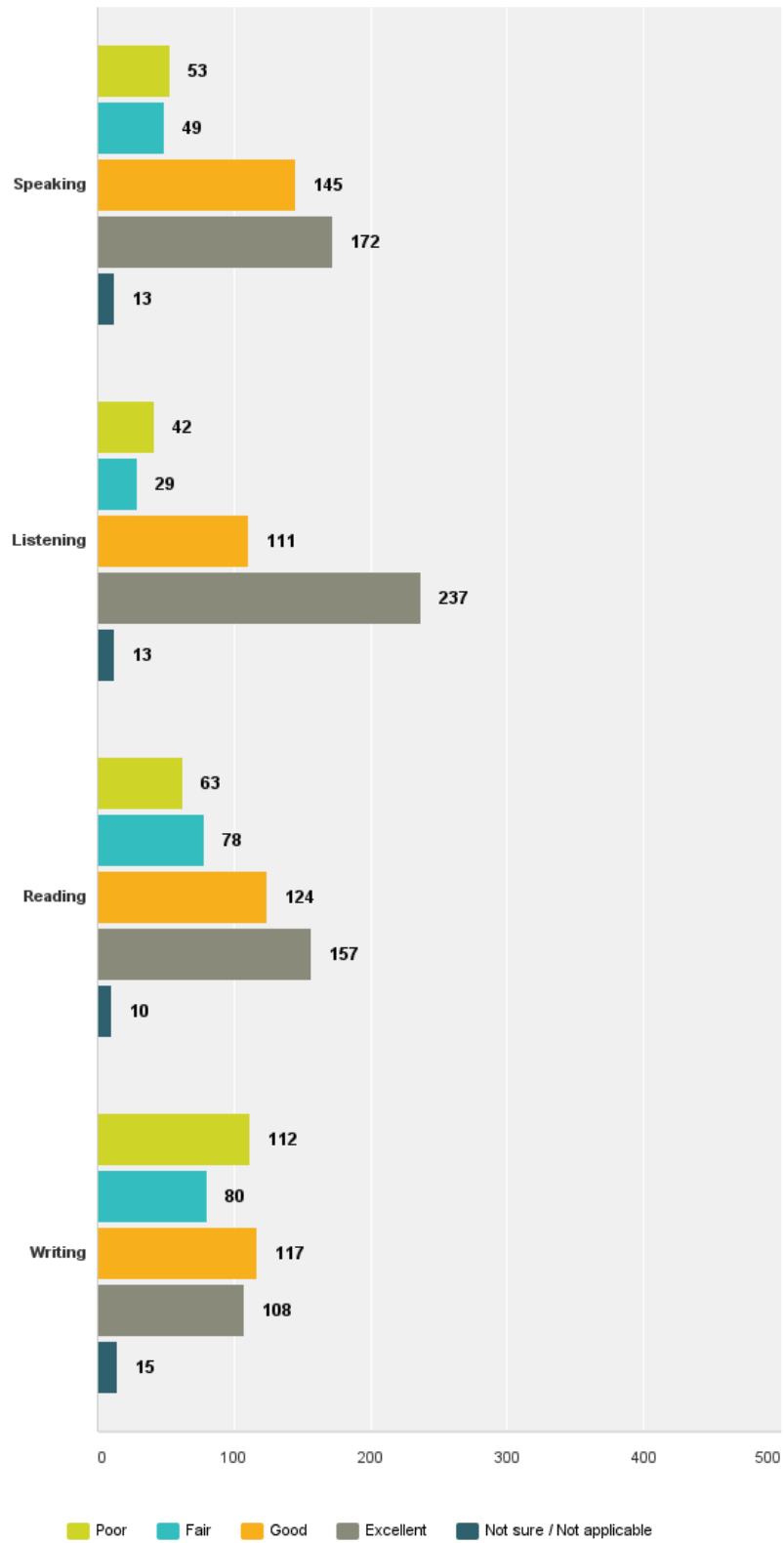


Figure 4.20 Participants' Self-rating of Portuguese Proficiency Level in Writing, Reading, Listening and Speaking

Nevertheless, the results shows a wide gap between the two languages and the dominance of the English language, since out of the 432 respondents, 172 said their proficiency level in spoken Portuguese was excellent, while nearly double that amount, 358 respondents claimed to have an excellent proficiency level in spoken English. Remarkably, 145 respondents rated their spoken Portuguese was good, but only 63 respondents rated their spoken proficiency in English as good. When the proficiency levels drop even further, to fair and poor, the number of respondents seems to increase in Portuguese. For instance, 49 respondents said their spoken Portuguese was fair, while only 10 respondents said their spoken English was fair. Furthermore, whereas no one rated their spoken English proficiency level as poor, 53 respondents did so when it came to the proficiency level of their Portuguese when speaking. Generally when the proficiency levels of listening and reading in Portuguese and in English are compared a similar situation occurs. Although according to the results, the sample's receptive language skills in Portuguese seem to be superior to their expressive skills, especially when it comes to listening. Results demonstrate that while 237 of the 432 respondents feel they have an excellent level in comprehending spoken Portuguese (listening), when it comes to reading only 157 respondents feel that their proficiency level is excellent.

The results indicate that the proficiency levels of English for the same skills, listening and reading, a remarkable increase in the numbers occurs as 373 respondents claim to have an excellent proficiency level in listening and 357 respondents claim to have an excellent proficiency level in reading. Further comparison shows that 111 respondents have a good proficiency level when listening to Portuguese, 29 respondents rate their proficiency level as fair and 42 respondents rate it as poor. On the other hand, the proficiency levels for listening in English show that only 53 respondents rated it as good, a scant five respondents rated it as fair, and no one rated it poor. When it comes to the respondents that rated their proficiency level in reading as good, 124 respondents said it was so in Portuguese, while 60 respondents said the same about their reading proficiency level in English.

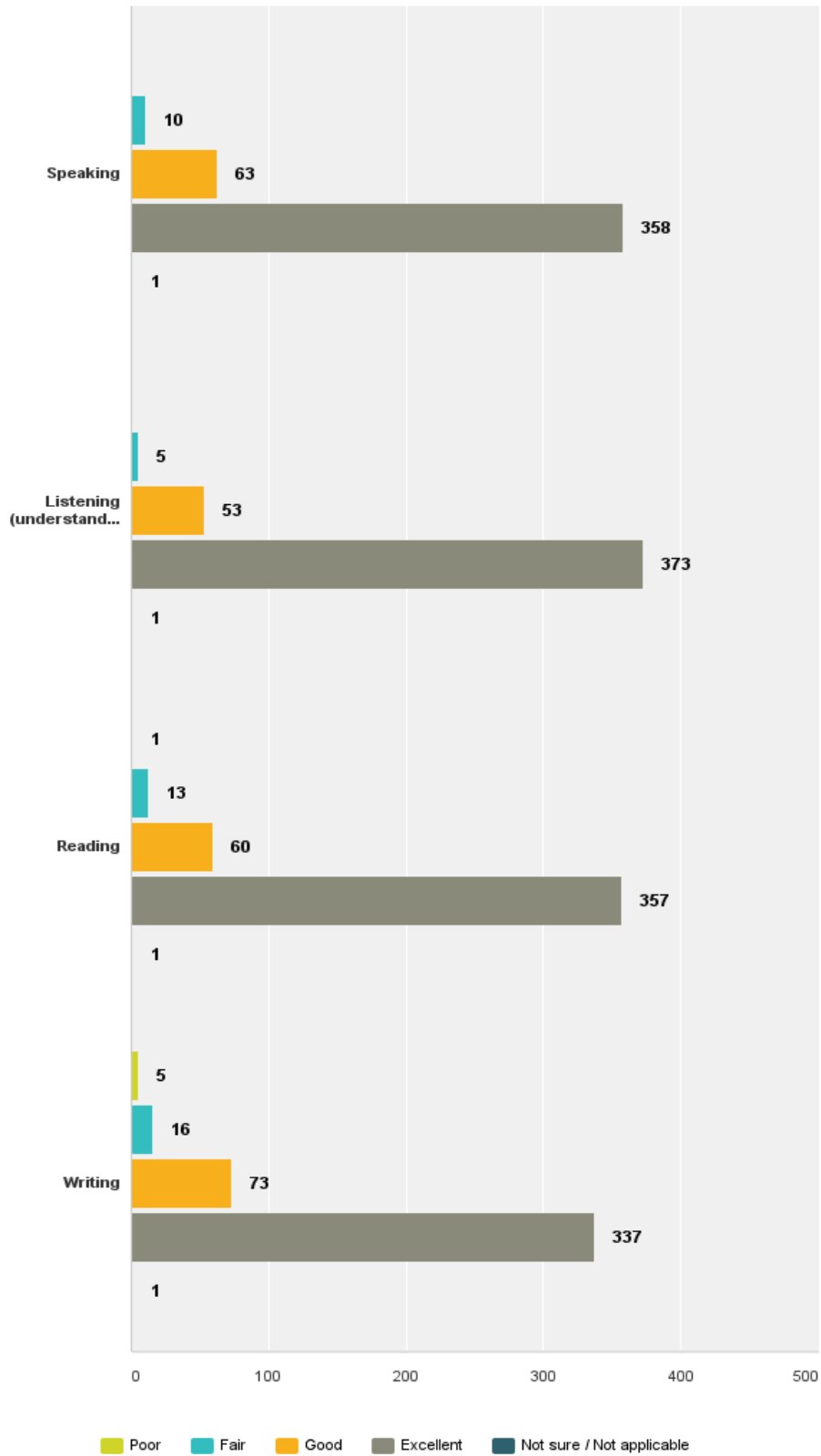


Figure 4.21 Participants' Self-rating of English Proficiency Level in Writing, Reading, Listening and Speaking

Additionally, 78 respondents rated their Portuguese proficiency level in reading as fair, while 13 respondents did so for their English proficiency level in reading; 63 respondents rated their Portuguese proficiency level in reading as poor, while only one person who felt the same about his/her proficiency level in reading in English. In writing, the results do not show such a big discrepancy between proficiency levels in Portuguese; specifically, 112 respondents rated their proficiency level as poor, 80 respondents rated their proficiency level as fair, 117 respondents rated their proficiency level as good, and 108 respondents rated their proficiency level as excellent. In English, the results show a much wider divergence as 5 respondents rated their proficiency level as poor, 16 respondents rated their proficiency level as fair, 73 respondents rated their proficiency level as good and a substantial 327 respondents rated their proficiency level as excellent. Finally, when it came to assessing their proficiency level across the four skills in Portuguese an average of 13 respondents said they were unsure about it or that it did not apply to them, while only 1 person said the same about their proficiency level across the four skills in English.

The study also aimed at understanding when and under what circumstances the Portuguese and the English languages are used, by analyzing the data comprised from questions 23 through 25. Based on the data ensuing from question number 23 (please see Figure 4.22), which sought to analyze the use of both languages within the contexts of home and school, work, and with specific people, namely, children, parents, grandparents and friends, results indicate that the majority of the survey sample, 244 out of 432 respondents, speaks both English and Portuguese at home, while 146 respondents only speak English at home, a meager 39 respondents only speak Portuguese, and only 3 respondents believed this question did not apply to them. At school the numbers are practically inversed, while 160 respondents felt this question did not apply to them, 240 respondents said they only speak English at school. Still, 31 respondents use both languages at school and only one person claims to use Portuguese only. The results representing the language used at work also reveal that English is the language used by 299 respondents, while only nine respondents use Portuguese only. Despite the 25 respondents who claimed that this question did not apply to

them, there were still 102 respondents who claimed to use both languages while at work.

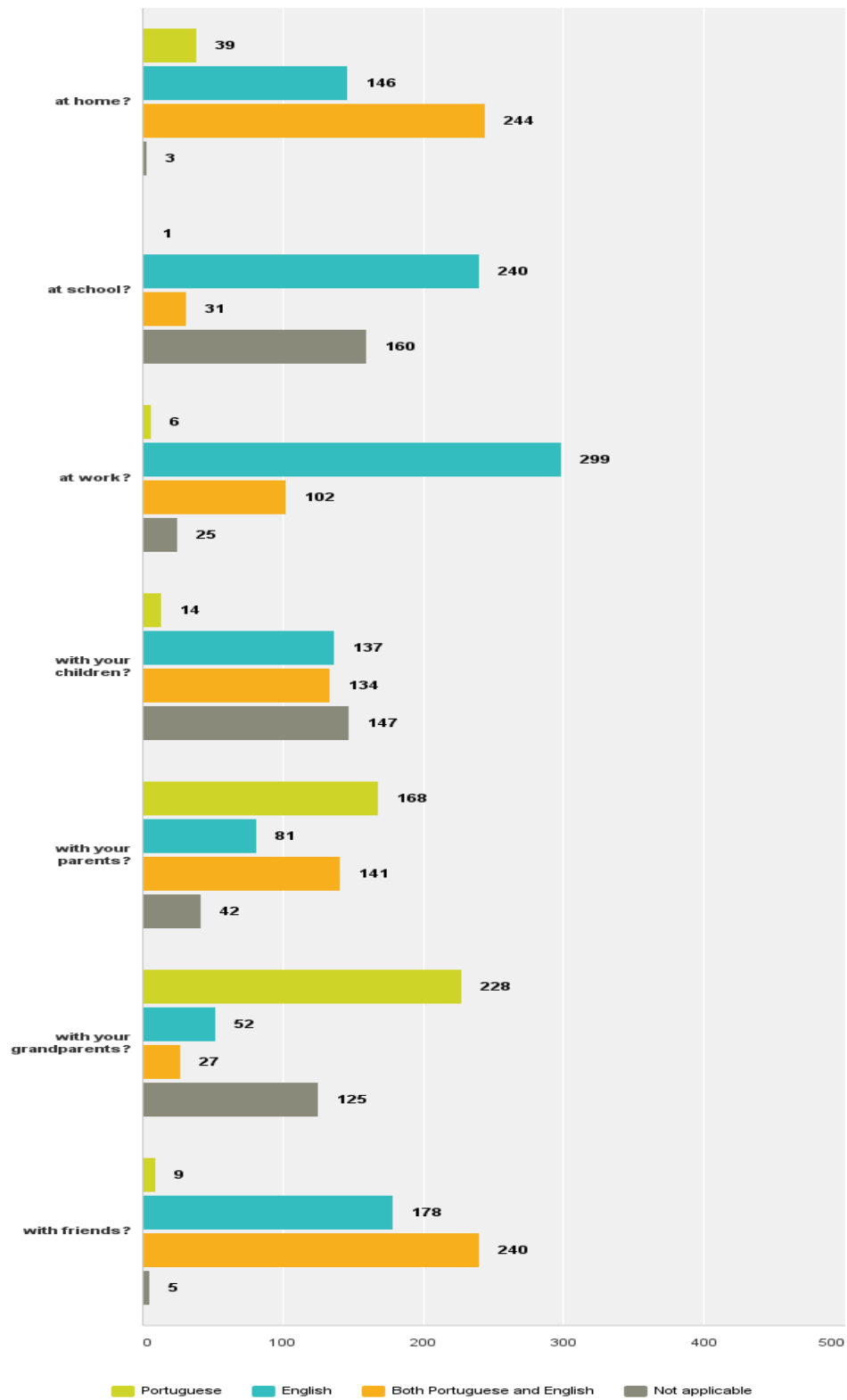


Figure 4.22 Language(s) Spoken by Participants at Different Places and with Different People

Surprisingly, when the analysis of the language use with children was completed, results evidenced that the difference between the use of English and the use of both English and Portuguese was very close, in that 137 respondents used only English with their children, 134 used both languages and 14 used only Portuguese. Yet, a significant number of respondents, 147 to be exact chose the optional answer “*Not applicable*”. With parents the results revealed a very different language use amongst the survey sample since it was in this category where for the first time English use first diminished significantly in comparison to the increase in the use of Portuguese. Specifically, the results indicated that 168 respondents use only Portuguese when speaking with their parents, 141 use both English and Portuguese, and 81 respondents claimed to use only English with their parents, therefore leaving 42 respondents to whom this question did not apply. In the same way, the data collected showed that Portuguese is also the most used language when speaking with grandparents. In fact Portuguese is used by 228 respondents to speak with their grandparents, a number which sharply contrasts with the 52 respondents who use only English and with the 27 respondents who use both languages when speaking with their grandparents. When spoken language use amongst friends was analyzed, the data suggests that a majority of the sample, 240 respondents, uses both English and Portuguese to speak with friends, whereas 178 respondents use only English and only 9 respondents use only Portuguese. Only five respondents chose to answer “*not applicable*”, under this category.

Once language use was determined according to context and people, there was a need to further specify how frequently each language was being used in what were considered to be everyday type of activities, including: reading a newspaper or a magazine, reading a book, going online, watching television, listening to music, writing an email or letter and posting online (i.e. Facebook, Twitter). As Figure 23 depicts, when it comes to reading a newspaper or a magazine in Portuguese, 142 out of 432 respondents does so sometimes, 118 respondents never do so, 94 respondents rarely do, but 78 do so often. When it comes to reading a book in Portuguese, the number of those who do so on a more regular basis diminish even further. In fact, only 40 respondents claimed to read a book in

Portuguese often, 80 respondents do so sometimes, but 139 respondents rarely do it and 173 never do.

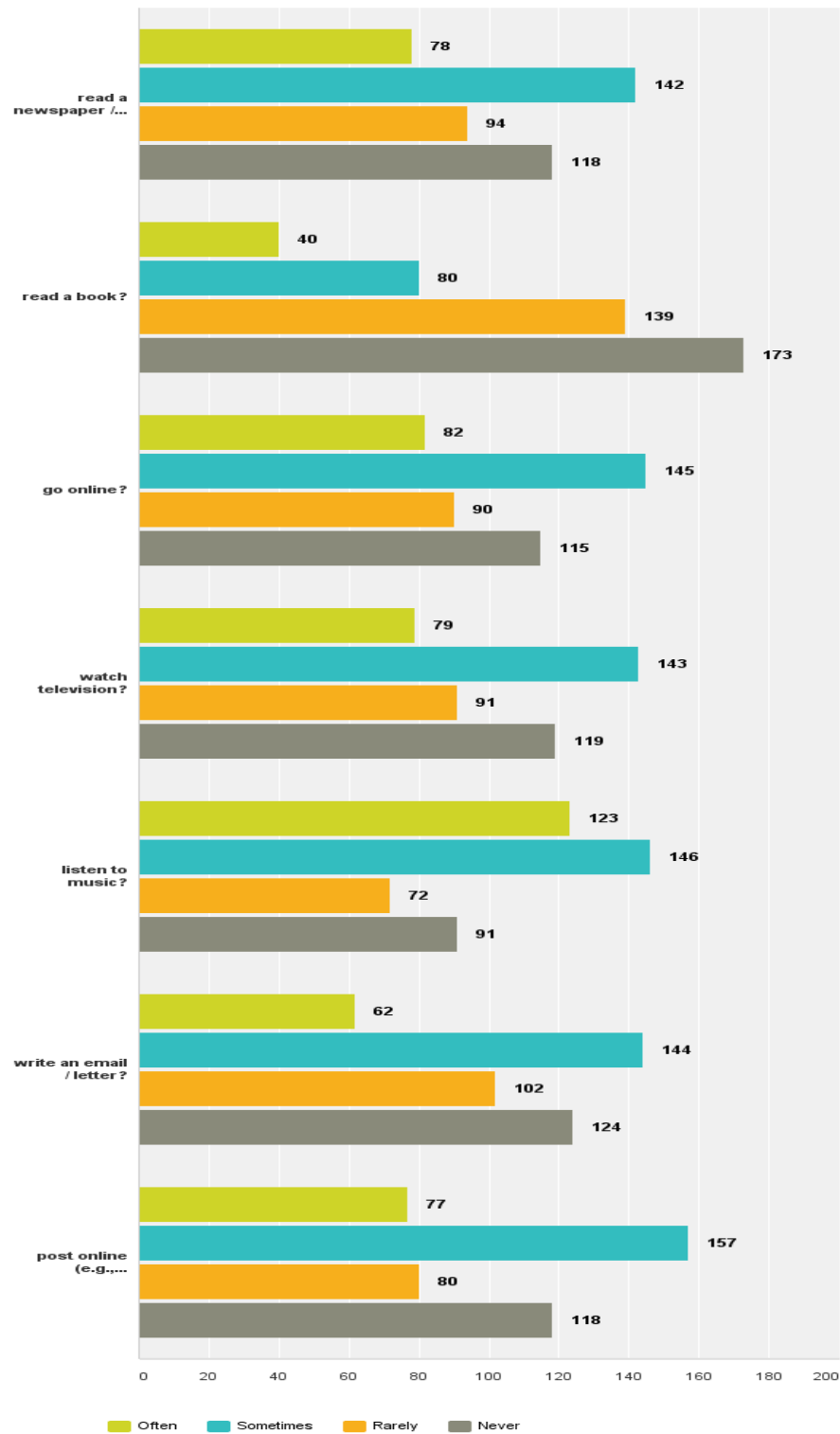


Figure 4.23 Participants' Frequency of Use of the Portuguese Language

As far as going online while using the Portuguese language, the data indicates that there is difference of only a 30 respondents between those who do so sometimes (145) and those who never do (115), while 90 respondents rarely do so and 82 do so often. The same kind of pattern can be seen when analyzing the frequency in which respondents watch television in Portuguese. One-hundred-and-forty-three respondents sometimes watch television in Portuguese, 119 never do so, 91 do so rarely and 79 do so often. Results show that these numbers tend to increase when we consider the use of Portuguese while listening to music, writing an email or a letter, and posting online, as the largest number of respondents (146, 144 and 157, respectively) claimed to sometimes carry out each of one of these activities in Portuguese. Nevertheless, 91 respondents never listen to music in Portuguese, 124 never use Portuguese to write an email or a letter, and 118 never post online in Portuguese. When it comes to listening to music in Portuguese 123 respondents do so often, while 72 do so rarely. Writing an email or a letter in Portuguese is often done by 62 respondents, while 103 rarely do. And finally, when posting online 77 respondents often do so using Portuguese, while 80 rarely do.

In comparison, the results indicate that the frequency in which respondents use English is overwhelmingly predominant in all of the activities suggested in the survey (see Figure 4.24). On average 93% of the 432 of the individuals that answered question number 25 said that they often use English to read a newspaper or a magazine, read a book, go online, watch television, listen to music, write an email or letter and post online (i.e. Facebook, Twitter). More specifically, 29 respondents said that they sometimes read a newspaper or a magazine in English, while seven claimed to rarely do so, and only three respondents said they never do. As far as reading a book, although the majority often reads English, 39 respondents do so sometimes, 10 do rarely do so and a meager six claim to never do it.

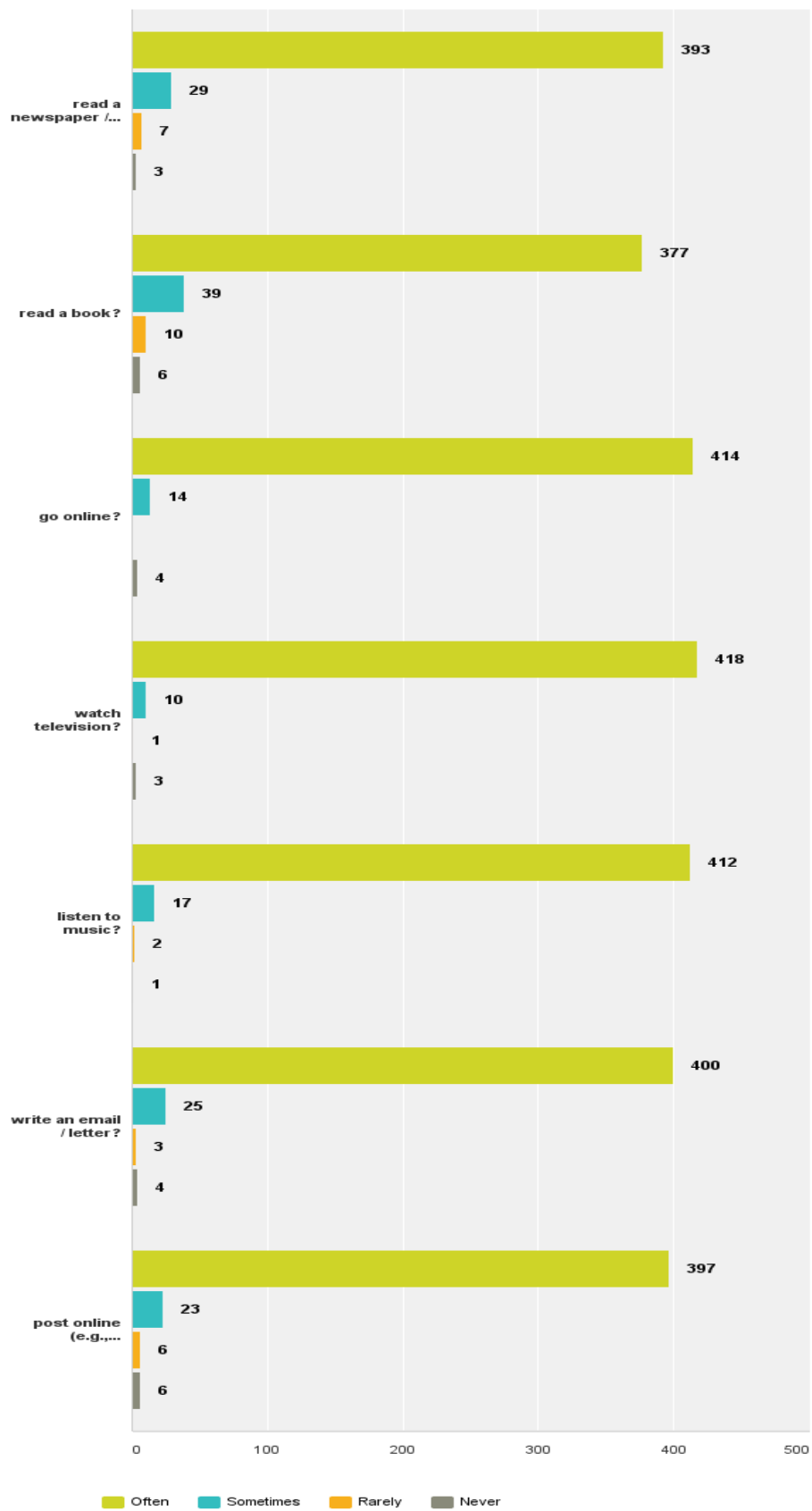


Figure 4.24 Participants' Frequency of Use of the English Language

A similar pattern occurs with going online, except respondents' answers are distributed between often, the majority, sometimes, and never, with 414, 14 and four answers, respectively. When it comes to watching television 418 respondents do so often, 10 do so sometimes, 1 individual does so rarely, and 3 never do so. While most respondents (412) habitually listen to music in English, 17 do so sometimes, two rarely do and one person never does. When writing an email or a letter, besides the 400 respondents that write in English frequently, 25 do so occasionally, three respondents seldom do and four never do. When asked about how frequently English is used to post online, 23 respondents claimed to do so sometimes, six respondents claimed to do so sporadically, according to the results six respondents never post online in English, yet 397 respondents often do.

4.3 Question 3: How do the subjects identify themselves American and/or Portuguese? Why? In what context(s)?

The sixth part of the survey, the section on identity, sought to answer the third question of the study: *How do the subjects identify themselves American and/or Portuguese?* Additionally, this section pursued results about the cultural identity of the participants from their own perspective, which were considered imperative in order to gain a deeper understanding as to why subjects might identify one way or another and whether a context might change affect said identity.

In fact, in the first closed-question of the section on identity, question number 26 (see Figure 4.25), participants were asked to define their cultural origin as either Portuguese, American, Portuguese-American or other, which if it were the case they needed to further specify. The results indicate that based on the answers of 418 respondents, interestingly 75 respondents did not answer this question, the majority, 50.48% defined their cultural origin as Portuguese, as opposed to the 41.63% who defined it as Portuguese-American. Comparatively, only 4.55% define their cultural origin as American. Moreover, the majority of the sample, 49.62% of the 399 respondents to question number 27, deems their cultural identity extremely important and 37.09% consider it to be very important (see Figure 26). Nevertheless, according to 9.52% of the respondents their cultural identity is

moderately important, to 3.01% of the respondents it is only moderately important and finally, only 0.75% believed it to be of no importance.

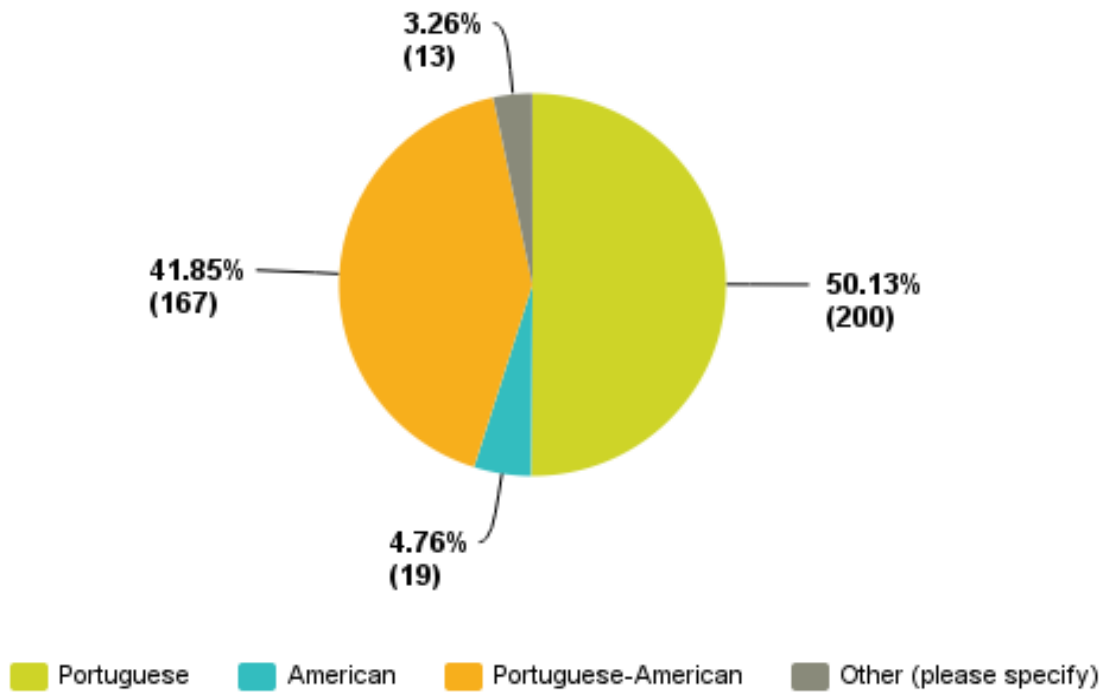


Figure 4.25 Participants' Definition of Their Cultural Origin

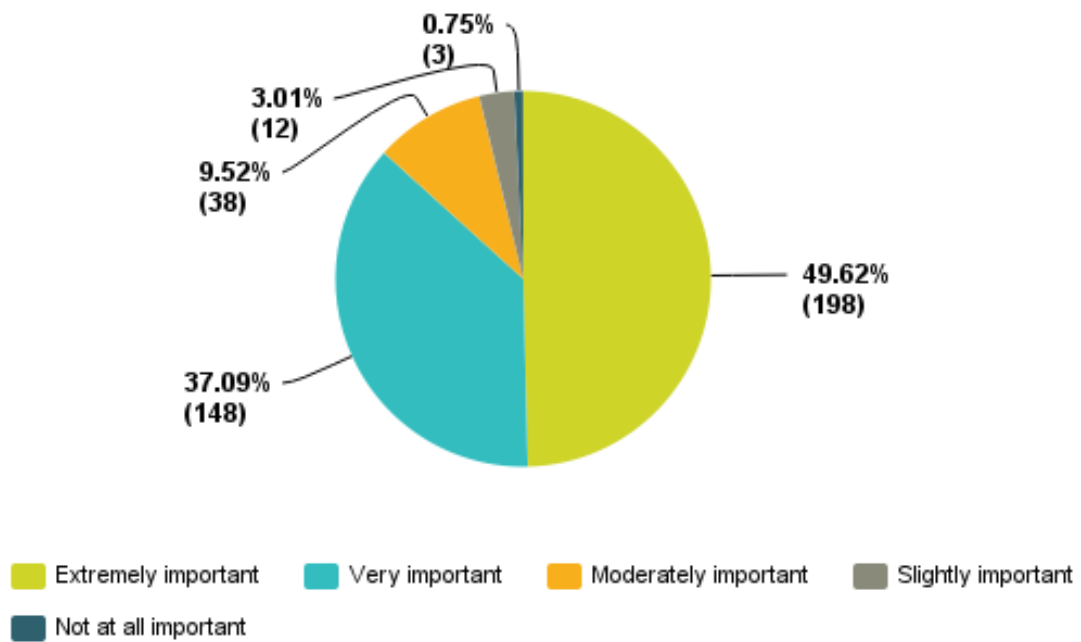


Figure 4.26 How Important Participants Feel Their Cultural Identity Is

In order to further understand respondents' own perceptions of cultural identity, they were asked to evaluate the following four statements by selecting one of six possible answers depending on their personal level of agreement or disagreement:

- I feel I am more Portuguese than American.
- I feel I am more American than Portuguese.
- I feel I am somewhat in the middle, I am equally Portuguese-American.
- I am not sure of the way I feel changes depending in where I am.
-

Interestingly, the largest the number of respondents that stated that they either agreed or strongly agreed with a statement, came from 78 respondents who strongly agreed with the statement, *I feel I am somewhat in the middle, I am equally Portuguese-American*, and the 91 respondents who agreed with the same statement (see Figure 4.27). Nevertheless, most respondents answered that they neither disagreed nor agreed with the statements in general.

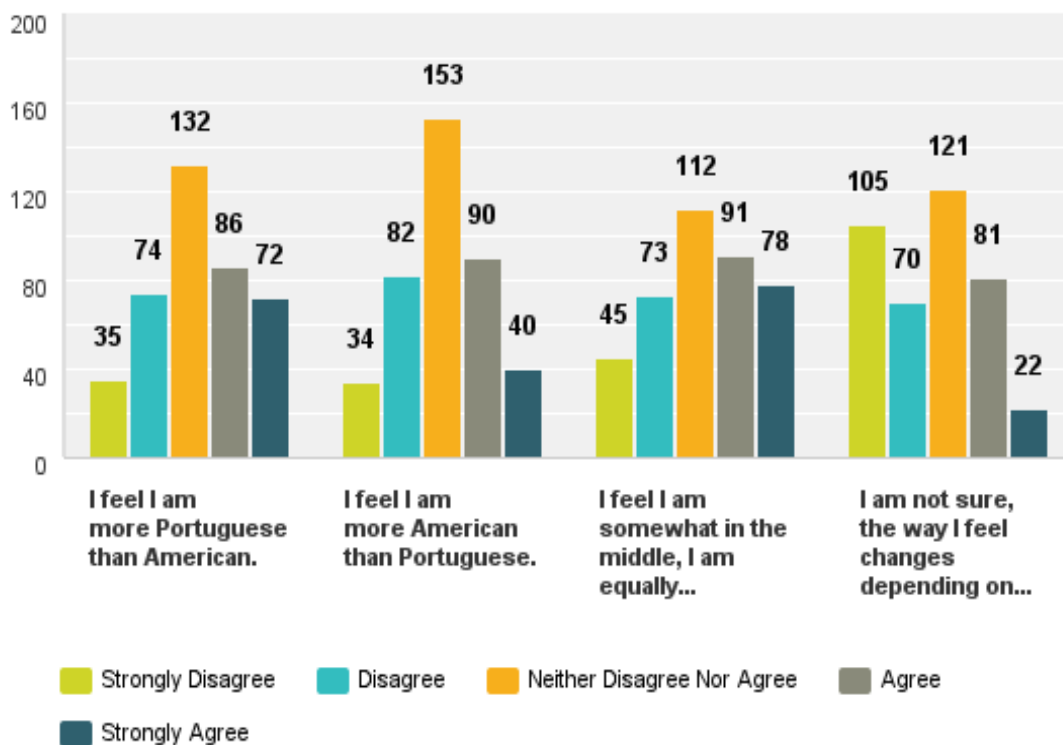


Figure 4.27 Participants' Evaluation of the Specific Statements Regarding Their Cultural Identity

Yet it is worthwhile doing a more in depth analysis of the remainder of the results, in other words, the 399 answers obtained. These indicate that 35 respondents strongly disagree with the statement *I feel I am more Portuguese than American*, as opposed to the 72 respondents who strongly agreed and the 86 who simply agreed. Still, the majority, a total of 132 respondents neither disagreed nor agreed, while 74 respondents disagreed with the same statement.

When asked about their opinion of the statement, *I feel I am more American than Portuguese*, 153 respondents neither disagreed nor agreed, 90 agreed, 82 disagreed, 40 strongly agreed, and 34 strongly disagreed. When asked to evaluate the statement, *I feel I am somewhat in the middle, I am equally Portuguese-American*, besides those that claimed to strongly agree or agree with this statement as was discussed above, 73 disagreed and 45 respondents said they strongly disagree. A total of 121 respondents neither disagreed nor agreed with the statement, *I am not sure, the way I feel changes depending in where I am*. Yet, 105 strongly disagreed with the same statement and 70 respondents disagreed. In contrast, 81 respondents agreed with this statement and 22 strongly agreed. Based on the results, the majority of the sample feels it is somewhere in the middle, equally identifying as Portuguese and American. Nevertheless, results also postulate that some would say that such an identity varies depending on where the individual is.

As illustrated in the word cloud represented in Figure 4.28, when question number twenty-nine asked respondents to write the three words that first came to mind when thinking of what it means to be Portuguese, the results indicate that the word which respondents wrote the most was *family*. In fact, on its own it appeared a total of 156 times. Nonetheless, in order to analyze the 399 responses given to this question and categorize them according to emerging common themes, fourteen categories were created. These categories were: art and culture, gastronomy, heritage, identity, language, national symbols, personal feelings, traits of a people, political labels, relationships, religion, representations of landscape, sociological stereotypes and the last but not least import, sports.

responses: *family oriented* (eight answers), while *family values*, *love of family*, *strong family ties*, *my family*, *minha família* and *seeing my family* were each given as an answer once. To one respondent in particular, being Portuguese meant, “*seeing my family and friends back home on Kauai, Hawaii.*” Lastly, the words *friends* and *friendships* were also included in this category, they were given as answers three and one time, respectively.

The second most frequently written word, *culture*, was categorized under *arts and culture*. Along with its derivatives *cultured* and *cultural*, the word *culture* was given as an answer a total of 80 times, while its Portuguese equivalent *cultura*, was only given as an answer only five times. More specifically, one respondent described the Portuguese culture as being *a proud culture*, two respondents described it as *a rich culture* and one other as *a cultura rica*. In addition, another respondent said the Portuguese have *cultural pride*. Other words pertaining to the Portuguese culture were also included in this category including the words: *bailes* (one answer), *celebration* (one answer), *fado* (ten answers), *feast(s)* (two answers), *Fernando Pessoa* (one answer), *feira(s)* (six answers), *music* (nine answers), *poetry* (two answers), *rancho* (eight answers) and the *arts* (one answer).

The third most frequently written word, *proud*, was used by itself in 60 answers. It was categorized under the theme *traits of a people*, along with numerous adjectives, nouns and expressions (written both in English and in Portuguese) used by respondents to describe the Portuguese people and what to them, it is like to be Portuguese. On the one hand, were the words used once to describe the Portuguese people as being: *acolhedor*, *annoying*, *attractive*, *awesome*, *beautiful*, *brave*, *caring*, *committed*, *community-minded*, *compassionate*, *complainer*, *complicated*, *conscientious*, *conservative*, *crazy*, *dedicated*, *descobridores*, *dignity*, *diligent*, *driven*, *drunk*, *educated*, *excited*, *exotic*, *fearless*, *fighter*, *foreign*, *free*, *good people*, *good-looking*, *holistic*, *honorable*, *ignorant*, *independent*, *industrious*, *inventive*, *late*, *lazy*, *leader*, *lively*, *loving people*, *modest*, *old-fashioned*, *olive-skinned*, *open-minded*, *pessimistic*, *pride-centered*, *productive*, *proper*, *quiet*, *resilient*, *respected*, *responsible*, *sensitive*, *sentimental*, *set in the old ways*, *special*, *strong-minded*, *stuck in the past*, *stuck-up*, *thoughtful*, *tough*, *unidos*, *unique*, *vibrant and warm*. However, as a people the Portuguese

were also described as having: *alma, courage, desenrasco, entreatada, honestidade, ignorance, influence, integrity, knowledge, learning, mental illness, politeness, solidarity and strong values*. On the other hand, the words that appeared twice describing the Portuguese were: *community, courageous, different, discipline, disorganized, explorer, frugal, honest, intelligent, kind, loyalty, passionate, risk-taker, self-sufficient, strength* and *verbal*. The words *beauty, humble* and *loving* appeared three times, while *adventurous, fun, strong* and *stubborn* appeared four times. In addition, six people described the Portuguese as *loud*, while the words *friendly*, and *honor* were used to describe them eight times, the word *happy* appeared nine times and the word *loyal* was used 11 times. Furthermore, a significant number of responses in this category were words used to positively describe the Portuguese as a working people. The words *work* or *working* appeared a total of 41 times, the words *worker* and *workers* appeared a total of 13 times and the Portuguese words *trabalhador* and *trabalhadores* appeared twice. Overall the Portuguese were described as having a *hard work ethic, as hard-working, as having a work ethic, as being hard worker(s), as being good worker(s), trabalhador(es)*, as well as doing work that qualified as *hard* or *strong*. Interestingly, the word *hard* appeared a total of 44 times, making it the sixth most used word by respondents when answering question 29. Finally, besides their working ability, according to one respondent the Portuguese are also *community minded* and according to another respondent they show *solidarity*.

The word *food*, included in the theme *gastronomy*, appeared on its own 53 times, making it the fourth most frequently used word. In the meanwhile, its plural form *foods* appeared only once, while its Portuguese equivalent, *comida*, was given as an answer four times. In addition, it was used in small phrases that described Portuguese food as *amazing food* (once) and as *good food* (seven answers). Specific Portuguese ingredients or dishes also included in this category were: *batatas, butter, caldo verde, cheese, chouriça, chouriço, churrasco, codfish, custard cups, dobrada, linguica, malasadas, sardinhas* and *sumol*, all of which were answers given by respondents only once. While *bread, home made bread* and *vinho*, were given as responses twice, *bacalhau* and *pastéis de nata*, were given as responses four times, and the word *wine*, was written as a response by seven people. Additionally, one individual referred to food by writing, “*big family*

dinners”, one wrote the word *table* and yet another, wrote the word *drinking*. In a more general sense respondents also wrote the following words in their gastronomy related responses: *cook*, *culinária*, *gastronomia* (each used once) and *cooking* (used twice).

Under the theme *personal feelings* came the word *pride*, which overall appeared 52 times, making it the fifth most frequent word used by respondents, nonetheless, on its own it appeared 50 times. One respondent for instance, claimed to be “*very proud to be Portuguese*,” and yet another wrote, “*I’m proud to be Portuguese*.” Whereas nine respondents chose to use the Portuguese word *orgulho* to express their sentiments, others chose to express their opinion about being Portuguese or about Portugal by saying that, in the case of one respondent he/she had, “*orgulho bem grande*”, or in the case three female respondents, they were “*orgulhosa*”, “*orgulhosa do meu pais*” and “*orgulhosa (de) ser Portuguesa*.” The word *saudade(s)* was also placed in this category. On its own it appeared 15 times, but two respondents were a bit more specific as one claimed to have, “*saudades da minha terra*”, while the other wrote “*saudades de Portugal*”. Also amongst the words used by respondents to express their feelings were the words: *love*, which was written nine times; *value(s)*, which was written by six times; *honored*, which was written four times; *paixão*, which was written once, while the English word *passion* was written four times; *vacation*, which was written four times; *lucky*, which was written three times; *adventure* and *happiness*, which were each written twice. Despite their positive connotations, some words describing feelings about what it means to be Portuguese and about Portugal only appeared once. These included the words: *adoro*, *brio*, *comfort*, *fantástico*, *feliz*, *glad*, *holidays*, *joy*, *legacy*, *liberdade*, *life*, *memories*, *peace*, *peaceful*, *privilege*, and *relax*. On the other hand, not all feelings were positive. In fact, some answers depicted a more negative side to being Portuguese and a bleaker portrait of the country itself, including the words: *abandonment* (written by two people), *disappointed*, *hardship*, *loss*, *nostalgia*, *sacrifice*, *sadness*, *the past* and *unusual* (written once each as an answer). Nevertheless, despite being used only once each, phrases such as “*I love it*”, “*I love music*”, “*it’s a beautiful country*”, “*muito bom*”, and “*we are awesome*” were also used. The last response added to the *personal feelings* category read, “*The blame is always on somebody else*” and despite being much

more than the requested three-word answer, it was included for it was clearly someone's opinion and therefore, a valid one.

The word *tradition* was placed under the category, *heritage*, along with words 11 other words. Although the word itself appeared 21 times, its plural form *traditions* appeared eight times, the word *traditional* appeared five times, the word *traditionalist* appeared only once and the Portuguese equivalent, *tradição*, appeared twice. Also in this category, was the word *history*, which appeared 30 times, while the word *história* appeared three times and the word *historic* only appeared once. In addition, the word *heritage*, appeared a total of 14 times, and the word *heredity*, appeared one time. There were also two phrases that used the word *heritage*, specifically, “*proud family heritage*” and “*proud heritage.*” In the meanwhile, whereas, six respondents made reference to their Portuguese heritage by writing the word *roots* in their response or in one response the word *raizes*, three others respondents, gave more territorialized answers. One answered that being Portuguese brought to mind the word *Azorean*, while one other wrote the word *Hawaii*, and yet another wrote *Newark*, hence tracing their roots and/or their heritage back to three focal geographical points in the immigration history of many Portuguese.

Yet, other respondents chose to give answers that seemed to relate to who they are on a personal level and were hence categorized under the theme *identity*, a word itself used by two respondents in their answers. Such answers included phrases such as: *a minha história*, *birth place*, *my home (not house)*, *my origin*, *place where I (was) born*, *Portugal born* and lastly, *who I am* (each of which was given as an answer once). One respondent wrote that what first came to mind was the word *casa*, six others wrote the word *home*, and two others wrote *home country*. Interestingly, three respondents first thought of the word *pátria*, one first thought of the word *Portugal* as what to him/her meant being Portuguese, and yet another thought of the word *nationality*. Finally, one respondent identified being Portuguese with *childhood*, one other replied with the word *race* and yet, one other more specifically identified as being *Caucasian*.

An additional theme found in the answers given by respondents was *sociological stereotypes*, which included a variety of answers that ranged from the more positive to the utterly negative, from the more informed to the less informed, and from the traditional to the modern. For one respondent being Portuguese means “*boa vida*” but to another it means *immigrants*. However, to others being Portuguese is linked to its bleak economy and therefore they gave the following answers: *money*, *penniless* and *unemployed* which were each written once; the noun *poverty* was written twice while the adjective *poor* was used in seven responses. Answers that were less frequent were linked to traditional Portuguese occupations including the stereotype that Portuguese are *farmers*, *fisherman* and that all are *close to the land* (each response was given once). To two respondents being Portuguese means being the *world best sailors*. Less positive sociological stereotypes described the Portuguese as either being *corrupt* (three answers) or as having *corruption* (two answers), while one person thought of the words *mental illness* to describe what it means to be Portuguese. Lastly, one person thought of all Portuguese as *immigrants*, one wrote the words *old country* and yet another, the words *old world*.

Religion was also one of the themes present in respondents’ answers. The most common response, nine to be exact, within the theme of *religion* was *faith*, although one person answered that being Portuguese means being *faithful*. The next most frequent response in this topic was the word *religion* (eight responses), followed by the word *religious* (five responses). The remaining words in this category appeared in three responses or less. For instance, three people answered *Fátima*, while the responses *being catholic*, *catholic* and *church* were given twice each.

The theme *sports* included six different answers, including the following: *soccer* (nine responses); *Benfica* (four answers); *futebol* (two answers); *football lover*, *FC Porto* and, *selecção* (one answer each). *Language* was the next theme found, with the words *bilingual* (one answer), *language* (seven answers), and *unique language* (one answer). The next theme was *representations of landscape*, which included eight answers all of which were given only once and which described Portugal’s landscape, directly or indirectly. The words and phrases

included in this theme were: *campo, clean yards, gardening, nice gardens, ocean, sun, telha vermelha* and *weather*. The second to last theme was *political labels*, which included two responses that were *European(s)* and *socialist*, appearing in three and two answers, respectively. Finally, the last theme used to categorize the responses given to question number twenty-nine was *national symbols*, which included only the answers of three respondents: *bandeira, roosters* and *RTP*. A few responses were placed in the miscellaneous category for they did not seem to fit any of the already discussed categories. They were: “*I don’t know*”, “*no issues*”, *travel* and lastly, *world*.

In contrast, question number 30 of the survey provided a different view as it asked respondents to write the first three words that came to mind when they thought of what it means to be American. In order to analyze the results of the 399 responses given to this question and categorize them according to emerging common themes, as was done with the previous question, a total of 18 categories were created. The categories were: *culture, economy, education, family, gastronomy, heritage, identity, language, miscellaneous, national symbols, personal feelings, politics, quality of life, religion, sports, the American dream, traits of a people* and *work*.

As is shown in the word map depicted in Figure 29, the results show that the most common word found in the respondents’ answers to question number 30 was the word *freedom*. Overall it appeared 99 times in the responses as either an answer or as part of an answer. Further analysis of the results showed that the category with the highest number of answers was the category *traits of a people*, which described the American people and their traits including the word *free*, which was used 40 times to describe what it means to be American. Overall, as a collective group, Americans were described as a *salad bowl* (once) and as a *melting pot* (three times). However, they were also described as having *honor* (five answers), *honesty* (one answer), *need(s)* (two answers) and *respect* (two answers) and as being *patriotic, patriot(s)* and as having *patriotism*, words which appeared, fifteen, five and three times, respectively. In terms of work Americans were described as *workers* (once), as *hardworking* people (seven times), as people who

having *individualism* (two answers) and *individuality* (one answer); *inventive* (two answers); *lazy* (three answers); *leader(s)* (two answers) and as having *leadership* (one answer); *loud* (four answers); *loyal* (four answers) and has having *loyalty* (one answer); *modern* (three answers) and a “*more modern society*” (one answer); *open-minded* (two answers); *opportunistic* (two answers); *optimistic* (one answer) and as having *optimism* (one answer); *striving* (two answers); *strong* (10 answers), while four respondents said Americans have *strength* (four answers); *united* (three answers); and *wealthy* (five answers).

Despite appearing only once, a series of words both positive and negative, also appeared as answers to question number 30, answers that not only describe the people, but also the society and its values, and were hence included in the category, *traits of a people*. They were: *able, acceptability, accomplishment, active, advanced, affiliated, aggressive, allegiance, America-centric, Americans, anger, assuredness, awesome, blind, bored, boring, caring, civic-minded, committed, communicative, conformity, confused, conscientious, content, corrupt, courage, creative, dependable, destined, empowered, entitled, ethnics, evolving, excesses, excited, fluent, fluid, forward, fun, generous, giving, homeowners, hope, inhibited, innovative, isolated, liberal, media driven, mix, motivated, mutt, organized, outgoing, over-worked, over-blown over-indulgent, pretentious, racist, ready, relaxed, relentless, resilient, responsibility, rich, rude, safe, scholastic, secluded, self-pity, selfish indulgences, sensitive, smart, smile, speed, stressed, successful, supported, takers, talkative, to strive, togetherness, true, unconnected, underpaid, value, variety, wealthy, well-educated, well-rounded, white, worthless and youth*.

The category *personal feelings* contained the second highest number of responses with the sentiment of pride, through the words *pride* and *proud*, being the most common feeling expressed by respondents when thinking of what it means to be American. In fact, the word *pride* was given as an answer a total of 36 times, while the word *proud* was given a total of 46 times. In addition, both of these words also appeared in the following individual responses, showing respondents' pride in being American (each given once): “*proud American*”, “*just as proud*”, “*but I'm glad my great-grand-parents came 2 America than another*

country”, “*pride for the country*”, “*proud American citizen*”, “*proud to be*”, “*proud to live here*”. Other commonly used words to express respondents’ feelings about what it means to be an American included the words *happy* and *happiness*, which were given as answers eleven and two times, respectively; and the word *thankful*, which was used a total of six responses. Additionally, respondents’ answers also included the following words: *fortunate*, (four answers); *blessed*, *choice(s)*, *good and privileged* (each was given as an answer three times); *fast*, *generic*, *great*, *hectic*, *love*, *raised*, *stress* (each was given as an answer two times); and *cursed*, *deceit*, *disappointed*, *discouraged*, *fantastic*, *ignorance*, *glad*, *grateful*, *honored*, *hustle*, *image*, *jealousy*, *joy*, *limitless*, *loneliness*, *me*, *privilege*, *stressful*, and *tired* (each was given as an answer once). Yet, other respondents preferred to give more specific answers about their feelings towards what it means to be American, including the idea in America there is the “*capacity to realize one’s potential*”, of “*getting things done*” and to have a “*good life*”. Others wrote about how they felt about being Americans. One person wrote he/she was “*glad to be*”, while others wrote “*I feel free*”, “*I love it*”, “*I love where I live*”, “*it’s an honor to be a citizen and make part of the American dream*”, “*it’s my home*”, “*lucky, I have nothing else*”, “*my life*”, “*not home*”, “*place where I work and feel good*”, “*the best country to work and live in*” and “*the best place on earth*”. And finally one person believes that being an American is to “*have it all*”.

The next category, *quality of life*, brings together all the responses given by respondents that somehow describe or define how Americans live. For instance to one respondent being an American, brought to mind the verb *to live*, while to another it means to “*live here*”, to a third, it means it is “*easy to live*”, and to a fourth it means, “*a living environment*”. However, the most frequent word in this category, the word *opportunity*, appeared by itself a total of 47 times, and in the response “*life opportunity*” once. It was followed by its plural form, the word *opportunities* which appeared by itself a total of 16 times, not counting the one respondent who believes that being an American means having “*opportunities to succeed*.” Together these two words (*opportunity* and its plural form) were the second most frequent words used in the responses given to question number 30. In terms of frequency, the next word in this category was the word *life*, which by itself appeared five times, but it also appeared once in each one of the following

phrases a “*better life*”, a “*better way of life*”, “*life quality*”, and “*more options in life*”. To other respondents, being an American, first and foremost meant having a “*fast-paced*” life, having *justice* and *stability* (each was given as an answer three times). Yet to others, it meant having *options* and *organization* (each was given as an answer twice). Other responses appeared only once in this category, including the words and phrases: *ability, abundance, be what you want, best free country, easy, knowledge, peace, progress, progressive, prosperity, protection of the Bill of Rights, and struggle*. Interestingly, there were only two answers written in Portuguese, they were *oferta* and *qualidades*.

In the next category, *national symbols* were placed all the words that in some way refer to the original American ideals, some more abstract concepts than others. It is in this category that the most frequently word found in the answers to question number 30 was placed. The word *freedom* appeared a total of 97 times, plus an additional two times in the phrases, *freedom of expression* and *freedom of speech*. Furthermore, the second most frequent word within this category is a synonym of the first. The word *liberty* appeared a total of 10 times in respondents’ answers. The responses *America* (one answer), *New York City* (three answers) and the *White House* (two answers) were also included in this category for they not only represent the country as a whole, two are specific locations within the United States that are often used as symbols of the country. The word *dream*, which appeared once in the singular form and four times in its plural form, but it also appeared in the answers of two individuals, *the American dream*, was also included in this category. To some being American meant being in the *land of opportunity*, the *pais das oportunidades* (each given as an answer once) or *the land of the free* (two answers). Additional words in this category that appeared more than once include: the *4th of July* (two answers), *equality* (four answers), *independence* (three answers), *flag* (two answers) and *success* (three answers). Despite their significance as national symbols or as ideals that became symbolic of the United States, the following answers were given only once: *army, covered wagons, fireworks, free country, George Washington, immigration, legalization, military, new start, possibilities, red and space*. Lastly to one individual being American is associated with the colors *red, white and blue*, while to another being American means *rock and roll*.

The theme *economy* follows with approximately 15 different references, including the word *economy*, which was given as an answer twice, the phrase *economically stable*, and the words *economic*, *economics* and its Portuguese equivalent, *economia*, each given as an answer once. However, the most frequent word in this category was by far the word *money*, as it was given as an answer by itself a total of 26 times, not counting the one answer that used its Portuguese equivalent, the word *dinheiro* and the answer “*spend money*”. To three people the word *growth* was one of the words that came to mind when they thought of what being American means. Within this theme there seemed to be a sub-theme related to the word *work*, which appeared a total of 51 times, not counting the answers “*hard work*” (each appeared once). Similarly, to four people being American brought to mind the word *job(s)*, while to one person it more specifically meant a *good job*. In the same way, three people thought of the word *career*, one person thought of the word *employment*, and yet another thought of the word *profession*. Other words included in this category were: *bills*, *business*, *capitalism*, *commercialism*, *entrepreneur*, *entrepreneurial*, *financial independence*, *financially stable*, *materialism*, *middle-class*, *taxes*, *wealth and working class*, all of which appeared only once.

The next theme, *gastronomy* was easily identifiable amongst respondents’ answers and it can mostly be divided into three categories, beverages, foods and restaurants. Overall in terms of gastronomy when respondents thought of what it means to be American they thought of *food* (twice), more precisely of *fast food* (once) and of *McDonalds* (once). The foods that were specifically mentioned were *hamburger(s)* or *burgers*, with four answers and one answer, respectively, while apple-pie and hotdog were each given as an answer once. In terms of beverages, respondents answered *beer* twice and *Coke* once. Additionally, in this category were also included the answers of two respondents, *eat what you kill* and *ordering dinner online*.

In the theme entitled *work* the most frequent answer was *work*, totaling a 51 responses, not counting “*hard work*” (each answered once). The word *job* also appeared a total of five times, to four people being American brought to mind the

word *job(s)*, while to one person it more specifically meant a *good job*. Similarly three people thought of the word *career*, one person thought of the word *employment*, and yet another thought of the word *profession*.

Politics was another recurring theme in the respondents' answers with the word *democracy* being the most frequent answer (nice answers), although three people answered using the word *democratic*. While five people answered *power*, three answered *politics*, one answered *political development* and yet another answered in Portuguese using the word *politica*. Within the theme of politics, were also placed the words *government* (two answers), *self-government*, *State* and *constitutional rights* (one answer each). Lastly, the word *war*, which may be considered as an indirect consequence of politics, was an answer given by three respondents.

Identity was another one of the themes found in respondents' answers, for instance to 15 respondents being American was synonymous of *home* but to three others being American meant *nationality* and to one individual it meant "what I am." Nevertheless, to one person being American specifically meant being "Portuguese-American", while to another it meant the opposite, "I'm not American." Yet, to others being American had to do with the being born for they gave the following answers: *birth* (three answers), *birthplace* (one answer) and *born* (three answers).

Some themes were a lot less common in the answers to question 30, when compared the answers to question 29. Two such themes were *culture*, *relationships* and religion. The responses that were placed under the theme *culture* were few. In fact, there were only nine answers that brought up the concept of *culture*, a word used by four respondents, as opposed to the one person who answered *non-cultural*. To one person the word *multicultural* came to mind when thinking of what it means to be American, while to another the words *various cultures* came to mind. Yet others thought of the words *country*, *urban culture* and *no rich culture* (one answer each).

Within the theme *relationships*, the word *family* showed a significant decrease in question 30, as it was used nearly five times more in question 29. When respondents thought about what it means to be American the word *family* was only used 37 times, plus it was used two additional times in the answers *family home* and *love my family*. Additionally, someone else wrote the Portuguese word *familia*. The only other references made to relationships or to family were found in two answers, *grandparents* and *parents*.

As for the theme *religion*, it only included one word *faith*, which was given as an answer by two people. Responses such as *heritage*, *history*, *rich history and tradition(s)*, were given one, three, one, and two times, respectively and were placed under the theme *heritage*. Although I debated placing the words *educated* (five responses), *education* (15 responses) and *school(s)* (seven responses), under the theme *culture*, the decision to place them separately under *education* was made in order to avoid confusion between different concepts of culture, something that is explored with participants during the case study interviews. Additional themes were: *language*, which included three responses *language*, *multilingual* and *speech*; and, *sports*, which included four responses, the word *baseball* twice, the word *sports* once, the word *football* twice and lastly, the name of the team *Red Sox* once.

Some words however were considered to be difficult to categorize and were therefore placed in a category named, *miscellaneous*. These included the following answers: *environment* (once), *everywhere* (once), *future* (five times), *ghetto* (once), *no excuses* (once), *none* (once), *nothing* (once), *stuff* (once), *technology* (once) and *theft* (once).

The last question in the *Identity* section of the survey, question number 31 of the survey, asked respondents how often they participate in activities within the Portuguese-American community. The intent of this question was to establish a possible a connection between the individuals and the community. Overall, this question was answered by 399 people and skipped by 74 people. As illustrated in the graph illustrated by Figure 4.30, the results indicate that the majority of the participants, more precisely 100 of the individuals who answered this question,

said they participate in activities within the Portuguese-American community moderately often. However, while 84 individuals answered “not at all often” meaning they hardly participate, only 66 people out of the 399 that answered said they attend such activities extremely often. Between those who claimed to attend very often (74 individuals) and those who attend slightly often (75 individuals), the difference is almost insignificant as the number of responses only differs by one person.

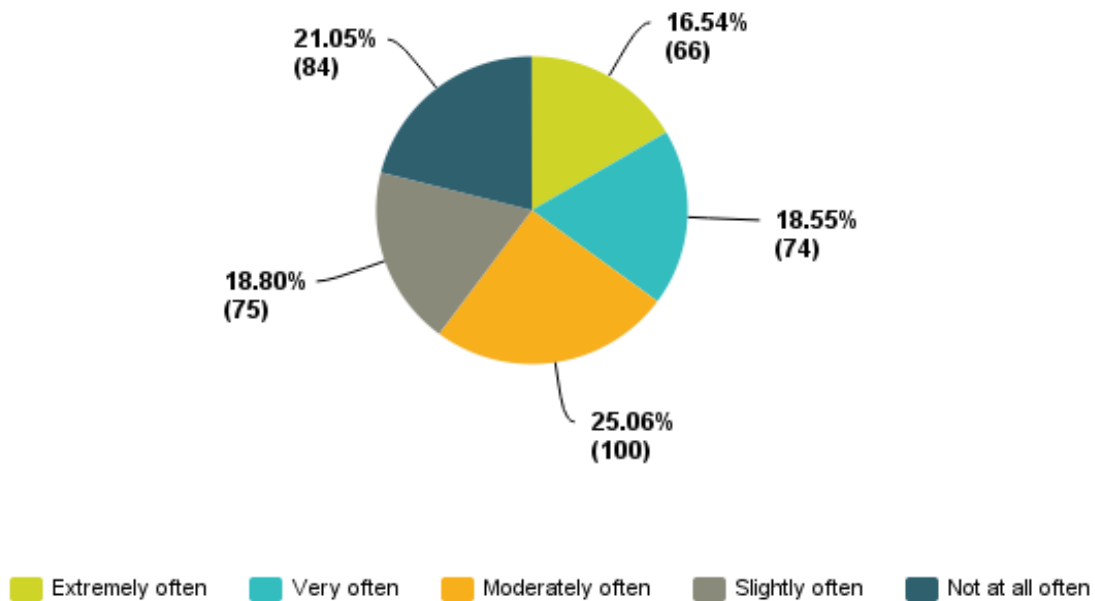


Figure 4.30 Frequency With Which Participants’ *Participate* in Activities in the Portuguese-American Community

4.4 Question 4: Has the Portuguese Language and Culture Been Transmitted to Younger Generations? If so, How and Why?

The seventh section of the survey entitled, *Connection to Portugal, its language and its culture*, sought to answer the fourth question of the study, *Has the Portuguese Language and Culture Been Transmitted to Younger Generations?* By inquiring about participants’ travels to Portugal (frequency and reasons) and other cultural and family related behaviors that may or may not connect a participant to a Portuguese community, the results of this section of the survey

sought to establish whether the Portuguese culture and language were in fact being maintained “alive” throughout the generations.

Hence the first question, question number 32 asked how often respondents travel to Portugal. Out of the 396 responses collected for this question (77 respondents skipped this question), 152 said they only travel to Portugal sometimes. When compared to the mere 34 respondents who said they always travel to Portugal, the 93 people who claimed to go very often seems quite significant. Nevertheless, 54 people said they never go to Portugal, while 63 said they almost never go. Consequently, as illustrated in Figure 4.31, the results show that the majority of the respondents, a total of 259, do travel to Portugal at least sometimes.

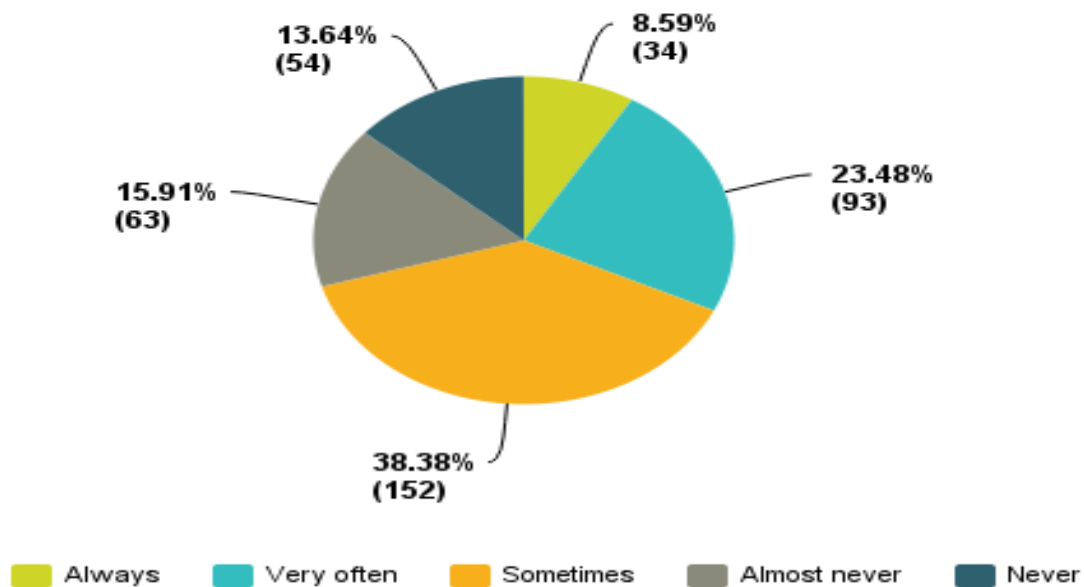


Figure 4.31 How Frequently Participants Travel to Portugal

The next step was to analyze the reasons that lead respondents to travel to Portugal, thus, question number 33 – *Why do you travel to Portugal?* As can be seen from the results depicted in graph shown in Figure 4.32, respondents were given six possible reasons to choose from, one of which allowed them to answer the question in their own words.

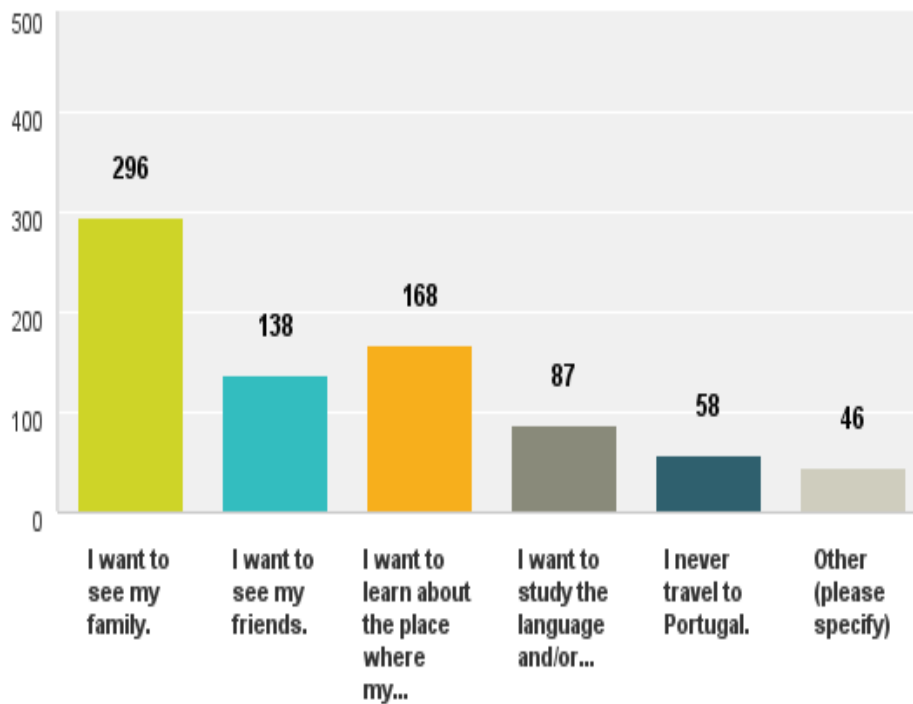


Figure 4.32 Participants’ Reasons for Traveling to Portugal

Overall, 396 respondents answered this question, 77 respondents skipped this question, and 46 respondents answered the question by choosing the option “other” and therefore, gave more specific information as to why they do or do not travel to Portugal. Two-hundred-and-ninety-six respondents said they travel to Portugal in order to see their family and 138 said they travel to Portugal to see their friends. In the meanwhile, 168 respondents said they travel to Portugal to learn about the place where their ancestors come from, and more specifically, 87 travel to Portugal to study the language and culture of their ancestors. When compared to those that said they never travel to Portugal in the previous question, four more respondents answered that they never travel to Portugal in this question, totaling 58 respondents. When analyzed, the answers of those who answered “other” revealed respondents travel to Portugal for an array of reasons, including visiting specific family members or friends, their love for the country and its lifestyle, but also because they feel at home in Portugal, they feel the country is part of who they are. For some they just simply want to return to their birthplace, their hometown, to the place where they have property, or because they feel Portugal is where their roots and heritage are. Others, not only travel to Portugal to

vacation, because they think it is a beautiful country and because they enjoy the Portuguese beaches, but also to visit new cities and different parts of the country; for work, including academic work and conferences; and, to learn and teach their children about the art, the language, the culture and its traditions. Out of the respondents that said they never travel, two have never done so, others like respondent number 357 have not because the “majority of the family is in the USA” and yet, three others would like to one day vacation in Portugal or Madeira.

The next question in this section, question number 34 is divided into seven questions to which respondents must answer *yes* or *no*. The seven questions are:

1. Do you have family in Portugal?
2. Do you have friends in Portugal?
3. Do you belong to a Portuguese-American club/association?
4. Do you go to Portuguese bars/restaurants?
5. Do you have a Portuguese channel subscription?
6. Do you like Portuguese food?
7. Do you know any Portuguese food outside of your family?

According the 397 responses collected for each one of the above listed questions, the majority of the respondents answered yes in all questions except one, the one that asks respondents whether they have a Portuguese channel subscription, Nevertheless, the difference between those that do have a Portuguese channel subscription and those that do not is minimal, as 194 respondents do and 203 respondents do not, as illustrated by the graph in Figure 4.33.

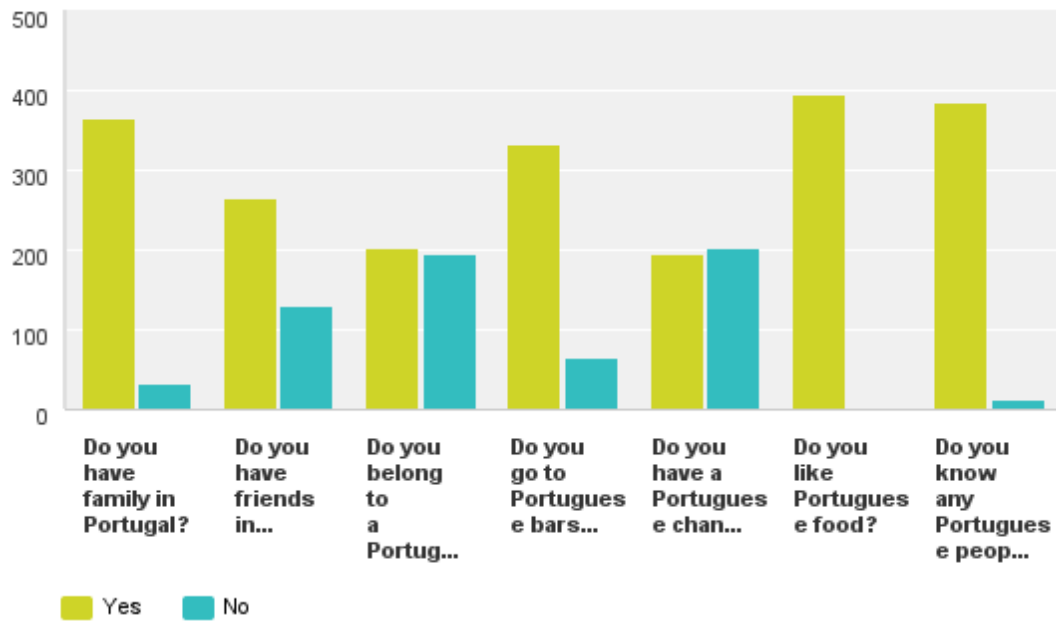


Figure 4.33 Answer Yes or No

While 364 respondents claimed to have family in Portugal, only 266 have friends in Portugal. However, 385 respondents claimed to be friends with Portuguese people who are not family members. As for Portuguese food, 395 people said they like it, but only 333 people actually go out to a Portuguese bar or restaurant. Lastly, only 203 people said that they do belong to a Portuguese-American club or association, a number that is not that different from the 194 respondents that claimed not to belong to a Portuguese-American club or association.

4.5 Closing Section of the Survey

The last section of the survey, entitled *Thank you for participating in this Survey*, is composed of three questions, which basically serve two purposes. The first purpose is to thank the respondents for participating and allow them to make additional comments if they see fit. The second purpose is to establish the initial procedures for the second phase of the data collection of this study, the interview

phase. Thus, respondents were asked whether they would be interested in participating in the next phase of the study, the individual interview. Please refer to the procedures section of Chapter 3 for a detailed explanation of the results of this section.

The final question of the survey, question number 37, to which 67 people responded, asked respondents whether they would like to add anything about the issues covered in the survey. Given the opportunity respondents provided the research with valuable results for they suggested additional topics for further study, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Given the time, it would be interesting to analyze each and every one of the comments made and follow up with the respondents, but perhaps that could be left for a follow-up study. In the meanwhile, some of the comments were taken into consideration when building the interview guide, as some of the topics were included in the questions that make up the interview guide.

4.6 Interviews / Case Study

The ensuing results from the twelve interviews completed were predominantly analyzed using a life history approach, which according to the description given by Marshall and Rossman (1995) is an optimum approach to use in order to give an audience an understanding of a culture. In this case one of the goals of the study was to understand the existence of a Portuguese-American identity, as well as the cultural and linguistic survival of a Portuguese culture within immigrant communities within the United States of America. Hence the results attained answer the questions of the interview guide, as well as those guiding this study and in doing so, allow for a narration of the life histories told by the participants. In doing so, the consequent analysis of the text units of the twelve life histories collected are thus discussed in this subchapter while exploiting the transcription twelve interviews (partial transcriptions including the first 8 pages of each interview are included in Appendix C).

Other words were also considered to be relevant to the study for not only did they emerge as high frequency words but they constituted the main and subcategories built to answer the questions guiding this research and its objectives. A complete table of the word frequency is provided in Appendix D, however highlighted below are some of the most relevant examples of frequent words for each category.

Under the category *identity*, are the subcategories *portugueses* or *Portuguese* with a total of 1818 appearances (a 2.55% weighted percentage) and the word *portuguesa(s)* with 26 appearances in the text (a 0,04% weighted percentage). The word *Luso*, also used to refer to someone of Portuguese descent, appeared 32 times, a weighted average of 0,04%. The words *Americans* (*Americanized*, *Americanize*) with a total appearance of 734 times and a weighted percentage of 1,03%, while the Portuguese equivalent, *americana* and *americanas* appeared a total of 20 times (a weighted average of 0,03%) and the word *americano(s)* appeared 34 times, a weighted percentage of 0,05%. The words *emigrante* and *emigrantes* appeared a total of 42 times (a weighted average of 0,06%), while the English words *immigrant*, *immigrants*, *immigrate*, *immigrated* and *immigration* appeared a total of 122 times (a weighted average of 0,17%). The words *Madeiran(s)* appeared a total of 26 times (a weighted average of 0,04%), while the words *Azorean(s)* appeared 6 times less with a weighted average of 0,03%). The derogatory term *Portugee*, used by some to refer to the Portuguese immigrants especially in the Massachusetts area in the early and mid-20th century, was used eight times (a weighted average of 0,01%). The words *foreign* and *foreigner(s)*, which can also be used to discriminate, appeared a total of 24 times (a weighted average of 0,03%). The word *identity*, a main category in this study, appeared a total of 18 times (a weighted average of 0,03%). Hence, a word tree for the word *identity* was generated by running a word search query, which is represented by Figure 4.35 depicting nine text unit samples where the word appears within the context of the interview.

In comparison Figure 4.36 depicts a word tree generated for the word *identify* displaying the word within the context of the interview 8 times. Both figures subsequently create a visualization of how Portuguese-Americans identify with and define themselves according to both the Portuguese and the American culture, as well as

with the food, with the language or languages spoken, with the customs and traditions of their families and communities, and with the relevance of having the combination of both cultures present in their lives.

Under the main category *culture*, the word *cultures* (*cultural*, *culturally*, *culture*, etc.) appeared a total of 550 times and have a weighted percentage of 0.77%, while its Portuguese equivalent *cultura* appeared 40 times (a weighted average of 0,06%). Figure 4.37 depicts the frequency of appearance of the word *culture* within context in a word tree, showing participants' general definition of culture, as well as of the Portuguese-American culture, of the Portuguese culture, and of the American culture specifically. In addition, the word tree also shows text unit instances where the word *culture* appears in contexts where participants explain how the cultural traditions brought to the United States of America by their family members are still kept alive, as well as give examples of cultural assimilation and bi-cultural interactions.

Additional prevalent words within the category *culture*, include the word *Portugal*, which appeared a total of 488 times (a weighted percentage of 0.68%) while the word *America* only appeared 122 times (a weighted percentage of 0.17%). The word *family* was yet another central subcategory under the category *culture*, in fact in its singular and plural form it appeared 364 times, a weighted percentage of 0.51%. Figure 4.38 depicts the word tree for the frequency of use of the word *family* (including its stemmed words) and provides examples of interviewees' explanations of how Portuguese-Americans are very family oriented, of the value of family to Portuguese-Americans, of the cultural differences between Portuguese-American families and other families, as well as instances where interviewees discuss their family roots, who is where and who arrived when. Similarly, the words *parent(s)* and *parents'*, also appeared a significant number of times, a total of 454 times and have a weighted percentage of 0.64%. The word tree depicted by Figure 4.39 demonstrates the frequency of use of the word *parents* within the context of the interviews, exemplifying various trends of employment by the interviewees' including but not limited to their parents' over protectiveness, the differences between their houses and that of their parents' or even grandparents', the struggles felt by non-English speaking parents, the differences between their parents and the so called American parents and even Portuguese sayings used by their parents. On the other hand, the word *heritage(s)* appeared significantly

less, a total of 34 times (a weighted average of 0,05%), although it is immediately linked to the idea of family.

Under the subcategory community, the words *community* and *communities* appeared 246 times and have a weighted average of 0.35%. The text unit analysis of the word community and its frequency in context, as is depicted by the word tree in Figure 4.40, shows that it was used to describe the community in which interviewees grew up in and the community or communities their family members moved into upon arrival in the United States of America, the communities they belong to, are part of, are active in, to describe what makes one part of a community or what builds a community and to give suggestions for adaptation for new and future immigrants, amongst other things.

In the same category, the subcategory *food* emerged and with it so did the words, *bacalhau* with 10 occurrences (a 0,01% weighted average), *sardinhas* with 12 occurrences and *sopas* with a total of 16 occurrences (both with a 0,02% weighted average), while the words *cook*, *cooked* and *cooking* appeared a total of 40 times (a 0,06% weighted average).

Other words under the category culture specifically linked to the Portuguese culture include *rancho(s)* which appeared 38 times, *concertina(s)*, *folklore* or *folkloric*, accordion and *carnival* which appeared anywhere between 14 and 10 times. The words *feast(s)* and *feasting* appeared a total of 32 times (a 0,04% weighted average), while the Portuguese *feira* and *feiras* appeared 118 times (a 0,17% weighted average). Its plural use is depicted by Figure 4.41, which illustrates how the word emerged during the interviews when interviewees spoke of their and their families' participation in Portuguese religious and non- religious *feiras* or *feasts* either on the east coast or the west coast, which I understood to be quite important especially in communities of immigrants that had arrived from the of islands Azores or Madeira. Interviewees also mentioned *feiras* as part of their childhood, almost like a ritual of growing up as their parents obliged them to attend, or the annual ritual of attending *feiras* in Portugal while on vacation (mainland or the islands). *Feiras* within the Portuguese-American communities seem to be a way to maintain the culture alive and to relive the traditions brought over by the founding immigrants.

The words *music* and *musical* together appeared 118 times (a 0,17% weighted average), whereas the words *musician(s)* appeared a mere 14 times, in reality these words can either be connected to Portuguese or American culture, however a closer analysis of the frequency of use is illustrated by Figure 4.42, which demonstrates that once again *music* is related to both the Portuguese and the American cultures. However, most accounts tell of its existence within the Portuguese culture, whether it is of a grandfather listening to music after a meal, or a mom dancing to the *chamarrita*, or of a generation of young musicians learning music from a Freitas Gazul text, or the sounds of Fado being present. Regardless, music seems to have been present quite a bit in most interviewees' lives.

The subcategory made up of the words *value(s)*, *valued* and *valuing* were also placed under the category culture, together they appeared 114 times (a 0,16% weighted average). It was placed in this category due to the actual value placed on the culture, the Portuguese language by the interviewees.

The analysis of the text units also revealed that under the main category culture the subcategory *religion*, whose frequency is illustrated by Figure 4.43, demonstrating the weight of religion with the Portuguese-American culture and in its identity. *More specifically*, the word *church* appeared 46 times (a weighted average of 0,06%), whereas the word *santo(s)* appeared a total of 24 times, the words *mass* and *masses* appeared 20 times, while the word *Catholic* appeared a total of 18 times (all with a weighted average of 0,03%). The words *espírito* and *religious* appeared a total of 14 times, while the words *fátima* and *holy* appeared only 12 times (all with a weighted average of 0,02%). The words *Isabel*, *sacramento*, *santíssimo*, *senhora* and *spirit* appeared a total of 10 times and lastly the words *rosary* and *Jesus*, which appeared eight times (all with a weighted average of 0,01%).

Under the category *education* (see Figure 4.45), the word *schools* and its variations *school* and *schooling* appeared a total of 390 times (see Figure 4.46), and have a weighted percentage of 0.55%, while its Portuguese equivalent *escola* appeared 38 times (a weighted average of 0,05%). When participants were asked to discuss education the word generation(s) was used 94 times (a weighted percentage of 0,13%), the word college was used a total of 86 times (a weighted percentage of 0,12%), and the

words graduate, graduated and graduation were used a total of 28 times (a weighted percentage of 0.04%). In contrast, the word *homework* only appeared 10 times (a weighted percentage of 0.01%).

Under the category *language*, the word *English* appeared a total of 384 times and has a weighted percentage of 0.54% (see Figure 4.47). The word *Portuguese* was not included here for lack of context. It will however be more specifically treated in the qualitative analysis where specific quotes will allow to better analyze whether the use of the word refers to the language or the nationality. The word *language(s)*, however (see Figure 4.48), appeared a total of 222 times and has a weighted average of 0.31%. The words *communicate*, *communicating*, *communication*, *communications* appeared a total of 50 times (a weighted average of 0,07%). The words *bilingual* and *bilingualism* appeared 16 times (a weighted percentage of 0.02%).

Compared to other words in the *immigration* category, the name *Kennedy* appeared relatively few times, in fact it only appeared eight times, as did the words the Portuguese equivalent *emigração*, as well as the verb *emigrar* and *emigrated* and the word *acolhimento* (all with a weighted average of 0,01%). In comparison, other words in this category appeared with a much higher frequency. The word *Azores* for instance, where many of the interviewees' families emigrated from, appeared 42 times and has a weighted average of 0,06%, as is illustrated by Figure 4.49.

In the meanwhile, the text query for frequency in context shows that the word *job(s)* appeared 94 times (a weighted percentage of 0,13%). Under the subcategory *work*, words such as *work*, *worked*, *working* or *works* appeared a total of 336 times with a weighted percentage of 0.47%, while its Portuguese equivalent *trabalho* appeared 22 times (a weighted percentage of 0,03%) and the verb *trabalhar* appeared mere 12 times (a weighted percentage of 0,02%). Figure 4.50 illustrates the frequency query run for the word *job*, demonstrating how interviewees used the word to discuss a variety of issues from education to their families' work ethic. Figure 4.51 shows how the word *work* was used throughout the interviews to discuss amongst other issues the idea that immigrants worked really hard and continue to do so, how the Portuguese-Americans are known for being hard workers, the type of work immigrants did upon arrival including but not limited to work in factories, the construction area, in cleaning and the

fishing, dairy or textile industry. The word *money* appeared 82 times (a weighted percentage of 0,82%), is represented by the word tree in Figure 4.52. All of these words are considered to be of significant importance because of the varied contexts in which they appear but also because of the relevance they were given by the interviewees, as significant factors within the family daily life and within the life of the immigrant in general.

The words *opportunity and opportunities*, also placed in this category, together appeared a total of 52 times (a weighted percentage of 0,07%). Together their prevalence within the text is easily explained by the reasons given by many of the interviewees as to why their families or themselves, in the case of S. Fernando, left *home* in search of a better life, of a so called *opportunity*. The word tree represented in Figure 4.53 provides examples for the visualization of the specific use in context of the word *opportunity*. Some of the examples generated by the query include interviewees recalling the reasons as to why their ancestors left for America looking for an *opportunity* due to the lack of money in Portugal, or the lack of an *opportunity* to have an education by a former generation, or one interviewee's desire to have an *opportunity* to learn medical Portuguese, or the desire to have their future children (if they have them) learn both Portuguese and English.

The words *challenge(s), challenges and challenging*, which together appeared a total of 36 times, and have a weighted percentage of 0,05%. The specific use of the word *challenges* is demonstrated by Figure 4.54, which contains excerpts of interviewees' descriptions of the challenges felt while growing up Portuguese-American. In terms of dates, the decade of the 1960s appeared a total of 20 times and the decade of the 1970s appeared a total of 18 times. Other words in this category include the word *vacation* with 18 appearances and the month of *August* with 16 appearances.

Based on the above analysis of the frequency of the individual text units and their occurrence within the context of the interviews what follows is a qualitative analysis of the contextualized life histories of the participants based on the emerging categories and subcategories. In doing so, a greater effort is placed on telling the stories

of the participants and their families, using the emerging themes and excerpts to answer the guiding questions.

4.6.1 Part I: Identification of Respondent and Family Emigration History (Who are the participants? Who emigrated to where, why and when? What were the circumstances?)

The three questions that constitute the first part of the interview allowed for the identification of the interviewee, as well as his or her family emigration history. More specifically, the first question inquired as to the age, place of birth, place of residence and type of employment of the interviewee. The second question asked the interviewee if he/she knew who in the family had emigrated first to the United States of America and if she/she knew when. Finally, the third question, asked the interviewee to share any stories he/she knew of or had been told about that period of time, in other words what it had been like initially as an immigrant in the United States of America. The consequent results from this first section are vast and extremely telling as all twelve participants themselves had quite different narratives to share.

Maria a 44-year-old female born in Mineola, New York, was my first interview. At the time of the interview, Maria who has a finance background was very busy not only helping companies build project teams, specifically projects that involved technology, but she was also a yoga teacher and a meditation teacher. It was Maria's paternal side of the family who first emigrated to the United States of America. As she explained, "My dad was the first to immigrate and on his side of the family an uncle immigrated in the 1940s. So a great uncle came in the 1940s and my dad came to the States in the 1960s ... He came with his brother and his parents came as well or they were already here. I am not exactly sure in terms of the order. But when he came, he came to meet up with his brother." In fact, Maria's father arrived in 1967 along with his parents, while her mother arrived in 1969, followed by her parents in the 1970s. Both side of the families are originally from the Aveiro region of mainland Portugal.

When it came to stories Maria had heard she was able to recall hearing about how it had been a, “a really good opportunity because before they came here, they meaning actually both of my parents, before they came to the States, they actually were immigrants in Venezuela, and so he had heard that the opportunities were better in the United States and so he had an uncle that back then, like what I always heard him say was that *fez a chamada*, I guess they had filled out proper paperwork for him to come here legally, and that's how he came.” These memories describe how the family upon arrival lived together and how her father began working for a Portuguese owned construction company, making the adaptation period slightly easier for him since the language was not an issue, as both bosses and co-workers were Portuguese speakers. When asked if she knew how it had been for her mom Maria responded,

... in the 1960s and the 1970s there weren't as many Portuguese in Mineola as there are today but she also worked with a group of people that were Portuguese, so she worked at a factory, at great Neck Saw. Her supervisor was Portuguese so yeah you know she was able to communicate. Yeah, that was great for her but like the down side of it was that she was never really forced to learn English so now you know, almost like forty plus years, forty-eight, forty-nine years here in the States she doesn't speak English because she was always surrounded by people who did.

The analysis of text units found in Maria's interview reveals results that are in some ways similar to those later found in some of the other narratives. Many of these describe going to *America* as a good *opportunity*, a subcategory of immigration. Like Maria many of the interviewees also mention the *importance of work* upon arrival, which in the text unit analysis was placed under the main category culture as many answers explain it as a Portuguese cultural trait, as something that identifies the Portuguese in general and that is often learned from one generation to generation the next. Upon arrival the stories which immigrants often retell their loved ones often talk about the difficulties had with the English *language*, itself a main category. The difficulties described by many were only soothed if work was found in *Portuguese owned companies, within the Portuguese enclaves* with other Portuguese immigrants that could basically show the new

arrivals the way, which brings one back to the subcategories *community and enclave*.

Sandra who like Maria also born in Mineola, New York, is twenty-eight years old. Besides working as an English as a second language teacher, in a public elementary school, on Long Island, Sandra is also a doctoral student. It was Sandra's maternal great-grandfather who first emigrated to the United States of America and before the remainder of the family followed, starting with her grandmother. Although Sandra was unsure of the exact year of her great-grandfather's arrival for as she explained,

He went back and forth a lot. He didn't, I don't know the year that he established himself here. He traveled back and forth. He didn't really maintain a permanent residency my great-grandfather. So I think it was around the 60s that he had enough of a permanent residency that he was able to call over his children. Because my mother grew up, she came when she was about three-years-old to the country, so she grew up here, although she was not born here. ... she was three-years-old. So she came in 1967, 1968.

Her paternal side of the family tells a different story, as they arrived years later, nevertheless it is a story that seems to coincide with Portuguese emigration history, "On my father's side of the family, his aunts had moved to New York and shortly after, through his aunts, he was able to come over with his parents. For my father it was in 1980, that he came to the country. So my father was twenty-one, in 1980 and that's when he arrived."

According to Sandra, her father distinctly recalls his arrival in the United States of America, possibly because of his age upon arrival for he was already a young man, he recalls having a hard time due to, "not knowing the language and having to acclimate himself to the differences here." Sandra describes her father as a man who always worked very hard, who very quickly after arriving started his own business and consequently, had little leisure time. As results demonstrate other descendants also mention the crucial importance of *hard work* amongst recent Portuguese arrivals in the United States of America, something that

according to the narratives seems to not only remain throughout the lifetime of the immigrant but that is also passed on to the children, as I will explain further on in Part III. In Sandra's words her father was, "Always taking on whatever jobs he could. So he didn't really have too much free time, he didn't have friends. It was more about focusing on saving money and eventually he started his own painting business."

Sandra's maternal side of the family on the other hand, tells a story that begins with a period of adaptation to the city, "for my grandparents it was very strange to go from living in like the country to now living in Brooklyn. That was a very, a strange environment." Once again there is a situation upon arrival of a family who shares a home before venturing out on its own, nevertheless Sandra's mother's stories of growing up are similar to those of many other descendants of immigrants, where once again the idea of working hard and initial struggle seem to be central. In Sandra's words,

... her father worked two jobs, he was a contractor by day and then by night, they would go around Mineola, cleaning banks. And my grandparents brought their three daughters with them to help with the night job, the night cleaning. So my mother remembers her dad putting her on her shoulders, because they had to walk everywhere, they didn't have a car and bringing the little ones with them to the banks and the offices to do the nighttime cleaning. So, she has a lot of memories of going with her parents to different jobs. They didn't have daycare. They didn't have a car, so there was a lot of struggling to earn money and being able to make a living in the country. They haven't. They haven't really talked about it. I, you know, it's not something that they really talked about. Outside of like, the idea of working hard and making money I haven't heard stories. Like, I haven't heard personal stories about that, even from my parents, it was more about the struggle like, 'we worked hard.'

Andrea was born in Providence, Rhode Island, 41 years ago. Today Andrea is a school consultant who specializes in autism, and works as a behavioral consultant for a psychiatric hospital. She currently lives in Massachusetts with her husband of four years (he is from Guimarães, Portugal). They met while she was at a conference on autism in the Azores, where Andrea's family is from. When asked who

in her family had emigrated first she said she believed it was her grandmother's uncle but like many others at the time there were relatives that were had been back and forth between the Azores and the United States of America for work. Interestingly, Andrea's family was able to find evidence of her relatives' voyages. As she explained,

... we actually found some of their, great grandfathers, we found their names on some ship manifests so we knew that. But my grandmother's uncle was one of the first to come here, and then he called his nephews over, which was my grandfather and his brothers, and they brought their families over, so my mom came with her parents.

Andrea's mother arrived in the United States of America in the 1960s as a seventeen year-old, while the rest of the family came a decade or so earlier. Since Andrea's parents had grown up in the Azores together, they courted each other by mail while Andrea's father was in the Portuguese navy and eventually her mother went back to the Azores to get married. At the time of his arrival in the United States of America (circa 1970) Andrea's father was about twenty-four years old. Both her parents have lived in Massachusetts ever since.

In the case of Andrea's family, there was a large disparity in ages, but especially on her father's side of the family. According to Andrea and the stories she has heard, the younger siblings had a much easier cultural adaptation. On the other hand the adaptation of the older siblings, the family members who came straight to be become part of working force in America, seemed to be a bit much more difficult. As Andrea narrates,

... they all worked in factories. So my aunt, my mom has a lot of brothers and sisters and we were very close growing up. Whereas, my mom and her sisters started working earlier, they said there was a lot back then, there was some racism against Portuguese people. You know, they were made fun of, they were picked on a little bit and it was, I'm sure at a difficult age ... she didn't come to school here though, they came and worked immediately. I guess that's just what they did. So, but they, they when they came here they came to a very highly populated Portuguese area. So my grandma never learned English until, she died four years ago and never knew English because we've always lived in a very populated Portuguese

community and, didn't, she didn't really need to, right, right, but my parents have since then become very Americanized. A little too much at times, I think.

In Andrea's narration of her family's experience upon their arrival the analysis of the text units also show similarities to Maria's and Sandra's accounts, specifically as the above quote recounts, the idea of hard work and work being extremely important in these people's lives, of coming to live in or near a Portuguese enclave, of facing language issues unless one went to work in a Portuguese owned company or in a company where many other Portuguese already worked, the idea that America was seen as an opportunity, another commonality seems to be that all worked in either factories or construction related jobs. In spite of these common themes, a subcategory surfaced when coding this particular transcription, one in particular that will especially resurface in the Massachusetts interviews, it is the *prejudice* against the Portuguese immigrants, one that also resurfaces through the use of the term *Portagee*.

California native Alice, a forty-six year-old teacher who is also the descendant of emigrants from the Azores, currently lives in Redwood City, California. According to Alice the first person in her family to leave the Azores for the United States of America, was her grandfather. As she explained, "he came did work and then returned to the Azores." In regards to dates, Alice was not certain, but once again records were traced, this time at Ellis Island,

Eighteen hundreds, I couldn't say specifically. I know his brother when I went to Ellis Island, in New York. I found records of a Manuel Santos, who is an uncle and yeah, his brother. My mother's, father's brother. My grandfather came over hidden on a boat so I know it's late 1800s.

Both of these men went out to California upon their arrival, the exact location is unknown but a few decades later it was Alice's aunt or as Alice calls her, "my oldest *tia*" who emigrated and who was able to eventually bring, "everyone else with her, cause she had to get approval, like someone had to be situated here ... This would have

been, let's see, Kennedy signed the bill for Faial in 59 they came in 61, maybe 62.” Remarkably, Alice was the first interviewee to mention Kennedy's Bill for Fail, the Azorean Refugee Act of 1958. Nevertheless, I found it extremely interesting that Kennedy and/or the Bill were mentioned by several of the Azorean interviewees, in some form or another and were given such importance, even if simply to mention that a parent of a family member had always had Kennedy's picture hanging on the wall, or someone else had Kennedy's bust as a trinket around the house. Its importance in the analysis of the text units ended up being placed in the *knick-knacks* subcategory under culture.

Yet, despite the hardships of the Azores in the mid-20th century Alice's mother was different from all the other emigrant mothers I had encountered thus far in that she had a college education. Although her family had “minimal English” they went to work in factories, unlike many other Portuguese emigrants in California at the time who according to Alice worked on dairy farms. Even her mother went to work in a factory making pencils. Similarly to other Portuguese emigrants at the time, the settlement in a Portuguese enclave seemed to have aided in the acculturation process and in finding employment. As Alice explains, “It was really hard for them. There were, there is a small community I, they went back to, San Leandro, California, a small Portuguese community there that welcomed them and helped them find jobs.”

The next interviewee was Danny, from Massachusetts. Danny is the son of parents who had emigrated from the Azores, from Graciosa to be more exact. At forty-years-old, Danny is a graduate of the University of Massachusetts who keeps pretty busy as a full-time music teacher, a musician and an audio engineer. He and Lisa, a Portuguese-American from Newark, New Jersey, are the parents of two children. It was Danny's great-grandfather who first went to the United States of America at the turn of the 20th century and as the legend goes, “The legend is he walked. The legend is he had the address of his family in his hat and lost the address. Landing in New York and his family being in California, was a long way away. That's the legend, whether or not it is true, I don't know.” Regardless of the veracity of the legend, Danny's grandfather eventually returned to the Azores and it was not until the mid-1960s that Danny's mother and her parents returned to America. Danny's father, on the other hand, only

emigrated in the late 1960s after marrying Danny's mother. He was the first one in his family to emigrate and according to Danny his father's main objective upon arrival was to find employment, in order to buy a car, which he associated with freedom.

When asked if he was able to share a story he had heard from his parents, Danny recalled one his mother used to tell him. As Danny recounts,

“... she had never seen a working clock. A small, you know, personal clock, and how she hated the tick-tocking of the clock and how, you know coming from a rural town and coming over here it was so difficult to adjust. Everything was new. It was already part of what was called the second wave of immigration. The first wave of immigration here in Peabody was around the turn of the 20th century, so the people who were already here were pretty much Americanized and then she was one of the first of the second wave of immigration, so when she got here she was pretty lonely. But luckily it was an immigration wave, and shortly after a lot of people, people that she knew, started to come to this area.”

This story, in my opinion really depicts the cultural differences and hardships of adaptation so many of individuals face upon arrival in a new world, in this case it was a working clock, today it could be a new gadget or a computer for a child that has not yet had one. Today, it may be difficult to imagine how a simple tick-tock of a clock may be such a strange, novelty. It may be almost impossible to put oneself back in a time when, such a noise and such an object simply did not exist. It does however become curious as to why individuals such as Danny's mother, might have kept their stories to themselves, except possibly for sharing about *hard work* and the *hard times* or eventually the random story such as Danny's mother's. It would be interesting to collect more of these and to study, if possible the purpose of these stories, if there was one.

Danny's grandparents were older when they emigrated and both went to work in factories. His grandfather, a farmer in the Azores, went to work in the leather industry, while his grandmother, who had never worked outside of the house also went to work in factories, albeit for a short time. One story that Danny recalls his grandfather sharing has to do with food,

“One thing that I do remember is him talking about sandwiches, how back in the Azores, how he never ate a sandwich, he never ate a cold meal and then coming here and having work and never having a wife at home all the time, not having all the creature comforts that one is accustomed to, often he had to eat peanut butter and jelly or ham sandwiches it was, and he typically enjoyed the ham sandwiches once he got past the idea of sandwich.”

The analysis of the text units of this memory is imperative for not only does it bring to the surface of the study another subcategory, *food*, which has been placed within the main category *culture*, but it is also an extremely common topic found in both the results of the survey and the interviews. At the same time, the differences in the culinary cultural habits of the communities, at least those described by the informants, clearly show how wide apart communities can co-exist. In this particular case it was a question of a hot meal versus a sandwich for a meal. However, in Rosemary’s interview, the culinary cultural difference became more apparent when as a child she had to explain at school what she had done over the weekend,

I remember being a little kid, that’s one story I remember being a little kid and they were like, ‘What did you do this weekend?’ at school. And you’re like, ‘We killed eight pigs!’ You know and they’d look at you like, ‘What are you talking about?’ And you know, as a kid that was normal for us because you would kill the pigs and all the moms would have aprons and *lenços* on the top of their head and they’re cleaning the guts for the *linguiça*, you have pigs hanging upside down. That was normal. And then you’d go to school and you’d have these white people, that were like, ‘You did what?’

Much like Danny’s grandmother had difficulty in adjusting to all the newness, Rosemary’s childhood explanation to her “*white*” peers, was in fact two worlds apart. In fact what divided the worlds of Danny’s grandmother and Rosemary were the differences between the United States of America and the Azores, both which existed in the 20th century, yet their cultures were alienated from each other and yet their people were somehow disjointedly coming together.

At 36-years-old, Rosemary is an Executive Director for United Way in Tulare County, California where she was born. Rosemary and her husband have three

daughters ages, 12, 10 and six. It was her parents who first emigrated in 1968 from Madalena, Pico, after her maternal uncle had already done so in the late 50s. He was the one that sponsored the family to emigrate. As Rosemary shared with me, for her mother it was a colossal cultural shock. The story Rosemary shared with me of her mother's arrival at the airport in San Francisco, demonstrated just how different her mother's world had suddenly become, not just in terms of language but also in terms of her surroundings in general,

“... she had never seen a black person and that really freaked her out cause she had never seen anyone that was a different skin colors as her. She said she was terrified. She didn't know a word of English. She was there with my sister who was a tiny baby and they were waiting for my uncle to come and pick them up. At that time, you know, the only way to go to San Francisco from where my uncle lived was about a four-hour drive. So they were there waiting for him, at his mercy, waiting for him to come and pick them up but she said it was a very terrifying experience.”

One can only imagine arriving somewhere today without the help of any technological device to help translate or to help situate oneself, how petrifying it must have been for a young mother holding her baby. Yet, Rosemary's parents' story is similar to many of the other stories I heard. For one, upon arrival the young couple lived with family until they were able to get a place of their own, stressing yet again the idea of *family* and its importance. Secondly, they too did not share many stories with their two daughters but what Rosemary was able to convey to me was that both of her parents worked hard like all the other immigrants, her father in a lumberyard and her mom as cook.

The seventh interviewee's name is Victor, he is the descendant of a family that originates from the north of Portugal, more specifically, as Victor himself explains, “my dad is from *Balazar*, which belongs, *pertence à Povia do Varzim*, belongs to *Povia do Varzim* ... my mom is from *Gondifelos*, which is the town over, which belongs to *Famalição, Braga*.” Victor was born and raised in New Jersey, in a town that has its own little Portuguese community, which as Victor actually pointed out both the city he grew up in and the city he currently lives in their, “own little Portuguese community ... and both of these are new ring cities to Newark, New Jersey, which has a very large

Portuguese community.” Today Victor is a 26-year-old, doctor at Rutgers, New Jersey Medical School.

It was Victor’s father who first emigrated. First to Canada at the age of 20 or so, where he worked construction for a short while, before moving on to the United States of America in 1981. At that time, Victor’s parents were already dating and as he explained, “he was here for a while and he went back. They got married. He went back just to get married and they returned together. At the time it was 1984.” Similarly to other young men who had immigrated on their own Victor recalled times when his father spoke about being, “here all by himself, you know, not knowing really anybody. Making enough only to like, pay the rent and barely eat.” Where as Victor’s mother used to talk to him about the difficulties she had with the English language. One example of such struggles, which Victor remembers his mother telling him about was,

... she went to the supermarket one time and she asked for these little plastic, not plastic, paper cups that you use to make cupcakes that you put inside the sheet and they form the wrinkles in the cupcakes. And she wanted the small version instead of the large version and so she went and asked for cups and they sent her to the aisle where the cups were and not the cupcakes. So anyway it’s funny now, but at the time I am sure she was very frustrated.

Both of Victor’s parents have told very distinct memories to their son, nevertheless they are memories that are reflective of their own experiences and possibly of how each one lived individual experiences as immigrants. Either way, one of these stories recalls the many *difficulties* an immigrant faces upon arrival, yet another subcategory found in the analysis of the responses, while the other story recalls the frustration of second language acquisition.

At the age of sixty, Daniel has lived in California since about 1976, but Daniel was born and raised in New Bedford, Massachusetts, as he stated in a, “very Portuguese neighborhood.” It was Daniel’s grandparents, both maternal and paternal, who emigrated from the island of Madeira to the United States of America. His mother arrived in 1942 at the age of twelve, when her father who had been back and forth

several times, finally decided to bring the rest of the family with him. As Daniel recalled his mother had,

... a great little story about coming out on a freighter during the war and being stopped by a German submarine in the middle of the ocean and they somehow inspected the contents of the ship and they were preparing to torpedo it but they decided that it did not have any war material and let it go on.

On the other hand, Daniel's father was born in America, in New Bedford, as his own parents had arrived separately in 1918 and 1920 and then gotten married in New Bedford. As Daniel emphasized,

I grew up in this community of people who are trying to maintain their Madeiran heritage. They use that word quite often. Links to Madeira in costumes and things that their parents showed them growing up and that they themselves grew up with if they came from Madeira, which is a lot of feasting, a lot of church-based activity, a lot of weekend picnics and parties, and hanging with other people of Madeiran heritage. So all of that was a big part of growing up.

Once again, the text analysis of the above quote, points to subcategories found under the main category culture that are common in both the results of the survey and the interviews, namely a community's continuous attempt to maintain its *heritage*, through the *feasts* and *church-based activity*.

Jesse from Massachusetts was the next person I interviewed, he was born and raised in a town outside of Boston to parents who had emigrated together from the island of São Miguel, in the Azores in 1978. Both of Jesse's parents already had a sibling in North America, so as Jesse explained their decision to emigrate was because there were no jobs at the time in Portugal so emigrating meant, "a chance for *opportunity*, fiscally especially, to build their own lives and build the future of their kid's lives ... they came over for a chance at the American dream."

Jesse's does not recall any specific stories that his parents shared of their emigration to the United States of America, nevertheless if anything was ever

mentioned about those times, it would have been his mother that would have brought it up. Jesse remembers hearing about how hard his parents worked and as he further specified, “they say ... they saved as much money as they possibly could to buy a house.” Hence, once again the analysis of the text units reveals the importance of hard work and unlike other topics, work and its importance was something that was discussed freely and commonly within the family.

The interviewee that followed, I prefer to address him as Sr. Fernando, elected to speak in Portuguese, although on a few occasions we did revert back use the code-switching “game” ourselves. Sr. Fernando introduced himself as follows,

O meu nome é Fernando Grilo, tenho 65 anos de idade, estou nos Estados Unidos há 46, e como todos os demais emigrantes vim para este país à procura de melhor nível de vida. Vim com 19 anos na ocasião frequentava o... Como é que se chamava? Já esqueci o nome ... A entrada lá para o curso de arquiteto. E deixei o curso a meio para prosseguir, vamos lá, o *dream* de uma melhor vida.

Once again the results of the analysis of the text units above indicate the commonality of the reasons for emigration from Portugal during the 20th century. Similarly to many that preceded Sr. Fernando and to many that followed him, he left his home town of Vila Franca de Xira in March of 1969, with his parents when his father received a contract to work in a shoe factory in Massachusetts, where upon the family’s arrival Sr. Fernando began to work as well. Apparently, this factory sponsored many Portuguese emigrants promising them housing upon their arrival. A promise which repeatedly failed to occur and in the case of Sr. Fernando’s family it was an Azorean gentleman who took them in. As he explained,

Fomos viver para casa de um senhor açoriano que foi excelente por tudo aquilo que fez. Aparentemente ele já estava habituado a essas situações, porque nós não fomos os únicos portugueses que vieram para aquela fábrica, vieram outros antes, e vieram outros depois.

What these words seem to demonstrate is the *community spirit* and the *willingness to help* of the Portuguese that is so frequently referred to in these stories, which comes up towards the end of the interview when interviewees are asked to give suggestions to future emigrants, and which is also present in the survey results.

About a year later Sr. Fernando's family moved to New Jersey, where his father had friends. It was a hard time for Sr. Fernando, as he was used to being a student, to having friends and having a sense of comradeship and the reality of an immigrant's life was another. That which he had been used to, was not what he had found. In Sr. Fernando's words those initial times were difficult not only for him but also for his mother,

... não existia aquela amizade a que eu estava habituado. E foi em princípio o que mais me custou. Entretanto, a minha mãe também nunca tinha saído do país e especialmente, como estávamos a viver na casa de uma outra pessoa, cada vez que chegávamos do trabalho ela olhava para a senhora quer fosse de manhã ou fosse à noite e começava a chorar, foi um tempo um bocadinho ingrato ...

Despite the hardships his family might have felt adapting to their new life at first, Sr. Fernando says he has never once regretted the decision to move to America, for he has worked hard throughout his life in New Jersey to build his own business and hence make a better life for himself, his wife and their children.

Liz's parents are originally from south of Portugal, from Machados a small town to the north of Faro. It was one of Liz's maternal aunts who in 1981 "made the call" for her family (her parents, herself and her brother) to emigrate to New York, more specifically, Mineola, Long Island. At the time of the "call" Liz's family lived in Germany, to where her father had emigrated to in the 1960s due to the dictatorship. At the time of her family's departure for Germany, Liz was 11-years-old. As she recalls it,

I hated it, because I left all my friends behind. I was eleven years old. I'm 46 now. I left all my friends behind over there. I didn't speak

English. I didn't want to come, it wasn't a choice and you know, as a kid, you know, you don't want to leave and start new and you don't know anybody, so ...

Today, Liz is an ESL (English as a Second Language) teacher, for she feels she can relate to her students and what they go through as immigrants, not just as language learners but also as individuals adapting and adjusting to a new start. Despite the fact that Liz's parents had already been immigrants elsewhere, the adaptation upon their arrival in the United States of America was not much easier, since the *language acquisition* process, was a problem and remained a problem as they never really learned English enough to be linguistically independent. In addition, like other immigrants at the time they too *worked hard* in *factories*, and as Liz explained her parents found the life style between Europe and the United States of America too different, especially, Liz's father. Furthermore, in the analysis of the text units of this interview a new category surfaced, the idea that *in America money goes on trees* in the sense that many emigrants arrived in upon the land of Uncle Sam expecting life to be somewhat easier, however upon arrival they realize that it was not. This may not be explicitly stated in all of the interviews, especially not in these exact words but it is a recurring idea. As Liz explained for her parents,

...it was hard for them because they were in their 40s already and for them to start new and they didn't speak English at all, to find jobs. They worked in factories all the time and they had to work a lot. A lot more than they did in Germany, so my dad didn't like it either because he was used to a different life. He was used to, you know, life over there in Europe. It's a different life than the United States. Everybody thinks that you're coming to America, money grows on trees and you know, and it's not like that. You have to work very hard and you work a lot and, so, it was a hard adjustment for them. So as soon as they retired, they moved back to Portugal.

Nevertheless, Liz's parents were the only immigrant couple that upon retirement returned to Portugal, while results show that others travel back and forth, some more frequently than others.

Jennifer or Jenn, as she prefers to be called, was the last of the twelve interviewees, is a 23-year-old, who was born in Newark, New Jersey. She introduced herself as a Portuguese-American citizen, who still lives in New Jersey and works for a payroll and human resources company. Jennifer's father emigrated at the age of nineteen to the United States of America in 1985 from Leiria and his wife followed two years later in 1987, with their young son. They were the first in their family to arrive. Hence, when I asked Jennifer if she knew why her parents had left Leiria, she promptly replied,

They wanted a better life for themselves, for my brother, because my brother was obviously like one year old and I wasn't even in the picture yet, before they decided anything. They had me here but yeah, that's pretty much what it was, times were hard over there and you know, at the time everyone was migrating to different countries and my parents decided to come to the US.

Like many other Portuguese families Jennifer's family left Portugal looking for a better *opportunity* outside of Portugal in the early 1980s, for life in Portugal seemed to be difficult for most. However, Jennifer does not tell a story that begins with an already established family in the United States of America, as Jennifer explains most of their family is still back in Portugal, "We barely have any relatives here, we have like some cousins but that's pretty much it." Jennifer had heard some stories of what it had been like for her parents as young immigrants. As she was able to describe,

A family brought them in and let them live in their house in the attic, during the times that my parents were trying to get everything situated and make a life out for themselves. I think they lived with them, this family for like two years or more. My dad, you know, automatically came here working in construction and within the time that my mom was here she started cleaning houses, the most typical Portuguese-American household. So yeah, you know, they struggled but I mean, they made it to where they are now and sometimes it takes a little bit of struggle and you know, sacrifice to get the life that you want. Leaving the family behind. You know, they were so young, you know, at that age, like who wants to leave their parents? And my grandmother helped my mom raise my brother. So it was very difficult, you know. And my dad had left like two years earlier and he was basically by himself with a couple of friends so, yeah, I think to them that was the hardest, leaving everyone behind.

The analysis of the text units, which make up Jennifer's description of what life was like as recent immigrants in New Jersey for her parents when they first arrived, once again demonstrate a common pattern amongst these families: first, upon arrival they too stayed with a family, hence the idea that upon arrival there was always some sort of a *host family*; secondly, both parents went to *work*; lastly, there is the idea of *sacrifice* and *struggle*, showing once again that not everything was easy upon arrival and that this family like many others gave up a lot, including family and friends, for the chance at a better future.

In sum, to answer the first three questions of part one of the interview guide the 12 interviewees introduced above are all with the exception of one, second and third generation representatives (see Table 4.1) of the culmination of mainly 20th century Portuguese emigration from mainland Portugal, and from the islands of the Azores and Madeira. They are self-identified Portuguese-Americans living in either California, Massachusetts, New Jersey or New York, ranging in ages between 23 and 65 who according to the analysis of text units not only share a cultural and linguistic identification, a heritage and describe life stories that include similar reasons for emigration, similar childhoods, similar acculturation processes, amongst many other similarities. Many of these are described in the consequent sections of the chapter.

Table 4.1 Interviewees' Identification

Name of Interviewee	Age	Origin of Family	Original Date of Family's Emigration to USA	Country of Birth	State of Residence	Employment
Maria	45	Aveiro	1940	USA	NY	Finance / Yoga Teacher
Sandra	28	Aveiro	1960s	USA	NY	ESL Teacher
Andrea	41	Azores	1950s	USA	MA	Behavioral Consultant
Alice	46	Azores	1800s	USA	CA	Teacher
Danny	40	Azores	1800s/1900s	USA	MA	Music Teacher/Musician/ Audio Engineer
Rosemary	36	Azores	1950s	USA	CA	Executive Director
Victor	26	Braga / Famalicão	1980/81	USA	NJ	Doctor
Daniel	60	Madeira	1918 / 1920 / 1942	USA	CA	Electric Engineer
Jesse	29	São Miguel	1978	USA	MA	?
Fernando	65	Vila Franca de Xira	1969	Portugal	NJ	Business Owner / Retired
Liz	46	Faro	1981	Germany	NY	ESL Teacher
Jennifer	23	Leiria	1985 / 1987	USA	NJ	Human Resources

4.6.2 Part II: Language and Education (What was the participants' L1/L2? What was the language learning process like? In what contexts are English and Portuguese currently used? What are the academic qualifications of the participants? Did participant (or children) attend Portuguese school?)

Section two of the interview guide sought answers regarding the use and acquisition process of Portuguese and English as an L1 or an L2 by the interviewees, and their families, and inevitably inquired about education, not just in terms of their linguistic education but also the value the family placed on education across the generations. The questions that guided the second part of the interviews were:

- 1) At what age did you learn Portuguese? English? How would you describe that process?
- 2) Did you attend Portuguese school? Why or why not?
- 3) Did your children? Why or why not?
- 4) Did you or anyone you know act as a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American culture? Tell me about what that was like for you?
- 5) In what contexts do you use English? In what contexts do you use Portuguese?
- 6) In your opinion, what is the value of Portuguese and English (i.e., cultural, economic, personal)?
- 7) How would you compare the value you give to education to that which your parents and/or grandparents gave?

The first question of part two of the interview sought answers pertaining to the language acquisition process of the participants. The results show the processes experienced by the participants were not as diverse as one might have expected. In fact, only one of the interviewees, Liz attended ESL (English as a second language) classes after arriving in the United States of America with her parents in 1981. At the time of her arrival Liz already spoke German and Portuguese, so technically speaking English at the time became her third language. Fernando's English upon his arrival in Massachusetts in 1969, was as he says, "de rua." However, it was not until he met the

young woman who would later become his wife that he learned English with her help and that of her brothers.

Additionally, the analysis of the text units demonstrate that all twelve interviewees spoke Portuguese as their first language, with the exception of three of them, Andrea, Danny and Daniel who spoke a mixture of Portuguese and English at home. Hence, a subcategory emerged under the main category language, *code-switching* or in the words of the participants *mixture*. Code-switching or this mixture of Portuguese and English, considered normal by all involved, occurred especially in the households where grandparents still lived at home with the family, as Daniel explained,

... (I) learned Portuguese in the house talking with my grandparents. My grandparents died spending 40 to 50 years in the United States barely being able to speak any English, because they could speak Portuguese in the street. ... So yeah, I grew up talking to my grandparents in broken Portuguese-English and then going to Portuguese school and then polishing it up a little bit.

In the case of Andrea's family she recalls a mixture of both languages, which eventually was dominated by English, as the children's level of English increased, which was happening naturally from just being around other family members who already spoke English and later because of school. Nevertheless, in their case a grandmother helped to keep the Portuguese language alive within the family. In Andrea's words,

Well it was English and Portuguese I guess. It was Portuguese with my grandmother, it was English with my parents, ... it was just normal to us, like I said it was such a big Portuguese community and our family was so big that that was our big community, that it was normal for all of us. I see that differently now with my nephews, where they're more embarrassed to speak Portuguese. I never felt that way. We never felt that way. ... Yeah, it was a mix. My grandmother lived with us so with her we only spoke Portuguese but with my parents it was Portuguese and English and to this day it's still that way. Half Portuguese, half English, you know.

Danny from Massachusetts, also claimed his first language was a mixture between Portuguese and English, but his explanation was slightly different,

It's every other word, as you probably know when you grow up in that environment, you live outside those walls is America, inside the walls we're back in Portugal. Every word, every thing that you see or encounter has two words to it. And for a child, it all depends on what is easier to pronounce or one would connect to with. So I truly had two words for everything that I used interchangeably. So do I remember being strictly 100% Portuguese speaking? No. And I don't remember being 100% English speaking either. So I truly believe I was bilingual from a very young, young age.

Andrea, Danny and Daniel all had other family members who were already established for a longer period of time in the United States of America, so it makes sense that the English language gained deeper roots more quickly in comparison to the other interviewees. Nevertheless, most of the interviewees, especially Victor, Jesse and Jenn, described the process of learning English as one that was painless and almost immediate upon entering school, one that was aided by older siblings or other neighborhood children who already spoke English, by other children at the babysitter, or by watching television, especially programs such as Sesame Street. Interestingly, only Maria recalls feeling, "very self-conscious of her ability to speak English," in school, while Rosemary recalls coming home and teaching her parents the new words learnt at school.

Alice's memory of her English language acquisition period actually forced two other subcategories to emerge, *wanting to be American* and *prejudice in language*, for you could not be a full American at one time without speaking English and if you spoke another language in public you were shunned. Alice recalls wanting to be an American and thus that meant learning the language for,

... our teachers actually told us on the playground, my sister and I were not allowed to speak Portuguese, 'We have to speak English!' because we were in America. So that is how it was in the seventies. So I remember crying, going home crying in kindergarten saying, 'Mom you have to speak English everyday so we can be, you know, better English speakers.' And because of that we lost a lot of our Portuguese.

As a result Alice is the only one of the twelve interviewees who says that today she has a minimal use of her Portuguese,

bom dia, you know, *obrigado*, you know, basic stuff, *mais fica*. I don't (use Portuguese). My family speaks to me in Portuguese. We are having a family reunion in August and all my *tias* and *tios* will be there and they all speak Portuguese to my generation and all of us, most all of us, except for maybe three cousins and I have 52, will respond in English.

However, if her mother says something to her in Portuguese, Alice says she is still to this day to relay that message for her mother in English to someone else, in other words to act as the liaison between her and English speaking world because although Alice does not speak Portuguese she understands everything. Hence, Alice is the one interviewee with some degree of Portuguese *language loss*, another sub-category added as a consequence of the analysis of the text units, although it is not a total loss in Alice's case since she is still able to understand the language. In essence, all interviewees would probably register some degree of language loss, if one could compare their Portuguese today to that of their childhood.

In order to compare the experiences between the generations, a similar analysis of the text units describing the language experiences of the parents or grandparents of the interviewees at the time of their arrival in the United States of America, was completed. The sub-categories that emerged in this specific analysis were non-English speakers and language barrier in the language category; and, Portuguese community, Portuguese enclave, hard work, factory work, construction and cleaning jobs in the immigration category.

Whether they were the great-grandparents who arrived at the turn of the 20th century, the grandparents or the parents who arrived prior to the middle of the century or after, or the uncles or aunts of the participants who also arrived at some point during the 20th century, all emigrants were upon their arrival basically non-English speakers. In retrospect, it was their language barrier that limited the employment opportunities available to them, as all of them were limited to factory work, construction, cleaning jobs and at best years after their arrival they were able to own their own business. There were of course commonalities amongst all of them. They had emigrated with the hopes

of making a better life for themselves and their families, and so upon arrival they all worked hard, stayed with family or a host, focused on making money, faced the cultural and linguistic differences, and dealt with the sacrifices they were making by often reverting to the Portuguese communities that had welcomed them.

For instance, in the case of Rosemary's parents, although they did not speak English upon arrival, their jobs did not require any specific language skills and so as Rosemary explained, "They did what they had to do and they worked really hard but you know, talking wasn't one of their main jobs, so it wasn't a big deal." Eventually they both learned English, although at different levels.

On the other hand, Victor's mother used to talk to him about the difficulties she had with the English language, one such examples of her struggles which Victor remembers his mother telling him about was, "so she was the house-maid, you know and my dad would sometimes not be home, he would be driving around the boss and so she, they would, you know tell her to pick up the phone and take messages and obviously, it's hard to take messages if you don't speak the language." In another example he recalled,

... she actually tells the story about when she went to the supermarket one time and she asked for these little plastic, not plastic, paper cups that you use to make cupcakes that you put inside the sheet and they form the wrinkles in the cupcakes. And she wanted the small version instead of the large version and so she went and asked for cups and they sent her to the aisle where the cups were and not the cupcakes. So anyway it's funny now, but at the time I am sure she was very frustrated.

Both of the examples given by Victor demonstrate how his mother's employment situation encouraged her to learn the English language despite having arrived with no English knowledge and having struggled with the frustration of living a life in another language. Today, according to Victor she, "handles herself well enough," unlike Andrea's grandmother, Sandra's paternal grandparents, Maria's mom, Liz's parents and Daniel's grandparents who spent a life time living in or close to Portuguese communities and working with Portuguese fellow immigrants, subsequently the need to learn what could have been their second language, English was not seen as an immediate need for all necessities were available within the Portuguese enclave.

Portuguese school is another sub-category that emerged in the analysis of the text units, one that is specifically true in the case of Maria, Victor, Daniel, Liz and Jenn who frequented it as children because their parents wanted them to officially learn the Portuguese language and its culture. As Maria explained, her parents wanted her to learn, “about the culture and the history maybe because there was only so much that they could teach us and then they also knew that going to American school, like their fear was that our language would be predominantly English and we wouldn’t connect to the Portuguese culture.” Liz’s parents on the other hand were according to Liz herself very traditional and emphasized the importance of being able to maintain their heritage language in order to communicate with family members, something that both Victor and Jenn claim was rather characteristic of his parents’ generation. Fernando himself did not attend, as he was already an adult but like the other parents, he enrolled his own children to ensure that they too learned the Portuguese language, in his opinion, “Português é a nossa língua, deve ser falado.”

What the results of the text unit analysis demonstrate is that although the parents were eager to send their children to Portuguese school, the children were not always as eager. Responses on how they felt about going were varied and included, “I hated it”, “I hated it because it seemed like extra work that was done”, “I liked learning about the history”, and “I really wanted to go.” Nevertheless, all of those that did attend formal Portuguese classes were glad they had done so. Out of the 12 interviewees, a total of seven individuals did not attend Portuguese school because they either lived too far away from a school or their parents just did not have the time to take them due to their busy work schedule. However, included in those seven are Fernando and Rosemary. Fernando because he was technically out of the age range, as he had already completed his Portuguese schooling in Portugal before emigrating; and Rosemary, who actually attended Portuguese language lessons as a second language in high school (4 years) and then continued in college.

Nevertheless, regardless of whether or not participants had formal Portuguese schooling either at a community organized Portuguese school, through a local school or a higher education institution, when asked if they had been or someone else in the

family had been a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American culture, all interviewees responded positively. Consequently, the subcategory *children as translators* emerged from the text units analyzed. From a young age all interviewees were using their knowledge, even if restrictive, of English and Portuguese to interpret for their parents, grandparents and/or other family members at doctors' appointments, for bills, for insurance problems, with legal issues, at school meetings, or even within the community at a store for instance. Today most continue to do the same, what is fascinating is how each one describes doing so, not as an obligation but as a need and as something that was and still is, in some cases part of family life. What follows are some noteworthy examples and the consequent discussion.

Maria for instance, recalls being that liaison mostly for her parents from the age of eight or nine and although she does not recall ever minding to do so, she does remember (as others have) there being a time when she wished her parents could have taken care of things themselves. As she explains,

Oh my gosh, it even happened within my house! Like, I remember at a very young age, like eight or nine-years-old calling my dad's insurance company to talk about like, medical insurance issues. You know at that age, a young age too, being the liaison between my parents and the English-speaking world, like calling doctors and making appointments. It's weird now looking back at that. That I was able to do that at that age but you know. Definitely! Or even just within the community being a liaison. ... I mean think as a teenager it became a little more frustrating within the home. Like, why can't you do this? I have been doing this and even now, in my forties, it is what it is. So, I never harbored any ill feelings, really about it.

Similarly, Andrea recalls her experience as a liaison for her grandmother, especially when it involved going to the doctor or while her grandmother was in the hospital. It was also as a teenager that the task of acting as the liaison between the two worlds became more of a burden for Andrea. Nevertheless she continues to do so and as a consequence has grown more appreciate of her parents, which is something other interviewees will also describe. As her words vividly describe,

She lived with us all our lives up until four years ago when she passed away, so through her but not in the community itself. ... I guess when I became more of a teenager, when it was, because I'm

sure you know, if you do have a brother that the, for some reason the Portuguese daughter is the one who takes care of everything. So taking care of, when I was a teenager, even in college, like taking care of my parents' paperwork and all the translating of this and to this day my dad still calls me, 'We've got some mail, can you check this?' and all that stuff. So, I mean now it's not so much of an inconvenience because I'm a little more appreciative of what they've done but when I was younger I just wanted to hang out with my friends, so yeah.

Danny's account gives a more in depth, overall explanation how a child liaison or translator seemed to be a normal "necessity" of the life of an immigrant life. In Danny's explanation the idea of the need of having the children perform this task is clearly stated, as a common occurrence in the community. In his words,

... I think every kid growing up had to do that. I mean it was just, every child. We had you know as children who spoke English, we had to interpret for our parents, you know at school meetings, at doctors' offices at just about anything that helped because we knew the language and we just did it. I remember aunts and uncles, I remember as a kid I would have to fill unemployment forms, work search forms, insurance forms, yeah all kinds of things. I think that was, I truly believe, that was a necessity from all children. Just a day in the life. ... Yeah, I mean I was kind of, I felt pretty proud that I could do it easily but it really wasn't any big deal, it was just another day. I'm a man of letters and music, so.

Rosemary's words echo that of other interviewees, she too translated practically under the same circumstances for her parents and today she continues to do so. Unlike others however, Rosemary manifests this lifetime activity using different words, she describes it as both a "duty" and a "responsibility". In essence her reasons are not much different at all, but it is her perspective that makes it notable. In her words,

Oh yeah we did, if it was school or going to the doctor. My parents they purchased homes here to have as rentals and to this day, I handle all the contracts for my dad and so it definitely has carried on in terms of here is what the law says and here is what we need to do, so yes, I have had to do that all my life. ... I felt it was my duty. You know, I know that my parents, you know, unless you had money to go to school, you worked whatever land the family had or you were out fishing. You did whatever you had to do make ends meet. You know, my parents I think the highest education that they got I think

was like up to fourth grade, if we were to compare so I knew they didn't understand English. It didn't bother me. It didn't upset me. I just felt that it was our responsibility myself and my sister's that whatever we needed to do to help mom and dad was what we needed to do and that was it. ... Yeah, and it wasn't that I felt obligated. I felt that it was difficult for my parents and we needed to do what was right. And so, that's what I mean by a sense of duty, we needed to give our input in help and that was our way of doing it.

Daniel looks back on this period of his life and not only compares it to what his father had previously done with his own parents but adds a new perspective. Daniel recalls being the liaison as a arduous task that did not simply involve language translation but also, as he clarifies, a cultural translation across a place and a time, something that he was simultaneously expected to do and opted to do. Thus, he volunteered the following explanation,

I felt like I was the translator between the American 20th century and whatever the world they were in, which was harder to understand than the one that was around me. On the one hand, I wanted to do that because I felt like they were misinterpreting a lot of things or in the case of my grandparents they couldn't get by if they couldn't read. ... My father did that too for his parents but I always felt that was difficult and also that was something that I wanted to do because I felt like, you know, a guide dog. ... It felt difficult and it felt like a burden, but it felt like something I had to do. You know, it was my job.

Daniel's perspective is also notable in that it too offers a different perspective of what being a liaison also involved besides its linguistic component, it inevitably must have involved a cultural component, of translating between opposing cultures of opposing times.

Years later, Jesse who also sees calling about the phone bill or about some other financially related issue for his parents as a "duty", says he too still does the translating for his parents, "Oh, to this day. Well, you know, as a kid it's your duty you know." However, much like some of the other interviewees he does mention that as an adult he often, "get(s) a little discouraged, not for not wanting to help but more so because like I, especially now I know that they can get through it, so it's like, you know, give that little extra effort and I guarantee you can do it, you know. That's, what gets a

little frustrating sometimes but that's you know, that's not really a big deal.” Liz, who to this day, still accompanies her parents to the doctor's describes her work as the “translator” as, “uncomfortable sometimes because you know, you don't want to be a kid and translating for doctor's appointments and having to ask questions where you're not really sure even what the word is ... Even now I still do it when they come here, we go to doctors here. I'm still translating. So, it keeps on going...”

In the case of Victor things slightly changed, since he does not do as much translating now for them as he did when he was younger. It is in his profession that Victor ends up doing quite a bit of translating for his patients. In his specific case, it is more of a case of using his knowledge of both English and Portuguese to help or to act as a liaison within the greater community. In his words,

... we (at the hospital) get a lot of people that are Portuguese or Brazilian that speak Portuguese, and maybe some of them speak little English, some of them speak more English but they much rather talk in Portuguese. Certain, you know, technical things are much more understandable when they're in your own language, you know. So, it's you know, for example, like, even my dad who speaks good English, or he speaks English well, he you know, it's much easier for him to understand *vesicula* as opposed to gallbladder.

Alice felt it was, “more empowering” because in essence she was able to do something that her mother was not able to do, while Sandra who acted as the liaison for her grandmother especially during visits to the doctor's office was happy she was able to help. Whereas Jenn who never needed to translate for her parents, only did so when she worked for a doctor for five years, but was happy do so. Although today, her work does not require her to use her Portuguese knowledge, she is happy to help if ever the need arises.

Today, all interviewees agree upon the value of both languages, Portuguese and English. Although Portuguese is often seen as a heritage language, a language that has an intrinsic value, all interviewees agreed that the Portuguese language has a heavy cultural and personal value in their lives even if they themselves do not speak it well enough or often enough, as opposed to English, which has a more economic value according to some. In fact, as Table 4.2

demonstrates all interviewees use English on a daily basis for work, except for Sr. Fernando who would use both Portuguese and English when he was working and Victor who still uses Portuguese as a doctor to translate for his patients. Portuguese on the other hand, is used mostly at home with relatives, friends or when travelling to Portugal, with the exception of Daniel who might have less of an opportunity to use the Portuguese language being that he is not in contact with a Portuguese community on a regular basis. Yet he values both languages as he explained, “English has value because it’s the primary way I communicate and the Portuguese has a lot of personal and cultural value and the terms, I appreciate the terms and phrases that you can say in Portuguese that you can’t even begin to match in English.”

Table 4.2 Interviewees’ Current Use of Language English and Portuguese

Interviewees’ Current Use of Language English and Portuguese	
Maria	Speaks mostly English and Portuguese with family and friends in Portugal; wants to maintain it
Sandra	Speaks mostly English, uses Portuguese to speak with grandparents and great-aunts.
Andrea	English is spoken everywhere, at home speaks Portuguese with parents and husband.
Alice	Everything is in English. Portuguese now has minimal use with family (tios and tias).
Danny	English is used for teaching; Portuguese when speaking to someone who is Luso or with family and friends.
Rosemary	70% English (me and work) and 30% PORT (family and myself)
Victor	English is everywhere; Portuguese is used with family, with some patients, in Newark within the Port community.
Daniel	English is dominant but does speak some Portuguese, especially if travelling.
Jesse	Uses mostly English even with Portuguese friends, uses Portuguese on a daily basis with parents and when traveling back to the Azores.
Fernando	Uses both languages in and out of the house, about 50% each.
Liz	English is her world. Tries to speak Portuguese at home but her and her husband speak mostly English because his English is dominant.
Jenn	English is used at work. Portuguese with dad and sometimes mom and relatives in Portugal.

Education is also a concern of this study, especially how I may be connected to cultural and linguistic acquisition. Hence, in this section it was important to understand the value given to education not only the value given by the interviewees' but also to understand their perception of how the value of an education might have changed through the generations. Consequently, interviewees were asked to compare the value they give to education to that which their parents and/or their grandparents gave, excerpts of their answers are provided in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Interviewees' Perception of the Value of Education Throughout the Generations

Interviewees' Perception of the Value of Education Throughout the Generations	
Maria	<p>"I don't think there is a difference because I grew up in a family, or with a dad and my mom too definitely was always on the same page as him, my dad wasn't given the opportunity to have the education that he wanted us to have so at a very young age, you know, like at five, my dad was already talking about us going to college and so we grew up in an environment where education was always really very important and having grown up like that like I am a life-long learner. ... I don't think it was as important for my grandparents in terms of their kids. Like for my grandparents, I think the important thing was getting a job. You know, so my dad started working when he was twelve to help support the family because they were poor, they grew up poor, which is why my dad left Portugal at the age of fifteen and went to Venezuela and my mom left Portugal around the same time too. So you know, for my grandparents the important thing was survival, getting a job, and making money and putting food on the table, and then for my parents, it was like, yeah, getting a job is important but you know getting an education is really important to getting a job, where you know my kids won't have to sweat out in the hot sun, and you know, they can do something that is a little more easier ..."</p>
Sandra	<p>"I think they do. They put education on a pedestal and viewed it as the key to success. Definitely my parents, my father's side of the family more so than my mother's. My father's side of the family viewed education as the most important thing we can do with our lives, you know if, my father had pushed, my dad has pushed my brother to go into medical school, my mother is finishing her doctorate and I'm in the middle of my doctorate. So he is very, focused on, that if you have an education, it will open doors for you in life. My mother's side of the family, they felt it was important but like a necessity, you have to do, you have to do this to get by in life but they didn't push you to go beyond the necessity. Especially for girls, my mom's side of the family, her parents didn't really feel like it was important for any of their daughter's to do education beyond high school. My mother is the only one who went to college, out of her three sisters, and it was only after she was married."</p>
Andrea	<p>"Yes, yeah, so my parents, when my mom came here, she didn't finish school and neither did most of the older siblings that came here. My dad didn't finish school either. He went right into the navy. So I didn't feel like there was an urgency for education back then, the times were different. My parents were very, very focused on education, they worked in factories, they didn't make a lot of money and they worked their butts off to get us through catholic school, so for them it was very important. Where I think for my grandparents it wasn't as much of a priority. Because they (parents) didn't have a chance to have it, I think. I think because they didn't have that opportunity. Yeah and I think that when they came here to this country they knew that</p>

we could get much further with education, whereas I think in the Azores at the time where they were growing up, they were going to get much further working.”

- Alice “Yes, everybody valued education. My mom was an old school Portuguese, so she was more like marry rich but my dad and most of the relatives, specially the men get an education, get a good job, America is where you will have opportunities that you wouldn’t have in our country and so I felt like they were definitely strongly pushing us towards getting better educations. ... I know that they valued education because my grandmother was a teacher and she taught all her kids. They all went to her schoolhouse so I know that's important.”
- Danny “When we were children, in the 60s, 70s and 80s, even that first generation, you know, the first Luso-American generation, I’m talking about, the sons of immigrants, young immigrants themselves. The emphasis at that time on education was I would say about fifty percent. If you want to, you know, the parents were very supportive of education, they wanted their kids not be idiots, obviously, but whether education was very valuable, whether it was more valuable than say, working, that’s when things get a really cloudy and very complicated. Because it really truly all depends on what household you came from. If you came from a household of say people who back home were government workers, you know, so who had lyceum, and who had gone to university, then, there would be greater emphasis on your education, on hoping you’d graduate high school and attend college or university or post-graduate work. If you came from a family of, say, farmers who you know didn’t go to school, who had to attend to other things as children, then the emphasis was less. Did they want you to finish high school? Absolutely! Whether or not you went to college, or whether not you went to post-graduate school, or graduate school that was different. That all truly depended on, I believe, more on the child than the parent, because at that point the child, you know, student, young person, had pretty much made the decisions the path of life that they were going to tend or go to.”
- Rosemary “I think from my parents when they were there, it was more of, yeah they knew that education was valuable but they didn't know how to obtain it. And I think that's really a big thing as far why as my parents came to the United States was more opportunity. My mom always says, ‘We came here for you guys to have a better life than we did.’ And I knew for them it was very valuable for us to go to school, there was never a thing of, ‘Here, you're going to go to school if you want to.’ It was definitely, ‘You're going to school,’ and I appreciated that. And so I think that they valued it but for them personally it was just, we’ll get by with what we have, but we want to make sure you’ll get it so that way you live better. And so yeah, I don’t think it has diminished. I feel the same way for my kids. I want them to go to college. I want them to get the education they need, so that way they’ll have successful careers and even a better life than I did, but I value education very much so.”
- Victor “Sure, so my mom started working when she was nine years old. You know mainly, because she was poor and she was one of nine children. So they didn’t have enough money to feed everybody so all the kids worked. And then, she never really valued school too much. I mean, now I guess she sees the value a little bit more but she has always been worried about me having a job, having a part-time job, making some money so that I can sustain myself. And you know, when I was in college she was she was always pushing me to go and make money, to take up part-time jobs here and there. I used to, I play piano and so she used to (?) and make some money. You know, she was always worried about that, because that was the upbringing that she had. My dad, he went all the way to high school and he actually, he didn’t graduate by, he like, *faltava-lhe uma cadeira*, so he was missing one class to graduate that he failed and he re-took the test, I don’t know, something. But he went much further in school than she did. But at that time he also didn’t really value education, he just wanted to leave, he was just like, ‘I just want to leave, make some money and get out of here,’ but I think when I was born, he changed. You know, he started working, like I said, at the construction, then he was a butler, then he was a janitor, their bosses had a company, a pharmacy, he was the janitor then he became the stock, you know, the inventory

manager. Now he is the director of purchasing. So he moved up the ladder and he worked with a lot of people that were very educated. So I think that very early on in my life, he started to realize that education was very, very important. And so, for him he would have me sit at home and wait for him sometimes until eight o'clock or nine o'clock at night, when I should have probably been in bed, wait for him to check the homework and he would check it every night to make sure I did it right, until he couldn't. Until you know, I was too old and my knowledge surpassed his, in certain aspects. And then he would always expect you know, more. I would bring home a 95 out of a 100 and he's like, 'Wow, why wasn't it 100?' So he always expected more. Expected us to do really well. And then he pushed always. In college he even asked me, he didn't say, you should take a part-time job. He said, 'Listen, I'll pay for college so that you don't have to worry about working and making money. I'll give you some money, to have to spend some time with your friends.' Obviously, he was not going to pay for me to go out drinking every weekend but he gave me some money for me to have some sort of a social life, so that I didn't worry about working to hang out with my friends. You know what I mean? So where some people would work, would go to school but their main concern was working so on the weekend they could go out or they could go on vacation here and there, I never had that concern because my dad said, 'I rather you worry about school than money.' But on the same token, you know, it wasn't a free for all. 'I rather you not work and get good grades.' But that meant I had to get good grades. You know, it was a two way street. He would take care of the expenses, as long as I produced A results. So I had to have good grades all the time, and not like, you know, slack off."

Daniel

"...my grandparents valued education in the that they wanted me to be educated, but they didn't do a whole lot to educate themselves. They, you know, didn't mind me to going to school after school but they wouldn't consider my mom, actually I mentioned to my mom several times she should there are always classes, they are just about free, they're all around you, you could ... and she felt that it was a waste of time for her, but she embraced and really wanted me to graduate from college and get as much education as possible. So they valued it for others but not for themselves and that's kind of puzzling. I value it also and I want my kids to be educated. College was never an option. It was always something we assumed would happen and has been happening. I have two daughters, my youngest one is going through her last year of her Bachelor's in New York City and I'm sort of encouraging them to consider Masters in the fields that they're doing and I feel like I have a better background. I always was felt like when I was choosing college myself, my folks had no idea what to do. Like, I got a degree in electrical engineering and while I was doing that my father once asked me wouldn't I rather be an accountant? Wouldn't I rather work with numbers? He talked about how working with numbers was a lot more, sort of objective. And I said, I'm in engineering, do you know what I'm doing, do have any idea what I do with numbers all the time? And he really didn't, he had no idea. So I felt like I was lost. For instance, I applied to three colleges. I applied to University of Massachusetts, in Amherst in electrical engineering, which I ended up choosing. And I got into all of them. I applied to, I can't, I got a mental block, in Boston, which was a broadcasting school, and I applied to University of Ann Arbor in Journalism and Mass Communications and I always, I don't really think about broadcasting school as a hard choice, but I always wondered what my life would have been like if I went to Michigan, if I went to Ann Arbor and got that degree. It felt like a completely random choice, I had no idea what I was doing and it just like choose A or B, I choose this one, this one seems a little better. the choice was up to me and they really didn't give me any input. I think if I had made a wild choice, they probably would said something, but somehow were OK with it. But yeah, I didn't feel like I had any guidance and I think looking at my kids choices I think that to some extent that's still true that people make choices about their career and where they're going to study without a whole lot of information and beyond that the choice that they do make ends being random and the teachers you get and the people you go to class with and the people who you live with in school you can't anticipate, even if you research the hell out of which school you're going to and go there with completely open eyes, you get thrown into an environment that is sort of comes out of a blender and it ends up

influencing you very closely, the friends that you make for the rest of your life and preferences that get established, that you work on, it's a combination of blind, random, blind combination of things that happen that end up being very important that you have no control of."

Jesse "Sure, I mean, the outlook is completely different, so, when my grandparents were in Portugal there was no public education, right? The government didn't provide that, so, then it changed, then you could go to, you know, up to second, third, fourth grade, you know. So their mindset was different. I'm not even sure you can compare the two. They were heavily relying on self-education unless you had the money to go on to fifth and sixth grade and so on and so forth. I know that when my, so my parents came here, so we go to public schools, okay and my father, both my parents especially my father were very strict about school, 'do your homework, go to school everyday.' Like even if you were sick, you went to school. So, education was very important, it was very important for them especially 1 through 12. The whole aspect of college though, university and having to pay for school and everything, that's where the waters got a little muddy, you know in terms of having them understand what the value of an extended education could be. I did not go to college. I did not go to university. I think, you know, the hardships that they had coming here. Everything is about the value of the dollar, about the bottom line. You know, part of that was definitely embedded into me because actually I take that back, I went to college for a semester, the program I enrolled into wasn't fair per say, they weren't honest about what they were supposed to provide, that gave me such a bad taste in my mouth, I did two more weeks at my second semester, I hated it and I never went back. I was used to working, I was used to making money and I picked that up from my parents, big time and I worked my ass off. I did that and I do now, you know, so for 29 I'm doing okay I guess."

Fernando "Os meus filhos aprenderam português. Entretanto, eu sempre acompanhei a vida dos meus filhos, sempre ajudei no apoio que eles necessitaram. Eles foram, andaram na escola normal. Aliás, não tiveram, tiveram escolas católicas desde que entraram para a escola. Depois tiveram o liceu católico e depois tiveram a universidade. E eu sempre os apoiei, embora que eu gostasse de os ver seguir aquilo que eu criei, eu sempre os apoiei nas decisões deles. E quando as decisões deles (?) não seguir a minha vida continuei-os a apoiar. E foi nisso que, o meu apoio também começou e ao mesmo tempo não foi aí porque eu já me tinha envolvido comunitariamente, eu sempre me envolvi com escolas, com os presidentes dos clubes dos pais e sou presidente numa das escolas e aliás na escola em que os meus filhos andavam a aprender o americano, inglês neste caso. Havia, criou-se uma escola de português em que havia aulas diárias após as escolas americanas no arredor como presidente fiz um pouco de tudo durante vinte anos e os meus filhos andaram lá e aprenderam português como segunda língua."

Liz "I think definitely it has changed. My parents they had, my father had a fourth grade education, my mother had a third grade education. For them it was important that we graduated high school but beyond that, you know, that was grade twelve, beyond that, if we went to work, they were totally fine with that, both my brother and I decided to go on and we went to college so I got my Bachelor's degree, then I went back and I did my Master's degree. So I think internally I put more emphasis on schooling and, you know, I see that I could go further in life, having more education."

Jenn "I was always told that if you want to go far in life, go to college. Yes, pretty much. My family, my parents, my brother never went to college or got a college degree, but my, all my entire, in my entire family I think I was the second one. My dad's niece was the first one but I was the second one to get a college degree which not, you know, it's something rare over there. A lot of kids don't get that opportunity to go to college and if they do, they end up leaving to work somewhere else, not go to school, so I think that college, you know, school is very, very important."

Danny a teacher himself gives a very well rounded perspective of education throughout the generations, one that implies a number of external factors including family's previous education, economic stability of the family and social-economic factors. In his words,

When we were children, in the 60s, 70s and 80s, even that first generation, you know, the first Luso-American generation, I'm talking about, the sons of immigrants, young immigrants themselves. The emphasis at that time on education was I would say about fifty percent. If you want to, you know, the parents were very supportive of education, they wanted their kids not be idiots, obviously, but whether education was very valuable, whether it was more valuable than say, working, that's when things get a really cloudy and very complicated. Because it really truly all depends on what household you came from. If you came from a household of say people who back home were government workers, you know, so who had lyceum, and who had gone to university, then, there would be greater emphasis on your education, on hoping you'd graduate high school and attend college or university or post-graduate work. If you came from a family of, say, farmers who you know didn't go to school, who had to attend to other things as children, then the emphasis was less. Did they want you to finish high school? Absolutely! Whether or not you went to college, or whether not you went to post-graduate school, or graduate school that was different. That all truly depended on, I believe, more on the child than the parent, because at that point the child, you know, student, young person, had pretty much made the decisions the path of life that they were going to tend or go to. Today is a bit different and I get to see it first hand. There's a much bigger emphasis on schooling. There's a much bigger emphasis on grades and primarily because the big industry that was here in this region, first the leather and the electronics, that's all gone, all that manufacturing basis has left the region. Now, kids today, young people today don't have many options once they leave high school. You know, you either go work in a remedial job, or you try your hand at university or college or junior college, and most parents make sure that their kids are educated and not bums.

Interestingly, the difference in most cases came down to having the opportunity to study or not, which most grandparents and even some parents had not had in Portugal and having the opportunity to study, one of the many opportunities sought after by immigrants chasing the American Dream, not necessarily for themselves but for their children. In fact, as Daniel stated his parents valued an education for him but not for themselves, his mom especially

“felt that it was a waste of time for her, but she embraced and really wanted me to graduate from college and get as much education as possible. So they valued it for others but not for themselves and that’s kind of puzzling.” Sr. Fernando is yet another example of a parent who supported his children’s education and even participated in his children’s education, but he himself did not continue his academic studies once in the United States of America. As he explained,

... eu sempre acompanhei a vida dos meus filhos, sempre ajudei no apoio que eles necessitaram ... tiveram escolas católicas desde que entraram para a escola. Depois tiveram o liceu católico e depois tiveram a universidade. E eu sempre os apoiei, embora que eu gostasse de os ver seguir aquilo que eu criei, eu sempre os apoiei nas decisões deles. E quando as decisões deles (?) não seguir a minha vida continuei-os a apoiar. E foi nisso que, o meu apoio também começou e ao mesmo tempo não foi aí porque eu já me tinha envolvido comunitariamente, eu sempre me envolvi com escolas, com os presidentes dos clubes dos pais.

Thus many interviewees, including Liz and Jenn, did perceive a difference in the value given to education, not necessarily between their own generation and that of their parents but more so between their generation and that of their grandparents, whose main goal was often to work and put food on the table. Many of the interviewees In fact, only Alice who believed everyone in the family had valued education spoke of having a grandmother with a formal education. As she explained,

Yes, everybody valued education. My mom was an old school Portuguese, so she was more like, ‘marry rich’ but my dad and most of the relatives, specially the men, ‘Get an education, get a good job, America is where you will have opportunities that you wouldn’t have in our country!’ and so I felt like they were definitely strongly pushing us towards getting better educations. ... I know that they valued education because my grandmother was a teacher and she taught all her kids. They all went to her schoolhouse so I know that's important.”

Education is therefore seen as an important tool, one that for the most is as in the case of Sandra’s family considered to be “the key to success,” or as Andreas’s parents “knew that we (their children) could get much further with education.” In some

families children were given a choice, in other's that was not necessarily the case. According to Jesse, education was very important in his family, especially since his own parents had not had the opportunity to have one. However, its importance may not have been fully understood. As Jesse explains it was important,

...especially 1 through 12. The whole aspect of college though, university and having to pay for school and everything, that's where the waters got a little muddy, you know in terms of having them understand what the value of an extended education could be. I did not go to college. I did not go to university. I think, you know, the hardships that they had coming here. Everything is about the value of the dollar, about the bottom line. You know, part of that was definitely embedded into me ...

Jesse attended college shortly and then made the decision to go back to work since the degree he had enrolled in was not what he had expected. But what his story illustrates is one, the misinformation that parents often have about the long term value of an extended education and two, the lack of guidance students themselves have in choosing an appropriate degree, not to mention the pull of financial independence that has always existed when jobs are available. In Rosemary's family the opposite occurred. Her parents had emigrated to provide their children with a better life, and in their understanding there was no choice, "I knew for them it was very valuable for us to go to school, there was never a thing of, 'Here, you're going to go to school if you want to.' It was definitely, 'You're going to school,' and I appreciated that," explained Rosemary. Victor's family was similar, especially his father's will for his children, in this case Victor to finish university, even if that meant he would have to fully pay for it. The only requirement was that he received A grades.

4.6.3 Part III: Cultural Identity (How do you identify yourself? What is a Portuguese-American? Does your identity change depending on who you are with or where you are?)

The third part of the interview sought to understand the formation of a cultural identity not only that of the individual being interviewed but also that of the community that individual grew up in and if it is the case, still belongs to. The first question was a consequence of the survey results, where respondents had been asked

about Portuguese and American culture. Thus in the interview, the first need when it came to cultural identity was to learn how interviewees themselves specifically defined culture. Secondly, it was important to understand, what they considered to be examples of Portuguese culture and examples of American culture. Once again there were some variations in the answers, however, those variations were not very significant.

Nearly all twelve participants felt, at first, it was a bit of a daunting task to define culture. Nevertheless, once they began defining culture, all interviewees were able to define culture based on their own experiences. With the exception of Sr. Fernando's, Jesse's and Danny's answers the majority of the interviewees defined culture similarly. In fact, the results from the analysis of the text units (see Table 4.4), which ensued from such definitions revealed the following subcategories, were common amongst the majority of the participants: *community; a combination of music, food and beliefs that shape a people; family; heritage; history; one's origins; shared values; and, traditions*. These subcategories were placed under the main category, culture.

With interviewees' understanding of culture it was therefore possible to determine their perceptions of both Portuguese and American cultures and consequently what it meant to be Portuguese-American as all twelve interviewees self-identified. Overall, culture meant one's heritage and the combination of different traditions, one's family and the communities that contributed to shaping each one of these individuals. Interestingly, their collective perspective of the Portuguese culture seemed to be much richer than that of the American, in that once asked about these culture the answers given for each seemed to be much more plentiful and descriptive when interviewees spoke of the Portuguese culture. For instance, from Maria's point of view Portuguese culture includes, "to dinner parties with my friends, you know, there is always food and good wine and good music and the Portuguese culture is of course, smoking the cigarettes." However, in her opinion the American culture, is defined more by American football and its tailgating parties.

Table 4.4 Interviewees' Definition of Culture

Interviewee	Interviewees' Definition of Culture
Maria	"... a community that has shared values and so you could actually even create a culture within your own community with people of shared values"
Sandra	"... a combination of music, food and beliefs that help shape, who we are as a people."
Andrea	"... what my family brought, the traditions ... Family's important ... the values and traditions."
Alice	"... embracing your heritage ... the people, the food, the community ..."
Danny	"Culture is where you believe you're from ..."
Rosemary	"...traditions that we still carry out this day ... it is the things that represent our history and traditions that we still carry."
Victor	"... culture in general is a sub-total of all parts. And what does that mean? The sum of the total is equal to the sum of the parts ... culture is the relationship you have with those things."
Daniel	"Culture is your immediate environment, a combination of your language, your experiences, the people you grow up around, the institutions that you grow up around, functioning in and behaving in and your contribution to it, and their contribution to you in establishing your artistic, your expressive life, your feelings about the world."
Jesse	"Culture to me is, it's kind of like the soul..."
Fernando	"Cultura significa ... E nós emigrantes sentimos Portugal de uma maneira totalmente diferente do que nós portugueses sentimos em Portugal. ... A cultura para nós é ouvir música portuguesa. A cultura para nós é chegar ao domingo, agora nem tanto porque há televisão, mas quando não havia a televisão sentávamo-nos ao domingo junto de um daqueles indivíduos que tinham rádios e conseguiam ouvir Portugal e ouvirmos não só o futebol ... A cultura para nós atualmente é conseguirmos fazer exposições de artes plásticas, de artesanato português. São as pequenitas coisas que para nós, para mim é cultura."
Liz	"... it's where you come from. It's where your family is coming from. It's your traditions. It's things that define your family ..."
Jenn	"... it's where you come from. It's where your family is coming from. It's your traditions ... realizing where you come ..."

For Sandra, the Portuguese culture includes, the warmth of the people but for Andrea and Jenn, it also includes love of and value for family, food and music. This is not too different to Daniel's perception of Portuguese culture, which includes, language, music, food, religious institutions, family, work or Jesse's, which includes the church, food and *pimba music*. According to Jesse, "you can have a room full of 20 Portuguese people, everyone in a bad mood, you know, and you play some

Jorge Ferreira and that place is going to go nuts, you know.” In addition, Sandra also believes that faith and spirituality are a crucial part of Portuguese culture, as she explains, “they are very faithful and spiritual people, even though not everyone may go to church every Sunday there is a very rooted spirituality in our culture. There is a respect for religion.”

However, when asked about the American culture, Sandra had greater difficulty in identifying a specific American culture. In her words,

It's hard. I think why I am struggling too is for me I don't know if there is one American culture, cause in every part of the country it varies so much. Like, I guess I am thinking of New York, Long Island, there is definitely a dependence nature. You can see everyone likes to have their fences around their yards. Fences are very private. A lot of times you will see like a competition, if one house is getting painted and they are getting landscaping done than look nicer. There is a competition with clothing and handbags, which could exist in Portugal too but, I don't know I have seen it with Portuguese people living on Long Island too, but maybe that is a Long Island concept more than a concept. Maybe it is the nature of where we live. People can be concerned about their appearances. But it is also very, there is still like a working hard ethic to achieve and try to be the best that you can be. But I don't know, It is harder for me with the American, because I don't see like a food I can identify with ways that people can, it is so diverse that it is hard for me to think of it as one collective unit cause there is so many cultures that play into what we see in America. Whereas in Portugal I feel that it is easier for me to see how the Portuguese community has lived its life, how the people there share in the same types of experiences. It is very different than here.

Similarly, when asked about the American culture, Andrea like Sandra also felt difficulty in describing it, “I don't feel as close to American culture because I don't feel like it's as defined as the Portuguese culture. There's so many different cultures here that it's kind of a mixed bag of little pieces coming out of different, you know, different cultures. So it doesn't feel as defined for me. And I don't feel, I've never felt as close to it, because of that, because it's not as defined.” Liz also felt it was difficult to describe the American culture. For Liz it was as if she saw it from the outside while being on the inside, as she stated,

It's hard to describe. It's hard to define American culture because I feel like I call it them. The Americans, you know. I am part of that, obviously but I still call it their culture and what they do and even though I guess we do part of that, whatever it is too. Like Halloween coming up, we are part of that, we participate, you know Thanksgiving, we do the Thanksgiving. Of course we always have, you know, our Portuguese things mixed in there too, but... We still celebrate. I mean, I guess we assimilated by celebrating what is celebrated around us too.

Alice's perspective is aided by the fact that she is extremely far from the Azores and has always been and has little to no direct contact to the land of her ancestors. In her words the Portuguese culture is summarized by the fact that growing up, "because we've been here for so long, we can't go there to see the Caldeiras, you know and everything there. So we would just maybe listen to the music, enjoy the food and you know, old stories from what it was like in the old country." When her answer is analyzed, it is not so different from that of others', in that she too mentions music and food, but it is the explanation she gives that makes it more noticeable and the fact that as a community they possibly reverted to things such as music and food to keep their personal, cultural and linguistic memories alive. While Danny, also mentions music he also points out, "those religious parades, processions, you know there are very interesting, the believes in the Holy Spirit, pretty much an Azorean thing. *Festas do Espírito Santo...*" in describing the Portuguese culture but when it comes to the American culture, he claims it is, "so huge and diverse. There is no American culture. American culture is the culture of the small population at that area, at that time."

Liz connected Portuguese culture to two specific celebrations, Easter and its *folares* and Christmas time and the specific traditions around these events. For Rosemary Portuguese culture also has to do with a lot of celebrating but it also includes compassion. As she describes, Portuguese culture is, "*festas*, I mean, soccer games, birthdays are always huge, weddings are always huge, funerals are always huge. You think of *Carnaval*, even fundraisers, like if someone's sick and there is a fundraising around someone that's sick. Portuguese people are just so compassionate to help people. Bullfights, oh my God, can't forget bullfights. That's huge!" So to Rosemary there is a mixture of the traditional *festas* and the bullfighting, whose existence I was extremely

surprised about, with the possibly more modern idea of fundraising. However, for Rosemary American culture was not as specifically exemplified, outside of baseball games and graduation parties, Rosemary could not think of further examples.

Victor described Portuguese culture in a more personal manner, although food was yet again the center of attention. First as a, “ Sunday afternoon going home to mom and she has *sardinhas* on the table and I’m so happy because I haven’t had *sardinhas* in a while or *bacalhau*.” For Victor Portuguese culture also includes, an *arrayal*, the music from a *concertina*, playing *sueca*, an “*espresso com cheirinho*”, and as a collection of experiences that he and his friends have due to the way they were brought up. As Victor explained Portuguese culture may also be, “the way one Portuguese-American kid to another Portuguese-American kid who’s never met, we have nothing in common except that we’re sons or daughters of Portuguese parents, that’s the culture right there. We can talk about experiences, you know. I’ll say, *colher de pau* to him or her and they’ll know what I am talking about. I’ll say, *uma chinelada* and they’ll know exactly what I am talking about, and that’s a culture, right there in itself.” In fact, it is those common experiences shared by many Portuguese-American children who do in fact know the literal and cultural meaning of a *colher de pau* and a *chinelada*, which their American counterparts would not understand. When asked about the American culture, Victor replied as follows,

Yeah, I thought this was going to be an easy interview. ... There are things that are classically American. You know, like, football, (not football *português* but American football), baseball, pizza (which there is a misconception that it’s Italian but actually pizza the way we eat it, it’s from here), hotdogs, hamburgers, you know, all those things that are traditionally American. ... But you know the truth is, I know a lot more about Portuguese culture and I can really categorize Portuguese culture more for you than I can American culture just because I live in a place where there is not really an isolation of Americans or American culture.

Daniel, however sees the American culture a bit differently. He describes it as a culture of, “Material things, television, Internet (in the last twenty years), traffic, commuting.” Similarly, Jesse sees American culture in regards to a future, although he too claims, “It’s hard for me to distinguish what American culture is...” like many other

interviewees. Jesse sees America as what the its future can bring to one's life, the opportunity involved, he sees "What you can provide for yourself and your family if you have one. That to me is America. I think America, when I hear America, I think forward, you know, I don't know." When compared to a perspective such as Sr. Fernando's, Daniel and Jesse's views, distinguish themselves in that they see a more futuristic, a more capitalistic but also a more specific view of America. For Sr. Fernando, part of the American culture has to do with more patriotic aspects such as, singing the national anthem at an event or seeing someone from the military at a restaurant and playing for his/her bill. In almost a culminating point of view, Jenn view the American culture as "very fast paced. ... You know, we're never patient with things, we always like to get things done as quickly as we can and you know, quickly as we can, as bright as we can. It's very different, you know, we all come together absolutely to get things done but we all handle things very, very differently."

The concept of culture being the abstract concept that it is, is in fact a grueling concept to define. It is not haphazardly that so many experts on the subject have throughout the 20th century offered more modern, ever changing definitions which often depend on the perspective of the their own field of study. For these twelve individuals, culture is in fact the world they live in, the communities they belong to, their languages, their beliefs, their heritage, their music and so on. It may seem that all of that put together is in fact a product of their history and their family's history, which in turn may not be so far from some of the definitions of the so called "experts".

Thus for those living in the United States of America who self-identify as Portuguese-Americans, and who live in-between the Portuguese and the American cultures, the bicultural and mostly transnational interviewees who participated in the study, the next logical question needed to create an understanding of what constitutes the Portuguese-American identity. Table 4.5 contains the answers given by interviewees, which to some extent may be representative of all self-identified Portuguese-Americans living in the United States of America.

Table 4.5 Interviewees' Definition of Portuguese-American

Interviewee	Interviewees' Definition of Portuguese-American
Maria	"Enjoying both aspects of the culture and what makes a person Portuguese-American too is sometimes being in the States and not feeling very American. So, you know, like for me my experience especially growing up, was in Portugal I was the American girl and in the U.S. I was the Portuguese girl. So what makes me Portuguese-American is now being able to identify with both cultures and enjoying the good things about both cultures and speaking both languages and mixing the two cultures together. Yeah, definitely having a combination of both. You know, I identify, being Portuguese-American, I identify as an American and I identify as a Portuguese person ... in my heart and in my soul, I am very Portuguese but at the same time in my heart and in my soul, I am also very American."
Sandra	"I think if you are going to call yourself a Portuguese-American, then you are someone who still even though you are living in America has ties to their heritage. So, the people of my generation, most of the people of my generation are first generation Americans who were born here. So we all call ourselves like, <i>Luso-Americans</i> I think the reason we do that is because even though English is my dominant language, I very much have a love for the Portuguese components of my life. And, I still hold on to it in my heart, it's not something that is just there, it's a part of my life. So, even though now I am living on my own and I am married I still like to cook the Portuguese foods and listen to music and try to practice the language when I can. You want to back to Portugal and visit. You always want to have a piece of that culture and the mother country with you. And I think that's what it means to be Portuguese-American. Living here as Americans but in your heart you still have the Portuguese culture living there. ... I guess just having parents that come from Portugal."
Andrea	"Because I grew up, because my blood is Portuguese and I was born in America."
Alice	"It means that I am more awesome than most of people who aren't Portuguese-American. I don't know. I think too many of my American friends are mixed of so many nationalities they don't know how to appreciate being of one culture, like they don't have that strong, oh, I'm German, whatever, I'm Italian. So for me it means a lot that I can say that I am 100% percent Portuguese and this is what it means to me, and this is what I did growing up and sharing my stories. My friends usually are just enamored to hear all about it."
Danny	"Their attachment and belief in their culture. Their involvement. Do they read Portuguese newspapers? Do they visit the club? Do they go to a <i>feira</i> ? Do they speak Portuguese to their parents? Do they enjoy the food, you know, there has to be this connection to the motherland, to Portugal, to the idea of Portugal, to the idea of being Portuguese. If there is no connection, then, obviously, they don't believe in it, don't buy into it, they are not stakeholders in the community, in that Portuguese community."
Rosemary	"I think for me, I definitely I value being Portuguese-American because I have history in knowing where my family has gone. I've been to the Azores. I've seen the struggles. Sometimes I have to live through the struggles with my parents. I think it made me humble where I know I'm young but I've taken care of parents. I've taken care of aunts and so it makes me grounded to respect other cultures but also not lose sight of what we have and so, and also appreciate being American. I love being American. I love my country but I also love where my roots are from and what we have."
Victor	"...it means being pretty awesome I would say. ... the truth is that I think people range in terms of how Portuguese-American they are, whether they are more on the

Portuguese side or the American side. For example, I have friends that were born to Portuguese parents but they don't speak any Portuguese or they don't eat any Portuguese food. They don't eat *sardinhas* or *bacalhau*. All these things that I think are important, you know, but then I have friends that do eat that stuff but they don't participate in like *rancho*. Which is not a necessary thing, right? But those are ways, those are tools that I have to connect myself with my heritage, with my culture. ... But you know, I think there is people who are Portuguese-American by birth, they are born to Portuguese parents but they don't partake in the Portuguese culture and I consider those people more on the American side of Portuguese-American. And there is people like me, that I consider more on the Portuguese side of Portuguese-American. You know, for example, I used to be part of a *rancho*, right, until I was 21, until med-school started, I was going to Portugal every summer but now I can't because of school. Now I only have a couple of vacation weeks a year and so I promised my grandmother that I would go to Portugal once a year, even if it was just for two weeks, just see her. And I love going there, so I'd go even if she wasn't there. But the point is I have friends, that are working, they have jobs and they take as much as they can in the month of August, you know, three weeks, some of them are lucky enough to take four weeks and they go to Portugal. And there is a lot of people from *Alto Minho* here. So they are literally there for all the *festas*. You know, they go to *Ponte de Barca*, they go to *Arco de Valdevez*, *Ponte de Lima*. They go to every single *festa* that they can. And then, when they get here, on Labor Day weekend, the first Monday of September, we have a huge Portuguese cultural feast in Ludlow, Massachusetts, they live in Newark and they drive four to five hours to Massachusetts to a big final *festa* there for *rancho*. You know, those people are very Portuguese-American because I think they really love *rancho*. They really love that kind of culture and they really love to participate in it. Some of those people however, couldn't speak Portuguese to save their lives. Their Portuguese is very broken and I think it's because their parents never forced them to speak Portuguese at home and maybe they didn't go to Portuguese school, whatever. But, they don't value speaking the language."

- Daniel "It means to have this mysterious connection to being Portuguese and it's mostly through my youth, because moving out to California, I disconnected myself, not intentionally but I ended up disconnecting myself from a lot of that even though there's a lot around me it's not quite the same, probably because it doesn't have my family connected to it. It means to have language and a past and a family that is a part of, an interactive part of a wider Portuguese community where we happen to be."
- Jesse "You know, I'm going to give you some stereotypes, because they're true. I think to be Portuguese-American is to be very hardworking, not afraid to work and I mean real hard work, you know. To be Portuguese-American, means you're clean, we're a clean people ... our food, you know. Our moms take great, great, great care of us. You know, that's part of being Portuguese-American, very, family-oriented, very."
- Fernando "O Portuguese-American é qualquer português que se tomou a cidadania americana como cidadão, como uma segunda cidadania. Esse é o Portuguese-American que todos nós, aliás eu considero-me um Portuguese-American mas todas aquelas pessoas que não o fazem para mim não são Portuguese-American, são portugueses que emigraram."
- Liz "I guess it's blending both cultures as much as you can, you know, like your example of Thanksgiving where we do celebrate it yet we make our *rissóis* in there and our *pastéis de bacalhau*, you know. We still keep that mixed in with you know, joining, marrying the two customs and traditions I suppose."
- Jenn "Well it's definitely the parents that you have or where your family comes from. I think it's, you know, it's obviously you have to be born in America and the other one you have family coming from Portugal not necessarily meaning like, you

know, parents, it can be distant because a lot of families have parents, have grandparents that came from here but you, that definitely defines a Portuguese-American citizen and I think what, what really tops it is that, you follow the American culture and the Portuguese culture. You put those two together and you follow those beliefs and those values and that culture, that defines a Luso-American.”

Overall the results demonstrate that there is a true lack of consensus over what it means to be a Portuguese-American, for Alice and Victor being Portuguese-American defines them as “awesome”, whereas according to Jesse being Portuguese-American is defined by a cluster of stereotypes that often identify the typical Portuguese-American. These include being hardworking, being clean, being family-oriented, having moms that take great care of their children and food, of course. However, for Maria being Portuguese-American is also a sentimental question of the heart and soul, while for Andrea it is due to the fact that her “blood is Portuguese” and she was born in America. For Rosemary it is a question of value, of knowing where she comes from, where her family comes from. In fact, being Portuguese-American allows Rosemary to love her country but also to love her roots and what she has. In her words,

I’ve been to the Azores. I’ve seen the struggles. Sometimes I have to live through the struggles with my parents. I think it made me humble where I know I’m young but I’ve taken care of parents. I’ve taken care of aunts and so it makes me grounded to respect other cultures but also not lose sight of what we have and so, and also appreciate being American. I love being American. I love my country but I also love where my *roots* are from and what we have.

Alternatively, Sr. Fernando, sees things from a different perspective, he specifically mentions that he believes that in order to be a Portuguese-American one needs to have dual American and Portuguese citizenship, otherwise one remains an immigrant. Similarly, both Jenn and Alive also mentioned that in order to be Portuguese-American one must be born in America. In Jenn’s words,

... you have to be born in America and the other one you have family coming from Portugal not necessarily meaning like, you know, parents, it can be distant because a lot of families have parents, have grandparents that came from here but you, that definitely defines a Portuguese-American citizen.

Most interviewees agree with Jenn in that in order to be or identify as a Portuguese-American, one needs to “follow the American culture and the Portuguese culture,” or as Liz explained, “it’s blending both cultures as much as you can, you know, like your example of Thanksgiving where we do celebrate it yet we make our *rissóis* in there and our *pastéis de bacalhau*, you know. We still keep that mixed in with you know, joining, marrying the two customs and traditions I suppose.” Similarly, Maria believes that what makes her Portuguese-American is the ability to, “identify with both cultures and enjoying the good things about both cultures and speaking both languages and mixing the two cultures together ... having a combination of both.” However, Maria also believes that part of being that Portuguese-American is, “sometimes being in the States and not feeling very American. So, you know, like for me my experience especially growing up, was in Portugal I was the American girl and in the U.S. I was the Portuguese girl.”

Sandra, a first generation American, views being Portuguese-American or *Luso-Americanos* as she calls her generation, slightly different although she also believes it is imperative of course to have parents that come from Portugal. In her opinion, identifying as Portuguese-American has to do with having connections to an individual’s Portuguese heritage, which despite living in the United States of America and despite having English as her main dominant language, she loves and feels is part of her life. In her words, “You want to back to Portugal and visit. You always want to have a piece of that culture and the mother country with you. And I think that’s what it means to be Portuguese-American. Living here as Americans but in your heart you still have the Portuguese culture living there.”

Danny, on the other hand, believes it takes more than just being born to Portuguese parents or having a certain passport. For Danny it is one’s,

attachment and belief in their culture. Their involvement. Do they read Portuguese newspapers? Do they visit the club? Do they go to a *feira*? Do they speak Portuguese to their parents? Do they enjoy the food, you know, there has to be this connection to the motherland, to Portugal, to the idea of Portugal, to the idea of being Portuguese.

Danny's understanding is similar to Victor's who also considers that one's measure of how Portuguese-American one is, not only varies, but it also depends on their connection to their heritage, if there is one and to what extent there is one. As Victor does point out and exemplifies,

... people range in terms of how Portuguese-American they are, whether they are more on the Portuguese side or the American side. For example, I have friends that were born to Portuguese parents but they don't speak any Portuguese or they don't eat any Portuguese food. They don't eat *sardinhas* or *bacalhau*. All these things that I think are important, you know, but then I have friends that do eat that stuff but they don't participate in like *rancho*. Which is not a necessary thing, right? But those are ways, those are tools that I have to connect myself with my heritage, with my culture. ... But you know, I think there are people who are Portuguese-American by birth, they are born to Portuguese parents but they don't partake in the Portuguese culture and I consider those people more on the American side of Portuguese-American. And there is people like me, that I consider more on the Portuguese side of Portuguese-American."

Thus people's perspectives of what it means to be Portuguese-American and how they see their own Portuguese-American identity is linked to an array of concepts that are both internal and external, which seem to depend on the degree and quantity of personal experiences lived. Including those with cultural concepts such as family, food, friends, language, music, religion, and life in a more general sense, and how these were lived within the family and the community.

In addition, interviewees were asked to consider whether their sense of identity altered depending on where they were or whom they were with, for instance if they were in Portugal or in the United States of America, or if they were amongst American friends or Portuguese friends, excerpts of their answers are shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Interviewees' Perception of Whether the Label of Portuguese-American Ever Changes

Interviewee	Does the "Label" Portuguese-American Ever Change?
Maria	"Yeah, like when I am in Portugal I, it depends who I am with. I could be with friends where I am really at that present moment enjoying the Portuguese life and being Portuguese. If I am here in New York and I am watching Marisa in Carnegie Hall, I am feeling very Portuguese, you know but also as an American enjoying that experience. I don't know, it's hard to explain it that way but yeah."
Sandra	"I am not afraid to share my culture. I don't necessarily, I won't use the language, or I won't use, you know when I am with my cousins or people that are Portuguese, you can use a saying or a phrase, but I wouldn't do that at work or with my husband, because there would be no understanding. Other than that, I think I maintain the same, the same identification of myself."
Andrea	"Yeah, see, I think I've always had a very strong attachment to Portuguese culture and to my Portuguese heritage, and I haven't felt as connected to the American piece. But then again, like I said, my cousins and my brother who all grew up in the same exact situation, we've gone different roads with that. ... So it's a tricky question too, you know. I think it depends where you feel closest to."
Alice	"Well, yeah of course. People who don't know where the Azores are, I would say Portuguese-American if they never heard of it. It's just easier. If I'm at a Portuguese event and everyone is speaking beautiful, eloquent Portuguese, than I feel like I'm not as Portuguese as I was yesterday when you know, I wasn't being challenged. In general, I think I feel pretty strongly to be a Portuguese-American."
Danny	"No, most people know me as Portuguese, a Portuguese kid, man. I don't find it uncomfortable ever."
Rosemary	"If you are in my circle of friends or people that I know, it doesn't matter. If you're American, you're most likely going to know that I am Portuguese because I am very proud of being Portuguese. Now when I go to like a baseball game, yeah, I'm going to be American, because I always love my dad, 'é o jogo com o pau.' 'Yes dad, é o jogo com o pau.' That's just a very American game. It's not like I am telling people, 'Oh, I'm Portuguese' when I'm at a baseball game. If I go to a professional game, I feel very American. But other than that I'm very proud of being Portuguese and even if you are American or white or any other nationality and you know me, you know that I am Portuguese because I told you that I am Portuguese."
Victor	"I think for example, when I am in Portugal, the people from my <i>aldeia</i> know me pretty well but there's definitely an outsider feel sometimes when people know I am Portuguese-American, when they have not met me yet or they don't know anything about me. ... I can vary the amount of Portuguese that I am. I am never embarrassed to be Portuguese but there are times when I don't need it. ... And I think I, I think I, like you said, if I am in a Portuguese environment I think I definitely bring it out a little bit more on purpose just because it makes me a little bit more accepted."
Daniel	"Yeah. It changes, it does. It's a label that I perceive I determine the value of that is and it changes where I am based upon the reflection of that culture into my surroundings. Like here in Berkeley there is very little Portuguese culture and being Portuguese is not as part of my daily life as it would be in Massachusetts. And even being in Massachusetts as I grow up my understanding of it changes my, appreciation of it the changes, you know. It's an evolving thing. It's because I'm learning new parts of it, new ways the community interacts with each other...I am interacting as more of an outsider of that community back there and...as I change,

changes around me changes, my perceptions... When I was living there, in New Bedford with the community all around me, tightly around me, yeah, I felt more like an insider. Being in California I don't feel that connected to the Portuguese community."

Jesse "No, I'd say it's a pretty, I'd say it's a staple, more or less, I don't think it varies at all."

Fernando "Aqui não há diferenças. A diferença que existe em Portugal e a respeito de quê? ... O que é que acontece? ... Mas nós portugueses emigrantes aqui, nós quando chegámos a Portugal somos portugueses de segunda. ... Somos portugueses de segunda porque somos vistos como pessoas que vivem noutra país e que muitas vezes nos apresentamos, nós próprios nos apresentamos de uma maneira diferente Normalmente nós vamos daqui para aí e temos que tomar em atenção que nós temos ou vivemos num outro país não interessa qual é o país, temos um outro sistema, temos algo mais para comparar com aquilo em Portugal de bom e de mal. Não é tudo o que existe fora é bom e em Portugal é mau, não. Longe disso."

Liz It is funny that you say that because when I go to Portugal obviously I stick out that I am not Portuguese and I thought I really didn't that much until I went to a restaurant and I said, 'Vossemecê,' and nobody says that anymore. They just say você, right? And the waiter was like, 'I know you're not from here.' And I was like, 'You know? How do you know that?' And he was like, 'You said vossemecê.' And I guess because my parents always said that, I've always heard that and that's the old way of saying it and that's what they did and that's what I do. I still do. And you know, those are the kinds of things that, then I realized that I'm not, I'm more American when I'm there but when I'm here I feel like I'm Portuguese. And if somebody asks me, 'What are you?' I always say, I'm Portuguese, I don't say I'm American.

Jenn "No, I don't think so. I mean, you know, you're, you're, where your family comes from, that defines where you're from and you know, wherever you're born truly, I think, that defines you. When I'm in Portugal, I'm full Portuguese. I think that when you're so far away from the country and you're, you know, back where your home is, you have such pride for your country. "

Sandra, Danny and Jenn stated that their Portuguese-American "label" does not change depending on where they were or whom they were with. For Rosemary, although she does not hide her Portuguese identity, or specifically say that it remains the same, she does claim to feel more American, for example at a baseball game. However, the remainder of the other interviewees claimed that there are in fact changes in identity depending on their surroundings or whom they were with. For example Maria feels very Portuguese when in Portugal or when at Carnegie Hall watching a Marisa concert. Andrea, feels "a very strong attachment to Portuguese culture and to (her) Portuguese heritage", in essence she believes it is where one feels closest to, which in her case is Portugal.

On the other hand, Alice, Victor, Daniel and Liz all believe that the label does in fact change depending on where one is mostly but also on whom one is with. For Alice, it can be the language factor to trigger such change. As she explained, “If I’m at a Portuguese event and everyone is speaking beautiful, eloquent Portuguese, than I feel like I’m not as Portuguese as I was yesterday when you know, I wasn’t being challenged.” Victor explained that when visiting his, small village in Portugal he can feel as an outsider, especially if people know he is Portuguese-American, which is less likely to occur within the Portuguese-American community in New Jersey, where he can in a way enhance his Portuguese identity on purpose in order to be more accepted at a game of *canastra* for instance

Daniel explains the change that occurs in his case, not only due to the fact that he moved from his residency from a rich Portuguese community in Massachusetts to one in California that lacks that cultural richness, but also because of a change in his own understanding of the such communities. In his words,

Yeah. It changes, it does. It’s a label that I perceive I determine the value of that is and it changes where I am based upon the reflection of that culture into my surroundings. Like here in Berkeley there is very little Portuguese culture and being Portuguese is a not as part of my daily life as it would be in Massachusetts. And even being in Massachusetts as I grow up my understanding of it changes my, appreciation of it the changes, you know. It’s an evolving thing. It’s because I’m learning new parts of it, new ways the community interacts with each other...I am interacting as more of an outsider of that community back there and...as I change, changes around me changes, my perceptions... When I was living there, in New Bedford with the community all around me, tightly around me, yeah, I felt more like an insider. Being in California I don’t feel that connected to the Portuguese community.

Liz who also believes there is a change that occurs, mainly on trips to Portugal, which makes her aware that she is in fact, “more American when I’m there but when I’m here I feel like I’m Portuguese.” Jesse who began by saying that a change did not occur, ended up stating that when he is in São Miguel he does feel a bit more American, for although “both places (are) home but you know, when, I don’t know, when you’re out there ... America’s America, I mean and in the long run, this is where I was born. This is where I made my hay. This is my land, you know.”

Sr. Fernando also does not believe there is a change while in the United States of America, for him that change only occurs when in Portugal due to the self-portrayal of the immigrant and his/her attitude towards the country upon arrival. In his words,

A diferença que existe (é) em Portugal e a respeito de quê? ... O que é que acontece? ... Mas nós portugueses emigrantes aqui, nós quando chegámos a Portugal somos portugueses de segunda. ... Somos portugueses de segunda porque somos vistos como pessoas que vivem noutra país e que muitas vezes nos apresentamos, nós próprios nos apresentamos de uma maneira diferente Normalmente nós vamos daqui para aí e temos que tomar em atenção que nós temos ou vivemos num outro país não interessa qual é o país, temos um outro sistema, temos algo mais para comparar com aquilo em Portugal de bom e de mal. Não é tudo o que existe fora é bom e em Portugal é mau, não. Longe disso.

Hence, results demonstrate that identity labels do in fact change depending on the individual and also as some of the interviewees explained depending on the context in which they find themselves in and whom they share that context with. It seems common to feel more or less Portuguese or more or less American, when one's perception of one's identity is somehow questioned, as in Liz's and Victor's examples, or when participating in specific cultural events such as Maria's and Rosemary's examples. It seems one's identity may also be questioned by outsiders in some instances and reinforced in others in order to ascertain one's identity when returning home, wherever that may be.

4.6.4 Part IV: Cultural Transmission (Is the culture being maintained alive? Is contact with Portugal being kept? What kind of contact is being kept? Why? What is the frequency of the contact?)

The fourth section of the interview asked interviewees questions that sought to understand how the Portuguese culture has been transmitted throughout the generations, whether it continues to be transmitted today and whether the newest generation believes it will continue to be transmitted in the future. The questions asked were:

1. Growing up in America, what was it like it to be the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant?
2. How would you describe your upbringing, as Portuguese or as American? What, if any, were the challenges of living between the two cultures (i.e. in school, in the community)?
3. Can you describe the community in which you grew up (was it a community of mostly other Portuguese immigrants or mostly Americans)? How did you feel within the community (outsider/insider)? Why or why not?
4. What was the Portuguese-American household like? How would you say it has changed? In what ways were you taught about being Portuguese or American?
5. Do you now or did you ever participate in the PA club events or “festas”? Why? Why not?
6. How about the younger generations, how is the Portuguese language and culture being transmitted to the younger generations?
7. How would you want your children to view themselves? (PA, Americans, Portuguese) Why?

For Maria growing up in Mineola, a Portuguese community, the daughter of Portuguese immigrants meant there was a division between the world outside de home and the world inside the home. This division left her feeling, “kind of felt like an outsider, you know because at home, everything was like the Portuguese culture. Like, the American culture came through, via TV. You know so, watching a commercial about pancakes for breakfast you know, in the 80s it was like WOW, pancakes for breakfast. You know, like, I eat *papo seco* with butter for breakfast.” The differences between these worlds that Maria describes were not only based on TV and breakfast foods, the differences in languages also created differences since her parents were not able to communicate or form relationships with other children’s parents are school. In retrospect, she felt comfort in knowing that she had cousins who were going through the same thing. As Maria explained, in the Portuguese community,

At a younger age, I didn’t feel like an outsider when I was with the Portuguese community here. I probably felt more of an outsider when I

was with the Portuguese community when I would spend my summers in Portugal. You know, because people would comment obviously going as an American to Portugal in the 80s you'd dress differently so people immediately knew that you weren't Portuguese that you were American, so people made comments about that. People made comments about my Portuguese accent, which you know it sounds like an American, which I don't care but you know people would make comments about my Portuguese. So then I would feel like an outsider from that perspective.

Maria's childhood can be described as definitely more Portuguese from, the way the house was decorated with the "galo" and the "panos the renda", to the strictly Portuguese meals eaten. In fact, Maria shared an interesting story about food and growing up,

Not until like, I got my car and I was driving, and I was making my own money with my part-time job and then going to restaurants and eating American food. Like, we grew up and we didn't really go out and if we went out to a restaurant it was a Portuguese restaurant. So you know like, I learned about Chinese cuisine when I was a senior in high school. Because it just, you know the Portuguese household I grew up in, we didn't order Chinese take-out, like, you know, take-out was something from the Portuguese restaurant. I mean the block I grew up on, had Americans and Portuguese. I would have to lean towards mostly Portuguese. I mean there was a Portuguese mass at the church so even on Sundays we didn't go to American mass, we went to Portuguese mass. So to this day, I still don't know how to respond in an American mass, I respond in Portuguese.

Needless to say, in Maria's case in the midst of living in a community that had both a Portuguese side and an American side, the Portuguese culture was without a doubt being transmitted, through the language, the home, the food and even church. However, that transmission came with challenges. The first being that she felt as an outsider and simply fitting in at school was difficult. In her words, "You know we really didn't go to the movies for example, so like kids would go to school on a Monday and would be talking about some new movie that came out in the theatre and you know I didn't go so it was a challenge fitting in that way." According to Maria, another difficulty was having to study on her own since her parents were unable to help her with her homework, the SATs, or to make college decisions.

Although Sandra did not live in a Portuguese community, in fact there were only about three Portuguese families in her community, the remaining families were Asian, American and Spanish, Sandra, like Maria also felt her upbringing was more Portuguese. For one, Sundays were focused around the family and included a large meal and attending church. In addition, she was not allowed to have sleepovers or to spend time with friends at the mall, as were her American peers. As she describes,

My father didn't understand. 'Why would you sleep at someone's house, you have a bed right here. You are not poor.' You know, he didn't understand that concept of why you'd go to someone else's house. So I didn't have sleepovers growing up. I didn't go to the mall to hang out. Like if we wanted to get together, if I wanted to get together with my friends, they would come over the house or we'd go maybe to a local café or a local pizzeria. That was it. There was no driving all over. Like my American friends, maybe because their parents grew up here, they were more comfortable with the area and there also isn't as much of a family value system in the American culture. It was OK if their kids missed dinner or went wherever. Whereas with me it was very different, I knew I had to be home. I definitely had to spend time with the family. I was only allowed out at certain times. And of course being the oldest and a girl, forget it!

Interestingly, Sandra only recalls feeling more of an outsider in the American community as a young child when her parents' English was poorer and they were not as involved, but that changed completely as she got older. Andrea describes her upbringing as a mix between the Portuguese and the American cultures because her parents, "were trying to get acclimated with being here in the States, and they adapted to a lot of the American culture." Therefore, when asked what it was like to be the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant, Andrea said,

It was hard when we were younger, because it was, and I'm embarrassed to say that now but it was embarrassing that our parents didn't speak perfect English ... our friends would come over and we're eating heads of fish, you know. Those kinds of things were, I think, very embarrassing when we were younger. And I see that in my nephews now. So it was, it was tough. My parents didn't understand a lot of the things. School notes came home and in some ways it was easy because we signed our own report cards, they couldn't read them, you know.

Once again, Andrea's upbringing was yet another example of growing up with the challenges of living between two distinct cultures and communities, and their distinct customs. The challenges once again, not only stemmed from immigrant parents who did not fully understand what was going on in the American world, especially when it came to school, but also from "the processions that they made us be in and all that stuff, god forbid our friends saw us, you know, dressed in these gaudy dresses." Nevertheless, Andrea says she never felt left out of either community, Portuguese or American. She does however, recall differences in her upbringing when compared to her American peers, "I wasn't able to do things other American kids were able to do because our parents were a little stricter than usual. Like we couldn't stay out later than, not we, my brother could, I couldn't. Stay out later than like nine o'clock. I couldn't go out on dates until I was like sixteen, that kind of stuff." In Andrea's explanation, similarly to other female responses, there is a recurring theme, and that is that culturally girls and boys were treated differently within the family, for girls were raised with far stricter liberties than boys within Portuguese families.

In the case of Alice, who grew up in a mostly American community in the Central Valley of California had a mother who was adamant about the importance of the Portuguese culture within the family. However, her stepfather's presence allowed for the introduction of activities such as roller-skating to her Portuguese upbringing. Nonetheless, Alice says that the hardship of growing up as a descendant of a Portuguese emigrant was having to explain to her American friends why she could not go to their houses or having to explain her home culture in general. In her words,

... it was easy to make friends with other Portuguese kids because we felt like we had the same things in common. The boys could do whatever they wanted, the girls had to be home by eight o'clock at night. It was, you know very traditional, so I didn't have to explain myself to my Portuguese friends, like I did with my American friends ... back then there were no mestizos and trying to explain myself, what my culture was like was very difficult back then but as the years passed by the eighties, there were more and more people. By the nineties I was already in my twenties, by then, then I'm meeting all these people everywhere and they're wondering why I'm not a dairyman. So I think that the decade that we came here, it was a lot harder than it would have been if someone came now.

Despite all of this, Alice does not recall there being any specific challenges, to her it was “normal” to go between the Portuguese home and the American community, “We came home and we knew that mom was going to speak Portuguese and that she was, you know, having us be making *massa sovada* on Sunday. It was just what it was. I didn’t really realize that there was a transition happening.”

Interestingly, interviewees often responded by giving the idea of that a lot of what was occurring in their childhood, especially, was “normal” or that it was just the way things were done, it was part of a routine. What this seems to indicate is that as these children learned to live and exist between these two cultures and languages, they ceased to notice the oddities that an outsider might have pointed out, it was in fact routine for them, it was in fact part of their daily lives and something they seem to have been comfortable with.

In fact, for Danny who grew up in the midst of a Portuguese community, with a very Portuguese upbringing, growing up the descendant of a Portuguese emigrant was, “The same as every other kid on the block.” As he describes,

The street that I lived in, at least at the time and still today, it was very divided and in that division, it was also very stratified. So if you were downtown, at the time it was called Portuguee ville because everything there was Portuguese. The store, the church, the bank was Portuguese. You could live here at that time and never have to speak English. The neighbors were Portuguese, the people at school were Portuguese, so ... But if you went, let's say to West Peabody, that was very American, Jewish, you know, that was a whole other country. Even today, we joke. When you had to go to West Peabody, we would say, ‘Hey did you bring your passport?’

Consequently, when asked if he ever felt like an outsider, Danny explained that he never felt like an outsider in his neighborhood or his town. In fact, he still lives and works where he grew up, however things change if he goes out of that neighborhood. In his words,

I’m very much an insider ... because of my status as a musician and I got to play with all the great and work with all the top Portuguese-American groups. Outside this neighborhood, outside this community, outside of this culture, I definitely feel like an outsider.

Because I spend so much time here, you know, I walk to work, everything is nearby I have become very accustomed to this world. When I am out in other, you know, “mixed company” I do feel a little bit like an outsider, because I don’t have the same, I feel I don’t have the same status. I’m not recognized everywhere I go outside of here.

Danny’s involvement in the Portuguese community through music on a national and on an international level has allowed him a privileged role in not only spreading the Portuguese culture through music but also in experiencing it. Yet, when asked about the challenges of living between the two cultures, Danny felt that besides the occasional derogatory *Portagee* remark, which may still be heard today and will still be considered offensive if used by an American, there were not many other challenges. The use of the word *Portagee* comes up in Massachusetts interviews or ones connected to the State, as a term that was used to discriminate against the Portuguese immigrants, during a time where prejudice against immigrants was common, in this specific case and area against Portuguese immigrants. Furthermore, as Danny interestingly explained the challenges of living between the two cultures stemmed from the differences. In his words, “... I think that the biggest one (challenge) is, you know, *American people are funny, they are like moss. They’re green, they’re hardy but they have no roots*, whereas being Portuguese, you know where you’ve come from, you know your back story, you’ve seen it, you’ve been there, you’ve lived it, you’ve tasted it. Yeah it’s definitely different. That’s a big one right there. It’s very different.” Danny’s perspective is not very different from other interviewee’s who see the Portuguese-American culture has one with roots, with heritage, as a more grounded culture.

According to Rosemary, her upbringing was Portuguese, in that there was for example, the street she lived on, *Portagee Palm Springs*, the importance of church and the fact that English was only spoken at school. As she too explained, “Just what was expected of you. It was very different. We didn’t, you couldn’t get video games, even if you tried being, you know, ‘I want this because that’s the cool thing.’ It was like, ‘you don’t need it,’ and so it was like, OK, I don’t need it.” Consequently, Rosemary feels that being the daughter of Portuguese emigrants gave her,

...different perspectives. It helped ... to be humble, but also be respectful to different cultures and even different religions, just because, you know, I was raised being Portuguese. You know, it helped me to understand there are other people that have different faiths, different practices and traditions and that I should respect that. Just like I know that not everybody, you know, understands what being Portuguese is. We all have our different traditions and so, they always like to say that California is the melting pot and I don't think we're a melting pot because you know, I haven't seen where the Portuguese community has completely lost things, you know and become American. I see us more of like a salad where we all have our different components but when you put all of us together, it's a better tasting salad. You know, you can't just eat tomatoes and have that be your one piece of salad. You want to have a whole bunch of different cultures that are part of it because I think that's what really makes a good community.

In fact, the Portuguese community to which Rosemary still belongs to today has not completely lost things, quite the contrary. From what Rosemary was able to share, it is a culturally active community that celebrates a large number of *festas* including the Festa do Espírito Santo and Rainha Santa Isabel, the *matança*, and the bullfights. Such experiences have not permitted Rosemary to feel as many challenges, the only time she claims to have felt a bit more of a challenge was when as a young girl she had to explain to her peers at school what she had done over the weekend. Her exchange between herself and her peers, in her own words, is as follows,

'What did you do this weekend?' at school. And you were like, 'We killed eight pigs!' You know and they'd look at you like, 'What are you talking about?' And you know, as a kid that was normal for us because you would kill the pigs and all the moms would have aprons and *lenços* on the top of their head and they're cleaning the guts for the *linguiça*, you have pigs hanging upside down. That was normal. And then you'd go to school and you'd have these white people, that were like, 'You did what?'

In Rosemary's account of her *matança* story, like other interviewees who have explained the nuances of the Portuguese culture she too uses the words, "*it was normal*" and interestingly refers to the Americans as "*these white people*" creating an identity divide between the communities.

Victor, like most of the other interviewees also grew up in a very Portuguese community and because of that he believes he grew up never having felt discriminated or somehow inferior to his American counterparts. In fact, Victor says that the exposure to both cultures made him “a rounder person, like somebody who had more life experience, someone who had more to offer because I could talk about other things besides just being American.” Yet, growing up the son of Portuguese emigrants, like as other interviewees have mentioned, meant having parents who were stricter than the American parents. Consequently, Victor also found it difficult to explain certain nuances of the Portuguese culture, such as “why I couldn’t go out because I had to go to *rancho*. Or I was in a *banda filarmónica* ... it was hard to explain to people ... it was weird for people that I ate sardines, or that I would bring *polvo* in like a can ... for lunch.” According to Victor, his generation did not feel the pressures of previous generations of becoming American, since his generation was never “shunned” or felt any challenges due to their biculturalism or their bilingualism. As Victor explained he,

...never felt the pressure to be American because it was cool.... There has been a record high of people under the age of 30 – 25 playing *concertina* in *ranchos*. Why? When I was a kid in *rancho*, very little, when I first started, the people that I am talking about, the older generation they were at my age now, 20s and stuff like that, those people at that time, they didn’t like being multicultural and they thought it was a bad thing. They thought the importance was being American, so there was nobody under the age of 30 or 40 playing the *concertina* and you know who was playing? It was these guys who came from Portugal, and they had learned how to play in Portugal. Now, every single *rancho* has two, or three or four people that are playing *concertina* and more learning and more playing the accordion, and they want to learn the *cavaquinho* and the *viola braguesa*, you know, there is such a huge movement for people to be part of, for people to be multicultural. It is definitely not looked down upon anymore. People, I don’t think don’t feel the pressure to be American, especially if you speak the language ...

Daniel grew up in Massachusetts in a Portuguese dominant community, although when it comes to his upbringing he describes it as a combination of both, Portuguese and American. Thus growing up as the son of Portuguese emigrants for Daniel was also, “normal. Everyone around me was the same.... The stereotype was that you were less educated if you were born in Portugal in New Bedford if you were born in Portugal you were considered a greenhorn. Which is the local pejorative,

supposedly less savvy about American culture and more ignorant because of that...” Once again a pejorative term emerged, the term *greenhorn*, to describe the Portuguese immigrants in Massachusetts around the middle of the 20th century or so. In fact, this was one of the challenges that Daniel describes. In the midst of a large community of Portuguese, where the numbers of emigrants were considerably high, there was a certain divide between the communities mentioned in other interviews as well. Daniel recalled one episode that illustrates this divide,

I remember when I was in college in Amherst and we drove a couple of hours to the coast one weekend and we just felt getting out of school for a couple of days and we were in Gloucester on the shore walking around, not getting into any trouble, I was just there with your friends and the police stopped us and asked for IDs, it must have been ten or eleven at night, we were near the water, and he looked into my ID, my driver’s license, which had my home address and he said, ‘Hey we got a Newbedford Portugee here!’ and I thought, ‘Yeah.’ and this was on the north shore, north of Boston which, yeah, yeah, he had me pegged and he didn’t do anything, he didn’t harass me or anything, he just let us go.

Consequently, Daniel explained that he did not always feel as though he was a part of the greater community, especially while growing up in New Bedford. In his words, “there weren’t any people who looked like Portuguese immigrants on television or people who were from Massachusetts, poor, working class, people from Massachusetts even. And, so dealing with folks that were outside that immediate community, I didn’t felt like a fish out of water but I didn’t feel like that I was being targeted, for the most part.”

Jesse also describes his upbringing as being Portuguese, strictly Portuguese. He grew up on the outskirts of Boston in a Portuguese community where the Portuguese children, although there were other nationalities around, but they clung together due to the similarities in their and their parents’ backgrounds. According to Jesse his Portuguese childhood was composed of,

... church on Sundays, which there were Americans who do that as well but it was really reinforced in our culture, especially our religion. Saturday mornings was cleaning, period, clean the house. You know, in

terms of organized sports, well, that cost too much money, either you play with your friends or you got nothing, you know, stay in the house, which unfortunately that was the reality, you know. Festivals, you know, we were deeply embedded in, you know, our culture and a part of that was going to Portuguese festivals, that's where you saw Portuguese people from surrounding cities and you just, everyone congregates together and you know, you get to feel we're in Portugal but in the United States.

Once again the themes of *church, religion, strict parents and festivals* emerged, nevertheless despite the heavy Portuguese cultural presence, Jesse never felt there were any challenges of living between the two communities nor did her ever feel like an outsider in either community. In fact, similarly to what Victor explained, Jesse believes that his generation would have had more difficulty if Boston were not as diverse as it is today. As he explained, "we're more comfortable with diversity, we're going through a room, probably just white Americans, white Americans per se, we're kind of like ... you know I'm not comfortable." Likewise, Sr. Fernando has never felt any challenges of living in-between the two communities. As he explains, "Não, até porque a minha vida inteira tem sido vivida entre os Americanos, mais que os portugueses. Isto é como tudo mais. Eu até nem vivo em Newark, eu vivi em, estou aqui há 46 anos e vivi em Newark dois."

Liz is yet another one of the interviewees who describes growing up as the daughter of a Portuguese immigrants as being "*normal*" and having very Portuguese upbringing. After her family's arrival in the United States of America, Mineola also became home to Liz's family because of the fact that it is heavily populated with people of Portuguese descent. Liz recalls often being "pointed out" as a foreigner in school, not only her but also her bother and the Portuguese community in general, which would leave her feeling like an outsider, a feeling she says lasted, "for a long time if not most of the time especially you know like elementary school, high school, all of that. You know, it's very hurtful and you don't really forget that and even, you know, a year may pass by, two years may pass by but you still hold on to that resentment, you know." Inevitably, just like other interviewees Liz felt very similar challenges of having to live between the American and the Portuguese cultures, including, "I would see my American school people going out or staying out late and talking about it the next day at school and we had to be home or we had to go with my parents because either we were

cleaning offices at night so we had to go with them. And you know, it was a different kind of life. We had other responsibilities that all these kids didn't. And they could hang out and they could go skateboarding and hang out with their friends, go to the movies. Something we never did because, you know, it wasn't something that my parents even knew about and they didn't want us participating in that or sleepovers, god forbid we would sleep in somebody's house, you know, that wasn't allowed but everybody else was doing it."

Jenn also believes that it was wonderful to grow up as the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant because as she explained, "you value, you know, where you come from, you value the things that you've learned in your life and to share it with other people. It's a great feeling and being a descendant from, you know Portugal and ... having parents that are immigrants, I'm proud of it, I will forever be proud of it and I hope my kids will value that too." In fact, Jenn feels that she is more Portuguese than she is American, as she had a very Portuguese upbringing in the midst of a very Portuguese community in which she was involved through the *Grupo de Juventude*, from the Church. Nevertheless, she never felt like an outsider in the American community, for as she clarified, her love for her Portuguese culture never got in the way of her also being an American. In her words, "You know, here you don't come across anyone who is just American, everyone comes from different cultures. I think that's, I think that's what makes up an American nowadays. You are not even just American, you're different cultures. It doesn't make you less of an American." Finally, when asked if these two cultures had brought about any challenges, Jenn's reply was different from everyone else's, it was more heartfelt. As she described it, "I think my most difficult challenge was dealing with having to leave my loved ones behind every time we went to Portugal to come back to live my life here. There were times when I was younger, I just wanted to move to Portugal and stay there. I think that's the most difficult about being a Portuguese-American."

In order to understand how and whether the cultural transmission was occurring, two questions were asked regarding the Portuguese-American household, where interviewees were asked to not only describe the households but also give their opinion as to whether they believe these households have changed. Once again,

the results obtained by the analysis of the text units reveal several common threads that emerged throughout interviewees' answers (please see excerpts in Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 Interviewees' Description of the Portuguese-American Household and Whether it has Changed

Interviewee	Interviewees' Description of the Portuguese-American Household and Whether it has Changed
Maria	<p>Oh for sure, it has changed.</p> <p>Where like the younger generation of the Portuguese that come here have been exposed to going out to the movies so they take their kids to the movies. I think because we are so connected now, like you know people definitely order out more. ... I think that the younger generation that comes here now, that they make more of an effort now to learn English and to assimilate more to the culture. I feel that the older generations were more segregated because it felt safe to be within the community. I feel that now the newer generation is, the community now is worldwide, right? With the World Wide Web, so it is not that sheltered, they are doing things more outside of that circle.</p>
Sandra	<p>The <i>rendas</i> were everywhere, on like every table. You had a crucifix above the door. <i>Nossa Senhora da Fátima</i> was in your bedroom, a statue of her because whenever grandma went back to Portugal she always brought back something from <i>Fátima</i>. There was <i>bread</i> at every meal and <i>music</i> every night. Or, you know not every night but like music a lot of music, whether it was music to dance or <i>fados</i> or something more modern. There was always <i>Portuguese music</i> around. There was English music too, but my grandparents lived with us growing up so, they didn't listen to English music. My grandfather every night would listen to after dinner my grandfather would put on a Portuguese cassette and he would play would his accordion. So, we'd go to the basement to hang out. Also the <i>basement</i> was where you really lived. Every Portuguese house had a basement where that kitchen could get dirty and you could make a mess down there and then your upstairs always stayed clean. Every Portuguese-American house has that, amazingly. And <i>bacalhau</i>, we always had a lot of fish and potatoes. <i>Fish</i> was very common growing up and there is always, and actually another thing, I forgot the name. I'm going to ... Oh, <i>Mokambo</i>. Like, there are things like this that are in everyone's house too. Like you'd go to the <i>Portuguese-American store</i> so people are always buying products that are imported from Portugal. And that was in every Portuguese-American house too, whether it was <i>Mokambo</i> or <i>café</i> or something. I don't know, what else? Definitely the meals too were, a lot of <i>chicken stews, fish, a lot of pork and seafood</i>. No, not the existing households. <i>They are still like that. But as we make new households they are not like that.</i> Yeah, like the ones that were already established and were already there, like if you walk into my grandmother's house it's still the same as it was before, maybe there's new <i>renda</i>. I don't know. But now that my cousins and I are getting married and having new homes, it's different. I have a couple of things here and there because people have given it to me or something that is a part of my daily life but for the most part it is something that is not, it's not the same level or the same way as it was before.</p>
Andrea	<p>A lot of screaming in <i>half-English and half-Portuguese</i>. I think, I mean just my parents and a lot of my friends who were Portuguese, and my aunts and uncles, there was a <i>lot of working</i> going on, that was a huge thing, we were, there was a lot of <i>shared childcare</i>, because, you know, everyone had to work a lot of third shifts and overtime and all that stuff. <i>Working was a big thing</i>, I remember. We'd take</p>

turns being on aunts' houses and grandparents', that kind of thing. A lot of, I mean, a lot of my childhood I remember it being, more of the *traditions* that, like opening our presents on Christmas Eve at midnight and those kinds of things, we were a very together kind of *family*, and I always contributed that to being Portuguese. Because a lot of my American friends didn't have that same extended family togetherness. Yeah, so there's *rooms that you're not allowed to be in*, when we were young we had one TV but it was in the forbidden living room, so we all, the whole family used to sit on a blanket on the floor, we weren't allowed to sit on the furniture. Until this day my mother still has that room, she now has a glass door that she locks so nobody can go in there. Yeah, and the overall *cleanliness* thing, *Saturday morning* was always cleaning days for us, that's when you smelled the Lysol and the Pledge and everything was spotless all the time. I'm trying to think how it was different from my American friends. We always, *our parents cooked*, that was very different from most other American families. And the *gardens. The manicured lawns*. It's funny because even my American friends will say 'Oh, a Portuguese person lives there, because the lawn is so nice and, you know, they have a grapevine and Mary on a half shell.' Yeah, it was that, the *religious* piece of it, the house was very museum like in most parts, we always had that one room where you could let your hair down a little bit but not too much. I think that my parents' house is still that way, maybe even more now, because they don't have kids to ruin it. But I never, we, my husband and I don't have that.

Alice

Listening to *fado music*, which I thought it was depressing back then, but I've learn to appreciate now and my mom loved the *chamarrita* I caught her dancing in front of the mirror every once in a while but because she married the Portuguese-American dad, we didn't have as much Portuguese things unless we had family visits or then it was more about the *food* and the music and the conversation, but that was really the extent of it here. We had a *cross* over every door. We had *roosters*, large roosters everywhere. Let's see, my mom had an *apron* of the Azores islands, a little map on the apron swinging in the kitchen. I think it's pretty much the same.

Danny

Mother worked overtime every day. The *father worked* one or two jobs. The kids, you know were to me, *well disciplined* or disciplined, you know. The house was always *clean*. There was *food* on the table. I mean, *money was always watched* and counted but that was the class we lived in. Everything was always *neat and tidy and clean*. You know all the funny things of *getting hit as a kid* because you did something stupid, and *plastic on the couches*, and *going to vovó's* house as much as being at home because *vovó* didn't hit you all of the time. All the typical things. All of the funny things. All the, you know, eccentric things. What was typical about a Portuguese house? The one where Portuguese people lived in. There was *wine in the cellar*. That was what you drank because Coca-Cola was not good and *Christmas was loud* and family functions everyone *smoked* while they were drinking, eating, all at the same time. Today's different, you know. Today's different. The times are different, a lot of things have changed, the world has changed. Thinking back to the Portuguese house then, it had a certain smell, it had a certain look to it, a lot of knick-knacks everywhere. It changes with the younger generation, you know. I think they are all still influenced by the culture in one way or another, some more, some less.

Rosemary

We, a lot of times, we would watch, because there's a Portuguese *Catholic* station here so we would watch that. We would always *pray the rosary* together, every single night. That was huge for my parents. We would do our schoolwork and do chores. Both mom and dad *worked*, but then when it was *family time*, we always ate dinner around the table. *Sunday we always went to church together* and then of course there were *festas* going on, we always went to *festas*. As far as like, when we started getting older and there was school dances, my oldest sister was not allowed to go to any school dance and I think it was just that fear, that fear of the unknown that parents have you know that something could happen to my kids. My middle sister, she basically did her own thing anyways without my parents saying,

‘yeah you can go.’ And for me because I’m the baby I was very involved in school, like school band, musical theater, and so I would always want my parents to go with me ... *Knick-knacks*, like crazy, plates with the lobsters and the crabs, *santinhas* everywhere, I’m thinking of my mom’s house, *Nossa Sra. de Fátima*, we had pictures of the *Pope, Last Supper*. I think so. I think, as generations move on, I know, my house is not the same of my parent’s house. It’s different. My kids are involved in a lot more things, not just Portuguese, but a lot of other things too that I think it, I don’t want to say devalues, but it sort of down plays what we do in terms of culture. So that’s why, like the *feira*. I really want my kids to be a part of that or the *philarmónica* because I don’t want that to go away and I don’t want that to go away for my grandkids or great-great grandkids. I want there to be something there for them that links them to us, especially my parents.

Victor

I would say it is like most households, except for the fact that when other people were watching some American channel I was watching RTPi, or this or that. So I think it was fine, I was speaking Portuguese to my parents but to me that was normal so it’s not like I thought any different of it. I was eating different things than other people. You know I would go to school with a Tupperware of food that other people would be like, ‘What the hell is this? And why is it so good?’ And when I told them it was *coelho*, they would freak out and say I was eating Bugs Bunny and I would say, yes! So I think, you know, in general, it was good. I loved it. I learned a lot about living being brought up in a Portuguese household. At times it was frustrating you know, my parents not being as lenient as other people’s, understanding that it was OK for your kids to go out, stuff like that. But otherwise, it was great. ... there’s the *colher de pau*. We never really had any little trinkets like the *galo de Barcelos*. ... there was the espresso machine, I have a large list of instruments, a lot of them Portuguese (*acordeão, concertina, cavaquinho*), my dad has a huge library of CDs because he is from that generation, and a lot of them you know Brazilian and Portuguese music. Saturday mornings he would always play *rancho* music very loud, early in the morning.

Daniel

We had a *garden*, we had grapevines in the garden. There was always *food*, lots of food, some of it Portuguese, some of it just whipped up. Father would be either at *work* or resting or working on household projects. Mom would be either at *work* or *cooking* or doing female orchestrated things. *Mom was expected to cook*. I remember my father sometimes when he was grumpy about the way things were cooked, especially after coming back from college and doing this on my own, I just said to him, ‘Dad why don’t you cook if you don’t like the way it’s cooked?’ He looked at me like I was coming from outer space. No that is not possible. What are you talking about? Everything always changes but I couldn’t begin to say how because I don’t feel we have a typical Portuguese household. Although, you know, just reaching back up here. And we have a Madeiran flag. Porto Barros, the wooden box.

Jesse

Strict, very strict. In some houses the father ran the house, in others the mom ran the household, but generally very strict, very respectable. Always *senhor* and *senhora* and all that stuff. You don’t call all the people by their first names. We’ve got knick-knacks at my parents’ house that could wrap around the earth a couple of times. there’s always like a, I don’t know if you’ve ever heard of a *mulher do capote*? She’s got this cape thing over her. It’s an Azorean thing. So, you know, you, the big one is a liquor bottle ... But you could buy the little, small little thingy that they hang around the house. We were big on *china*. I don’t know how many different *roosters* there are around the house so, or a cat here or an *angel* there, yeah *knick-knacks* everywhere. It has. I don’t want to say there’s a loss of culture but there was. There was a thing when we were kids called maintaining Portuguese heritage. Everything Portuguese all the time and that just changes over time you know, it, you know, you could get, because that was the identity of the immigrant you know. We’re no longer immigrants, we’re starting our own lives here in America and things kind of started to get left behind and you got to just pick up a new way of life so to speak, not a new way of life but that faith on just being

Portuguese kind of gets left behind.

Fernando

N/A³

Liz

Well, we made our own bread, you know, we kept our own *traditions* like that. Things that other people didn't do, so I felt, you know. My parents would listen to the Portuguese *radio* and things like that. We didn't really have Portuguese channels back then when we first got here, so, whatever it was that was Portuguese, you know, they tried to stay in touch with it, so... Newspapers, they would get the Luso-Americano, which you know, probably in Jersey and we would make our trips to Jersey and go to *Portuguese markets* and things like that. The *cooking* was all Portuguese. My mom always liked a lot of *knick-knacks* and you know, little things that she would hold on to everything and she still does in Portugal. I think I did, especially for like me. My generation I think, you know. I don't think we cook as much at home, as like my parents did. My parents never went out, I mean. Very rarely did we go to a restaurant, whereas like now, we go out and Fridays is usually Chinese Friday. So I see a big change in my household compared to the way I grew up.

Jenn

It was pretty much the same, like any other Portuguese-American. I grew up you know, setting the table and cleaning the table and *cleaning* the house. Whatever my parents made me to do I had to do, you know? Maybe, being the good generation that we are growing up in and into, I think it's a lot different, absolutely. I think a lot more kids are involved if their parents tell you to. Before, I don't think it ever used to be like that. You know, I just grew up with families and the kids helped and that's just what it was.

Thus, what were the Portuguese-American households like? For starters, there was the idea that they were somehow segregated within a community as Maria described, something that apparently has changed with the newer immigrants. The household itself seemed to often be loud and filled with food, music (mostly Portuguese) and knick-knacks, mostly religious but not strictly for there was Kennedy's bust in the homes of Azorians, *rendas*, nice gardens and the manicured lawns. Some interviewees also described having a forbidden room that always stayed cleaned, which opposed the basement of the house where all the mess could be made. Family was described as being key within the household and often there was an extended family present, while parents were often described as being strict, especially with their daughters and often at work one or more jobs. Festas were big events and Sundays were not only church days, but were also family days, while Saturdays were often described as being the Portuguese household cleaning day.

Overall, all interviewees agreed that the Portuguese household maintains to this day the same characteristics, if one is referring to a previous generations' home, meaning the parents' or the grandparents' home. However, if one considers the home of

³ This question was haphazardly skipped during Sr. Fernando's interview.

the latest generation, the Portuguese-American household has for the most part undergone significant alterations. As Sandra explained, “I have a couple of things here and there because people have given it to me or something that is a part of my daily life but for the most part it is something that is not, it’s not the same level or the same way as it was before.” Danny’s interpretation of this difference between generational households has a more detailed explanation comparing those of yesterday to those of today. In his words, “Today’s different. The times are different, a lot of things have changed, the world has changed. Thinking back to the Portuguese house then, it had a certain smell, it had a certain look to it, a lot of knick-knacks everywhere. It changes with the younger generation, you know. I think they are all still influenced by the culture in one way or another, some more, some less.” Nevertheless, interviewees like Sandra and Danny offer some hope that despite the generational differences, there are some cultural influences being passed on from one generation to the next.

The next question asked interviewees if they had been in any way, taught how to be Portuguese or American. Both Rosemary and Victor were as they were growing up very active in the Portuguese culture, so one can assume that their knowledge came in part from actively participating in the culture. For other interviewees, this process was not as obvious. Jenn, for example, did not feel as though she was taught one specific culture over the other, for as she explained she learned “Portuguese values, I was taught right from wrong and I know that when you are American, you need to know your values too... So, I don’t think I was taught any different.” Similarly, Sandra’s father, a man who was proud of his Portuguese culture, always advised his daughter not to let go of her heritage, but Sandra did feel as though the Portuguese and the American cultures were introduced “kind of rolled together into one.”

Remarkably, Sr. Fernando said he never felt the need to learn how to be an American, however, he learned the language and he made a life for himself and his family and has traveled throughout the country. According to Danny, he too “is still trying to learn (how to be an American). My mother and I always have this joke that someday we’ll actually come to America. You know, I’m still, at least I believe I’m still the typical Luso-American. You know, one foot on one side of the Atlantic, one foot on the other.” However, they too have made a life, like Sr. Fernando in the United States of America, in fact Danny was born in the USA. In contrast, Danny says learning how to

be Portuguese naturally occurred from listening to his parents, “what they said, that was law. No one had to teach us how to be Portuguese, because that’s all we knew.” Alice’s answer is similar to Danny’s, in that she did not feel she was taught anything specifically. As a matter of fact, she felt as though she did a bit of cultural teaching herself. As she indicated, “You are Portuguese-American and, you know, you’re supposed to go and do this... If anything, I had to teach my mom how to be American. To relax! And you don’t have to go to church every day. You can go on Sundays. Little things like, you know, you don’t have to wear black for eight years when my father passed away. Just things that were very common in the old country that are not common here.”

As for Maria, she distinctively recalled Mr. Hartman (and his family) a neighbor who showed her, her brother and cousins the path to cultural America through things such as BBQs, the 4th of July and the Mineola Fire Department. On the other hand, the culture of Portugal came through the grandparents who lived with them as they built cages for the numerous rabbits in the backyard, “at one point we had like 80 rabbits and so that kept him (grandpa) busy and we learned a lot about the Portuguese culture with them living with us. And my grandma and my aunt taught me how to crochet.” Andrea also learned about the Portuguese culture, mostly the religious prayers, through her grandmother for her parents did not speak of Portugal much after their arrival. Danny postulated that the learning of the Portuguese culture came from attending church and the fact that his mother had made him take accordion lessons for ten years.

Finally, Liz’s answer was unique in that it was the only one that specifically gave a new argument to justify her parents’ traditional cultural behaviors. In her explanation she argued that she was taught more how to be Portuguese rather than American, not simply because her parents were old fashioned but because she felt as though, “they were more Portuguese than the Portuguese people in Portugal because you know, like, in Portugal people evolved and they modernized and things like that and my parents were still living in the 60s. They stayed with that mentality...” It is this idea that somehow the immigrant can become culturally stagnant that is interesting, for it emerges in across other themes such as language or *festas*.

In support of and to show the continuous transmission of the Portuguese culture, all interviewees participated in cultural events (religious *festas*, religious parades, celebrations organized by local Portuguese clubs and affiliations and other Portuguese traditions) while growing up. However, as they have grown into adulthood they become busier with school or work and therefore lack the time to do participate, as is the case with Victor and Sandra, or they live too far from such events and can only do so occasionally as is the case with Alice who goes, “once in a while for nostalgia” and Daniel who returns to Massachusetts to attend as he says, “the time of the feast in the beginning of August because lots of other relatives coming to town and it’s a great time to meet everybody, not only meet everybody but eat great food and just see various cultural things going on.”

Nonetheless, on the one end of the spectrum, there are those who have ceased going all together, including Maria, Liz and Jesse. Maybe it is simply as Jesse explained, “it has nothing to do with not wanting to associate myself with being Portuguese. It has nothing to do with that. I don’t know. It’s just something I guess I did so much as a kid, you know, that as an adult it kind of just fades away.” On the opposite end of the spectrum, there are those who continue to be extremely active and often participate in these cultural events. As a musician Danny constantly attends the *festas* and as a result he is able to not only describe the work he does but also the places where some of these take place. In his words,

I truly don’t believe there is a Portuguese club within three hundred miles that I haven’t been to. Do I still do? Yes. I’m still a musician and I get to go to a lot of *festas*. Like I had said, I’ve worked with the popular bands, the Jorge Ferreiras, the Starlights, the Eratoxicas. I’ve worked with of all these groups and they play all these clubs. I’ve played in the *Carnaval* dances, I’ve arranged music for the *Carnaval* dances, I’ve planned them for the *filarmónicas*, for the marching bands, so yeah, pretty much anything in between Toronto and Florida, I’ve been to. Well, Portuguese clubs are very interesting. First of all the bars have no windows, we’ll start with that. They all have a function hall upstairs and a bar either downstairs or behind. You could always get the, there’s always Sagres, there’s always *aguardentes*, there’s always this, that and the other thing. Chances are there is a hard boiled egg somewhere behind the bar that you could snack on, there’s a domino set or a set of cards and somewhere where you can play. They are very much similar, very much so.

Rosemary is also extremely active in the Portuguese community, in fact in 2016, she will be the first ever woman president for the *Festas of Espírito Santo* in Tulare. As she explained the tradition of the *festa* within the Portuguese communities is crucial because of how it connects the people to their culture,

... for us because of Pico, Santa Maria Madalena was another one, Senhor Bom Jesus. I mean just, all of these *festas*, especially here in California and I think that's what keeps a lot of us tied to other communities is because of the *festas*. My daughter being queen, we go to twenty different *festas* and that's not all of the *festas*. But you know, we'll go to twenty *festas* by the time she's done being queen representing Tulare but it's *Espírito Santo*, *Santo António*, it's *Fátima*. I mean, there's all these different things and it is, it all links us to our culture.

Like Rosemary, Sr. Fernando has always been very involved in the Portuguese community, in fact he was invited to be amongst those who started the Portuguese newspaper Portuguese Times around 1970, in Newark, New Jersey. Soon after he became involved with the *Sport Club Português*, the Portuguese school, the *Casa do Ribatejo*, the *União dos Clubes Luso Americanos, of New Jersey* and he has also been elected president of the organization for the Dia de Portugal. Sr. Fernando explains his active involvement in his own words, “sinto prazer em ser português, em discutirmos e lutarmos pelas nossas coisas, pelos nossos costumes, as nossas tradições, as nossas necessidades. Tudo isso faz parte.”

In view of the interviewees' detailed histories, their participation and interest in the Portuguese-American communities and also of the fact that there is such a vast number of celebrations to participate in, is the Portuguese language and culture being transmitted to the younger generation? The reality seems to vary. Rosemary for example has experienced a significant number of youth participating in the cultural events that are being organized in the community which to her justifies the ongoing transmission of culture and possibly and interest in language. Daniel feels as though he has been, as he says,

Well, I'm doing my part here. I think back in New Bedford itself, in that neighborhood it certainly is. Like I said, everything always changes. I don't know how it's different. I think as people grow and become more temporarily disconnected from being in Portugal, they are disconnecting from that. And also Portugal has changed. I've

always assumed that Portugal and Madeira is way beyond the excluded women stage, but even though we are trying to maintain a connection with this land of our fathers, we are maintaining a connection with the past, what we thing is the land of our fathers, or was the land fifty, seventy five years ago and not what it is. Maybe that's inevitable. Maybe we've got our memories to work on to some extent. ... I got the symbols up. I got my passport. We go back and visit every few years.

In addition, one of his daughters is learning Portuguese, so yes between his participation in the *Club Espirito Santissimo*, symbols and his daughter's strives to learn the language, one might in fact say, he has done his part. However, not everyone has in fact done their part and not everyone will continue to do so. Some might even have the intention to teach their children Portuguese but the dominance of the English language and culture will eventually surpass that of the Portuguese. As Danny stated, "I see it, I try, my kids come with me to a lot of places where I go, we try to take them to other things, to you know events, we try to explain to them what Portugal is and where it is. One tries you know but we here are not one hundred percent Portuguese. American TV exists, we are not blocked to the radio and the Portuguese channel. You know, my goal might not be to go to Portugal next year with my girls, but instead go to Disney World. I think that for every successful generation has for the first immigrants, you'll lose fifty percent of the culture." Others still are making an effort as Sandra explained, by teaching the children in the family and the non-Portuguese spouses some words and introducing songs or nursery rhymes. Sr. Fernando is yet another example, every time he comes to Portugal he takes back Portuguese books for his young grandchildren so that they can learn the language. As Alice and Victor asserted, it might be easier today than it was in the 70s and 80s to be bilingual and bicultural, since "we" have become more accepting and tolerant, thus one might in fact see an increase in the spread of the Portuguese language and culture. Consequently, when asked how they would want their children to view themselves, interviewees were divided between having them view themselves as Portuguese or Portuguese-Americans. It seemed that the important thing would be for them to somehow recognize their heritage, if possible, but not one parent was adamant about one specific choice. However, Sr. Fernando gave the following explanation in regards to his two sons,

Eles serão sempre americanos ou luso-americanos na melhor das hipóteses. Em que logicamente o país deles é a América porque eles nasceram aqui mas qualquer um deles, eles adoram ir a Portugal, eles adoram coisas portuguesas ...

4.6.5 Part V: Society and Education

The fifth section of the interview asked about society and education in a more general sense. It was composed of four questions:

- 1) How did being an immigrant affect or change you?
- 2) How did growing up being Portuguese-American make you the person you are today?
- 3)
- 4) If you could give any advice to new Portuguese immigrants and their families, what would it be?
- 5) If you could go back in time, what would you change?

In most cases, interviewees felt that being an immigrant or growing up being a Portuguese-American affected them positively in that it made them appreciate of what they have and give value to what they have, for example Maria and Alice. On an individual basis, it also made them, the individuals they have become. Danny described himself as, “I don’t know any other life. There’s no control version of me that I can say, if I had considered this, that I can compare to. I am the experiment.” Daniel on the other hand said being Portuguese-American,

makes me hate the Church because it doesn’t make a whole lot of sense to me. You know, beyond the love one another, a lot of sanctions don’t make a lot of sense. It makes me appreciate and like certain kinds of food, it makes me happy to have a connection with a community when I go back there and walk the streets, people yell at me and say, ‘Hi!’ We joke and have a beer or something. That’s great. It’s, how has it affected me? Yeah, it made me who I am. I wouldn’t be the same person at all. It seems like people without that that grow up in America, especially white folks because white folks seem to be more affected by this, in my perception anyway. They seem to be culturally sterile. It seems there is no background, like American has a commercial culture, but they don’t have a personal

culture. And Portugal and the Portuguese have a community, personal, interactive. That is very important and it's translating that to the commercial cultural of Americans that has always been the difficulty, I suppose."

These two points of view of a very similar way of life, of growing up are described from very distinctive perspectives yet they provide a complex view of what this dual identity entails. Daniel is not the first interviewee to bring up the idea of the cultural sterility of the "white American", in fact, other interviews shared the idea that being Portuguese-American allowed for a broader view of the world. Inclusively, Sandra spoke of her worldview in comparison to that of America in her explanation, but also of her appreciation and respect for her culture, her language and her parents' hard work. In her words,

You know my parents, didn't grow up with the American culture so I certainly had less of it so I think my likes, my world views and who I am has a lot to do with the fact that my parents came from Portugal ... like I go back and visit Portugal, I've traveled in Europe, I see that America is not, like a lot of times when you are an American you think this is the best place in the world, this is the greatest country and coming from a background where I also love another country I have broader world view where I realize this is not the center of the universe, there are other places that are just as good ... I can appreciate the beauty in other cultures, which is not always necessarily the case as Americans. And I think my father being an immigrant, he had to work so hard to get where he is today, and he definitely instilled that work ethic in me and I don't know if that would have been there if he wasn't a Portuguese immigrant. And definitely a very strong sense of family, a love for family and community because I think are part of it as well. I feel like my dad definitely had a big hand in shaping who I am came, it came from his experiences growing up in Portugal and an immigrant here and he has certainly tried to pass that on to me, whether it's you know a love for languages, even though I am not fluent but I can appreciate and want to know more and different music and an appreciation for our country...

Without a doubt the experiences of immigration shaped those who took the risk, but they also shaped the generations that followed personally, academically and/or professionally. The roots and the heritage remained, especially in these twelve interviewees. Thus when it came to giving advice to new or future Portuguese immigrants they gave the advice in Table 4.8, one that strives for openness, for a

community approach, for language learning, for acculturation but at the same time to retain the Portuguese language and culture.

Table 4.8 Interviewees' Advice to New or Future Portuguese Immigrants

Interviewee	If you could give any advice to new Portuguese immigrants and their families, what would it be?
Maria	To step outside of their comfort zone, that they don't need to speak English perfectly, that eventually they will get there. Don't be afraid to make mistakes. You know, get involved in their community. Make friends outside of the Portuguese circle that you have because, you know, because maybe even if you are not going to be best friends with a 100% American person but maybe you will be. And don't be afraid to learn and sign up for that class and to learn. Whenever you hear that voice telling you can't do it because your English isn't good enough, tell that voice to shut up and just do it. Because it will, it will get better. Practice makes perfect, right? If you make mistakes when you speak English who cares?
Sandra	I think it helps to make connections with the existing community, especially if they can live, I think it is a lot easier to adapt and be successful when you have those connections with others who are already here. So, living near a Portuguese community, getting to know the people who have already gone through it, I think helps a lot. And, I think also, in America, if you can do well in school, it helps to have your life be more successful. There are a lot of opportunities here with education ... but focusing on education and making connections ... It is not as easy now, as it used to be but perseverance is still an important component.
Andrea	Definitely to learn English quick and to have somebody, to be able to help you get through things. I mean, I've seen a lot of, my mom, my dad, my aunts and uncles have been scammed because they're immigrants.
Alice	Never lose your culture, be proud of being an American, as well as being Portuguese-American and just Portuguese and embrace all of them because you're in a place where you can.
Danny	Good luck, that's the only thing. It's so big, I mean, it's so big. Good luck and hope for the best.
Rosemary	I would say, you know, get involved, find out where, where, your, if you have a Portuguese community that's there, so that way you don't feel alone, there are other people there who can help you, that have experienced the transition of coming to a new country, but also don't be afraid of what American has to offer. ... Find someone that you can connect with, that you are able to get that support from and experience and then embrace what America has to offer.
Victor	ingrain yourself in the American culture because it is, you know, good to commit and it is good to like learn but don't ever lose sight of being Portuguese and don't ever be ashamed of being Portuguese.
Daniel	Patience and understanding. Because if they are less capable of speaking English, they are going to be judged as incapable to some extent it doesn't matter how educated they are. If they're new to an area, they are going to be considered ignorant to some extent so, and not by all Americans by any means but by some. It's going to happen. And they would be considered other people. They're going to be considered Hispanics, Dominicans or South Americans and not who they considered themselves

to be. So I would just say, Americans are strange, but just be patient. We are not all idiots.

- Jesse I would say work hard, which that comes in our culture already but work hard, don't be afraid to work and don't be afraid to dream big. A lot of people cut, they cut themselves short because they are afraid of doing big things and in our culture we go with security more than we do opportunity and venturing.
- Fernando Acima de tudo que nunca se esquecessem de onde vieram. Porque há situações em que as pessoas chegam aqui e as facilidades com que este país apresenta determinado número de coisas, faz com que as pessoas esqueçam-se daquilo que eram. E só quando realmente nunca se esquecerem de onde vêm. E quando não se esquecerem de onde vieram, daquilo que passaram no nosso país, bom ou mau não importa, têm algo para comparar com aquilo que vão conseguir aqui. E nada se consegue aqui se nós não tivéssemos a experiência que nós temos atrás, seja ela boa ou má, porque faz com que nós vejamos aquilo aqui com outros olhos, vamos lá. Embora que muitas vezes essas mesmas facilidades façam com que nos esqueçamos de onde vêm. Há aqui um género de um circulozito que é preciso ter cuidado mas eu continuo a dizer, o essencial, é que as pessoas não se esqueçam de onde vieram, como chegaram aqui, as dificuldades que passaram para, quando chegaram aqui, porque dificuldades, porque ao dizer dificuldades, quero dizer, se não têm familiares aqui, se não têm amigos, vêm de um país totalmente diferente, têm que criar um núcleo de amigos em que é muito difícil. Só isso faz com que ou deveria fazer com que nós apreciemos mais, muitas vezes apreciarmos mais aquilo que deixámos.
- Liz I would say that life would definitely be easier if they moved into a community where there were other Portuguese because I think that that made it a little bit easier.
- Jenn I would tell them to be blessed with the opportunity that you have in this country. That, it's one that, there's many opened roads that can definitely take you places in life but you should never, ever forget where you come from and you should always follow those roots because in the end that is where you came from, that is where you learned your values, so you should never forget that.

Similarly, when asked if interviewees would change anything if they could go back most would not change anything, only Alice and Sandra would go back to prevent their Portuguese language loss. As Alice explained, "I wouldn't of lost my language. I would of definitely kept that and I think that's one of my main goals as a teacher. I teach third grade. I tell all of my, because I have a lot of Hispanic kids and now I'm in a new world school where I'll have some Portuguese kids. I'm very happy about that. And I want to tell them that, 'Be proud of your language and never lose that.' And I tell the parents too, 'Do you prefer to speak to me in your language? I have no problem with that.' I would prefer that because I want people to be proud." Sandra on the other hand, would have, "pushed to either go to Portuguese school or learn the language better because it's something that saddens me that I don't have the same language ability." Maria would not go back to change her own language skills, but those of her mother's and father's, encourage her parents to do things differently and step out of their comfort zone . In her words, "I would help my mom step out of that safety zone and be like

common let's go to this class together. She is too old to do that now but I don't think so, but she does. And my dad, especially my dad because he speaks English but he is such a perfectionist, he doesn't want to make mistakes. As a kid if I could go back, I would be like dad make more mistakes, step out of your comfort zone let's not go eat out at Heart of Portugal, let's go to Luigi's instead. I want to try some Italian cuisine." As for Victor, he would go back to fulfill his Portuguese cultural dream of academic life to, "be part of a Tuna or I would create a Tuna here. I would probably go back to college and create my own Tuna."

Sr. Fernando would opt to go back into his personal life and change how strict he was with his two boys not because he did not have "good results" in raising his children, in his own words, "Na minha vida pessoal, falando com muita sinceridade, eu fui sempre um pai bastante *strict*, modificava isso um bocadinho. Não que eu não me sentisse, não que eu não tivesse bons resultados por outras palavras, e ainda hoje em dia nós somos uma família muito unida ... conseguimos ser até este momento. E isso dá-me um orgulho tremendo."

4.6.6 Part VI: Final Comments and Thank You

The final section of the interview, *Final Comments and Thank you* was simply to thank the interviewees for their participation and to ask them if they could suggest any additional questions I should have been asking. Interestingly, the tables were often turned and the interviewees ended up asking me questions about the study and my background. Some additional topics or questions were in fact suggested but these will be discussed in the next chapter under the appropriate subheadings in the conclusions.

In this chapter the results of the study were presented and described and the life histories of the interviewees were told in order to begin to answer the questions guiding the study. In the end, the results seem to indicate that the 12 participants are representative of the Portuguese-American population living in the United States of America. Discussion of these results and the subsequent conclusions will be drawn in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The central purpose of this study was to understand who the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants in the United States of America are who self-identify as Portuguese-American and consequently to understand how the development of a bi-cultural, transnational identity occurred overtime, what that identity entails and finally, whether it is stagnant and available to all who choose to it. Additionally, the study sought to understand the participants'

Additionally, the study sought to form a greater understanding of the process of acculturation and the acquisition of language, L1 and L2, of the Portuguese immigrant families and their descendants, and how language and culture are transmitted to subsequent generations. Lastly, the study sought to better comprehend the personal, social and educational implications of the subjects' integration or lack of into the American society, while attempting to maintain their language and culture alive.

In this chapter the results obtained through the quantitative and qualitative analysis completed of the data collected from the data collecting tools used, the online survey and the semi-structured interviews, will be further discussed and conclusions will be drawn. The chapter is organized into the five subsections that follow: Discussions of Findings of the Survey, Discussions of Findings of the Semi-Structured Interviews, Conclusions, Implications for Educational Practice, and Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research.

5.2 Discussion of Findings of the Survey

The results obtained from the online survey served to identify the Portuguese-Americans currently living within the United States of America, who self-identify as Portuguese-American. The respondents are thus, first, second, third or consequent generations of Americans. It is important to note that this means, according to the U.S. Census Bureau's definitions, that in the sample population are included the immigrant themselves (the first generation) and the subsequent generations. Most respondents were female and although the participation amongst the age groups varied significantly, it was the ages between 20 and 69 who volunteered the most responses, with the highest number of responses coming from the age group between 30 and 49. Although responses came from a vast number of states, the highest number of responses came from four states: New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts and California. Furthermore, an overwhelming number of respondents were the grandsons and granddaughters of grandparents born in Europe, while they themselves were mostly born in North America, or in the second most common place of birth, Europe. When it came to nationality, more than half of the respondents claimed to have dual Portuguese-American nationality, as most could trace their Portuguese roots back to mainland Portugal, followed by the Azores and then Madeira. Interestingly, there were very few immigrants themselves who responded the survey, as the majority of the respondents claimed that it had been their parents who had emigrated, while a second significant group claimed it had been their grandparents.

There were then very few first generation immigrants who responded to the survey, as the majority of the respondents claimed that it had been their parents who had left Portugal or the islands, while a second significant group claimed it had been their grandparents.

Results also lead us to infer that immigration took place mostly due to work, economic and family reasons, predominantly during the second half of the 20th century, being that the years between 1960 and 1990 saw the biggest wave of immigration Portuguese in the United States of America. However, results also point to a significant number of immigration, which took place prior to 1950.

Not surprisingly, as far as education, most respondents attended school in the United States of America and the overwhelming majority graduated with a college degree. There are also a significant number who hold a graduate school degree. Results indicate that respondents work in an array of areas, however, the fields with the highest number of responses were education, health care providers and the legal area.

When it comes to language, results show that English is the dominant language across the four skills, speaking, listening, reading and writing and in most day to day activities. Nevertheless the majority of respondents rate their own speaking, listening and reading skills in Portuguese as excellent, and their writing in Portuguese as good. In comparison, English is rated as excellent across the four skills. Results also indicate that English is used in the more formal settings, at work and at school, and for many it is still used with the children at home and with friends. Portuguese is mostly used to communicate with parents and grandparents. In the meanwhile, at home a mixture of the both languages is used.

In terms of cultural identity, results allow us to state that the majority of the respondents defined their cultural origins as Portuguese, but were closely followed by those who defined them as Portuguese-American, in fact additional data also indicated that most respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement, *I feel I am somewhat in the middle, I am equally Portuguese-American*. Regardless, the majority felt that their cultural identity was extremely important. To most being Portuguese was directly linked to an array of words including: family, culture, proud, pride, traditions, food, *saudade* and working. In the meantime, the words that were mostly used for describing what it meant to be American were: freedom, opportunity, working, free, patriotic, family, education and proud.

When it came to involvement in the Portuguese community and its culture, findings demonstrate that most respondents were only involved moderately often, but unfortunately were quickly followed behind by those who were rarely ever

involved. However, most respondents maintain a friendship with Portuguese people outside of the family, most enjoy Portuguese food and will actually go out to a Portuguese bar or restaurant. Lastly, our findings indicate that about an equal number of respondents belong to a Portuguese-American club or association, a number that is not that different from those who claimed not to belong to a Portuguese-American club or association. Also, findings tell us that travel to Portugal is only done sometimes, since only about 8% of respondents do so all of the time, and those that do, independently of the frequency, do so because first and foremost, they want to visit family. In fact, the majority of the respondents still has family and friends in Portugal.

5.3 Discussion of Findings of the Interviews

The data collected during the interview phase of the study are in comparison to those of the survey, very similar, and therefore allow us to ascertain that the interviewees are representative of the population sample attained through the online survey. The twelve individuals that volunteered their time to speak with me, who so graciously shared their stories with me, are also self-identified Portuguese-Americans living in the selected four states, California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York. They are seven women and five men, ranging in ages between 20 something to 60 something. Additionally, they too are, with the possibly the exception of Sr. Fernando who himself emigrated with his parents in his late teens, the sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters of those who emigrated to the United States of America during the course of the 20th century, mostly in the second half of the 20th century. They too left mainland Portugal, the Azores and Madeira looking for work, better economic stability and better social opportunities for their families. The majority, are in fact the so called second and third generation. Hence the results that identify the participants in the interview phase of the study are generally representative of those that ensued from the survey.

The twelve interviewees all hold at least a high school diploma (eleven of which are from the U.S.A.) and ten of them hold a college degree, some of which

are graduate degrees, which allow them to hold professions, which require higher degrees. Regardless, of their degree of education, the value of education is something that all agree with and that all agree has increased through the generations. In addition, interviewees and their families have often seen education as not only an opportunity but also as a way of self-improvement and advancement.

Another common consensus amongst interviewees is the language factor, language is seen as an crucial part of immigration, of adaptation and of aculturation. With the exception of Sr. Fernando, whose English is excellent but he is noticeably not a native speaker, all interviewees speak English at a native level and see English as the main language of their everyday activities. Even though they may not all be fluent in Portuguese, especially not across all four skills, Portuguese is the language of their heritage, of their roots, of their family. In fact, some regret not speaking it more or having learned it better as children. Yet, the value of the language is ingrained in these individuals and is part of their identity and their culture. With the exception of Liz and Sr. Fernando, all of the interviewees recall their L1 as either being Portuguese or a mixture of Portuguese and English. Regardless, all remember going through a period of code-switching, which was seen as normal. Additionally, all including Liz and Sr. Fernando, still to this day use code-switching when speaking amongst Portuguese-Americans or Luso-American, as some may say. Second language acquisition for the most part meant learning Portuguese, either through Portuguese school if one was available or if there was the possibility to enroll in one or learning the language at home with family, mostly parents and grandparents. Once again, especially in the cases of Liz and Sr. Fernando, who were later arrivals, L2 or the acquisition of English meant for Liz formal ESL classes and for Sr. Fernando the help of family and friends. The question remains whether the Portuguese language will continue to be transmitted to future generations, since findings indicate that it often depends on the will of the individual or the family.

In terms of cultural identity the twelve interviewees are also mostly in agreement. All self-identify as Portuguese-Americans, although the difference amongst them is on how they perceive the definition of a Portuguese-American

and whether that definition entails having dual citizenship or not. Regardless, their Portuguese heritage, their roots and the link to their culture is what most often defines who they are. For the most part they are in fact, half Americans and half, if not only in their heart and in their blood, Portuguese. It is how they value their ancestors, how they value their traditions, their language, their family's home country, the music, the food and everything else that comes with it, that forms their identity.

As the results of the survey demonstrated, the results of the interview also show that not all interviewees are active in the Portuguese-American cultural activities, in the clubs and in the numerous *festas* (both religious and non-religious), although they respect these and may attend on occasion if possible. Nevertheless, their stories demonstrate a continuous effort on behalf of the Portuguese communities to hold events that not only serve to gather the Portuguese-American communities and celebrate their history and culture, but also to transmit their culture to younger generations who continue to willingly participate. Such cultural events include history, food, music, religion, art and various other cultural forms. However, some interviewees feel as though such cultural events could and should be modernized, in order to bring to their communities to Portugal of today and possibly attract a younger generation.

Findings indicate that the interviewees' experiences and those of their families have in fact had a personal, a societal and an educational impact on them. Personally, these experiences have shaped interviewees into the individuals they have become and the way they have learned to see and value the world around them. Inevitably, this has also had an impact on the society to which they belong, for it has influenced their life choices, both personal and professional, and the paths they have chosen to take. Finally, their experiences have also had an educational impact, especially on how they have learned to value education, both formal and informal. It has impacted their own education choices, as well as those of their children and grandchildren.

Finally, the findings of this study show that the interviewees keep various symbols of the Portuguese culture. For those who on the west coast of the United

States of America specifically, Rosemary, Alive and Daniel, travelling to Portugal does not occur very often but they too maintain their ties to the culture and language alive, by reverting to purchased Portuguese products, by participating in cultural activities, through their families or by keeping certain symbols of Portugal in their homes. For those on the east coast of the United States of America, travelling to Portugal does occur more often and thus, maintaining and reviving that cultural connect seems easier. Nevertheless, they too maintain the Portuguese culture and language alive, by frequenting Portuguese supermarkets (if available), by participating in cultural activities (when possible, either in Portugal or in the United States of America), through their families or by keeping certain symbols of Portugal in their homes.

Findings also lead our inference that interviewees believe future immigrants should seek Portuguese communities upon their arrival for an easier transition into their new world. However, they the advice given also stated that immigrants should not fearful of this new world and hence, enclose themselves within these communities. Most interviewees felt it was important for future immigrants to take chances and especially to learn the English language, even if not perfectly, it was important to speak it and to show and interest in learning it. They felt it was important too, for immigrants to acculturate, to adapt to and adopt the American culture, despite of making the effort to never let go of their own roots, their own heritage, their own language and their culture.

5.4 Conclusions

In the end, based on the data collected through the online survey and the results of the analysis of the text units in the interviews, being Portuguese-American, is being both Portuguese and American. There is no formal definition, although for some that requires having both, Portuguese parents and being born in American or an American citizenship, or a dual citizenship, while for others it simply means loving, respecting and feeling both of these cultures equally.

For the participants of the study who are mere representatives of the Portuguese-American population living in the United States, being Portuguese-American also means keeping the memory and the traditions of their ancestors alive, although not everyone keeps these memories and traditions alive in the same manner. Such identity also seems to evoke an enormous respect for the hardships, the courage and the work ethic of those who emigrated to the United States of America. The idea that an individual needs to work hard to succeed in order to justify the sacrifices of one's ancestors, is embedded in many of the participants, as if to thank them for the life they have been afforded.

According to the results which ensued from this study, based on the data obtained from the online survey and the semi-structured interviews, the descendants of the Portuguese immigrants, whether they are, second or third or consequent generation Americans, they most often identify as being Portuguese-American. However, they do so in different ways and despite their various levels of acquisition of and fluency in Portuguese. Most participants are bilingual, although they are not balanced bilinguals. According to the results the majority of the participants, Portuguese-Americans, especially the more recent generations, have high receptive language skills in Portuguese, meaning they can understand the language when spoken and some might even have the ability to read in Portuguese, although a low level ability. Nevertheless, their productive language skills in Portuguese seem to be low if non-existent. For most, the Portuguese language was learned first within the home, but its acquisition either stopped or dwindled once enrollment in an American school began. Those that have maintained some level of fluency in Portuguese have done so in order to speak with older relatives, such as grandparents or to be able to communicate when on vacation in Portugal.

Portuguese-Americans also seem to have strong representations of the languages they grew up hearing, Portuguese and English. They value the dominant language of the society they live in and recognize its intrinsic and its extrinsic values. Additionally, some have also learned to understand, speak, read and write Portuguese although for them the Portuguese language may not have an economic value. Most have learned the personal, intrinsic value of the Portuguese language

and make an effort to transmit the language and its value to the following generations. The question remains whether that will actually occur, for that only depends on the individual.

In my opinion, for the continuous preservation of the Portuguese language and culture amongst the descendants of Portuguese immigrants there needs to be more of an investment on behalf of the individuals but mostly on behalf of the government agencies which can create programs, both short term and long term. One possibility would be to create summer school programs for descendants of Portuguese immigrants, preferably fun, programs that would provide meaningful experiences while divulging and allowing for the practice of the language and the understanding of the culture of their ancestors. Depending on the age of the students, activities could include cooking classes, music classes, literary classes and fieldtrips. Online programs could also be created.

Furthermore, considering the current wave of immigrants to the United States such programs could strive to bring the American and the Portuguese worlds together. In fact, a suggestion often made by the interviewees themselves was that new immigrants should look to incorporate the American community and therefore, unlike the immigrants of the mid-twentieth century go out of their comfort zone, the comfort of the receiving Portuguese community and experience the host language and culture firsthand.

On the other hand, since many of the sending countries are interested in maintaining a relationship with its immigrants, often for financial reasons (the remittances), and Portugal is not an exception, it would be profitable to ensure that the descendants of immigrants maintain ties to Portugal and this could be done by once again, providing programs that would seek to encourage more contact with Portugal whether through business, cultural, educational or recreational ventures.

In conclusion, through my research it became evident that despite the generational gap, a significant number of the descendants of Portuguese immigrants living in the United States do feel to some extent, although not always

equally, both Portuguese and American. The Portuguese-American identity does, in my opinion run the risk of disappearing, for the newer generations may not always be able to transmit the language and the culture to their offspring. If this trend continues, one day in the future it will only remain as a dual identity that pertains to ancestral background and it will cease to exist as a linguistic and cultural identity.

5.5 Implications for Educational Practice

The implications of this study on education may suggest further work in the teaching of PLE in the Portuguese-American communities, possibly as summer school options or as summer exchange programs for older students and even adults. These are areas in which both universities and high schools could get involved in, in order to provide and arrange student and teacher exchange language and cultural programs. I believe these kinds of programs would be beneficial for schools on both sides of the Atlantic, for they would encourage the learning of both English and Portuguese as foreign languages, as well as their respective cultures.

In addition, it would be interesting to explore the possibility of having the Portuguese government or the State Education Boards of at least the states with the highest number of Portuguese descendants to offer or jointly offer, Portuguese as a foreign language classes, just like Italian, French or Spanish has been offered for many years.

After all, as a nation, we all have the duty to promote our emigrants affective and cultural links to our language and culture, particularly when we know that the accommodation of their two cultures is an essential part of the building of our emigrants' identity.

5.6 Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Future Research

The first limitation of this study, I believe had to do with my own inexperience. I feel as though I may have set out to do too much in the amount of time allotted, especially since during this research my time was divided between the study and my own professional work. Thus, in some way I feel that the first limitation of this study, my a lack of time, was a consequence of my inexperience. I would have liked to have additional time for continuous research and further analysis of the data collected, including the expansion of the number of participants in both phases of the data collection. Nevertheless, and although I am aware that that is possibly the dream of any researcher, I feel more time could have help me to further develop this study.

The second limitation of this study includes the fact that the study looked at a specific population from afar. It is my opinion that the study would have greatly benefited from direct contact with the participants of the study and from the direct observation of the communities involved. First, it also lead, I believe to greater collection of data. Secondly, it would allow me to observe the culture first-hand, which I believe would have enhanced my understanding of the communities, as well as the identity of its individuals and therefore contributed to a more detailed study. Additionally, it would of allowed for a different, more internal perspective, instead of an outsider perspective.

A third limitation was not having made the survey also available in Portuguese. I believe that would have opened up the survey to additional population. Initially, I thought about and then did not do so for I assumed everyone who had emigrated would have develop some degree of fluency in English. I was wrong. Today, I would do it differently.

Consequently, future research on identity may want to focus on specific Portuguese-American communities, to allow for a comparison due to their different origins. It would also be worthwhile and interesting to further study specific age groups or specific genders, as their experiences would certainly tell different tales, for results indicate that their experiences were in fact different for a

number of reasons. Research comparing the different celebrations that occur throughout the communities could also be pondered, in order to understand how these aid in carrying out the traditions the Portuguese-American culture and if in fact, they transmit a culture that is outdated.

In addition, respondents also suggested the following topics for further study, How Portuguese work as a community? and How the Portuguese deal with the American community?

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APPENDIX A - RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS – SURVEY

Portuguese-American Identity

1. Welcome to the Portuguese-American Identity Survey

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your interest in this research project. The purpose of this survey is to gather data for my doctoral research project entitled, *Developing and transmitting a Portuguese-American identity*.

All of the data collected will remain strictly confidential and will be used solely for the purposes of this research. Your write-in answers and your answers to open-ended questions may be used verbatim in presentations and publications but you will not be identified, whether directly or indirectly, as the source of the quote. Since the questionnaire is completed via Survey Monkey and this website is hosted in the United States, it is subject to the USA Privacy Act.

If you wish to participate in this study, please click on the word "next" located at the bottom of your screen. The survey should take you approximately 5 minutes to complete. Once you have completed the survey, please click "done" at the end.

Should you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact me by phone at (351) 91 21 22 008 or by email at neuzacosta@mac.com. Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Neuza Costa

Department of Arts and Humanities Faculty of Human and Social Sciences
University of the Algarve, Campus de Gambelas

8005 Faro

Email: neuzacosta@mac.com Telephone: (351) 91 21 22 008

Portuguese-American Identity

2. Identification - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 1. What is your gender?

- Female
- Male

* 2. What is your age?

* 3. On which continent were your grandparents born?

* 4. On which continent were you born?

* 5. What is your nationality?

- American
- Portuguese
- Dual: Portuguese-American
- Another country (please specify)

* 6. In which state or U.S. territory do you live?

Portuguese-American Identity

3. Immigration - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 7. Where in Portugal do you or your ancestors come from?

- Mainland Portugal
- The Azores
- Madeira
- I do not know.
- Other (please specify)

* 8. Who was/were the first of your ancestors to immigrate to the United States?

- Me
- My parents
- My grandparents
- I do not know.
- Other (please specify)

* 9. When did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States?

- Before 1950
- Between 1950 and 1960
- Between 1961 and 1970
- Between 1971 and 1980
- Between 1981 and 1990
- Between 1991 and 2000
- Between 2001 and 2010
- Between 2011 and 2014
- I do not know.
- Other (please specify)

* 10. Why did you or your ancestors immigrate to the United States? Please check all that apply.

- Economic
- Work
- Family
- Politics
- Religion
- I do not know.
- Other (please specify)

Portuguese-American Identity

4. Education - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 11. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

(Drop down menu was used.)

* 12. Where did you attend school?

- Portugal
- the U.S.
- Both Portugal and the U.S.
- Other (please specify)

* 13. Which of the following best describe your job function?

- Accounting
- Administrative
- Advertising / Marketing
- Analyst
- Art/Creative/Design
- Business Development
- Consulting
- Construction
- Customer Service
- Distribution
- Health Care Provider (Doctor)
- Health Care Provider (Nurse)
- Health Care Provider (Other)
- Education
- Engineering
- Finance
- General Business
- Housekeeping
- Human Resources
- Information Technology
- Legal
- Management
- Manufacturing
- Production
- Product Management
- Project Management
- Public Relations
- Purchasing
- Quality Assurance
- Research
- Sales
- Science
- Strategy/Planning
- Supply Chain
- Training
- Writing / Editing
- I am currently not employed
- Other (please specify)

5. Language - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 14. What language(s) was/were primarily spoken in your childhood home?

* 15. In what language do you speak most often?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 16. In what language do you speak most fluently?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 17. In what language do you read most often?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 18. In what language do you read most fluently?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 19. In what language do you write most often?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 20. In what language do you write most fluently?

- English
- Portuguese
- Other (please specify)

* 21. How would you rate your proficiency level in Portuguese in the following areas?

	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	Not sure / Not applicable
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening (understand when it is spoken)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 22. How would you rate your proficiency level in English in the following areas?

	Poor	Fair	Good	Excellent	Not sure / Not applicable
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening (understand when it is spoken)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 23. What language(s) do you speak:

	Portuguese	English	Both Portuguese and English	Not applicable
at home?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
at school?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
at work?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with your children?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with your parents?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with your grandparents?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
with friends?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 24. How frequently do you use Portuguese to:

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
read a newspaper magazine?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
read a book?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

go online?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
watch television?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
listen to music?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
write an email / letter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
post online (e.g., Facebook, Twitter)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 25. How frequently do you use English to:

	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
read a newspaper / magazine?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
read a book?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
go online?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
watch television?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
listen to music?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
write an email / letter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
post online (e.g., Facebook, Twitter)?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Portuguese-American Identity

6. Identity - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 26. How would you define your cultural origin?

- Portuguese
- American
- Portuguese-American
- Other (please specify)

27. How important is your cultural identity to you? Please indicate on the scale below.

Extremely important	Very important	Moderately important	Slightly important	Not at all important
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 28. Evaluate the following statements about your cultural identity.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
I feel I am more Portuguese than American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I am more American than Portuguese.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel I am somewhat in the middle, I am equally Portuguese-American.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am not sure, the way I feel changes depending on where I am.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 29. Please use the space below to write the three words that first come to mind when you think of what it means to be Portuguese.

* 30. Please use the space below to write the three words that first come to mind when you think of what it means to be American.

* 31. How often do you participate in activities in the Portuguese-American community?

**Extremely
often**

Very often

**Moderately
often**

Slightly often

**Not at all
often**

Portuguese-American Identity

7. Connection to Portugal, its language and its culture. - Please choose the appropriate answer.

* 32. How often do you travel to Portugal?

- Always Very often Sometimes Almost never Never
-

* 33. Why do you travel to Portugal? Please check all that apply.

- I want to see my family.
- I want to see my friends.
- I want to learn about the place where my ancestors came from.
- I want to study the language and/or culture of my ancestors.
- I never travel to Portugal.
- Other (please specify)

* 34. Answer the following questions by choosing *YES* or *NO*.

- | | Yes | No |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Do you have friends in Portugal? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you go to Portuguese bars / restaurants? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you like Portuguese food? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you have family in Portugal? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you belong to a Portuguese-American club / association? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you have a Portuguese channel subscription? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |
| Do you know any Portuguese people outside of your family? | <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> |

Portuguese-American Identity

8. Thank you for participating in this survey!

* 35. Would you be interested in being contacted for a one-on-one interview to talk further about the issues addressed in this survey?

Yes

No

36. If your answer was yes to the previous question, please enter your contact information in the space below (email, phone number or SKYPE contact).

37. Is there anything you would like to add about the issues touched on in this survey? Please feel free to write as much as you would like.

APPENDIX B - RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS – INTERVIEW GUIDE

Introduction:

Good morning / good afternoon. As you already know, my name is Neuza Costa and I am doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering to participate in the interview phase of this study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you some additional questions about being Portuguese-American. I would like to record our conversation today so that later on I can re-listen to our conversation and make sure that I am not missing any important information in my notes. Do I have your permission to do that? Your name will be changed, to ensure confidentiality, unless you would prefer me to use your real name. May we start?

Part I: Identification of respondent and family immigration history

- 1) Please introduce yourself (age, place of birth, place of residence, what you do).
- 2) Who in your family was the first to immigrate to the US? When was that?
- 3) What was that like? **or** What stories have you heard about when they emigrated or about what it was like for the upon arrival?

Part II: Language and education

- 4) At what age did you learn Portuguese? English? How would you describe that process?
- 5) Did you attend Portuguese school? Why or why not?
- 6) Did your children? Why or why not?
- 7) Did you or anyone you know act as a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American culture? Tell me about what that was like for you.
- 8) In what contexts do you use English? In what contexts do you use Portuguese?
- 9) In your opinion, what is the value of Portuguese and English (i.e., cultural, economic, personal)?
- 10) How would you compare the value you give to education to that which your parents and/or grandparents gave?

Part III: Cultural identity

- 11) In my survey, I asked respondents about culture. In your opinion what defines the concept of culture? What are some examples of Portuguese culture / of American culture?
- 12) In your opinion, what does it mean to be Portuguese-American?
- 13) What would you say makes a person Portuguese-American?
- 14) In your opinion, does this "label" ever change depending on where you are or whom you are with?

Part IV: Cultural Transmission

- 15) Growing up in America, what was it like to be the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant? How would you describe your upbringing, as Portuguese or as American?

- 16) Can you describe the community in which you grew up (was it a community of mostly other Portuguese immigrants or mostly Americans)? How did you feel within the community (outsider/insider)? Why or why not? What, if any, were the challenges of living between the two cultures (i.e. in school, in the community)?
- 17) What was the Portuguese-American household like? How would you say it has changed?
- 18) In what ways were you taught about being Portuguese or American?
- 19) Do you now or did you ever participate in a Portuguese Club or in “festas”? Why? Why not?
- 20) How about the younger generations, how is the Portuguese language and culture being transmitted to the younger generations?
- 21) How would you want your children to view themselves (i.e., Portuguese-Americans, Americans, Portuguese)? Why?

Part V: Society and education

- 22) How did being an immigrant affect or change you?
- 23) How did growing up being Portuguese-American make you the person you are today?
- 24) If you could give any advice to new Portuguese immigrants and their families, what would it be?
- 25) If you could go back in time, what would you change?

Part VI: Final comments and a thank you.

- 26) That covers the things I wanted to ask. Anything you care to add?
- 27) What should I have asked you that I didn't think to ask?

APPENDIX C - INTERVIEW DATA TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following pages contain the partial transcription of twelve interviews conducted during the summer months of 2015 via various technological calling means including: the telephone, Skype, Gmail telephone, Viber and Facetime and recorded on an iPhone. All interviews were transcribed in the order in which they were done which solely depended on participants' personal schedules and their willingness to participate, for which I am extremely grateful.

The transcription of each interview is preceded by information containing the file name including the name of the participant being interviewed, his/her State of residence and the length of the interview. In the transcription of the interviews a question mark within parenthesis (?) was at times used to indicate that a word was written but there were doubts as to whether that was the actual word said, due to a number of possible reasons: poor audio quality, poor internet connection, background noise or simply difficulty in deciphering what was being said at the moment. The ellipsis (...) was also used in the transcription to indicate an interruption of speech by one of the participants (interviewer / interviewee) or an unfinished thought. Overall each interview was listened to a number of times to ensure that participants' words were written as correctly as possible, however there still may be the occasional misunderstood word due to a sound issue, for which I apologize. Furthermore, the reader may at times find a colloquial use of grammar and everyday language, which was intentionally not corrected or omitted, for I felt it added veracity to the stories collected. I also debated whether or not to eliminate some more personal interactions between the participants and myself but in the end decided to leave those in as they too often revealed interesting information.

Thank you all so very much.

Interview #1

File name:	Maria C., New York
Length of interview:	00:48:08

Interviewer: Good afternoon!

Interviewee: Good afternoon!

Interviewer: Thank you first of all for agreeing to do this with me today. As you know my name is Neuza Costa and I am doing a study about Portuguese Americans. Today with your permission I would like to ask you some additional questions about being Portuguese-American, what that means and what that entails. If possible, I would like to record our conversation so that later on I can re-listen to our conversation and make sure that I am not missing any important information in my notes.

Interviewee: Sure.

Interviewer: Is it okay to record it?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Interviewee: You're welcome!

Interviewer: First, can you please introduce yourself? Can you tell me your age, where you were born, place of residence, what you do, just a little bit about you, basically.

Interviewee: I was born in Mineola, New York. I am 45. I am currently a contractor. I have a background in financial services and I currently help companies build project teams, specifically projects that involve technology and on the side I also am a yoga teacher and a meditation teacher and that's what I am currently doing. Did I miss anything?

Interviewer: No, I think we got that all. Who in your family was the first to immigrate to the U.S.?

Interviewee: My dad was the first to immigrate and on his side of the family an uncle immigrated in the 1940s. So a great uncle came in the 1940s and my dad came to the States in the 1960s.

Interviewer: Did he come alone at that time?

Interviewee: He came with his brother and his parents came as well or they were already here. I am not exactly sure in terms of the order. But when he came, he came to meet up with his brother.

Interviewer: Do you know what that was like for him, initially? Have you ever heard any stories? Or, you know about the actual process or once they got there?

Interviewee: The stories that I heard was that it was a really good opportunity because before they came here, they meaning actually both of my parents, before they came to the States, they actually were immigrants in Venezuela, and so he had heard that the opportunities were better in the United States and so he had an uncle that back then, like what I always heard him say was that *fez a chamada*, I guess they had filled out proper paperwork for him to come here legally, and that's how he came. And he lived at home with his parents, and an aunt and uncle, like they all shared, like I think it was a two family home and he started working for a construction company and it wasn't difficult for him because the construction company was owned by a Portuguese man, and so, even though his English was limited he was able to get by during the work day because his bosses spoke Portuguese and the men that he worked with were Portuguese also.

Interviewer: Do you know? I am sorry I must have missed it, when did your mom come?

Interviewee: So, my dad came in 1967 and my mom came in 1969.

Interviewer: And your grandparents came with your dad also?

Interviewee: Yeah, my paternal grandparents, actually no, that is a good question I have to actually ask, yeah, yeah they did come in the 1960s as well and then my maternal grandparents came in the 70s.

Interviewer: Okay, so everyone ended up going?

Interviewee: Uh-huh.

Interviewer: And they all went via Venezuela?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: That is pretty cool. Was there, you were talking about how it was easier for your dad because he worked for a Portuguese construction company, did your mom ever talk about how it was for her? Do you think it was the same?

Interviewee: I think it was the same too because the community was becoming a Portuguese community although, you know, in the 1960s and the 1970s there weren't as many Portuguese in Mineola as there are today but she also worked

with a group of people that were Portuguese, so she worked at a factory, at great Neck Saw. Her supervisor was Portuguese so yeah you know she was able to communicate. Yeah, that was great for her but like the down side of it was that she was never really forced to learn English so now you know, almost like forty plus years, forty-eight, forty-nine years here in the States she doesn't speak English because she was always surrounded by people who did.

Interviewer: Does she speak some? Can she?

Interviewee: No, my dad can speak some, my mom really nothing.

Interviewer: So then when you were born, at what age, did you learn, I guess then, you learned Portuguese first?

Interviewee: Yeah, my first language was Portuguese. I have a neighbor, actually, his grandparents lived next door, and so we always referred to them as our American grandparents, cause they were the ones that introduced us to like apple pie and stuff that was American and he now lives there and he says to me all the time, 'I remember when I met you, the only words you knew in English was yes, you said yes to everything.' But I learned English, you know from watching Sesame Street, watching TV. You know, I went to kindergarten maybe not speaking English like, perfectly but I do remember like, picking it up very quickly and I don't know if it's a thing of my imagination but I kind of remember like one day all of a sudden being able to speak English, and maybe that is how it works. You know, as a kid when you are constantly being exposed to that language...

Interviewer: Yes, there is a period which they call the silent period in which your just sort of accumulating all this English or all this language and all of a sudden you sort of start spewing it out.

Interviewee: Yeah, I definitely feel that that was my experience so you know but then as a kid where I, Portuguese was my primary language, you know going into school I always felt very self-conscious of my ability to speak English so I became very shy and afraid to speak sometimes but ...

Interviewer: How long do you think that lasted for? Do you know?

Interviewee: Like, you know, I remember like, maybe a year because then in first grade I was placed in a first grade class Mrs. Cherry or Ms. Cherry, I think was her name and she, I think I was more advanced than the other kids in that class cause there also were other Portuguese speaking kids in the class because I do

remember in first grade every afternoon going to Mrs. Abanarby's (unsure of spelling) class because I guess, I was bored and I needed to be more stimulated so I would go to this other class where there were no Portuguese kids, like everyone was, you know speaking English and I never really had to do ESL. I think it maybe lasted a year.

Interviewer: Did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I did.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: So I went to Portuguese school, in I think the fourth grade, I think is when I went to Portuguese school so you know when I was nine years old I started Portuguese school which was twice a week, so Tuesdays and Thursdays for two-and-a-half hours. So in addition to American school we had Portuguese school, which I hated and complained all the time. I am really grateful that I did.

Interviewer: First of all, why did your parents feel the need to put you in Portuguese school?

Interviewee: They wanted to make sure that, you know, my brother and I learned Portuguese, learned how to write in Portuguese, learned how to read in Portuguese, learned about the culture and the history maybe because there was only so much that they could teach us and then they also knew that going to American school, like their fear was that our language would be predominantly English and we wouldn't connect to the Portuguese culture.

Interviewer: Sure. But at home did you speak mostly Portuguese?

Interviewee: It was all, Portuguese. My brother and I would speak in English so that our parents wouldn't understand what we were saying, well mostly my mom. But yeah, we spoke in Portuguese and there was a period when my grandparents lived with us so it was Portuguese at home and then you know, English outside of the home or with my brother or my cousins.

Interviewer: Why did you hate Portuguese school?

Interviewee: Because I felt like, like, you know, why do I have to go to Portuguese school? I live in America and now I have like, American homework and Portuguese school homework and you know, or maybe it was just the kid thing to hate it because at the end of the day, now that I look back at it, I actually really had fun going to Portuguese school because the other kids made it fun.

There was this one kid that always made us laugh, you know, we would do things behind the teachers' back.

Interviewer: Was there ever this idea that you were somehow more similar to other children when you were there rather than when you were at American school?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Was there a difference?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean growing up as a Portuguese-American there was definitely a difference, you know like in the American school, even though I was American and I was born here I was still labeled as the Portuguese girl you know because of the Portuguese last name and of course my first name being very Portuguese too. So when being in the Portuguese school you kind of did feel like in chip with the other kids because they were like me, they were Portuguese and American. So you definitely do establish some special bond in that way.

Interviewer: Some of the respondents for the survey, talked about being kind of a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American community. Did that ever happen to you?

Interviewee: Oh my gosh, it even happened within my house! Like, I remember at a very young age, like eight or nine-years-old calling my dad's insurance company to talk about like, medical insurance issues. You know at that age, a young age too, being the liaison between my parents and the English speaking world. Like calling doctors and making appointments. It's weird now looking back at that. That I was able to do that at that age but you know. Definitely! Or even just within the community being a liaison.

Interviewer: How so, in the community?

Interviewee: So, you're in the supermarket, you know like, I worked as a cashier and then being in the supermarket and some Portuguese immigrant not being able to communicate their needs, I would come in and be the interpreter and help him that way. Did I answer your question?

Interviewer: Yes, it did. What was that like for you though, working, I don't know if you can say you had this responsibility to liaison between, both at home and outside of the house?

Interviewee: You know, like, it was never an inconvenience for me, I, it always feels good to help so, you know. I mean think as a teenager it became a little

more frustrating within the home. Like, why can't you do this? I have been doing this and even now, in my forties, it is what it is. So, I never harbored any ill feelings, really about it.

Interviewer: Did your brother also have to do this?

Interviewee: Yeah, he did, but I think as the oldest, I was always the one that kind of just took ownership of it. It's different now that we are older, he definitely is more involved in these sort of things but as a kid it was me really, he never did it, now that I look back at it.

Interviewer: So, in retrospect, now in what contexts do you use English and then when do you use Portuguese?

Interviewee: Well, I use English the majority of my time here because my job requires English. I speak Portuguese with my family members, so with my mom, my dad, my aunts and uncles. I have friends in Portugal that I keep in touch with and I love speaking in Portuguese with them because it is a way for me to practice. I like sending them messages too because it is a way for me to practice my written Portuguese. So I don't use Portuguese as often as I'd like and a lot of times I do say to my mom, 'Oh my gosh my Portuguese is so bad, I need to go spend some time in Portugal to (laughs) improve it.' When I do feel nostalgic, of speaking Portuguese because I do love the language and I do love the culture, now, I mean there was a period in my life when I shunned it, I watch *SIC notícias* online. I am going to probably get SIC TV now on cable so just that I can keep up with it more.

Interviewer: What do you mean by 'at some point you shunned it'?

Interviewee: So in my late teens I didn't want anything to do with Portugal or the Portuguese culture or the Portuguese people in general.

Interviewer: Why not?

Interviewee: Not that I was like mean to them, like I just felt like they were always in my business and they were judging me for not being Portuguese enough or that I didn't like Portuguese people, and that wasn't true. And so, it just turned me off. And so I, spent like, over 11 years I didn't go to Portugal I just didn't want anything to do with that, I just got turned off by the culture.

Interviewer: The local culture of the other Portuguese-Americans?

Interviewee: Definitely, the local culture, the Portuguese-American local culture, which I feel is very different from than the Portuguese culture in

Portugal. I feel that the Portuguese immigrant culture, you know, they are very judgey, they compare and they are very gossipy and I don't give a shit about your life so, stop budding into my life. And you know back then, at that age, it was something that bothered me, now, I don't care. If they are interested in my life, it must seem that my life seems interesting to them so...

Interviewer: In your opinion, is there, what is the value of Portuguese and English, for example, cultural versus economic versus personal? Do you think both languages or either one of those languages have a specific value?

Interviewee: I think they both have a value and I think the value of being exposed to multiple languages is I feel that you seem to connect with the culture at a deeper level. So, for example like speaking Portuguese helps me understand the culture better, you know there is no word in English for *saudade*, I know that's always used as an example but it is such a good example.

Interviewer: It is.

Interviewee: And, when you speak the language and you are exposed to the language like it just feels like you live the life there more richly because you speak the language, you understand the culture and the same about English. You know, I love being an American too and there're certain things in the English language too that if you grow up in this culture, there is certain things in the language and I am trying to think of an example you know that really that really connects you with the culture, you know and maybe it is the slang knowing the American slang really helps you to connect more versus just learning English across the pond. I don't know if that makes sense.

Interviewer: No, it does. Looking back at education and taking into account the fact that we spoke a little bit about the whole school situation both American versus the Portuguese school scenario. How would you compare the value you give to education to that which your parents and your grandparents gave? Do you think that there is a difference?

Interviewee: I don't think there is a difference because I grew up in a family, or with a dad and my mom too definitely was always on the same page as him, my dad wasn't given the opportunity to have the education that he wanted us to have so at a very young age, you know, like at five, my dad was already talking about us going to college and so we grew up in an environment where education was

always really very important and having grown up like that like I am a life-long learner. I am always learning something new. So, am I answering your question?

Interviewer: Yeah, you are.

Interviewee: Yeah so...

Interviewer: Do you think it was as important for your grandparents?

Interviewee: I don't think it was as important for my grandparents in terms of their kids. Like for my grandparents, I think the important thing was getting a job. You know, so my dad started working when he was twelve to help support the family because they were poor, they grew up poor, which is why my dad left Portugal at the age of fifteen and went to Venezuela and my mom left Portugal around the same time too. So you know, for my grandparents the important thing was survival, getting a job, and making money and putting food on the table, and then for my parents, it was like, yeah, getting a job is important but you know getting an education is really important to getting a job, where you know my kids won't have to sweat out in the hot sun, and you know, they can do something that is a little more easier although I don't know if the corporate world is easier because when you are working with your brain but definitely you have more opportunities when you have an education.

Interviewer: Of course. We also talked about the idea of culture. In your opinion what defines this concept of culture? What would you say is culture?

Interviewee: So culture is, if I had to define culture in terms of my experience, it's a community that has shared values and so you could actually even create a culture within your own community with people of shared values, but so then there is the bigger concept of culture when there is even a bigger group of people with shared values. So, the Portuguese culture the shared values are you know, the closeness of family, the importance of food, that you know anytime you bring people together in the Portuguese culture the main center of attraction is food. Is there enough of it? You know, where maybe the American culture would be more like is the keg, the hot dogs and the burgers on the grill? And yeah, the Portuguese is a little bit different that way. So yeah, the shared values it's family, it's beat, it's music, it's ...

Interviewer: Can you think of any other specific examples of Portuguese culture and of American culture?

Interview # 2

File name:	Sandra E., New York
Length of interview:	00:56:45

Interviewer: Good morning Sandra or good afternoon actually. Well, it's good morning to you right?

Interviewee: Right, good afternoon for you!

Interviewer: Exactly! So, my name is Neuza Costa, as you know. I am doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. So first of all, thank you for agreeing to do this interview. Today, if possible and with your permission, I would like to ask you some additional questions about being Portuguese-American, what it was like growing up, just to get a feel from you. If it's okay, I would like to record our conversation today so that later on I can re-listen and make some notes and make sure I am not missing any important information. Is it okay, if I do that?

Interviewee: Yes, that is fine. Recording is fine.

Interviewer: If I use any quotes from this interview, would you prefer for me not to use your name?

Interviewee: It doesn't make a difference, you can use my name. It's fine.

Interviewer: Thanks Sandra. Alright, so can we start? In this first part of the interview, I usually just ask you some questions about your basic background and the immigration history of your family. So, can you just start by telling me about yourself: age, where you were born, where you live, what you do? Things like that, if you don't mind.

Interviewee: Sure. I am twenty-eight years old, I will be twenty-nine in the fall. I was born in Mineola, New York, but I grew up in Port Washington. And, I'm currently a teacher. I'm an English as a second language teacher, in a local, in a public elementary school, on Long Island, New York.

Interviewer: And, who was the first in your family to immigrate to the US, do you know that?

Interviewee: On my mother's side her grandfather, so my great-grandfather brought, he came to the country and then later on called over some of his family like his daughters and that's how my mother ended up coming to the country. It's that her grandfather had established himself here and then called

over his daughter, and, which was my grandmother and called them over. On my father's side of the family, his aunts had moved to New York and shortly after, through his aunts, he was able to come over with his parents.

Interviewer: Do you know a round about date for your great-grandfather?

Interviewee: For my father it was in 1980, that he came to the country. So my father was twenty-one, in 1980 and that's when he arrived. And then my mother came, much younger, she was three-years-old. So she came in 1967, 1968.

Interviewer: So your grandfather came, no your great-grandfather came before that, right?

Interviewee: Yes, but I don't know the year he came. He went back and forth a lot. He didn't, I don't know the year that he established himself here. He traveled back and forth. He didn't really maintain a permanent residency.

Interviewer: And that was your great-grandfather or your grandfather?

Interviewee: My great-grandfather. So I think it was around the 60s that he had enough of a permanent residency that he was able to call over his children. Because my mother grew up, she came when she was about three-years-old to the country, so she grew up here, although she was not born here.

Interviewer: No, I think in my family we have a similar situation, where there was a great-grandfather who kept going back and forth but this was, I think in the early, it was at the turn of the century. I am not sure if it was a great-grandfather or a great-great-grandfather, there are different stories, and then my grandparents eventually went and settled but yeah, some people went back and forth for a while. It was different I guess, pretty amazing that they were doing that back then.

Interviewee: I know. I am pretty sure it was around the 1960s because by 1967 my mother was here.

Interviewer: Have you ever heard any stories of what it was like for them upon arrival, either for your dad or your mom, or for your grandparents even?

Interviewee: Yeah, for my dad, he was older so he has more vivid memories and it was more difficult for him, not knowing the language and having to acclimate himself to the differences here. So he, I know, connected with someone who had a painting business and he began working for them and through his experiences in work, he was able to learn the language and save money and he has always spoken about how hard he worked, that it was just non-stop. Always taking on

whatever jobs he could. So he didn't really have too much free time, he didn't have friends. It was more about focusing on saving money and eventually he started his own painting business.

Interviewer: When he came, the people he was working with were also Portuguese?

Interviewee: I am not sure, I think that the owner of the company might have been but I don't know if his other employees were. He only worked with them about a year or two before starting his own company. So he wasn't with them, he says like, he was only with them long enough to know what do to and then he started his own company.

Interviewer: That's intelligent.

Interviewee: Sure, but for my mother. She doesn't remember, what it was like when they first came. They lived in Brooklyn when they first arrived and I know for my grandparents it was very strange to go from living in like the country to now living in Brooklyn. That was a very, a strange environment.

Interviewer: Do you know why they went to Brooklyn?

Interviewee: Because that's where my great-grandfather, he had I think it was a two-family. It was some kind of a duplex they were living in. So, I think he lived upstairs and then his, so his daughter, my grandmother, moved in with her family on the lower level. I remember from stories that they all lived in the same house. And not too long after, like maybe my mom lived in Brooklyn for like two years because she started school in Mineola. So they lived in Brooklyn for about two years and then eventually bought a house in Mineola. But my mom growing up always shared stories how her father worked two jobs, he was a contractor by day and then by night, they would go around Mineola, cleaning banks. And my grandparents brought their three daughters with them to help with the night job, the night cleaning. So my mother remembers her dad putting her on her shoulders, because they had to walk everywhere, they didn't have a car and bringing the little ones with them to the banks and the offices to do the nighttime cleaning. So, she has a lot of memories of going with her parents to different jobs. They didn't have daycare. They didn't have a car, so there was a lot of struggling to earn money and being able to make a living in the country.

Interviewer: But, outside of that, did your grandparents ever tell you any other stories? Or, besides being strange and this idea of the change from the countryside to ...

Interviewee: They haven't. They haven't really talked about it. I, you know, it's not something that they really talked about. Outside of like, the idea of working hard and making money I haven't heard stories. Like, I haven't heard personal stories about that, even from my parents, it was more about the struggle like, 'we worked hard.'

Interviewer: It seems to be a recurring theme that you know, we hear about the work. The workload and the hardship of it but not about any other stories per se.

Interviewee: Yeah, I know, in Mineola, they have a strong Portuguese community that was already there when my parents came. So there was a, I know my parents were able, through the Portuguese club, the Portuguese-American society there, they were able to connect with other people and I think that did help to ease the transition, they had people already here who were established that they could talk to and ask questions, so they didn't. Yeah, but they never shared little anecdotes or stories. I can't think of any that they've told me.

Interviewer: Do your grandparents speak English? Did they learn?

Interviewee: Like, they, my mother's parents, they have been here longer. They understand pretty much anything. They can only communicate with some phrases or some words here and there. My father's parents never really learned English.

Interviewer: But they came later, right?

Interviewee: They came later, so they came in the 1980s as opposed to the late 60s.

Interviewer: And your father learned?

Interviewee: Yes, both, yeah my father speaks English fluently now.

Interviewer: Well, let's move forward and go towards the language and education issues. So what language did you learn first? Portuguese or English?

Interviewee: Portuguese. I learned Portuguese first.

Interviewer: And then how did you acquire the English language?

Interviewee: I started when I was like, four, about four. My parents started, like I was also picking it up with other, you know, just being in the country and

watching TV, I know I picked up some. I picked up enough so that when I went to kindergarten I was fine.

Interviewer: Did you have to go through ESL?

Interviewee: No. I spoke. By the time I was ready to go to school I was using English more and more. So, I don't know if I, even though I, my parents spoke Portuguese at home first and that was like the first language I was using. I learned English shortly after and honestly as I grew up I used Portuguese less and less. So that even today, I can have a conversation but I am not fluent in Portuguese.

Interviewer: But once you went into school, as you were saying before, your English was good enough to just go into the program?

Interviewee: It was fine. At that time as long as you knew your letters and your numbers and say your name and write your name, you were ready for kindergarten.

Interviewer: They didn't do one of those Home Language Surveys back then?

Interviewee: No, not for me. It wasn't. I also went to, I didn't go to public school, I went to catholic school and in catholic school there is no ESL anyway. So, they don't even bother with that. Whereas my cousins, when they went to the public school in Mineola they all were brought up for recommendation of ESL, none of them went to ESL but it was brought up as a possibility because of the language background. But, I am the only one in our family that went to catholic school so that's probably why, being in private school where there is no ESL it never came up.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you. Did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: No, I did not.

Interviewer: Why not?

Interviewee: So we lived in Port Washington, which is about like a twenty to twenty-five minute drive. The Portuguese school was in Mineola and it was at night. It was about nine o'clock, I remember being late, eight or nine o'clock at night and my mom and dad, I think it was inconvenient to drive to Mineola that late on a school night and then come back at like 10:30. So, they never signed me up.

Interviewer: But you learned Portuguese?

Interviewee: I did. I learned enough that I can have a conversation. I can understand mostly what I hear, and I can have a conversation with someone, but I am not fluent.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: I am definitely limited in my speaking ability.

Interviewer: Can you read and write?

Interviewee: I can read but I cannot, I can sort of write, I can write basic sentences.

Interviewer: Okay and you learned that on your own or with your parents?

Interviewee: No, it was pretty much on my own.

Interviewer: You don't have children do you?

Interviewee: No, not yet.

Interviewer: So, I can't ask you the next question. Growing up did you or anyone you know act as a liaison between the communities?

Interviewee: In Mineola my cousins, they were a part of the Portuguese-American society and they did a lot of, like my uncle coordinated events with the community. Like now they are hosting the Portugal Day. Now Mineola through the Portuguese-American society is hosting parades and carnivals that take place for the greater community and I know that my cousins, aunts and uncles have been involved with helping to organize that. My family has not really been involved in the same way. I think not living in Mineola really had an impact with how involved we were with the Portuguese community. Whereas my cousins, aunts and uncles who stayed are much more involved. And we have, we have a, I don't think he is a cousin. My mom grew up with Senator Jack Martins so she has a lot of people her age, her friends and her acquaintances, as they grew up here as Portuguese-American citizens, they became Portuguese-American liaisons of the community, political activists working towards being more involved in the community. And, I know people also worked in like as a translator for older relatives.

Interviewer: But you didn't have to do that either, did you?

Interviewee: Only sometimes with my grandmother. Like, my grandmother, my father's parents lived with us growing up so as I got older and I started going with her to the store or the doctor, if I went with her then I acted as a translator

for her. Especially going to the doctor. So, when I took her she needed everything translated.

Interviewer: Was that okay for you?

Interviewee: That was fine. That was not a problem. I was able to do that.

Interviewer: The next question is, in what context do you use English and in what context do you use Portuguese? Would you say you use Portuguese at all?

Interviewee: I use Portuguese when I am talking to my grandparents.

Interviewer: Only?

Interviewee: Yeah, so when I am speaking to any, a grandparent or a great-aunt or uncle I only speak Portuguese with them because they don't really communicate in English. But then for everything else in my life I use English.

Interviewer: Do you ever wish you had learned more?

Interviewee: Absolutely, I, especially when I can see the difference. When my cousins, when my first cousins, are speaking Portuguese, I can hear the difference in their accent, I can hear how much more fluent they are in speaking. Many of them did go to Portuguese school and I am definitely saddened by my own lack of ability. It doesn't come as easily to me as it does to them and we are the same age so it's a direct comparison, that we both are first generation, we both grew up in the 80s and the 90s and their language ability is much better than mine. So I do wish I had been able to study and learn the language. I've been looking and trying to do it on my own, but it is not as easy now as when I was a child.

Interviewer: Would you say that the two languages have different or similar values in term of cultural value, economic or personal? What is your opinion on that, the value of the languages, both English and Portuguese?

Interviewee: I think they both have their value. I know that here in America outside, if you are not living near a Portuguese community there may not be as much value to you being able to speak Portuguese. But I do find, that there is, that wherever you go in our country there is a large Spanish speaking population and I think here in America, if you know Portuguese then you can easily, more easily communicate with a variety of people and I think that it certainly has its value in making a person well rounded. I don't know if it will get you as far as the English would here but I think, if you remove yourself from America I think that both have their importance. Like, when I have traveled to other countries in

Europe, and I am using my Portuguese, there is a lot of respect for that, there's a lot of value in that and people I think with communicating as well, it shows, being able to especially have a little bit of both, I think people, especially outside of America view you with more respect when you are not just an American speaking English.

Interviewer: And, did you learn in the meantime any other languages?

Interviewee: Spanish. I studied Spanish in high school and college.

Interviewer: And do you use that?

Interviewee: I do, especially now as an ESL teacher, a lot of my students' parents only speak Spanish and so, I'll use the Spanish to communicate with them regarding their child's progress.

Interviewer: When you think about the value of education in general, do you think that the generations from your grandparents to your parents, do you think that they value education differently?

Interviewee: I think they do because they saw education as, they put education on a pedestal and viewed it as the key to success.

Interviewer: All of them?

Interviewee: Definitely my parents, my father's side of the family more so than my mother's. My father's side of the family viewed education as the most important thing we can do with our lives, you know if, my father had pushed, my dad has pushed my brother to go into medical school, my mother is finishing her doctorate and I'm in the middle of my doctorate. So he is very, focused on, that if you have an education, it will open doors for you in life. My mother's side of the family, they felt it was important but like a necessity, you have to do, you have to do this to get by in life but they didn't push you to go beyond the necessity. Especially for girls, my mom's side of the family, her parents didn't really feel like it was important for any of their daughter's to do education beyond high school. My mother is the only one who went to college, out of her three sisters, and it was only after she was married.

Interviewer: That's interesting. What are you doing your doctorate in?

Interviewee: I'm doing it in instructional leadership. So, it's like a general doctorate program in the education fields. So I'll be finishing my course work this year, and then I'll have to do this.

Interviewer: Then you'll be doing this. And your mom?

Interview #3

File name:	Andrea de C., Massachusetts
Length of interview:	00:45:11

Interviewer: I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans and first of all I would like to thank you for volunteering to do this.

Interviewee: You're welcome.

Interviewer: To participate in the interview process, and if it's possible, if it's okay with you today I would like to ask you some additional questions about being Portuguese-American and I would also like to record our conversation just so I can go back later on and check my notes, is that okay?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Also, if you want then once I write this up I can either change your name or keep it the same.

Interviewee: You can keep it the same, that's fine.

Interviewer: Yeah? Thank you. Alright so, can we start?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: First can you just tell me a little bit about yourself, what you do, where you live, if you were born there or elsewhere, your age?

Interviewee: So, I'm 42, well, 41? I'm 41.

Interviewer: I have the same problem. 41, 42, I'm not sure.

Interviewee: I'm 41. I'm a behavioral consultant for a psychiatric hospital here, I do school consulting, and I specialize in autism, and I was born here, I was born in Rhode Island, in Providence, but I live now in Westport, Massachusetts. I'm married, my husband is actually from Portugal, he's from Guimarães and we've been married for four years. I actually met him there when we were, I was doing a conference in the Azores on autism. And my parents moved here when they were, my mom was seventeen. My mom and dad grew up together in the Azores and they wrote back and forth while my dad was in the navy and then my mom went back there to marry him and they've lived here ever since.

Interviewer: So, hmm, let me, your mom was living in the States and your dad...

Interviewee: My mom moved here when she was seventeen, yeah.

Interviewer: And your dad was still back in the Azores?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: And your dad, obviously they're both from the Azores then?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: So who was the first in your family to go to the States? Was it your mom or was it her parents?

Interviewee: It was actually my grandmother's uncle. I believe he was the first of the immigrants. We had had, some of our grandfathers had come over and worked, and then went back, we actually found some of their, great grandfathers, I'm sorry, we found their names on some ship manifests so we knew that. But my grandmother's uncle was one of the first to come here, and then he called his nephews over, which was my grandfather and his brothers, and they brought their families over, so my mom came with her parents.

Interviewer: Do you know more or less when?

Interviewee: I don't. I know that my mom came here in the 60's but I think they came in the 50's. I think it was earlier than that.

Interviewer: Did you ever hear any stories about what it was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah, so they all worked in factories. So my aunt, my mom has a lot of brothers and sisters and we were very close growing up. So my dad, his brothers and sisters stayed in Portugal but when they came here they ranged from seven years old to twenty, twenty-something. So they had very different experiences. Obviously my uncle who was seven when he came, it was a little easier for him. However, he, you know, adapted to the culture a little bit easier. Whereas, my mom and her sisters started working earlier, they said there was a lot back then, there was some racism against Portuguese people. You know, they were made fun of, they were picked on a little bit and it was, I'm sure at a difficult age.

Interviewer: She was, you said she was about seventeen?

Interviewee: About seventeen yeah, she didn't come to school here though, they came and worked immediately. I guess that's just what they did. So, but they, they when they came here they came to a very highly populated Portuguese area. So my grandma never learned English until, she died four years ago and never knew English because we've always lived in a very populated Portuguese community and, didn't,

she didn't really need to, right, right, but my parents have since then become very Americanized. A little too much at times, I think.

Interviewer: Why do you say that?

Interviewee: Well, I say that because now that I'm married to my husband he tells me the history of Portugal and those kinds of things and I always say to my mom, 'How come you guys never taught us that?' You know, because and even the language that we spoke because my grandmother didn't speak English, so we learned to speak Portuguese, however, it wasn't very correct. They were learning to speak English at that time, so they didn't focus so much on the Portuguese.

Interviewer: They focused on the English.

Interviewee: Right, right, right.

Interviewer: Now, when did your father come over?

Interviewee: So my father was about twenty-four, twenty-three, and that was also in 70, I think it was 1970.

Interviewer: More or less the same, I guess a lot of people went over about that time.

Interviewee: Yes, the 70s, the time of Salazar.

Interviewer: Did your dad have the same kind of experience once he arrived?

Interviewee: So my dad is more of a jokester, so the stories he tells is more about the funny things that happened to him. You know, where he got really confused, going to the bathroom because it said 'woman he thought it was *homem*. Things of that nature. So his stories are much more lighthearted and he takes it all. He's a very friendly, you know, laidback man, so his stories are very, much more positive.

Interviewer: And how did your parents meet?

Interviewee: So they grew up together in the same street in the Azores.

Interviewer: Okay, now I was getting confused. Who's from Guimarães, your husband?

Interviewee: My husband is.

Interviewer: Okay, yes, and how did you two meet?

Interviewee: So I was doing a conference in the Azores and I had never been to the mainland, and I met him there, in the North, so...

Interviewer: That's pretty cool. So what was your first language, Portuguese or English?

Interviewee: It was Portuguese. Well it was English and Portuguese I guess. It was Portuguese with my grandmother, it was English with my parents, as we learned

English in school we taught them more English, so it was kind of a mix. I think though that I, we spoke mostly Portuguese when we were starting to speak and then the English started coming, especially at school. Then we just spoke English.

Interviewer: Yeah, did you, did you speak English already by the time you began, you started school, like first grade or kindergarten?

Interviewee: Hmm, yeah, yeah because we had cousins who weren't, my aunt had married some, some, their husbands weren't Portuguese so my cousins spoke English too, so we kind of learned.

Interviewer: That must have helped. Did you? How did you feel about using both languages so early on, do you recall that?

Interviewee: I don't remember it being, it was just normal to us, like I said it was such a big Portuguese community and our family was so big that that was our big community, that it was normal for all of us. I see that differently now with my nephews, where they're more embarrassed to speak Portuguese. I never felt that way. We never felt that way.

Interviewer: And at home, would you say it was more Portuguese than English?

Interviewee: Yeah, it was a mix. My grandmother lived with us so with her we only spoke Portuguese but with my parents it was Portuguese and English and to this day it's still that way. Half Portuguese, half English, you know.

Interviewer: You know it well. And with your siblings?

Interviewee: And some words that I thought were Portuguese that apparently are not.

Interviewer: Oh that's interesting. With your siblings, did you speak mostly in English or did you go back and forth?

Interviewee: In English, yeah, my brother was a year older and he, hmmm he spoke much more English and even now he doesn't speak as much Portuguese.

Interviewer: Somehow they're brothers.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: They tend to do it. Did you attend a Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I didn't. No.

Interviewer: Is there a reason or...

Interviewee: No, we just, again we went to Catholic school and that wasn't an option, it wasn't in a Portuguese community that we went to school so we didn't have in school or anything like that. And our church wasn't, when my parents moved to Riverside it was less of a Portuguese community when we started school so there

wasn't, our church wasn't even Portuguese, because I know that the church we were baptized at, they had a Portuguese school and all that but we didn't go.

Interviewer: But that was done through, in your area, because in some areas the Portuguese school is done through some sort of an association, a Portuguese club or something.

Interviewee: Yeah, it was done through *Casa dos Açores*.

Interviewer: The *Casa dos Açores* in your area?

Interviewee: Yeah, in East Providence, Rhode Island.

Interviewer: Do you have children?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: So I can't ask you where your children attended. Now, as you were growing up did you ever become a liaison between the Portuguese community and the American community, like translating or explaining things or...

Interviewee: Just for my family, my grandmother, she, you know when I was younger I did a lot of doctor's appointments, when she stayed in the hospital we'd take turns, so there was a lot of translating there. She lived with us all our lives up until four years ago when she passed away, so through her but not in the community itself.

Interviewer: Was it, especially when you were younger, was it ever an inconvenience?

Interviewee: I guess when I became more of a teenager, when it was, because I'm sure you know, if you do have a brother that the, for some reason the Portuguese daughter is the one who takes care of everything. So taking care of, when I was a teenager, even in college, like taking care of my parents' paperwork and all the translating of this and to this day my dad still calls me, 'We've got some mail, can you check this?' and all that stuff. So, I mean now it's not so much of an inconvenience because I'm a little more appreciative of what they've done but when I was younger I just wanted to hang out with my friends, so yeah.

Interviewer: So that was okay? In what, in what context today do you use English?

Interviewee: In my everyday life, in my work, you know. I speak English with my nephews, my brothers, most of my family. Really the only time we speak Portuguese is with my parents and with my husband, here at home.

Interviewer: Would you say at home now, you speak more Portuguese or more English?

Interviewee: I think we speak more Portuguese, probably, but he's still, he's kind of, for him it's all new too. So he's going through what my parents went through years ago. So yeah, I think it's mostly Portuguese though.

Interviewer: Just trying to figure out where people are using what language. In your opinion, would you say or what would you say the value of each one of these languages is? Like Portuguese and English, do you think they have different values?

Interviewee: To me personally or in general?

Interviewer: To you personally.

Interviewee: So I think, obviously, I live in America so I need to use English in most of my business and daily life, but to me, especially being with my husband, learning more of the Portuguese, I've always been very close to my culture so I think that that's very important to me, and I feel more, I find myself even thinking in Portuguese when I have a hard time finding that American word for it, although we don't have American words for some of this stuff.

Interviewer: Yeah. And on a more general level since you mentioned it? On a more general level?

Interviewee: On a more general level, I mean, I think it's important in our area to have that language, to be able to speak Portuguese because we have such a huge Portuguese community here. I think New Bedford is forty percent. You know, we're right near Fall River, East Providence, so I think it's very important and I've used it in my work as well. I've worked with Portuguese families, you know, it's definitely becoming useful. But you know, English here is key, you know.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: Right, right, in order to be independent I needed to use that, so.

Interviewer: Yeah, it helps, obviously. How would you compare the value that your grandparents or that your parents gave to education, do you think it changed between the generations, the value of education in general?

Interviewee: Yes, yeah, so my parents, when my mom came here, she didn't finish school and neither did most of the older siblings that came here. My dad didn't finish school either. He went right into the navy. So I didn't feel like there was an urgency for education back then, the times were different. My parents were very, very focused on education, they worked in factories, they didn't make a lot of money and they worked their butts off to get us through Catholic school, so for them it was very important. Where I think for my grandparents it wasn't as much of a priority.

Interviewer: Do you think they saw, what do you think they, why do you think they valued education so much?

Interviewee: My parents? Because they didn't have a chance to have it, I think. I think because they didn't have that opportunity.

Interviewer: And they saw it as something that the children needed to have.

Interviewee: Yeah and I think that when they came here to this country they knew that we could get much further with education, whereas I think in the Azores at the time where they were growing up, they were going to get much further working.

Interviewer: Sure. Let me just backtrack a little bit, your dad was on the Portuguese navy?

Interviewer: For a second there I was like, wait, did I miss something? One of the questions on the survey was about culture. Then when I went back and looked at the results of the survey, there were some questions that popped up, as to what people defined as culture. So let me ask you, how would you define the concept of culture? What is to you culture?

Interviewee: To me, my culture is what my family brought, the traditions that my family brought here. It's the, you know, and I guess attached to that would be the Portuguese culture. It's very different the Azores from the, especially being with my husband now, the mainland culture, not very different, there are a lot of similarities. Family's important, that kind of thing, but just the values that comes along with it, I think. But yeah, it's the values and traditions.

Interviewer: And that's Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: To me that's my Portuguese, yeah the values and traditions are.

Interviewer: Can you think of specific values or specific traditions that you think of when you think of Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Family being first, family being important. You know, being giving, being, maybe that's just my family but, but I found that a lot even when I was there.

Interviewer: And a lot of people have brought that up first, as well.

Interviewee: Yeah, so the values, the traditions, the music is one of the huge pieces for me.

Interviewer: I noticed you have something hanging there.

Interviewee: Yeah, actually that's from my grandfather, that's one of my first, my grandmother's uncle that came here, he was the first to play in the form of radio, Fado, that's his guitar, yeah.

Interviewer: So what would you say is American culture?

Interviewee: You know, I don't feel as close to American culture because I don't feel like it's as defined as the Portuguese culture. There's so many different cultures here that it's kind of a mixed bag of little pieces coming out of different, you know, different cultures. So it doesn't feel as defined for me. And I don't feel, I've never felt as close to it, because of that, because it's not as defined.

Interviewer: Well, let me ask you, in your opinion, what does it mean to be Portuguese-American?

Interviewee: Hmm, what does it mean? It means that we can cook. It means we know how to eat.

Interviewer: That's great.

Interviewee: I don't know, that's a tough question. I guess it would mean a lot of things for different people. I mean, I see my cousins or even my brother, you know, some of my cousins take it to the same level that I do, others don't, don't in habit attach themselves to it, so.

Interviewer: So what makes you Portuguese-American?

Interviewee: What makes me Portuguese-American? Because I grew up, because my blood is Portuguese and I was born in America.

Interviewer: And this when you think about it, does that let's say label, does that change depending on who you are or who you're with?

Interviewee: Hmm, no, I don't think it changes. I mean, there are little jokes between some of my American friends that, you know, certain things about being Portuguese but I don't think it changes.

Interviewer: You feel just...

Interviewee: In my work or anything like that, I don't think it changes anything.

Interviewer: I'm asking because some people said that if they're in Portugal they feel more Portuguese and if they're in the States they feel more American or if they're amongst the family and everyone's having this big, huge meal, that's very Portuguese but at work they might feel more American.

Interviewee: Yeah, see, I think I've always had a very strong attachment to Portuguese culture and to my Portuguese heritage, and I haven't felt as connected to the American piece. But then again, like I said, my cousins and my brother who all grew up in the same exact situation, we've gone different roads with that. But the clearest example is when Portugal played the US and who we were voting for. We

had big debates about you know are we voting for the US or are we voting for Portugal, and I said well it's blood, to me it's blood like and I'm going for Portugal. And there are cousins of mine that were born here, we're Americans, you know. So it's a tricky question too, you know. I think it depends where you feel closest to.

Interviewer: Why do you say that you never really attached to the American culture?

Interviewee: Because I didn't feel like it was as, I just felt like I belonged more in the Portuguese culture. I started going there when I was younger in the summers and I never wanted to come back. I felt more comfortable there. I felt less stressed out there, I felt less, more like I fit in, you know.

Interviewer: Well, what was it like to grow up in America being the descendant of a Portuguese immigrant?

Interviewee: It was hard when we were younger, because it was, and I'm embarrassed to say that now but it was embarrassing that our parents didn't speak perfect English or that, you know, our friends would come over and we're eating heads of fish, you know. Those kinds of things were, I think, very embarrassing when we were younger. And I see that in my nephews now. So it was, it was tough. My parents didn't understand a lot of the things. School notes came home and in some ways it was easy because we signed our own report cards, they couldn't read them, you know.

Interviewer: They didn't understand.

Interviewee: Yeah. In other ways, you know, we wanted them to understand things that they didn't. So yeah, I think it was hard. It was hard.

Interviewer: Would you say that the upbringing itself was more Portuguese or more American?

Interviewee: It was a mix. My parents were trying to get acclimated with being here in the States, and they adapted to a lot of the American culture. But they never took away, although they didn't, they didn't teach us as much about the history and the, you know, I understand that now because of the time that they came here but they definitely, they wanted us to fit in here, and they made that, you know, they tried to Americanize a lot of things.

Interviewer: Which parts, what did they try to Americanize exactly?

Interviewee: Just the way we dressed, the way we, you know, even what we ate. I think my parents are more Portuguese now than they were when we were growing up. I think they found their way back to it, now. I think that was because of us, they tried

Interview #4

File name:	Alice S. M. L., California
Length of interview:	40:37

Interviewer: Good afternoon! My name is Neuza Costa and I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering for participating in the interview phase of the study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you to record our conversation so that later on I could listening to it and make sure that I'm not missing any important information. Is this OK?

Interviewee: Yes it is!

Interviewer: So, in this first part, I would like to ask you to introduce yourself, just tell me your age, where you were born, where you currently live, what you do, something along those lines.

Interviewee: OK, my name is Alice Santos Macedo and I just got married so I have another last name, Lark.

Interviewer: Congratulations!

Interviewee: I am 46 years old. I was born in 1968 in Redwood City, California. I have a sister and my mom is a child of 12 siblings and she is from the Azores.

Interviewer: You're now living in California as well, correct?

Interviewee: Yes, I live in Central California, specifically.

Interviewer: What do you do?

Interviewee: I am a teacher.

Interviewer: OK, I have come across a lot of teachers. So, who in your family was the first to emigrate to the U.S.?

Interviewee: My, let me think, my father, no. First in my family would be my grandfather and he came did work and then returned to the Azores and then later it ended up being my oldest *tia*. She came and she ended up being the one who brought everyone else with her, cause she had to get approval, like someone had to be situated here. So it was my oldest *tia*.

Interviewer: Do you know when this would have been, more or less?

Interviewee: This would have been, let's see, Kennedy signed the bill for Faial in 59 they came in 61, maybe 62.

Interviewer: And your grandfather, paternal or maternal?

Interviewee: Maternal.

Interviewer: Same one as when your *tia* came.

Interviewee: Yes. My actual birth father, I didn't know him. My mom left him when I was 4 so most of my answers are going to be maternal side of the family.

Interviewer: OK, thanks, for clarifying that. Do you know more or less when your grandfather was there, even though it was temporary?

Interviewee: Eighteen hundreds, I couldn't say specifically. I know his brother when I went to Ellis Island, in New York I found records of a Manuel Santos, who is an uncle and yeah, his brother.

Interviewer: And that would have been around the same time?

Interviewee: My mother's, father's brother. My grandfather came over hidden on a boat so I know it's late 1800s.

Interviewer: And he went to California, do you know?

Interviewee: He did go to California, yes, but I don't where know exactly.

Interviewer: As far as your *tia* or any of the other relatives that followed her, have you ever heard any of the stories of what it was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Yes, yes, definitely. They came with minimal English, minimal schooling. My mom was the only one in the family who had a college education and she had just finished college when she came here but they all got jobs in factories mostly. We didn't do, we weren't dairy family. I know there is a lot of dairy families here in the Central Valley, Portuguese but almost all of them ended up working in some sort of factory, or not. My mom, I think she made pencils when she came in the 60s, but that's pretty much. It was really hard for them. There were, there is a small community I they went back to, San Leandro, California, a small Portuguese community there that welcomed them and helped them find jobs.

Interviewer: Do you think that facilitated their transition into American life?

Interviewee: Oh, definitely, definitely. But they were really good about keeping us very Portuguese growing up and they didn't let us do American things until we were older really.

Interviewer: In what way? When you say, 'keeping us Portuguese' in what way were you kept Portuguese?

Interviewee: We were only allowed to go to Portuguese *festas*. That is the only entertainment we had. So dances were what we looked forward to at the *festas* and parades. And then my mom enrolled my sister and I and some of my cousins in an

organization, *Luso*, and so we performed in conventions with them and of course we just hung out with family every summer and my American friends had to wait until we got to junior high, I think I was able to hang out with them.

Interviewer: What was your first language, was it Portuguese or English?

Interviewee: It was Portuguese when I was growing up and then when I started school we pretty much only spoke English after that cause there were no Portuguese people when we moved to Modesto.

Interviewer: Do you remember what the process was like of learning English? Do you recall what it was like to learn English?

Interviewee: Yes, because it was 1972 people here still had immigration issues for immigrants so I want to be an American. We didn't even have Mexican-Americans here in the seventies and our teachers actually told us on the playground, my sister and I were not allowed to speak Portuguese, 'We have to speak English!' because we were in America. So that is how it was in the seventies. So I remember crying, going home crying in kindergarten saying, 'Mom you have to speak English everyday so we can be, you know, better English speakers.' And because of that we lost a lot of our Portuguese. My sister remembers more than I do. I can get by. I can find a bathroom and like order food. That's about it. But it was a lot different then. Now because we have in California so many Mexican immigrants, they're much more welcoming, maybe because it's 2016, you know. People are more receptive, I think that back then it wasn't very good. So, fourth grade.

Interviewer: Once you got to first grade, you probably had already acquired English fully.

Interviewee: Yes, but my sister is two years older so it was a lot harder for her and I think that's also why she's still bilingual, because she had more years of Portuguese to remember it.

Interviewer: At home, did you stop speaking English, Portuguese altogether?

Interviewee: Yeah pretty much because my mom remarried and although my stepdad was Portuguese, he was born here and so he was English speaking but when she was married to my biological father, we only spoke Portuguese at home before that.

Interviewer: OK. Did you ever attend Portuguese school or anything similar to that?

Interviewee: No, just Portuguese groups, like organizations.

Interviewer: OK, like community groups and things of the sort?

Interviewee: Yeah, we were in Luso. I don't know what that stands for. It's a Portuguese-American group where we do performances and we also had a Pentecostal association where we were group members of that, attended all the *festas* and always a side maid, never a queen.

Interviewer: Did you ever have the experience of being the liason between the English speaking community and the Portuguese speaking community? Did you ever do that?

Interviewee: Oh yes, because even though I didn't speak Portuguese, I understand it very well, so my mom still says things to me in Portuguese and I have to say them in English to whomever, you know, business, phone calls and, I think that it will always be that way, you know that's her native language so, that's what she prefers.

Interviewer: What was that like for you as a child or growing up as a teenager?

Interviewee: Actually, it was empowering for me and I try to tell that as a teacher to my students that are Hispanic who seem frustrated doing the same, that the fortunate thing is to know two languages and to be able to switch your brain from one to the other and make those communications. I thought it was more empowering because I can do something that my mom can't do. So, I thought that was cool.

Interviewer: And you still do it now?

Interviewee: Yes, not as much because my mom's English, I mean, she has a thick accent, which is why she has me do it still, but not as much as growing up.

Interviewer: Do you ever use Portuguese now?

Interviewee: Not really, *bom dia*, you know, *obrigado*, you know, basic stuff, *mais fica*, not really, yeah.

Interviewer: And in what context would you use Portuguese? If ever?

Interviewee: I don't. My family speaks to me in Portuguese. We are having a family reunion in August and all my *tias* and *tios* will be there and they all speak Portuguese to my generation and all of us, most all of us, except for maybe three cousins and I have 52 will respond in English.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: It's funny because they know we understand but I think we conjugate verbs so poorly, they really don't want us to slaughter the language and they rather we just respond in English.

Interviewer: And they're happy that you are responding and understanding.

Interviewee: Yes, exactly.

Interviewer: Would you say that there is a specific value to each one of the languages, Portuguese and English?

Interviewee: Of course.

Interviewer: In what way?

Interviewee: I think that maybe just being, America is the melting pot. They don't even use that term anymore. I think they call it a mixed salad now because the melting pot concept makes sure that you are going to assimilate to American culture and that's not really the case anymore. Americans are a little bit better embracing individual cultures as well, so you can be Azorean-American and be proud to be both. You can sport the Portuguese flag and the Azorean flag right next to the American flag and nobody really judges you as long we still take part in our American culture too based on apple pie. You know?

Interviewer: So would you say that English versus Portuguese, that one has more of an economic or cultural value than the other?

Interviewee: Well for me, because my family is from the old country, to me, my heart is, you know, definitely would weigh stronger for the Portuguese just because that's my family heritage and not that I am ashamed of being an American, except when I hear bad stories of us in Europe. I think that being Portuguese, to me, is because I am one-hundred percent, I am proud to tell people about my country and I am proud to tell them about where we are from, show them pictures and educate people that have never been there.

Interviewer: OK. How would you compare the value that you give to education to that which your grandparents or even your parents gave?

Interviewee: The education that my grandparents gave?

Interviewer: No, the value of the education. How your grandparents valued education versus your parents and your value?

Interviewee: Yes, everybody valued education. My mom was an old school Portuguese, so she was more like marry rich but my dad and most of the relatives, specially the men get an education, get a good job, America is where you will have opportunities that you wouldn't have in our country and so I felt like they were definitely strongly pushing us towards getting better educations.

Interviewer: And your grandparents? Did you ever get a feel for what they thought about education?

Interviewee: My grandparents because they had so many kids, my grandfather died before my sister was born and my grandmother died when I was, she died in 1980, so I was ten or eleven I think, so I don't have too many memories of her, she was pretty ill by then. I know that they valued education because my grandmother was a teacher and she taught all her kids. They all went to her schoolhouse so I know that's important.

Interviewer: In my survey, one of the questions asks respondents in general and I wanted to get your opinion on what the concept of culture means to you?

Interviewee: The concept of culture just means embracing your heritage, I think. That's pretty much it. Embracing your heritage, in every aspect. You know, the people, the food, the community, just everything in general, and just appreciating it for what it is.

Interviewer: Can you think in any specific examples, what would be Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Well, I guess here, because we've been here for so long, we can't go there to see the Caldeiras, you know and everything there. So we would just maybe listen to the music, enjoy the food and you know, old stories from what it was like in the old country. That's pretty much the extent here.

Interviewer: OK, what about American culture, what would be some of the examples that you can give me?

Interviewee: Baseball and apple pie. Yeah, American culture to me is because we're so mixed with so many cultures, it's really, I don't know if it's as strong of a culture, because it's that mixed salad, so other than baseball and apple pie and maybe Marilyn Monroe, Elvis Presley, I don't know, some of the icons but nothing specific.

Interviewer: So what does it mean to you to be Portuguese-American?

Interviewee: It means that I am more awesome than most of people who aren't Portuguese-American. I don't know. I think too many of my American friends are mixed of so many nationalities they don't know how to appreciate being of one culture, like they don't have that strong, oh, I'm German, whatever, I'm Italian. So for me it means a lot that I can say that I am 100% Portuguese and this is what it means to me, and this is what I did growing up and sharing my stories. My friends usually are just enamored to hear all about it.

Interviewer: You also mentioned that you are Azorean-American before. So what do you consider yourself more of, Portuguese-American or Azorean-American?

Interviewee: Well, I would say Azorean-American because that's where my mom was from and my dad but we have family still in Lisbon, cousins, I have a *tia* still there. Actually, yeah she's not there anymore. I have two cousins that are still in Portugal, so to me it's almost the same, it's like Azores are just a branch of Portugal, so I feel Portuguese and I feel Azorean, and I used them interchangeably.

Interviewer: So would you say that you being Portuguese-American or Azorean-American is basically your family background or your heritage?

Interviewee: Oh definitely, yes.

Interviewer: Does this label ever change to you depending on where you are or who you're with, do you ever get the feeling that you're more or less Portuguese-American or more Portuguese rather than more American? Do you think that ever changes?

Interviewee: Well, yeah of course. People who don't know where the Azores are, I would say Portuguese-American if they never heard of it. It's just easier. If I'm at a Portuguese event and everyone is speaking beautiful, eloquent Portuguese, than I feel like I'm not as Portuguese as I was yesterday when you know, I wasn't being challenged. In general, I think I feel pretty strongly to be a Portuguese-American.

Interviewer: Growing up in America, what was it like to be the descendant of Portuguese immigrant?

Interviewee: It was hard to explain to all my American friends why I couldn't go to their houses and do some of the things they did, but it was easy to make friends with other Portuguese kids because we felt like we had the same things in common. The boys could do whatever they wanted, the girls had to be home by eight o'clock at night. It was, you know very traditional, so I didn't have to explain myself to my Portuguese friends, like I did with my American friends.

Interviewer: How would you describe your upbringing, more Portuguese or more American?

Interviewee: Well, because of my stepdad, he had some influence, thank goodness, because we got to go to do a few things, learned how to roller skating and stuff. But mostly, I would say Portuguese for sure because my mom felt so strongly about the importance of family, the importance of you know, food in our culture and music and everything that was just all we knew, we didn't know anything differently.

Interviewer: OK. What was the community in which you grew up like? Was it more American or more Portuguese?

Interviewee: Well, we moved to Modesto, California in the seventies, most of my family stayed in San Leandro. The people that stayed in San Leandro had definitely more resources, Portuguese organizations and groups and such. We had to try a little harder to find them here, so probably more American in Modesto and the rest of my family got to participate more in Portuguese things in the Bay area of California.

Interviewer: Did you ever feel like an outsider in any one of those communities?

Interviewee: Oh, yeah because growing up in the Central Valley of California, back then there were no mestizos and trying to explain myself, what my culture was like was very difficult back then but as the years passed by the eighties, there were more and more people. By the nineties I was already in my twenties, by then, then I'm meeting all these people everywhere and they're wondering why I'm not a dairyman. So I think that the decade that we came here, it was a lot harder than it would have been if someone came now.

Interviewer: OK. What do you think made it so difficult during the seventies and even the eighties, as you said?

Interviewee: The intolerance of immigrants, for sure and because of California being so close to Mexico. Now, we're I think at 51% Mexican-Americans in California, so people are just becoming more accepting or maybe just that the people who weren't accepting left. I don't know, but it's just socially more acceptable.

Interviewer: When you say that sometimes it was hard to explain to your friends at school, were there any challenges between having to go back between the Portuguese home and the American school for example or the American community?

Interviewee: Not that I remember. I think that that was just normal. Like we went to the American school and we spoke English. We came home and we knew that mom was going to speak Portuguese and that she was, you know, having us be making *massa sovada* on Sunday. It was just what it was. I didn't really realize that there was a transition happening.

Interviewer: Do you still make the *massa sovada*? Did you learn how to make it?

Interviewee: No, now we have enough Portuguese stores to buy it. It's a lot of work!

Interviewer: I can imagine! What was the Portuguese household like as you were growing up?

Interviewee: Well, listening to fado music, which I thought it was depressing back then, but I've learn to appreciate now and my mom loved the *chamarrita* I caught her dancing in front of the mirror every once in a while but because she married the

Interview #5

File name:	Danny V., Massachusetts
Length of interview:	00:57:23

Interviewer: Good afternoon! As you already know, my name is Neuza Costa and I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering for to participate in the interview phase of the study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you to record our conversation so that later on I could relisten to it and make sure that I'm not missing any important information. Is this OK?

Interviewee: Yes it is!

Interviewer: Thank you. If you would like, I can change your name if I use in any of that you say in the write up of the dissertation, I can change your name.

Interviewee: You can quote me directly.

Interviewer: OK, thanks. So first I'm going to ask you just to introduce yourself and stuff like how old you are, place of birth, where you are currently living, what you do.

Interviewee: Okay, my name is Danny Vasconcelos. I live in Peabody, Massachusetts. I was born here in Peabody, Massachusetts. My parents are from Graciosa, Azores and I am 40 years old. I am a music teacher. I went to the University of Massachusetts. I'm a full-time music teacher, musician, audio engineer. I have two kids. I also married a Portuguese-American girl named Lisa from Newark, New Jersey, and right now I'm enjoying my summer vacation and on my way to Azores tomorrow.

Interviewer: You've mentioned you're leaving tomorrow, for two weeks you said?

Interviewee: Yes two weeks.

Interviewer: It sounds very good. I keep saying, after this is all done, that's where I have to go because I keep talking to people from the Azores and keep hearing these stories so, I might have to get on a plane and hop over there.

Interviewee: It's a nice place! I'm actually going there to work. I have two shows there so...

Interviewer: Oh, it's not full vacation.

Interviewee: No, no, it's one week of work, one week of vacation.

Interviewer: OK. Who in your family was the first to immigrate? Do you know that?

Interviewee: My mother. Actually, my great-grandfather came here first then he returned, then my mother and her parents came first in the mid-sixties.

Interviewer: Do you know more or less about when your great-grandfather was over there first?

Interviewee: He came to the US about the turn of the 20th century and headed for the West Coast. The legend is he walked. The legend is he had the address of his family in his hat and lost the address. Landing in New York and his family being in California, was a long way away. That's the legend, whether or not it is true, I don't know.

Interviewer: It would be a bit of a hike.

Interviewee: It is. But they say he walked for almost a year so, taking a year to cross country sounds about right.

Interviewer: OK and both your mom's side of the family and your father's side of the family are from the Azores?

Interviewee: Yes, ma'am.

Interviewer: When did your father come?

Interviewee: My father came in the late sixties after they were married.

Interviewer: OK. And did you ever hear any stories besides the legend of your great grandfather? Did you ever hear any stories about what was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Oh yes, absolutely!

Interviewer: Can you tell me some of those?

Interviewee: One was that my mother always used to tell me, was that she had never seen a working clock. A small, you know, personal clock, and how she hated the tick-tocking of the clock and how, you know coming from a rural town and coming over here it was so difficult to adjust. Everything was new. It was already part of what was called the second wave of immigration. The first wave of immigration here in Peabody was around the turn of the 20th century, so the people who were already here were pretty much Americanized and then she was one of the first of the second wave of immigration, so when she got here she was pretty lonely. But luckily it was an immigration wave, and shortly after a lot of people, people that she knew, started to come to this area.

Interviewer: Did she ever say of what it was like for her parents?

Interviewee: She doesn't talk too much about that. I remember my grandmother, they were already older they had, you know, they came to work in factories here. My grandmother had never worked outside the home and then she came here to work in factories, but she worked for a very short time. My grandfather was the same thing. He was a farmer. He came here to work in the leather industry. One thing that I do remember is him talking about sandwiches, how back in the Azores, how he never ate a sandwich, he never ate a cold meal and then coming here and having work and never having a wife at home all the time, not having all the creature comforts that one is accustomed to, often he had to eat peanut butter and jelly or ham sandwiches it was, and he typically enjoyed the ham sandwiches once he got past the idea of sandwich.

Interviewer: And, for your dad?

Interviewee: My father came after he got married and he came directly, he was the first one of his family to come over.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So, He remembers his first goal was to get a job and then buy a car those were his thoughts. He very much pictured a car and equating it to freedom. Once he was able to get a car, he would be able to go everywhere he wanted and not to have to rely so much on other people.

Interviewer: Sure and your parents met back in the Azores?

Interviewee: Yeah. They met before my mother left at a dance in a town called the Luz and then they, you know, typical, my father was in the military to Lisbon and they sort of courted through letters and he asked her to marry through the letters, they really didn't know each other and they got married and made a life together.

Interviewer: Okay, great. You were born there. What was your first language?

Interviewee: That's a funny question, because my first language I really do think was a mix between Portuguese and English.

Interviewer: That would make sense.

Interviewee: It's every other word as you probably know when you grow up in that environment, you live outside those walls is America, inside the walls we're back in Portugal. Every word, every thing that you see or encounter has two words to it. And for a child, it all depends on what is easier to pronounce or one would connect to with. So I truly had two words for everything that I used interchangeably. So do I remember being strictly 100% Portuguese speaking? No. And I don't remember being

100% English speaking either. So I truly believe I was bilingual from a very young, young age.

Interviewer: OK. So once you started school, there was no problem as far as language was concerned?

Interviewee: Yeah, there was because I freely and at will interchanged the words so there was a little time and a little effort made to straighten that out.

Interviewer: Was that awkward at all?

Interviewee: No, because there was such a high population of Portuguese people in this area that doing that was no problem because everyone else was pretty much spoke that way.

Interviewer: OK. Did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I did not. I did something even better. I attended the Portuguese band school.

Interviewer: Ok, tell me about that, please.

Interviewee: That was where my life completely changed. You know, Peabody(?) is a small city with all the great things that happen in a small city, you know my parents were a bit over protective, as protective as any parent would be. We didn't get to go out very often, money was always tight and those things. So, One day I used to watch the band, the local Portuguese band from Peabody, the philharmonic play and I would dream of playing with them. I conducted the radio, when I heard them on the radio. I would go see them when they were playing on the street or at a *feira*. I really, really enjoyed it and then, I had the funny, this is how I remember it, one day I was in the yard playing with the soccer ball and then I kicked the soccer ball and broke a window and literally I think as I kicked the soccer ball my dreams of playing soccer were instantly shattered. I couldn't play ball to save my save my life and the next day I found myself in a room full of twelve other stinky, smelly, sweaty kids studying what is called *solfege*, which music to literacy.

Interviewer: What is it? Is it *solfege*?

Interviewee: And that day changed my life. I became a musician by the time I was 21, I was conducting that band, then I went off to college, became a music teacher and now I literally teach at the same exact school I enlisted (?).

Interviewer: Nice. What did you call it? *Solfege* (?)

Interviewee: I'm the Portuguese *Welcome Back Carter*.

Interviewer: But what you were learning, what did you call it?

Interviewee: It was *sofêge*.

Interviewer: And what is that? I'm sorry for my ignorance.

Interviewee: *Sofêge* is a method of teaching music. It is a kids learning how to read but using music. We used a military text from Portugal called *Freitas Gazul* and *Freitas Gazul* text was a military issue text that literally, if you asked any musician over the age of forty in this area and you asked them what text did you learned how to play music from, there is above a ninety percent chance whether they came from Portugal or they were born here, they will say it was a *Freitas Gazul* text.

Interviewer: Why was that text used?

Interviewee: Because that was a military issued text. Because you got to remember, back then the music instructors that were Portuguese were usually military musicians. So since the military used the *Freitas Gazul* text, then they would have access to a copy, then the copy becomes another copy, and then becomes the xerox machine and then another copy, then another copy. Next thing you know, the two or three military guys who came to the US to work in a leather factory or what not, who taught music at the local Portuguese club in the evening, the text that they had available to them was the one that they brought which was the *Freitas Gazul* and, you know, they just copied and copied and copied. Actually, I believe I still have my original copy and used it for my Master's thesis.

Interviewer: OK, wow. I just wanted to confirm something, I am not sure I heard it correctly. Was it that a lot of people that went over went to work in leather factories?

Interviewee: Yes. Peabody's main industry was leather.

Interviewer: Danny, do you your children now speak Portuguese?

Interviewee: No, no they do not. I have two young children, two and four. They understand it pretty clearly but they do not speak it.

Interviewer: Do you and your wife?

Interviewee: I do and my wife is one hundred percent bilingual, she is as comfortable in Portuguese as she is in English, over the years my English became dominant.

Interviewer: OK. Growing up, did you or anyone else that you knew act as a liaison between the English speaking community and the Portuguese speaking community?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think, I for one most definitely. But I think every kid growing up had to do that. I mean it was just, every child. We had you know as children who spoke English, we had to interpret for our parents, you know at school meetings, at doctors' offices at just about anything that helped because we knew the language and

we just did it. I remember aunts and uncles, I remember as a kid I would have to fill unemployment forms, work search forms, insurance forms, yeah all kinds of things. I think that was, I truly believe, that was a necessity from all children.

Interviewer: Do you recall what that was like for you?

Interviewee: Just a day in the life.

Interviewer: Just a day in the life?

Interviewee: Yeah, I mean I was kind of, I felt pretty proud that I could do it easily but it really wasn't any big deal, it was just another day. I'm a man of letters and music, so. If you had asked me to do taxes, that would have been a different story. There were Portuguese kids in the community who could have handled that.

Interviewer: OK, good! Well, in what contexts do you use English today?

Interviewee: I use it for teaching. I use English. I use Portuguese primarily when I am speaking with my family or when I am speaking with older friends. It all depends to whom I am speaking. To tell you the truth, if the person speaks Portuguese, then I will speak Portuguese with them, because I don't have much of a problem with that. If they're English, I'll speak English to them. If they're Luso like myself, then sometimes the conversation is in Portuguese and English.

Interviewer: OK. Well would you say that there is a specific value to each one of those languages? Like cultural versus economic or personal even?

Interviewee: No, language is you know, a form a communication. I would say if there's any weight on one, it's the same weight on the other because if you're talking with someone in Portuguese who is Portuguese, then it's obviously there is a cultural connection there, so the emphasis is on culture there. But if you're speaking to someone who is American and English, then obviously there's a cultural connection there, because that's, you know, their native language. Same idea, if you're talking to a Luso, if you're speaking half in English, you know, if I am talking with one of my friends who is Luso-American, if you are speaking half in English and half in Portuguese, I guess that's also only a unique micro-culture. They each have their own emphasis and each language emphasizes the cultural connection of that population.

Interviewer: OK, thank you. How would you compare the value you gave to education to that of which parents and grandparents gave?

Interviewee: Education is a bit of a hot topic, at least around here.

Interviewer: OK, why so?

Interviewee: First of all, I'm a teacher, not only do I teach but I teach in the community where I grew up with. I teach at the same exact school where I attended. I teach in the same system that I went through. When we were children, in the 60s, 70s and 80s, even that first generation, you know, the first Luso-American generation, you know, I'm talking about, the sons of immigrants, young immigrants themselves. The emphasis at that time on education was I would say about fifty percent. If you want to, you know, the parents were very supportive of education, they wanted their kids not be idiots, obviously, but whether education was very valuable, whether it was more valuable than say, working, that's when things get a really cloudy and very complicated. Because it really truly all depends on what household you came from. If you came from a household of say people who back home were government workers, you know, so who had lyceum, and who had gone to university, then, there would be greater emphasis on your education, on hoping you'd graduate high school and attend college or university or post-graduate work. If you came from a family of, say, farmers who you know didn't go to school, who had to attend to other things as children, then the emphasis was less. Did they want you to finish high school? Absolutely! Whether or not you went to college, or whether not you went to post-graduate school, or graduate school that was different. That all truly depended on, I believe, more on the child than the parent, because at that point the child, you know, student, young person, had pretty much made the decisions the path of life that they were going to tend or go to. Today is a bit different and I get to see it first hand. There's a much bigger emphasis on schooling. There's a much bigger emphasis on grades and primarily because the big industry that was here in this region, first the leather and the electronics, that's all gone, all that manufacturing basis has left the region. Now, kids today, young people today don't have many options once they leave high school. You know, you either go work in a remedial job, or you try your hand at university or college or junior college, and most parents make sure that their kids are educated and not bums.

Interviewer: Well, in my survey, one of the questions I ask respondents is about culture. In your opinion, what defines the concept of culture?

Interviewee: OK. Give me a moment to formulate at least an intelligent answer. Culture is where you believe you're from. If you believe and identify yourself as Portuguese, then obviously, you know, you believe in that, you go to the Portuguese feasts, the *festas*, you're deeply involved in the community or at least involved as

maybe you visit the clubs, maybe you frequent the clubs. If you, the same person, from the same household but who identifies himself as American, then truly they don't visit the clubs, they don't get involved in the community, they don't go to the *festas*, then, they pretty much identify themselves as more Americanized or of American culture. It truly is what the person believes what they are.

Interviewer: OK. What would you say is an example or more than one, if you can think of, of Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Oh, there is three, music, music, the music to me would be huge. All those religious parades, processions, you know there are very interesting the believes in the Holy Spirit, pretty much an Azorean thing. *Festas do Espírito Santo*, music, food I guess, but that's any culture, you know, could be said to be based on food, language, stories, I mean, the list goes on and on. These are all examples or at least parts of culture.

Interviewer: Of Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Yes, of Portuguese culture but it's the same with any other culture. I mean is there anything more unique about Portuguese culture than any other? No, I don't think so, but it's the one I know best and it's the one I'm the most connected to.

Interviewer: Would you say when you think of examples of American culture, what comes to mind? Would you say the same things?

Interviewee: Yeah, very much, you know, the American culture has their own music, which the side of the planet it comes from, their own style of dress, for better or for worse, their own way of speaking. These are all, you know, things that are things that are you know part of the American culture, but the American culture is also the largest melting pot on the planet and that doesn't completely assimilate of the cultures, but all the other cultures in assimilation contribute to the new American culture whatever the new American culture is at that time. Sometimes we're more European centered. Sometimes we are completely independent. You know, sometimes, there is larger African flavor in the American culture. It truly all depends. America is so big! It's not like a small island where things are pretty much homogeneous. America is so enormous. It's so huge and diverse. There is no American culture. American culture is the culture of the small population at that area, at that time.

Interviewer: OK. Well, what would you say makes a person Portuguese-American or as you said Luso-American?

Interview #6

File name::	Rosemary C., California
Length of interview:	01:05:23

Interviewer: Good afternoon! My name is Neuza Costa and I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering for participating in the interview phase of the study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you to record our conversation so that later on I could listening to it and make sure that I'm not missing any important information. Is that OK?

Interviewee: Yes, that is fine.

Interviewer: OK, thank you. And, also, you're name will be changed to ensure confidentiality, unless you prefer me to use your real name if and when I do use any quotes from this interview.

Interviewee: It does not matter to me, whatever is easiest to you.

Interviewer: Thank you. Can we start?

Interviewee: Sure.

Interviewer: Well, first, if you can, why don't you introduce yourself, tell me a little bit about you, age if you do not mind, place of birth, where you are currently residing, what you do, stuff like that.

Interviewee: OK. My name is Rosemary Serpa Caso. I am 36 years old. I was born here in Tulare, California and went away to go to college and after I met my husband we came back because I wanted to raise my kids here. We have three daughters that are 12, 10 and six.

Interviewer: Full house.

Interviewee: Yes. (Laughter)

Interviewer: What do you do?

Interviewee: I am the executive director for United Way in Tulare County, so I oversee the whole operation for the local non-profit.

Interviewer: United Way is a non-profit org?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Rosemary, who in your family immigrated first? Do you know?

Interviewee: My parents did, my parents emigrated in 1968 and that was right after my mom's brother came in the late 50s. He was the one that sponsored them to come over. So my parents came over along with my sister who was about three months old.

Interviewer: I guess then, they were already married. Where did they come from?

Interviewee: They came from Madalena, Pico. They emigrated from Madalena.

Interviewer: Have you have heard any stories about what it was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Yes, my mom. It was a huge culture shock for her. She says that she remembers that she landed in San Francisco and she had never seen a black person and that really freaked her out cause she had never seen anyone that was a different skin colors as her. She said she was terrified. She didn't know a word of English. She was there with my sister who was a tiny baby and they were waiting for my uncle to come and pick them up. At that time, you know, the only way to go to San Francisco from where my uncle lived was about a four-hour drive. So they were there waiting for him, at his mercy, waiting for him to come and pick them up but she said it was a very terrifying experience. Obviously you are coming to a new country but then seeing something that you have never seen before, seeing people that you have never seen before was very intimidating.

Interviewer: And then, what was it like the whole process of getting settled and getting acculturated, if they did, do you know?

Interviewee: I think my parents, you know, they all lived together in one house until they got their own place. That has always been the fun stories that I hear about them. But they got jobs, you know, my dad was a foreman in a lumber yard and my mom was a cook for a convalescent home and they really didn't have to talk a lot. They did what they had to do and they worked really hard but you know, talking wasn't one of their main jobs, so it wasn't a big deal.

Interviewer: Did they ever learn a bit?

Interviewee: Oh yes! My mom, her English is actually very good. She is able to communicate, not a problem. My dad, his English is a little bit more broken. I see that, at times, my husband is not Portuguese, so I see that at times he is speaking half English, half Portuguese to my husband, and so, you know. My husband has been around long enough now to know what my dad is saying but at first when we were first together, he would look at me, 'OK, just help me a little bit.' But you know, I still I have two aunts that still, do not speak a word of English and so you, you know.

It's interesting to see when you have friends that are Americans and they don't have multiple years of immigrants and things that they deal with compared to the things that we deal with.

Interviewer: At what age did you learn English, do you know?

Interviewee: I was about, three and then when I went into kindergarten is when I really learned English, I was five. I started speaking more English when I was three, we had neighborhood kids that spoke more English. My parents lived on this one street and it's called Cardoso, you know, very Portuguese, and I would say ninety percent of the people that lived on that street were all Portuguese. So it was the neighbors' kids that were going to school and then we would play with each other, that's when I started learning English.

Interviewer: Do you remember what the process was like or does anything stand out?

Interviewee: No, I just remember more of trying to come home and telling mom and dad new words. The most difficult thing was trying to explain, well this is what it is and this is how you say it. But, no, I don't remember any specific incidents.

Interviewer: And did you maintain the Portuguese?

Interviewee: Yes. Yeah, I definitely did. My daughters they understand it but they don't speak it. Every once in a while you will hear a word come out of their mouth and it's Portuguese but as far as myself yes, I still speak it.

Interviewer: Did you attend Portuguese school or anything like that?

Interviewee: I only did when I was in high school. We have it here, where you can take it all four years. And then I also continued in college when I went for my Bachelor's, I took Portuguese as well.

Interviewer: But it wasn't a Portuguese school per say, you just took it as a foreign language in high school?

Interviewee: Yes, I just took it as a foreign language. My daughters have attended, there is Portuguese language school here and my daughters have attended that.

Interviewer: Do you feel that it is important that they learn that?

Interviewee: Oh, yeah.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: I think because I have such a sense of pride in being Portuguese and I want them to have that pride as well and I think it only helps when you speak the language. I mean it is so important when you speak another language nowadays, anyway, so why not speak your own native family's language? Spanish is very close

to Portuguese so it's funny I can usually communicate with someone that is trying to speak in Spanish. So you know it's like, why not learn Portuguese and be able to maintain that culture but then also it helps you in the workforce as you get older.

Interviewer: You said that your girls, your three girls, they can understand it but they can't speak it?

Interviewee: Oh yeah. They really don't speak it. Every once in a while you will hear, especially my middle one, she'll pick it up like nothing. She'll say stuff to me and I just look at her going, 'OK, that's alright.' (laughter) But it is so cute you know, cause she just runs with it.

Interviewer: That's great. As you were growing up did you or anyone you know act as a liaison in the community between the English speaking community and the Portuguese speaking community? Did that ever happen?

Interviewee: One of our neighbors, Elder Martin, he was part of the, oh my gosh what was it called, he was like a counselor, Denise Borges is it now, but he would definitely anytime, especially when there was stuff going on, back, back in the old country and my parents needed to communicate something and needed it notarized. Yeah, there was definitely that type of connection with Mr. Martin he was very, very good in being an advocate and also in starting groups here. He helped start the philharmonic here, which my dad was a part of that committee and the soccer club, And so, it's very cool to know that my dad was a part of that, to help bring that.

Interviewer: But you never had to do any of the translating between your parents and school or anything like that?

Interviewee: Oh yeah we did, if it was school or going to the doctor. My parents they purchased homes here to have as rentals and to this day, I handle all the contracts for my dad and so it definitely has carried on in terms of here is what the law says and here is what we need to do, so yes, I have had to do that all my life.

Interviewer: Did you ever have to do any specific feelings about it? How did you feel about that?

Interviewee: I felt it was my duty. You know I know that my parents, you know, unless you had money to go to school, you worked whatever land the family had or you were out fishing. You did whatever you had to do make ends meet. You know, my parents I think the highest education that they got I think was like up to fourth grade if we were to compare so I knew they didn't understand English. It didn't bother me. It didn't upset me. I just felt that it was our responsibility myself and my

sister's that whatever we needed to do to help mom and dad was what we needed to do and that was it.

Interviewer: But when you say you felt some sort of a duty, it was a duty because, in what sense, you needed to help?

Interviewee: Yeah, and it wasn't that I felt obligated. I felt that it was difficult for my parents and we needed to do what was right. And so, that's what I mean by a sense of duty, we needed to give our input in help and that was our way of doing it.

Interviewer: Today in what contexts would you say you use English and in what contexts would you say you use Portuguese?

Interviewee: English obviously with my career is the primary language that I speak. But when I'm with my family in terms of my parents and my aunts and my uncles, we mainly speak Portuguese. So, I would probably put, if you needed like, a number, 70% is probably English because of me and work but then I would say 30% is myself speaking Portuguese with my family.

Interviewer: Would you say there is a certain value attached to those languages, cultural, versus economic, personal?

Interviewee: Personal, yes, I think there definitely is because I love having that connection with my family. Economical, I do believe so in terms of, you know, it is a pretty standard language that you know, that you can, communicate even in Italian.

Interviewer: The Portuguese language you mean, the economical value also?

Interviewee: I believe so. I believe it also depends on where you live, living here in California, being very similar to Spanish, I think it does have...there is that connection you can makes things work and also the number of Portuguese people that we have here, I think it's extremely valuable in knowing the language.

Interviewer: OK. And English, would you give English the same type of value?

Interviewee: You know, English, I think I just take it for granted just because I use it all the time. This is sad, I never really thought about but I don't value the English language as much as I do Portuguese, because I think with Portuguese it connects me to something that's different. Everyone can speak English here, but what connects to my roots and my family is Portuguese.

Interviewer: Sure. Well, as far as education goes would you be able to compare the value you, yourself give to education especially now as a mom to that of your parents and grandparents gave? Is there a difference or similarity throughout the generations? The value of education has it changed, do you think?

Interviewee: I think from my parents when they were there, it was more of, yeah they knew that education was valuable but they didn't know how to obtain it. And I think that's really a big thing as far why as my parents came to the United States was more opportunity. My mom always says, 'We came here for you guys to have a better life than we did.' And I knew for them it was very valuable for us to go to school, there was never a thing of, 'Here, you're going to go to school if you want to.' It was definitely, 'You're going to school,' and I appreciated that. And so I think that they valued it but for them personally it was just, we'll get by with what we have, but we want to make sure you'll get it so that way you live better. And so yeah, I don't think it has diminished. I feel the same way for my kids. I want them to go to college. I want them to get the education they need, so that way they'll have successful careers and even a better life than I did, but I value education very much so.

Interviewer: Sure. And I understand how, I think it's true most of our parents and even our grandparents, for them education was a way to have something better than what they had.

Interviewee: Sure, yeah.

Interviewer: Rosemary, in my survey, I also asked respondents about culture and I included the question again in the interview because I wanted to clarify peoples' definition of or the concept of culture. We got such a wide variety of responses, that we thought we better clarify what it is, it means to different people. So to you, how would you define the concept of culture?

Interviewee: To me, the concept of culture is traditions that we still carry out this day. So, *Festas do Espírito Santo*, going to Portuguese mass, doing Carnival, you know, to me it is the things that represent our history and traditions that we still carry.

Interviewer: Do you do all those? The *Festas do Espírito Santo*? The Portuguese mass?

Interviewee: Yes. We do Portuguese mass, I will be President next year for the *Festas of Espírito Santo* which is huge here, because they never had a female in the presidency, and so I will be the first woman president for Tulare, so that's really, really cool.

Interviewer: Now that you're saying, I've been following these posts on Facebook of this gentleman, I think he's originally from Massachusetts, but he lives in Florida now and it's all about let these women in and let them participate in these clubs. I guess that in New York we didn't have it. Maybe I am wrong but thinking back now, as I

read his posts, I think it was always men running those clubs. So now that you mentioned it, a light just went on again. Good for you!

Interviewee: Yeah. It was one of those things that my parents at first were not supportive.

Interviewer: Of you being the president?

Interviewee: Yes, because at first they were like, ‘they are never going to let you in’, you know, the old school thought of you’re a female, they will never let you in. And they let me in as secretary, they voted me as secretary and this year I was vice-president, and so it’s just interesting because, like I said my dad, is very old school, where you know, women should be at home, cooking and doing all of that stuff and that’s not me. That’s not why I went to school. I went to school to be a successful business woman. And so I can’t be involved in something and not commit one hundred percent. And so yeah, when I was a teenager I was queen for the Holy Spirit and then my oldest daughter was queen three years ago, my middle daughter, she’s little queen this year. And so just those kinds of things, *festas* are really important especially the devotion to the Holy Spirit. I’m a true believer and so I have great faith in the Holy Spirit and I just love that we have so many cool things and the best the thing that I can compare ourselves to is to, like watch my *Big Fat Greek Wedding*. You know, when they say the white person is the dry toast? I get that! I get where people just don’t have all the seasonings that we have. And so I love that about our culture that we have so many different things and we do so many different things and there’s a party for everything. I just think that is cool that we have that.

Interviewer: Sure and it’s interesting. I’ve come across in these interviews a couple of Azoreans, actually children of Azorean immigrants and the *festas* all come up and I need to learn more about this because, again I grew up in New York and I don’t remember having these. I remember having these religious processions especially if you went to Portuguese mass but I don’t remember them being huge. There certainly weren’t any *festas do Espírito Santo* or anything like that, that I remember, so it’s definitely more of an Azorean thing, because all the Azoreans that I have talked to bring that up. It’s interesting.

Interviewee: You know, it’s very important, you know, that *feira* for us because of Pico, Santa Maria Madalena was another one, Senhor Bom Jesus. I mean just, all of these *festas*, especially here in California and I think that’s what keeps a lot of us tied to other communities is because of the *festas*. My daughter being queen, we go to

twenty different *festas* and that's not all of the *festas*. But you know, we'll go to twenty *festas* by the time she's done being queen representing Tulare but it's *Espírito Santo*, *Santo António*, it's *Fátima*. I mean, there's all these different things and it is, it all links us to our culture.

Interviewer: How long is she queen for?

Interviewee: She's queen for a year. She is queen for a year. So normally during the summer that's when they do the *festas* here. It usually starts about four weeks after Easter until the last weekend in October and so, yeah she became queen in the first weekend of June this year and then, next year, she'll crown the next queen at the end of May.

Interviewer: And do they have a king also?

Interviewee: You know the Tulare *Festa* doesn't do a king but San Diego does. There is always a king for San Diego. We take it, like, for our *festas* do *Espírito Santo*, the queens are resembling Queen Isabel and so we normally don't do a king. It's just representing Queen Isabel and that's why we do *sopas*. I'm sure you know the story of Queen Isabel.

Interviewer: Yes, I know the story because my dad, my family is all from the mainland but my dad is actually from this tiny, tiny, his parents are from this tiny village that is named after Queen Elisabeth, Queen Isabel. And there's a story of her passing through and giving out the bread. So I know the story because as kids we always heard it and again they just had it this weekend, we didn't go up, but they just had it this weekend the *Festa da Rainha Santa Isabel*. They do it every summer as well but it seems the *festas* there are much bigger.

Interviewee: Yeah, well just in the Tulare *festa*, like I said we are a pretty good sized town. We have about 60,000 people in our town but I want to say that our population is maybe, maybe ten percent Portuguese. So, it is not huge, huge. We have other towns here that have a larger population of Portuguese descent.

Interviewer: You said ten percent?

Interviewee: Yeah about ten percent. But we had, we feed about 5000 people on one Sunday. So it is pretty huge. And we'll get queens from all over California that come to the *festa*. They do *sopas* and give out *sopas* and we feed the people like Queen Isabel.

Interviewer: That's fantastic. Do me a favor, can you spell the name of your city or town?

Interviewee: T.U.L.A.R.E.

Interviewer: OK. I was spelling it with a y. Thank you. What are some examples of American culture?

Interviewee: Oy! American culture. When I think of American culture, I think of baseball games. Graduation parties. I think it's just get-togethers, not really having a specific reason to get around together. Try to think, yeah.

Interviewer: What about Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Oh man. Obviously, *festas*, I mean, soccer games, birthdays are always huge, weddings are always huge, funerals are always huge. You think of *Carnaval*, even fundraisers, like if someone's sick and there is a fundraising around someone that's sick. Portuguese people are just so compassionate to help people. Bullfights, oh my God, can't forget bullfights. That's huge!

Interviewer: Do you have those there?

Interviewee: Yeah, we do! We have bullfights.

Interviewer: It's so interesting for me to talk to people from the different states, because there are differences. There are so many similarities but then you hear of these differences and you're like, wow you know, I never would have thought.

Interviewee: Yeah, just this last weekend, there was a huge bullfight about one hour away from here and you know there were three horse riders, *forcados*, and all of that stuff and so yeah, that's a huge part of our culture, *cantorias*, *fados*, you know, all of that stuff. I think of it and I'm like OK what are all the things that we do that are Portuguese? *Matanças*. I mean, that to me, I remember being a little kid, that's one story I remember being a little kid and they're like, 'What did you do this weekend?' at school. And you were like, 'We killed eight pigs!' You know and they'd look at you like, 'What are you talking about?' And you know, as a kid that was normal for us because you would kill the pigs and all the moms would have aprons and *lenços* on the top of their head and they're cleaning the guts for the *linguiça*, you have pigs hanging upside down. That was normal. And then you'd go to school and you'd have these white people, that were like, 'You did what?'

Interviewer: Yeah I could imagine. I can only imagine their faces. (laughter)

Interviewee: And we still do it to this day, we still have *matanças* here. I think that's cool that we have that and I want my girls to see what we do. And you know, just very matter of fact one example, I'll give you, I'm very open with my kids, I just tell them like it is and so, my nephew was showing a pig for FFA and so you know, very

Interview # 7

File name:	Victor C., New Jersey
Length of interview:	1:53

Interviewer: I'm doing a study on Portuguese-American identity. Portuguese-Americans in general and, first of all, thanks for agreeing to do this and participating in the study.

Interviewee: No problem. You're welcome.

Interviewer: At this point I would like to ask if you would mind me recording the interview, so that I could later on look at my notes and make sure I am not getting anything, any of the facts wrong. Is that OK?

Interviewee: Sure, that is not a problem.

Interviewer: And if I use any of the quotes from this interview, when I am writing the dissertation, do you want me to change your name or do you want to remain as Victor?

Interviewee: That's fine. Victor is fine.

Interviewer: OK, thank you. So, why don't we begin by maybe you telling me a little bit about yourself. Introduce yourself, if you don't mind, your age, where you were born, where you currently live, what you do?

Interviewee: Sure. So, my name is Victor Costa, no relation. I am 26, I think, 26 and I was born in Livingston, New Jersey. I lived my whole life in Elizabeth, New Jersey, which has its own little Portuguese community with my parents until very recently, actually. I moved out a couple of months ago. I am living in Harrison, New Jersey, which again has its own little Portuguese community and both of these are new ring cities to Newark, New Jersey, which has a very large Portuguese community, and I am currently a surgical resident. So, I guess I am a doctor at Rutgers, New Jersey Medical School.

Interviewer: OK. Thank you. Well, can you tell me who in your family was first to emigrate to America?

Interviewee: My dad came first. He came to Canada, was there for a little while working for a little while, working construction and then he came to America.

Interviewer: Do you know more or less when that happened?

Interviewee: 1984, no, no, no. I am sorry. A couple of years of before that actually, 1981 or 80 or something like that. My dad was 20.

Interviewer: OK

Interviewee: So

Interviewer: And your mom, did she come later on?

Interviewee: My parents were dating when my dad came and he was here for a while and he went back. They got married. He went back just to get married and they returned together. At the time it was 1984.

Interviewer: Where is your family from?

Interviewee: We're from, so, we're from, we have a house in *Povoa do Varzim*, in an *aldeia* called *Balazar*, and it's like 40 minutes north of *Porto* or maybe less than that.

Interviewer: And both of your parents are from there?

Interviewee: So, my dad is from *Balazar*, which belongs, *pertence à Povoa do Varzim*, belongs to *Povoa do Varzim*.

Interviewer: OK

Interviewee: And my mom is from *Gondifelos*, which is the town over, which belongs to *Famalição, Braga*.

Interviewer: OK. When your dad went over did he have someone already, a family member there?

Interviewee: He had some people that he knew, cousins and stuff, friends from his town living in Canada and, when he was in Canada. When he came here he knew one person from *Balazar*, the same town, but they ended up, you know they ended up not, he stayed with him for a little time and they were working on Long Island, he ended up working here for a little bit and went to Colorado so he knew somebody but then lost touch.

Interviewer: OK. Well, did they ever, your dad or your mom, tell you what it was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Yeah, yeah. I mean, my dad you know, used to talk about, you know, troubles that he went through, problems, you know, here all by himself, you know, not knowing really anybody. Making enough only to like, pay the rent and barely eat, so he talked to me about that. My mom used to talk to me about not knowing any English at all, my dad knew a little, my mom didn't know any. Just trouble with things like that. We talked, yeah.

Interviewer: Did they, did both, well, did your mom work also outside of the house?

Interviewee: Yeah. My dad in Canada he was a construction worker but when he moved to America was a kind of like a butler, a live-in butler. And my mom did the same thing. She was a housemaid in a Jewish family's home. They worked in New York actually, for a while and then they came to a town in Livingstown, Short Hills and they were live-in house-maid and butler.

Interviewer: And the fact that when your mom talked to you about, you know, not knowing the language at first, was there anything that she specifically talked about, or just the difficulty in...?

Interviewee: (laughs) Yeah, I mean, so she was the house-maid, you know and my dad would sometimes not be home, he would be driving around the boss and so she, they would, you know tell her to pick up the phone and take messages and obviously, it's hard to take messages if you don't speak the language. So, you know, initially she had a hard time and she talked to me how they taught her how to cook cause she was a good cook obviously. She was, in Portugal she did the same thing, she cooked, she learned how to cook. But here, they wanted their Jewish meals or their American meals or Italian meals, whatever. And so, they taught her some bosses. Actually the husband, was really patient with her, and explained everything to her but the wife was a little bit impatient. So, you know, there were some struggles there. But you know it's interesting because she actually tells the story about when she went to the supermarket one time and she asked for these little plastic, not plastic, paper cups that you use to make cupcakes that you put inside the sheet and they form the wrinkles in the cupcakes. And she wanted the small version instead of the large version and so she went and asked for cups and they sent her to the aisle where the cups were and not the cupcakes. So anyway it's funny now, but at the time I am sure she was very frustrated.

Interviewer: Sure, and she eventually learned English?

Interviewee: Yeah, she speaks English now (laughs). Now, she handles herself well enough. My dad speaks a lot better because he, after working for that family he ended up going to work as a janitor in their pharmaceutical business and then he moved up the ladder and became a director. He is now the director of purchasing. So he has to speak English quite often and he is actually pretty good, even though he still has an accent. But my mom speaks a little less than he does but she, nobody, she gets her point across. Nobody has communication issues with her, so she is doing well now.

Interviewer: Good for her! Were you born in New Jersey?

Interviewee: Yeah, I was born in Livingston, New Jersey. I was born here. And I spent, you know I actually, when I turned a year old. People always ask me if I came from Portugal because I usually speak decently well, but the reason is because I was born here but a year after I was born I went to Portugal, did my baptism there and then from the age of five until the age of 21, I spent like every single summer there for three months. Some summers into that stretch for a little bit less, two weeks, three weeks, whatever, but for most of those years I spent three months out of the year in Portugal with my grandparents. Also went to Portuguese school here for nine years, so, as well as, at home we only speak Portuguese, or we tried to only speak Portuguese.

Interviewer: So, I guess, Portuguese was your first language then?

Interviewee: Yeah, I spoke Portuguese first at home until I was in school, until I started kindergarten, first grade or whatever. Then I was actually behind the other students but then eventually, I, you know, my main language became English because I spoke it all the time but I first started speaking Portuguese.

Interviewer: Do you remember, do you recall at all what that process was like, the learning of English?

Interviewee: No, I don't. I don't remember having a hard time though. Mainly because, (a) I was young and when you are young you take up everything, (b) despite my parents not speaking English to me at home, it wasn't foreign (a) because there was the TV, (b) because the babysitter that I was at, even though she spoke English to me. I mean, even though she spoke Portuguese to me, the older kids that were there too, also Portuguese, would speak English to each other and with me and them. So it wasn't foreign. You know, I am pretty sure I knew some English before I went to school, but less than normal kids going into kindergarten but I don't remember it being really challenging.

Interviewer: Did you have to go through an ESL program at all?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: No, OK. You said you went to Portuguese school. Do you know why your parents decided to put you in Portuguese school?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think they wanted me to have a good, they wanted me to understand, the language, understand the grammar, understand the history. You know, it's typically done. I think a lot of parents, Portuguese parents, especially my parents' generation would put their kids in Portuguese school. Also it was a way for them to

not have to take care of me, I guess. You know, it's hard when you have two working parents to take care of kids so they would put me in Portuguese school, that would give them two afternoons off, I guess, a week. But they also wanted to, besides learning what I learned at home, they wanted me to go and learn, like, the formal grammar, they wanted me to learn, you know, more professional vocabulary, and we were also taught history, so that was good.

Interviewer: Did you ever have any of, well, some people have said that they did not want to go, or that for a while they sort of resented having to go?

Interviewee: Well, you know, it's another school. When we're young, there are very few people that really, really like school. I do remember though, mainly because I had a teacher that I didn't like, but I do remember it being fun, in terms of learning. I liked to learn when I was that young, especially Portuguese history. I think I still to this day know a lot more about Portuguese history than American history, mainly because it's more interesting.

Interviewer: OK, good. As you picked up more formally the English language did you ever become then, some sort of a liaison or translator between, even for your parents, between your parents and the English speaking world or someone else that did not speak English?

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely. I mean, probably, not so much when I was younger, I mean my parents, I guess there were some things that I would explain to them. But mainly now as I have patients all the time that are speaking Portuguese or even Brazilians, you know. I have a lot of patients that are from Brazil, a lot of patients that are from Portugal because I operate out of Newark. So, we get a lot of people that are Portuguese or Brazilian that speak Portuguese, and maybe some of them speak little English, some of them speak more English but they much rather talk in Portuguese. Certain, you know, technical things are much more understandable when they're in your own language, you know. So, it's you know, for example, like, even my dad who speaks good English, or he speaks English well, he you know, it's much easier for him to understand *vesícula* as opposed to gallbladder.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: 'Oh, which one is the gallbladder? I don't know.' You know, so, or you know, spleen instead of *baço*. So, there is definitely times when I explain to my parents, but more so with patients. And then there is obviously a lot of Spanish speaking people here, and I never really was trained formally in Spanish but speaking

Portuguese definitely, definitely helps. So I am able to communicate with people in Spanish thanks to being able to speak Portuguese and that is a huge help because I'd say that more than 70% of our patients are Spanish speaking.

Interviewer: And you've managed to learn all the technical, all of the medical terms in Portuguese as well?

Interviewee: Yes, I mean some of the things, the terms were new to me in the beginning, so some things are I mean, I am sure if I have a conversation with a Portuguese surgeon in Portugal, I would be able to follow but there are things that I needed to look up and still today there are some things that I would need to make sure, like, "How do you say this?" But, being that in the medical field mostly, things are based on Latin, you know the translation happens pretty easily. You know, so there are still probably some words that I still probably need help with, but for what I need to do for my patients till now it has been sufficient. But sure, I actually at one point, I almost, I had to take a two week elective or a four week elective, and I also wanted to go to Portugal, and I wanted to do the two things at the same time. So, I was applying to go to *Faculdade de Medicina do Porto*, to do a two week elective there, but I ended up changing my mind and doing it here but I would definitely love to have the opportunity to learn a little bit more of medical Portuguese, I guess.

Interviewer: In what context do you use English? In what contexts do you use English? Is it just at work or on a day-to-day basis?

Interviewee: English? I speak English all the time, at work, at home. I mean I live now with another guy. He's Peruvian, I think. So, I mean, I talk English pretty much all the time. With my sister I speak in English, most of the time. Sometimes we'll go into Portuguese, but most of the time it's English. Mainly with my parents, with my parents' friends, like they're family friends, I call them *tio* and *tia*, but they're really not related to me by blood. They are really just very, very close family friends. I talk to them in Portuguese all of the time. People that are my age, my cousins, I speak to them in English.

Interviewer: So Portuguese, you'd say that the context is only within family? And then as you said, with your patients or with some of your patients?

Interviewee: Yeah, within family and with my patients. If I am in Newark, for example, and I go to a Portuguese restaurant, I'll order in Portuguese so they don't think, 'Ó, *vem aqui este comer.*' So I show them that I am one of them. If I am in *rancho*, I used to be part of a rancho, I would speak in Portuguese there. I go to

Portuguese mass, I speak Portuguese there. You know, if I am in the community I walk somewhere into a shop or something, I'll speak Portuguese. Especially with people that are a little older than me, people that are my age, prefer to speak in English which is normal, but people that are my parents generation, I usually always speak in Portuguese to them, just because they probably have an easier time with the Portuguese.

Interviewer: Sure. In your opinion, would you place a specific value on those two languages, Portuguese and English, and when I say value, I mean cultural, economic, personal even?

Interviewee: You mean give like, Portuguese, a four and English a five? Or what are you talking about?

Interviewer: No, no, just what value do those languages have to you?

Interviewee: I mean, I would say that they are invaluable. They are priceless. You know, (a) English is probably the most recognized and spoken language in the world. I don't know. Is it right?

Interviewer: I don't know. I think we've been surpassed. I can't recall which language it is but I don't think it is English anymore. Surprisingly.

Interviewee: Maybe, even Spanish. So, I say to people I speak three languages, Portuguese, English and Spanish. Between those three, I have probably three of the top ten, right? Because at one point Portuguese was five.

Interviewer: Yeah, definitely. It's up there. Again, I can't visualize right now the, I have this graph in head, but I can't really tell you who is where.

Interviewee: So I mean, the two languages or the three languages or whatever, give me the ability to access information, talk to people from all around the world, a large percentage of people. That's one thing. The other thing is, you know, I can, I mean, culture is its own category, but it allows me to delve into the culture a lot more. Right? If I was Portuguese-American, but only spoke English if I go to a Portuguese *café*, you know, where you know everybody is taking Portuguese, I am still an outcast, or not really an outcast, but on the fringe because I don't speak Portuguese. But if I walk in and I speak Portuguese, I am one of them. I am much more readily taken in. They have been, you know, I wouldn't be able to put a price tag on the things that I think are a part of me, like my arms and legs.

Interviewer: Now, let's talk a little bit about education. One of the things that we wanted to look at is whether the value of education has changed from generation to

generation. In your case, how would you say your parents valued education? What did it mean to them?

Interviewee: Sure, so my mom started working when she was nine years old. You know mainly, because she was poor and she was one of nine children. So they didn't have enough money to feed everybody so all the kids worked. And then, she never really valued school too much. I mean, now I guess she sees the value a little bit more but she has always been worried about me having a job, having a part-time job, making some money so that I can sustain myself. And you know, when I was in college she was she was always pushing me to go and make money, to take up part-time jobs here and there. I used to, I play piano and so she used to (?) and make some money. You know, she was always worried about that, because that was the upbringing that she had. My dad, he went all the way to high school and he actually, he didn't graduate by, he like, *faltava-lhe uma cadeira*, so he was missing one class to graduate that he failed and he re-took the test, I don't know, something. But he went much further in school than she did. But at that time he also didn't really value education, he just wanted to leave, he was just like, 'I just want to leave, make some money and get out of here,' but I think when I was born, he changed. You know, he started working, like I said, at the construction, then he was a butler, then he was a janitor, their bosses had a company, a pharmacy, he was the janitor then he became the stock, you know, the inventory manager. Now he is the director of purchasing. So he moved up the ladder and he worked with a lot of people that were very educated. So I think that very early on in my life, he started to realize that education was very, very important. And so, for him he would have me sit at home and wait for him sometimes until eight o'clock or nine o'clock at night, when I should have probably been in bed, wait for him to check the homework and he would check it every night to make sure I did it right, until he couldn't. Until you know, I was too old and my knowledge surpassed his, in certain aspects. And then he would always expect you know, more. I would bring home a 95 out of a 100 and he's like, 'Wow, why wasn't it 100?' So he always expected more. Expected us to do really well. And then he pushed always. In college he even asked me, he didn't say, you should take a part-time job. He said, 'Listen, I'll pay for college so that you don't have to worry about working and making money. I'll give you some money, to have to spend some time with your friends.' Obviously, he was not going to pay for me to go out drinking every weekend but he gave me some money for me to have some sort of a social life, so that I didn't

worry about working to hang out with my friends. You know what I mean? So where some people would work, would go to school but their main concern was working so on the weekend they could go out or they could go on vacation here and there, I never had that concern because my dad said, 'I rather you worry about school than money.' But on the same token, you know, it wasn't a free for all. 'I rather you not work and get good grades.' But that meant I had to get good grades. You know, it was a two way street. He would take care of the expenses, as long as I produced A results. So I had to have good grades all the time, and not like, you know, slack off. You know, my college career consisted of always, you know, very good grades for the most part, and your know where most people you know do one major, they get one major, which in Portugal is different, do you know how that works?

Interviewer: Yes, I teach at a university here. They, the students, pick one, major, one area of studies and they follow the European *Bolonha* plan.

Interviewee: *Tratado de Bolonha*. The thing is that a lot of people here will only get one major so they'll get for example a Bachelor of Arts in English or a Bachelor of Arts in Chemistry. I decided you know, because I had this deal with my dad, he expected me to do more and take more classes, so I had two majors and two minors. And I graduated in four years like everyone else that only had one major. So he definitely thought education was extremely important.

Interviewer: Yeah, definitely and kept you busy. Well, in the survey I had a question about culture and based on the results that we got and people's answers after analyzing those, I decided to ask during the interview how people would define the concept of culture. So, what does culture mean to you? What does the concept of culture mean to you?

Interviewee: You know, that's like, that's such a hard question to answer. I am sure there are books with not one or two or three but many volumes, you know, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and you know me, I am much less qualified to answer but I guess I would say for example, the Portuguese culture or any culture but let's take the Portuguese culture as an example. I would say that the Portuguese culture is or culture in general is a sub-total of all parts. And what does that mean? The sum of the total is equal to the sum of the parts. So what that means is, you can take Portuguese music, or Portuguese language, or Portuguese cuisine and individually they're just certain things, they're just sub-categories. But the total, the totality of all those things, when you put them together, not only put them together but then interact. You know,

north Portugal versus south Portugal, you know all those things together make up the culture. I think for me, personally, what culture is the relationship you have with those group of things. Like you know, this brings into question a lot of things, like, is Portuguese culture just from Portugal or does it include the Brazilian? You know, the Brazilians speak Portuguese, is that Portuguese culture? Is *Cabo Verde*, Portuguese culture? And you know I'm on the side of saying, yeah sure, anybody that speaks Portuguese is part of the Portuguese culture. For example, I think, which is hard to say, right, because then you have people who learn Portuguese that are Russian or they learn Portuguese for you know, for business. But that is, I think, using the language as a tool. When you use the language to be part of a community, when you use the music to be part of a community, when you use the food to be part of a community, to be part of a larger thing, you know, that's something else. So, for me, for example, I would say, you know, Brazilians, *Cabo Verdianos*, they're all part of a Portuguese culture. And why? Well because in Brazil, in Portugal we have people that are *Cabo Verdianos*, we have people from you know Angola, Timor, everywhere. We have Brazilians, lots of Brazilians and they've integrated into our culture. Even, you know, all those Asians, Portuguese-Asians, that are now living in Portugal, I think at first there was some friction in people but there is a lot of them now that speak perfect Portuguese and are totally ingrained. You know, they still eat their own culture's food, they still eat their home food but I am sure that they eat Portuguese food too, so. I am sure it's an ever evolving, ever changing thing, day by day, and there is a mingling of cultures. You know. What's my culture? I don't know.

Interviewer: Can you think of one or two examples of what is Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: Sure. Portuguese culture is Sunday afternoon going home to mom and she has *sardinhas* on the table and I'm so happy because I haven't had *sardinhas* in a while or *bacalhau*. Portuguese culture is going to *um arraial* and there is a *concertina* playing, right? Portuguese culture is playing *sueca* on a Thursday night with your friends and drinking you know, *um espresso com cheirinho*. All those things are Portuguese culture. Portuguese culture is, you know, I don't know. It's all those things, all those interactions with other people. I think, by myself I can't say I am part of a culture, but when I interact with people that have the same experiences, that experience the same, you know the same food, music, the same scenarios, that's Portuguese culture, you know, me and my friends the way we were brought up. One Portuguese-American kid to another Portuguese-American kid who's never met, we

have nothing in common except that we're sons or daughters of Portuguese parents, that's the culture right there. We can talk about experiences, you know. I'll say, *colher de pau* to him or her and they'll know what I am talking about. I'll say, *uma chinelada* and they'll know exactly what I am talking about, and that's a culture, right there in itself.

Interviewer: So what would be your example for American culture?

Interviewee: Ummm. (laughs) Yeah, I thought this was going to be an easy interview.

Interview #8

File name:	Daniel B., California
Length of interview:	01:12:28

Interviewer: Hi! First of all, thank you for agreeing in doing the interview and for participating in the study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you if it is OK to record the interview only so that I can go back later on and look at my notes and make sure that I'm not misquoting anything or misunderstanding anything, is that OK?

Interviewee: Sure, I don't see why it wouldn't be. Yeah, I guess it's comforting to know that you concerned with trying to get my actual intent and go back and try to confirm that. Or possibly, if you're also doing a paper you also want to record your sources and have your data.

Interviewer: Yes. And also, I'm interested in the whole aspect of the life stories of the people and your experiences, so I'm more concerned about your words and the stories basically and the experiences that you have to share with me. So, that's one of the reasons or probably the main reason why I would like to record it. And then my second question is, if I use any quotes of this interview would you prefer to use your real name or would you prefer to use an alias?

Interviewee: The real name is fine. I'll just be careful not to say anything

Interviewer: OK, thank you.

Interviewee: Thanks for warning me in advance. I'll be careful.

Interviewer: No problem. Can we start by maybe you just telling me a little bit about yourself, name, if you don't mind your age, where you live, what do you do?

Interviewee: Sure. My name is Daniel Baptista and I will be sixty-one by the end of the month. I live in Berkeley, California, but I was born and raised in New Bedford, Massachusetts and very Portuguese for the purposes of this conversation, very Portuguese neighborhood have you talked to anybody from New Bedford and have they mentioned the Feast, the Portuguese Feast?

Interviewer: I have spoken to one young lady from Massachusetts. No, I don't think she's from New Bedford, I can't recall now but only one and she did mention the Feast.

Interviewee: Just wondering how thoroughly to get into this. You really should check out portuguese Feast.com. That's the website for this and they, we call ourselves, I say we because I'm a member of this club, Santíssimo Sacramento, which is put on by people of Madeiran heritage and men of Madeiran heritage, which is a sore point for me because I am trying to get them to increase, to open membership to women but they feel it is a traditional thing and they (?) a stickler point with that. But anyway, we build this as the largest Portuguese feast in the world and it happens on the weekend of the first Sunday of August. I just came back from there. Several hundred thousand people, lots of beer, lots of *caçõila*, *favas*, *carne de espeto*, so there's that. I grew up a block away from there and a member of that. All my grandparents came from Madeira. I was born in New Bedford. My mom came from Madeira when she was twelve, my dad was born in New Bedford and I grew up in this community of people who are trying to maintain their Madeiran heritage. They use that word quite often. Links to Madeira in costumes and things that their parents showed them growing up and that they themselves grew up with if they came from Madeira, which is a lot of feasting, a lot of church-based activity, a lot of weekend picnics and parties, and hanging with other people of Madeiran heritage. So all of that was a big part of growing up.

Interviewer: Can you repeat the name of the club for me?

Interviewee: *Santíssimo Sacramento. Clube Santíssimo Sacramento.*

Interviewer: And that's based in New Bedford still?

Interviewee: Yes and that website should take you there.

Interviewer: I've heard that you mentioned the struggle to get these men to accept more women. I've been following a gentleman, I think he's now, on Facebook, he's now in Florida if I'm not mistaken.

Interviewee: Teixeira?

Interviewer: Bill Teixeira, and it seems that's one of his...

Interviewee: Bill knows me.

Interviewer: OK. It seems that's one of his plights.

Interviewee: Right. He's one of the few people, there's a Jesse Baptista who's not immediately related to me in San Diego and he also feels the same way and they're lots more vocal online than I am about it. I've mentioned my views online but I feel it's sort of kind of alienating to just keep pounding it in. But I am still, I also feel physically separated from that group because I only get back there once a year or so,

so I feel like you know, I'm not that every day, I'm not participating in a lot of the work that goes into keeping this alive year round and I feel sort of like an outsider trying to make change, which is not very effective.

Interviewer: How long have you been out in California?

Interviewee: Since '77. 76/77, a long time.

Interviewer: You've mentioned that your mom came over from Madeira, do you know more or less what year?

Interviewee: 1942. Her father came previously four or five times to work and to go back to Madeira and then to work and then finally brought the family in 1942 and she has a great little story about coming out on a freighter during the war and being stopped by a German submarine in the middle of the ocean and they somehow inspected the contents of the ship and they were preparing to torpedo it but they decided that it did not have any war material and let it go on.

Interviewer: Wow, that must have been one hell of a trip.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Did you use to talk about anything else, some of her experiences upon arrival or the differences?

Interviewee: She talked about, she grew up in Bristol, Rhode Island where some uncles, the great-uncles, my grandfather had lived and going to school there and getting a job as soon as they were able to work legally, they you know, worked. I'm thinking of other details that I can share, a lot of family activities, a lot of comments by my relatives that when I was little I really couldn't understand you know, who was a *sogra de* who, all of these connections that seemed to go on forever that did not make any sense but it was very important. Talking about growing up, on my father's side, the same thing. His parents came in about 1918, 1920, separately. I believe that got married in New Bedford and then my father was born and he had a younger sister that was born also. His mother's uncles had a fishing boat they would go fishing on. There are stories about riding through a hurricane in the fishing boat.

Interviewer: Were both sides of the families working in the fishing industry?

Interviewee: No, just my father's uncles. My father's immediate family did not work in the fishing industry. My father and everybody in New Bedford seemed to be factory workers. My father actually was a State employee, a State corrections officer.

Interviewer: And your mom, you said when she arrived she went to school?

Interviewee: She went to school briefly and then went to work as soon as she could, as soon as she was legally able to get a job.

Interviewer: She also worked in a factory?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Was that in the textile? I hear that the textile industry was big.

Interviewee: I believe so. I know that after she got married and moved to New Bedford was definitely a textile job and I believe that the factory work in Rhode Island was also textile work.

Interviewer: So she only moved to New Bedford once she got married?

Interviewee: That's true, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you know how they met?

Interviewee: I think at a gathering. Bill Teixeira talks a lot about this and because this wasn't something I wasn't told about but apparently a lot of people, specially Madeirans would gather places on weekends and cook meat, and sing and dance, and just hang out with each other, each other's families and I think they met in one of these festivals or *Festa de São João*, whatever *Santíssimo Sacramento* whatever.

Interviewer: What was your first language?

Interviewee: English, yeah. My mom sent me to a, there was a Portuguese school in town put on by the Portuguese consulate and got my, *graduei da quarta classe* and I got my diploma on the wall still. So, two days a week and I hated it because it just seemed like extra school-work that was done and speaking of credentials I just got this in February.

Interviewer: Oh your Portuguese passport! Nice.

Interviewee: Yes, very proud of that. I got that because I have a daughter, a 23 year-old daughter who graduated from University of Edinburg. She took four years in Edinburgh in Archeology and she would like to move back to Europe. So, I thought well if I get my passport, she can get her passport too. So I went and got it, and I really was surprised when in February when this arrived and I felt that I was adopted by this mother country that really was part of my background, but never really officially associated with me and now everybody has adopted me, so now I feel like the circle has closed in some respect. I haven't even been to Portugal since I got the passport but it really means a lot to me.

Interviewer: Have you been? When was the last time that you were here?

Interviewee: I went with my mother and father to Madeira, spent a month there with relatives in 1975, hiked around the island, brought my backpack, slept out in the middle of the island. In 1989, I went to Portugal and Spain with my wife. And went with my two daughters when they were about 6 and 9 several years later, so that would be about twelve years ago which would be 2003, 2004? And we were there for six weeks. I've been there since with them, two, three years ago? Stayed in Sintra, stayed in a small town in the north side of Lisbon on the rail stop, actually a friend of mine has an apartment, his parents have an apartment, we stayed in Cascais a few days also, got an apartment there. I'll be back sometime.

Interviewer: You've been travelling back and forth?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: If we can go back to the language, you said your first language was English, did you learn Portuguese at the same time or how did that happen?

Interviewee: Yes. Learned Portuguese in the house talking with my grandparents. My grandparents died spending forty to fifty years in the United States barely being able to speak any English, because they could speak Portuguese in the street. As my wife had said, you know, we don't need to go all the way to Portugal, we can just go to Bedford for a week because there are parts of it that sort of seem that way, that seem like you're in a foreign country. So yeah, I grew up talking to my grandparents in broken Portuguese-English and then going to Portuguese school and then polishing it up a little bit and I still feel that my Portuguese is really bad. My pronunciation is better off, sometimes when I am in Portugal, people think I am from Portugal, but if they give enough time to speak, they realize that I fall down, with choosing vocabulary and choosing words is very difficult.

Interviewer: OK and have your children learned the language at all?

Interviewee: My older daughter took, both of them, took a lot of Spanish because California has a lot of Spanish speakers. My older daughter in high school took six months of Portuguese in the community college and then in Edinburgh took another year and I was really surprised and amazed when she came back and started speaking to me in Portuguese, from Scotland yeah.

Interviewer: Nice. Good for her. As you were growing up, because maybe your grandparents were around, did ever act a liaison between the non-English speakers?

Interviewee: Always, my parents as well, I felt like I was the translator between the American 20th century and whatever the world they were in which was harder to understand than the one that was around me.

Interviewer: What was that like?

Interviewee: It's difficult. On the one hand, I wanted to do that because I felt like they were misinterpreting a lot of things or in the case of my grandparents they couldn't get by if they couldn't read. My grandmother was functionally illiterate and then the speaking part was difficult. My father did that too for his parents but I always felt that was difficult and also that was something that I wanted to do because I felt like, you know, a guide dog. You know, like I'm the person who's there making sure that they don't get into trouble and making sure that people who were talking to them understand what they trying to say and making sure that goes the other way too. It felt difficult and it felt like a burden, but it felt like something I had to do. You know, it was my job.

Interviewer: Sure. In your opinion, do these two languages, Portuguese and English, have a specific value whether it is cultural, or economic or personal?

Interviewee: Cultural and personal. Economic, I suppose it would if I were trying to, if I had a profession that was either relying on talking to a lot of Portuguese and/or English folks, but I don't.

Interviewer: And you are referring to the Portuguese?

Interviewee: Yes, referring to the Portuguese part. I mean, English has value because it's the primary way I communicate and the Portuguese has a lot of personal and cultural value and the terms, I appreciate the terms and phrases that you can say in Portuguese that you can't even begin to match in English.

Interviewer: Like what for example?

Interviewee: I wish I could remember but I know like listening to my grandparents speak and having them say things I would just be surprised at the kind of things that would come out that they either wouldn't say or I couldn't say or I couldn't just phrase and it's more a poeticism and I wish I had some hard examples for you but I don't.

Interviewer: That's OK. As far as education, would you say that there has been a similar or a very different value placed on education between the time of your grandparents and your time? Between the value you give to education and the value which your grandparents gave?

Interviewee: No, they I'm hesitating because my grandparents valued education in the that they wanted me to be educated, but they didn't do a whole lot to educate themselves. They, you know, didn't mind me to going to school after school but they wouldn't consider my mom, actually I mentioned to my mom several times she should there are always classes, they are just about free, they're all around you, you could ... and she felt that it was a waste of time for her, but she embraced and really wanted me to graduate from college and get as much education as possible. So they valued it for others but not for themselves and that's kind of puzzling.

Interviewer: And you? Would you say that you give a stronger value now?

Interviewee: I value it also and I want my kids to be educated. College was never an option. It was always something we assumed would happen and has been happening. I have two daughters, my youngest one is going through her last year of her Bachelor's in New York City and I'm sort of encouraging them to consider Masters in the fields that they're doing and I feel like I have a better background. I always was felt like when I was choosing college myself, my folks had no idea what to do. Like, I got a degree in electrical engineering and while I was doing that my father once asked me wouldn't I rather be an accountant? Wouldn't I rather work with numbers? He talked about how working with numbers was a lot more, sort of objective. And I said, I'm in engineering, do you know what I'm doing, do have any idea what I do with numbers all the time? And he really didn't, he had no idea. So I felt like I was lost. For instance, I applied to three colleges. I applied to University of Massachusetts, in Amherst in electrical engineering, which I ended up choosing. And I got into all of them. I applied to, I can't, I got a mental block, in Boston, which was a broadcasting school, and I applied to University of Ann Arbor in Journalism and Mass Communications and I always, I don't really think about broadcasting school as a hard choice, but I always wondered what my life would have been like if I went to Michigan, if I went to Ann Arbor and got that degree. It felt like a completely random choice, I had no idea what I was doing and it just like choose A or B, I choose this one, this one seems a little better. I am not sure if this answers your question.

Interviewer: Oh, yeah absolutely. But your parents were they part of the choice or were they just...?

Interviewee: No, the choice was up to me and they really didn't give me any input. I think if I had made a wild choice, they probably would said something, but somehow were OK with it. But yeah, I didn't feel like I had any guidance and I think looking at

my kids choices I think that to some extent that's still true that people make choices about their career and where they're going to study without a whole lot of information and beyond that the choice that they do make ends being random and the teachers you get and the people you go to class with and the people who you live with in school you can't anticipate, even if you research the hell out of which school you're going to and go there with completely open eyes, you get thrown into an environment that is sort of comes out of a blender and it ends up influencing you very closely, the friends that you make for the rest of your life and preferences that get established, that you work on, it's a combination of blind, random, blind combination of things that happen that end up being very important that you have no control of.

Interviewer: But did your mom end up learning how to speak English?

Interviewee: Oh yeah, my mom could speak. In fact my friends who came over to me were surprised that she could speak Portuguese, so she spoke English.

Interviewer: I was just wondering because of the whole, you know, helping you out choosing a college and a major and so forth. I was just wondering whether it was because they felt that they weren't sure or comfortable with the entire scenario or they didn't understand the process or was the language that was blocking?

Interviewee: It was more a family culture. And I think my family more than lots of others, but I think other Portuguese and especially Madeiran families shared this, they tended to associate just with immediate relatives first of all and possibly if they felt adventuresome they would reach out to Madeiran community and maybe the Portuguese community and associate in social gatherings with folks. But they remained sort of isolated especially with their own family, so outside of the family, they were not really sure how to approach it, especially if people weren't catholic, my mom would flip out. So it tended to foster this insularization that was not good for being with people outside the family, because they didn't understand it or embrace it or want be part of it. They shied away from it.

Interviewer: In my survey, one of the questions that I asked was about culture in general and the answers were so varied that I decided to put in another question here and ask people with their understanding of culture is. How would you define the concept of culture?

Interviewee: I wished I had an educated response for you.

Interviewer: No, what is it to you?

Interview #9

File name:	Jesse S., Massachusetts
Length of interview:	01:00:47

Interviewer: Good evening to you, right?

Interviewee: Good. Yeah, good evening.

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: See, here we only say goodnight when you're leaving somewhere.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: When you arrive, good evening, when you leave, good night.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: In Portuguese is not like that?

Interviewer: No, it's usually just *boa noite*.

Interviewee: Yeah, no matter what. When you arrive and when you leave.

Interviewer: Yeah, exactly. So, as you know, my name is Neuza Costa and I'm doing a study that looks at Portuguese-American identity, cultural identity and first of all thank you for allowing me to interview today, to interview you today and for participating in this phase of the study. If it's okay with you I would like to record our conversation today so that later on I can look at my notes and make sure that I have all my details correct. Is that okay?

Interviewee: Sure, absolutely. It's fine.

Interviewer: Okay. Also, if I use any quotes during this interview when I'm writing up the study, would you like me to keep your real name or just add an alias?

Interviewee: Yeah, the real name is fine.

Interviewer: Alright.

Interviewee: The government is not looking for me.

Interviewer: Thank you. Anyway, so, to start of, can you please just introduce yourself, tell me name, age, if you don't mind, place of birth, where you're currently living, what you do.

Interviewee: Sure, sorry, the signal is getting a little spotty in here. Okay, I think we're okay now.

Interviewer: I can hear you.

Interviewee: Sure. So my name is Jesse Silva. I live Somerville, Massachusetts, which is a town of Boston, Massachusetts. So, yeah, I was born and raised here. My parents are from the island of St. Michael. They emigrated here in 1978, they've been here ever since and I can say...

Interviewer: And they emigrated...

Interviewee: Pardon?

Interviewer: They emigrated together?

Interviewee: Yes. They were born there and came here together, I mean they were married there and came here together.

Interviewer: Were they the first in your family to come over or to go over?

Interviewee: So, my mom's sister went to Montreal first and then my uncle, so my father's oldest brother was already here.

Interviewer: Okay

Interviewee: So there was a sibling on each side of the family already in North America.

Interviewer: Do you know why they left St. Michael?

Interviewee: Yeah, I think probably just like most of the Portuguese people, a chance for opportunity, fiscally especially, to build their own lives and build the future of their kid's lives, you know. There really wasn't much opportunity to make money in Portugal at those times, so, they came over for a chance at the American dream.

Interviewer: And you said you were born in the States.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Did they ever tell you any stories about what it was like for them when they first arrived?

Interviewee: Not really. I suppose my father doesn't talk about it much, my mom would bring it up but it had to be in conversation. It's never one of those things where she'll pull me aside to tell me a story. Because something popped up in her mind, you know. So they don't really talk about it, you know. It comes up but it's not that frequent. I couldn't write a book about it, let's put it that way.

Interviewer: Okay but they don't, they never, the stories, not the stories but when she does talk about it, does she, is there anything specific that comes up or it's just random.

Interviewee: I would say it's usually, the number one thing is always how she worked hard, both of my parents worked very hard and they say the number one thing

I could get out of it, is they saved as much money as they possibly could to buy a house.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: That's the number one thing.

Interviewer: Did they, upon their arrival, did they speak English already or did they learn eventually?

Interviewee: No. You know, their English now is probably broken, I would say. My father carries a conversation but he's worried about being embarrassed, fear of not knowing the language well, but he carries a conversation. My mom's English is all broken but she doesn't care, she'll just say what she has to say and that's that.

Interviewer: Good for her.

Interviewee: Yeah, I hear ya.

Interviewer: Do they both work?

Interviewee: Oh yeah. They still work now.

Interviewer: Do they work in Portuguese environments or?

Interviewee: So there was a chocolate factory actually in Cambridge. Did you ever hear of Cambridge?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: So and there was already plenty of Portuguese people working there. At one point, 20% of the employees there were Portuguese probably, if not maybe a little bit more at one point. So, that was an easy in for them, you know. They got little small jobs you know for the first month or two and my father got in there and eventually my mom came on board.

Interviewer: What about language? What language did you learn first as you were growing up?

Interviewee: I learned Portuguese before English.

Interviewer: Yeah? And when did you learn English?

Interviewee: I would say probably in conversations with my brother, probably. And then, in kindergarten I guess. I mean, I definitely learned English. I didn't learn English through my parents. That's for sure. So it would have been through conversations with my brother and then, but he had a tough time with it too.

Interviewer: You have an older brother?

Interviewee: I have an older brother, yeah. And then obviously through school but I have a knack for languages so it was easier for me in general. My brother was probably, he probably had a bit of a tougher time at first.

Interviewer: Do you recall it being an easy transition into English?

Interviewee: Me? Yeah, absolutely, yeah.

Interviewer: Did you have to attend ESL at all? I don't know if...

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: No?

Interviewee: They had that program near in the city, in Somerville, but I never went. I remember, I think it was second grade, yeah, it was second grade. They would put me in these English classes to try to improve my English. I don't know if it's because I just didn't understand the language or what it was but I'd be in that class and I'm, 'But I understand everything you guys are saying so why the hell am I in here?' You know, like, get me out of this place sort of deal and that didn't last very long.

Interviewer: I'm asking because some school districts when parents fill out a home language survey, the minute you put down another language, you automatically sort of check yourself into the program.

Interviewee: Yeah. If that needed to be, it could have been, we could have gone to other schools.

Interviewer: Did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: No? Why not, do you know?

Interviewee: At the time, so my parents pretty much took every opportunity they could to work overtime. That's like, it's like a Portuguese stereotype, especially amongst Portuguese, when there's overtime you take it. And at the time there was a lot of it so they just kept on working, working and my mom especially had a big desire for me to go but, you know, for one reason or another, I just didn't end up going, so...

Interviewer: Did your brother?

Interviewee: My brother? No.

Interviewer: I'm sorry, I cut you off, what were you going to say?

Interviewee: It would have been nice but it didn't. Obviously my Portuguese could be improved. I don't write Portuguese, I can write it a little bit but it's not proper by any means. I can read it, so, you know. I didn't find it to be a hindrance, not going to

a Portuguese school, you know. So I never felt like I was lacking too much, you know.

Interviewer: Can you maintain a conversation in Portuguese?

Interviewee: Oh absolutely, yeah.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Yeah. I mean I would say I'm pretty fluent in it, you know.

Interviewer: Okay that's good. Did you, especially because maybe your mom, you said her English is more broken than your dad's, let's say, did you ever act as a liaison, even, either between your mom and the English speaking world or somebody else?

Interviewee: Oh, to this day.

Interviewer: Yeah?

Interviewee: Oh yeah.

Interviewer: What was that like? Did you ever...

Interviewee: Well, you know, as a kid it's your duty you know. As you get older, especially now, I get a little discouraged, not for not wanting to help but more so because like I, especially now I know that they can get through it, so it's like, you know, give that little extra effort and I guarantee you can do it, you know. That's, what gets a little frustrating sometimes but that's you know, that's not really a big deal.

Interviewer: What kinds of things if you don't mind my asking did you have to help out with?

Interviewee: Oh, you know, the cable bill, why is it so expensive? You know, why did the city send us a bill for something stupid? It was always something financially related, always.

Interviewer: So you didn't have to do the doctor visits or anything like that?

Interviewee: No because my parents go to a doctor that speaks Portuguese, there's a lot of Portuguese people here.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So, that part of it, we didn't really get involved with.

Interviewer: OK. Today, in what context do you use English?

Interviewee: Ah, well, I use it at work, I use it with my friends, my Portuguese friends, we are, I mean, it's English all the time.

Interviewer: Even with your Portuguese friends?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah? And...

Interviewee: Yeah, Portuguese friends we speak Portuguese when we talk junk, so to speak. We use our Portuguese, that's when like assholes come around.

Interviewer: And when do you use Portuguese besides that time?

Interviewee: With my parents. I travel back to Portugal pretty often, at least once a year, usually. I listen to Portuguese music all the time, I communicate with my cousins back and forth, so I use Portuguese fairly often. Everyday I'm using the language.

Interviewer: And in your opinion did those two languages, both English and Portuguese have a specific value? For example, economic, cultural or personal.

Interviewee: I would say, I would say growing up with both cultures gives you, if you use it the right way, it gives you a vast understanding of the history of this country, you get to understand the hardships of the poor immigrant that comes over, which a lot of people, if you've been in the United States, if your family been here for generations upon generations, you generally don't know any better and that's not your own fault, you just don't know any better, you don't know the world outside of the city you live in, I hate to say it but it's true, you know. So because of having those two cultures, being part of the Portuguese community I was able to kind of you know, if there was an Italian family, if there was El Salvadorian family that came in, I went to school with a Pakistani family, a friend of mine was Pakistani, his friends came over, I got to understand their struggles, or what their parents went through, we understood that you know, we understood the values of family and things like that, so that certainly helped and I get, and you know being an American is great, we have every opportunity on earth to do just about anything we want as long as we use it, you know, the right way.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: So... and it's a great tool, it really is, it's a blessing to be born in this country.

Interviewer: Thank you. Now, as far as education goes would you say, are you able to compare the value that for example your grandparents gave to education and that which you give? Do you think it has changed at all? Even between yourself and your parents?

Interviewee: Can you rephrase that? I'm not sure, I don't understand the question.

Interviewer: Sure. As far as education goes would you say that the value that let's say your grandparents put on education and that which you put, the value that you give to education, has it changed, between the generations?

Interviewee: Sure, I mean, the outlook is completely different, so, when my grandparents were in Portugal there was no public education, right? The government didn't provide that, so, then it changed, then you could go to, you know, up to second, third, fourth grade, you know. So their mindset was different. I'm not even sure you can compare the two. They were heavily relying on self-education unless you had the money to go on to fifth and sixth grade and so on and so forth. I know that when my, so my parents came here, so we go to public schools, okay and my father, both my parents especially my father were very strict about school, 'do your homework, go to school everyday.' Like even if you were sick, you went to school. So, education was very important, it was very important for them especially 1 through 12. The whole aspect of college though, university and having to pay for school and everything, that's where the waters got a little muddy, you know in terms of having them understand what the value of an extended education could be. I did not go to college. I did not go to university. I think, you know, the hardships that they had coming here. Everything is about the value of the dollar, about the bottom line. You know, part of that was definitely embedded into me because actually I take that back, I went to college for a semester, the program I enrolled into wasn't fair per say, they weren't honest about what they were supposed to provide, that gave me such a bad taste in my mouth, I did two more weeks at my second semester, I hated it and I never went back. I was used to working, I was used to making money and I picked that up from my parents, big time and I worked my ass off. I did that and I do now, you know, so for 29 I'm doing okay I guess.

Interviewer: That's good. As long as you're enjoying what you're doing and you're happy, I think that's what counts.

Interviewee: Well, I can't say I'm thrilled with what I do for work but the money is nice, so... and it creates a very stable life.

Interviewer: Which is important, I would say.

Interviewee: Yeah, you know and I obtain my happiness outside work, I buy things, I make investments, you know. All those things come from what I do for work so you've got to find a happy medium, that's just my view.

Interviewer: Absolutely. Well, in my survey I asked respondents to talk about culture and the answers were so varied that I decided to try and clarify what people understand by culture during the interview so, what is it, what is the whole idea, the whole notion of culture mean to you?

Interviewee: Culture to me is, it's kind of like the soul, you know. Culture is, so I'll do my best to give a decent answer. I think it's kind of like a pie, right? A pizza, you've got your eight slices and what consists of each of those slices, so in the Portuguese community, our culture, church, huge, thank God I'm catholic, you know? Can't say it enough, right? Food. We have the best on earth. These are very conventional answers, I think. I don't think anything is going to blow your mind, you know. You can say the music, you know. We're, especially here we're big on *pimba*. You've heard of *pimba* music, you know?

Interviewer: Yeah

Interviewee: That stuff for us is like, 'jeez, culture', you know. And that really you know, you can have a room full of 20 Portuguese people, everyone in a bad mood, you know, and you play some Jorge Ferreira and that place is going to go nuts, you know. So I would say all those things, you know, partake in what culture is.

Interviewer: So what's American culture? Can you think of some examples because you've mentioned some Portuguese examples?

Interviewee: American culture, if I got to see, American culture to me is more about future and what you can build for yourself. It's hard for me to distinguish what American culture is, to be perfectly honest with you.

Interviewer: It's okay.

Interviewee: America to, I don't know, when I think America as a whole I think about the future, what you can be, you know. What you can provide for yourself and your family if you have one. That to me is America. I think America, when I hear America, I think forward, you know, I don't know.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: It's a hard question for me to answer.

Interviewer: No, no, it's not, it turns out this is a hard question for everybody, when we get to the American's part, everybody sort of, you know, says 'Ah', 'not really sure' or it is, I have, I have a hard time defining American culture myself, so...

Interviewee: It's you know, for me, it's kind of like, my soul is Portuguese but my mind is American, you know and it's all, I don't know. I've been embedded in

Portuguese culture. I haven't been embedded in American traditions I guess. I don't know. I don't know, it's kind of it's hard.

Interviewer: What makes your mind American?

Interview #10

File name:	Fernando G., New Jersey
Length of interview:	01:08:29

Interviewer: Fernando, good afternoon, as you know my name is Neuza Costa and I am doing a study on Portuguese-Americans, specifically those living within the United States, so as I was saying before thank you for participating or volunteering to participate in the interview. With your permission today I would like to record our conversation. As I said, so that I can go back later and make sure that I have taken accurate notes as I remember specifics for my conversation. Is that okay if I record it?

Interviewee: Yes, sure. No problem.

Interviewer: Also your name will be changed to ensure confidentiality unless you tell me that you would prefer me to use your real name. What would you prefer?

Interviewee: Okay, whatever I'll say, I'll stand behind so, it's not a problem.

Interviewer: I am not going to ask you anything too crazy. Okay? Can we start?

Interviewee: Let me just stop you there for a second. I am having a hard time understanding what you're saying, the connection is not the best. Are you talking through Skype? Are you talking through ...?

Interviewer: We can do Skype, right now I am using Google.

Interviewee: Oh using Google. That's the reason we're having a hard time. Lets continue and lets see how we're going to work this out.

Interviewer: Okay. So, can you tell me a little bit about yourself? Your name, how old you are, if you don't mind, of course. Where you were born, where you live, what you do, that kind of thing. Just maybe introduce yourself.

Interviewee: We can do either or but if you don't mind I prefer to do it in Portuguese.

Interviewer: Sure. That's fine.

Interviewee: Okay. O meu nome é Fernando Grilo tenho 65 anos de idade, estou nos Estados Unidos há 46, e como todos os demais emigrantes vim para este país à procura de melhor nível de vida. Vim com 19 anos na ocasião frequentava o... Como é que se chamava? Já esqueci o nome ...

Interviewer: O liceu?

Interviewee: A entrada lá para o curso de arquiteto. E deixei o curso a meio para prosseguir, vamos lá, o *dream* de uma melhor vida.

Interviewer: E veio de onde Fernando?

Interviewee: Como?

Interviewer: E veio de onde?

Interviewee: Vila Franca de Xira.

Interviewer: Vila Franca de Xira.

Interviewer: Vila Franca de Xira.

Interviewer: Okay, e isso foi mais ou menos em 1900 e?

Interviewee: E 69.

Interviewer: 69.

Interviewee: Fez 46 anos em março que eu cheguei a este país. Vim com os meus pais, sou filho único. O meu pai tinha um contrato de trabalho, por conseguinte, não viemos ilegais, por acaso até viemos legais. O meu pai tinha um contrato de trabalho para uma fábrica de sapatos em Massachusetts, e foi para onde nós fomos trabalhar. Supostamente era suposto termos uma casa, um apartamento para habitarmos dado pela companhia, neste caso pela própria fábrica, que nos estava a fazer o sponsorship, isso não aconteceu. Fomos viver para casa de um senhor açoriano que foi excelente por tudo aquilo que fez. Aparentemente ele já estava habituado a essas situações, porque nós não fomos os únicos portugueses que vieram para aquela fábrica, vieram outros antes, e vieram outros depois. Por conseguinte, comecei a fazer as partes interiores dos sapatos e depois tomei conhecimento com outro rapaz da minha idade na ocasião e fui para uma outra. Saí daquela fábrica, procurando melhores condições financeiras, para uma outra fábrica fazer caixas para sapatos. E lá me quedei até março do ano a seguir, que era 1970. Onde entretanto como o meu pai já tinha feito um ano do contrato e a partir dessa ocasião já podia por conseguinte deixar a fábrica e como tínhamos gente, o meu pai tinha amigos em New Jersey íamos para New Jersey.

Interviewer: Okay

Interviewee: Okay, thank you.

Interviewer: Lembra-se como é que foi assim os primeiros tempos quando chegaram? Como é que foi aquele período de ajuste?

Interviewee: Lembro-me, lembro-me perfeitamente até porque isto eu vinha da escola, nunca tinha trabalhado na minha vida e vinha do que eu na ocasião eu considerava, vamos lá, até certo ponto, um ambiente de camaradagem e tudo mais e inicialmente tive as minhas dificuldades porque não foi isso que encontrei. Aqui os rapazes, e estou a falar de pessoas, amigos, conhecidos, vamos lá, porque amigos era

uma palavra assim um bocadinho... conhecidos que tive nessa ocasião em que até certo ponto me ajudaram mas que não existia aquela amizade a que eu estava habituado. E foi em princípio o que mais me custou. Entretanto, a minha mãe também nunca tinha saído do país e especialmente, como estávamos a viver na casa de uma outra pessoa, cada vez que chegávamos do trabalho ela olhava para a senhora quer fosse de manhã ou fosse à noite e começava a chorar, foi um tempo um bocadinho ingrato, vamos lá, até certo ponto foi um bocadinho ingrato mas continuo, até ao dia de hoje, continuo a dizer que foi o melhor passo que eu dei na minha vida.

Interviewer: E vocês foram os primeiros da vossa família a emigrar?

Interviewee: A emigrar, fomos. E não quero dizer por conseguinte que fomos porque o meu pai tinha tentado já, aliás não só tinha tentado como já tinha estado na Alemanha em 1967, estive lá um ano mas estive sozinho. Aliás, estive lá dez meses. Estive sozinho e quando regressou disse que se voltasse a emigrar teria que ser com a família e foi isso que aconteceu. E entretanto como ele já tinha metido papéis para ir para a Austrália, papéis para vir para os Estados Unidos, nos Estados Unidos conseguiu. Foi a primeira porta que se abriu, foi por conseguinte é para onde nós viemos.

Interviewer: E nessa altura já falavam inglês?

Interviewee: Não. Aliás o meu inglês é um inglês de rua.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Eu nunca andei na escola, não, quer dizer, entretanto depois e estive um ano em Massachusetts, fui para New Jersey, conheci a minha esposa, hoje que é a minha esposa, e entretanto ela já falava inglês, o irmão falava inglês, foram eles os meus professores de inglês, a bem dizer. E entretanto, foi por isso. O meu inglês não é 100% correto mas sempre deu para me ajudar. Entretanto quando vim para New Jersey o meu primeiro trabalho foi para uma fábrica de, trabalhei para uma fábrica de ferro, fazer material em ferro e com particularidade comecei a trabalhar às 7 e meia, e à um quarto para as 8 já tinha uma unha fora. Comecei a trabalhar nessa fábrica às 7 e meia de manhã e às 7:45 já tinha conseguido tirar uma unha de um dedo, com uma martelada. Foi a minha primeira experiência, só trabalhei, continuei nessa fábrica mais seis ou sete meses. Depois entretanto, outra vez através de conhecimentos, amizades que fui conseguindo mudar de trabalho, sempre por uma questão de melhoria, uma melhoria salarial. E depois passei para uma fábrica de todos os produtos para padarias. Eu estou a ouvir o eco da minha voz.

Interviewer: Eu estou-o a ouvir perfeitamente. Não sei.

Interviewee: Comecei a ouvir, okay mas eu continuo. Fui para trabalhar para uma fábrica que fazia todo o material elétrico e mecânico para padarias. Depois, a partir daí fui trabalhar para uma fábrica de tintas, e depois, a partir daí entretanto, fui para uma fábrica de cabedal. Aí, entretanto como trabalhava cedo conheci como um dos meus cunhados trabalhava numa fábrica de, numa loja de plásticos e mais propriamente a partir daí, porque ele é que trabalhava lá, decidimo-nos a comprar o negócio, o negócio ficou à venda e decidimos comprar o negócio. E essa fábrica fazia forros de plástico para sofás. Na ocasião eu tinha 24 anos e ele tinha 17. E a partir daí montámos, preferimos esse negócio, vamos lá. Começámos a crescer em que depois eventualmente tornámo-lo numa loja de vender móveis. Depois abrimos uma segunda loja e da qual tivemos uma sociedade durante dezassete, dezoito anos, dezasseis anos, algo assim. Depois separámo-nos e os dois continuámos no negócio, continuámo-nos a dar bem mas e eu continuei no negócio trinta e três anos, por conseguinte, estive no negócio dos móveis durante trinta e três anos. Reformei-me há oito anos atrás por decisão própria não foi porque tinha chegado à idade, não tinha, não tinha atingido a idade. Vi que chegava, já estava farto. Isto de ter empregados era difícil, you know, havia, como eu sempre tinha sido empregado e sabia o que era ser empregado nunca fui muito dado a chicote, então havia situações em que as coisas apareciam partidas e apareciam rotas e mais não sei quê, e ninguém era. Havia um certo desinteresse, vamos lá, dos clientes. E como eu entretanto tinha dois filhos dos quais eu gostaria que eles seguissem, vamos lá, um negócio em si, e eles trabalhavam. Começaram por aprender nos camiões, fazer entrega de mobílias. Não dentro a vender, sempre do lado de fora para saber o que é que era necessário aos empregados que andavam do lado de fora, o que é que eles passavam durante o dia para manter o cliente satisfeito e assim ficariam com uma melhor ideia para eventualmente, you know, seguirem o negócio. O que aconteceu foi que cada um seguiu a sua vida, um é professor liceal, o outra é capitão no exército, e nenhum quis seguir o negócio. E foi isso também que fez com que eu decidisse parar.

Interviewer: Já chegava.

Interviewee: Já chegava. Vendo um dos edifícios, continuo com outro edifício e é assim.

Interviewer: E durante este tempo todo, quando disse há bocado que a ida para os Estados Unidos foi a melhor coisa que fez porque é que acha que foi a melhor coisa?

Interviewee: Porque eu continuo a pensar que... Volvidos quarenta e seis anos continuo a pensar que se continuasse em Portugal nunca conseguiria atingir, pode ser que esteja errado, mas em princípio não conseguia atingir o nível de vida que consegui neste país.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: Não foi fácil, foi com muito trabalho e eu sou daquelas pessoas, enfim, agora regressei a Portugal a semana passada, estive lá cinco semanas e eu continuo a dizer que crise temos nós, porque em Portugal eu não vejo crise. E outra coisa que eu vi com muita frequência, com a frequência com que vou a Portugal, é que se nós portugueses trabalhássemos em Portugal metade daquilo que trabalhamos no estrangeiro, grande parte de nós não necessitávamos de emigrar.

Interviewer: Exatamente. É verdade.

Interviewee: E os que estavam aí teriam uma vida melhor.

Interviewer: É verdade.

Interviewee: Atualmente é a maneira como eu sinto.

Interviewer: Sim, não discordo. Os seus filhos aprenderam português?

Interviewee: Os meus filhos aprenderam português. Entretanto, eu sempre acompanhei a vida dos meus filhos, sempre ajudei no apoio que eles necessitaram. Eles foram, andaram na escola normal. Aliás, não tiveram, tiveram escolas católicas desde que entraram para a escola. Depois tiveram o liceu católico e depois tiveram a universidade. E eu sempre os apoiei, embora que eu gostasse de os ver seguir aquilo que eu criei, eu sempre os apoiei nas decisões deles. E quando as decisões deles (?) não seguir a minha vida continuei-os a apoiar.

Interviewer: Claro.

Interviewee: E foi nisso que, o meu apoio também começou e ao mesmo tempo não foi aí porque eu já me tinha envolvido comunitariamente, eu sempre me envolvi com escolas, com os presidentes dos clubes dos pais e sou presidente numa das escolas e aliás na escola em que os meus filhos andavam a aprender o americano, inglês neste caso. Havia, criou-se uma escola de português em que havia aulas diárias após as escolas americanas no arredor como presidente fiz um pouco de tudo durante vinte anos e os meus filhos andaram lá e aprenderam português como segunda língua.

Interviewer: E porque é que achou importante não só criar essa escola mas também que os seus filhos aprendessem o português?

Interviewee: Eu não criei a escola, eu simplesmente quando entrei a escola já estava em funcionamento.

Interviewer: Ah okay, peço desculpa.

Interviewee: Foi quando eu matriculei lá os meus filhos que eu me envolvi também com a escola portuguesa.

Interviewer: Okay, e porque é que achou importante matriculá-los?

Interviewee: Porque eu achei que o português é a nossa língua, deve ser falado e eu digo-lhe tenho uma curiosidade, hoje em dia os dois são casados. O meu mais novo, que é o que está no exército, é casado com uma senhora, menina russa e ela dá-se ao trabalho de ensinar à minha netinha, dá-se ao trabalho de ensinar o russo e o português. Ela tem livros em russo e tem livros em português, porquê? Porque o meu filho, embora o mais velho também o faça, mas eu refiro mais a este porque na vida que ele tomou, na vida militar o ter acesso a mais que uma língua tem o ajudado na vida. E ele entendeu também que embora quando fosse miúdo não tivesse gostado de estar na escola das 8 da manhã até às 5 da tarde, aquilo para eles, ninguém queria estar na escola e ele penso que eventualmente chegou à conclusão que os passos que ele tinha dado e que, vamos lá até um certo ponto que os tinha forçado a dar, foram os passos certos para a futura educação dele. E é baseado nisso que eu achei que, quer dizer, eu não sabia que ele queria essa vida mas achei que devia ser essencial ou necessário, que os ajudava mas eu achei por bem manter a língua paterna, ensinar a língua paterna aos meus filhos.

Interviewer: Claro. Vocês em casa falavam mais inglês ou mais português?

Interviewee: Em casa aquilo era talvez mais inglês com eles. Porque nós queríamos falar português e eles respondiam em inglês. E depois porque é mais fácil uma palavra inglesa às vezes cobre uma frase em português e foi uma questão de facilidade, eles não falam aquele português correto, correto mas falam bastante bem.

Interviewer: Na vida do Fernando, a nível destes últimos quarenta e seis anos. Se pensar assim para trás, o português foi usado mais dentro de que contextos?

Interviewee: No meu aspeto pessoal, o português foi sempre usado na medida em que nós estamos inseridos numa comunidade portuguesa, vamos lá. Newark foi uma cidade que chegou a ter 75.000 habitantes portugueses. A cidade em si chegou a ter 300.000. Atualmente somos possivelmente na casa dos 25.000 e quando eu tinha o negócio o português era falado diariamente.

Interviewer: E o inglês?

Interviewee: Também.

Interviewer: Também?

Interviewee: Mas nós como éramos uma casa, por outro lado portuguesa diria eu que falávamos 50% português e 50% inglês.

Interviewer: No inquérito que o Fernando respondeu eu fiz uma pergunta sobre cultura. E agora estou a fazer quase a mesma pergunta às pessoas que estou a entrevistar. E gostaria que o Fernando me dissesse para si o que é que a cultura, o que é que significa a cultura.

Interviewee: Para mim o que é que significa cultura?

Interviewer: Sim.

Interviewee: Cultura significa... E nós emigrantes sentimos Portugal de uma maneira totalmente diferente do que nós portugueses sentimos em Portugal. Outra vez, e eu digo-lhe isso como por exemplo, eu sou presidente atualmente sou presidente do dia de Portugal aqui em Newark, New Jersey. O dia de Portugal em New Jersey durante 3 dias atrai cerca de 300.000 pessoas. É a maior festa, a maior comemoração do Dia de Portugal no mundo, incluindo Portugal. E isso só pode acontecer porquê? Por causa da nossa cultura, por aquilo que nós sentimos acerca da nossa cultura, da falta que sentimos muitas vezes quando estamos longe da nossa pátria, das nossas pequeninas coisas. Não tem que ser nada muito importante mas aquilo que nós sentimos que eram o nosso, o que nós tínhamos em Portugal, que nos ajudava, o que nos ajuda atualmente a lembrar Portugal. A cultura para nós é ouvir música portuguesa. A cultura para nós é chegar ao domingo, agora nem tanto porque há televisão, mas quando não havia a televisão sentávamo-nos ao domingo junto de um daqueles indivíduos que tinham rádios e conseguiam ouvir Portugal e ouvirmos não só o futebol mas (?) portuguesas. A cultura para nós atualmente é conseguirmos fazer exposições de artes plásticas, de artesanato português. São as pequenitas coisas que para nós, para mim é cultura.

Interviewer: É cultura. E quando diz que nós emigrantes sentimos a cultura diferente do português.

Interviewee: De Portugal?

Interviewer: Sim, pode-me explicar porque é que acha que isso acontece?

Interviewee: Porque nós deixámos a nossa família, nós deixámos os nossos amigos para virmos à procura do que não conhecemos. Em muitos casos há pessoas que só emigram mas emigram com base em quê? Bases, quero eu dizer, emigram no aspeto

que chegam aqui e têm familiares que os ajudam mas há muitos que continuam a emigrar que não têm nada. Então vêm ao encontro do desconhecido. E é esse encontro, e é esse choque que vai existir entre o desconhecido e o que tinham que nos faz lembrar mais que nunca aquilo que nós tínhamos, o pouco ou o que tínhamos em Portugal, a nossa cultura, a nossa maneira de ser, as nossas comidas. Todos esses pequenitos pormenores ajudam-nos a manter Portugal bem vivo.

Interviewer: E o que é que acha que é para si a cultura, então, americana?

Interviewee: Desculpe lá, eu não entendi a pergunta. Não ouvi.

Interviewer: O que é que acha que é a cultura americana?

Interviewee: Bom, a cultura americana, a cultura americana o que é que eu acho sobre a cultura americana ou o que é que eu penso que é a cultura americana?

Interviewer: O que é que acha que é? O que é que pensa que é a cultura americana?

Interviewee: A cultura americana, deixe-me dizer-lhe uma coisa, a cultura americana... O americano, por exemplo, qualquer evento, ou grande parte dos eventos, sejam desportivos ou não desportivos, o que é que eles fazem? Eles cantam um hino. Isso é parte da cultura, por exemplo, eles podem os americanos, por exemplo outra hipótese, não é outra hipótese, outro caso que era, que acontecia, agora com as guerras que aconteceram que aconteceram no Iraque, no Afeganistão, por exemplo, acontecia com uma certa frequência. Estar, por exemplo, um militar a comer no restaurante e vir alguém e pagar-lhe a comida. Entende o que é que eu quero dizer?

Interviewer: Sim, sim.

Interviewee: Para mim, para mim isso é parte da cultura, é parte do brio que a pessoa tem em ser, gostar do país dele e os americanos nesse aspeto são impressionantes.

Interviewer: E o que é que, na sua opinião, o que é que quer dizer ser Portuguese-American?

Interviewee: Na minha opinião o que é que quer dizer Portuguese-American? O Portuguese-American é qualquer português que se tomou a cidadania americana como cidadão, como uma segunda cidadania. Esse é o Portuguese-American que todos nós, aliás eu considero-me um Portuguese-American mas todas aquelas pessoas que não o fazem para mim não são Portuguese-American, são portugueses que emigraram. Eu sou um português por opção, não foi por necessidade mas foi por opção, foi por até certo ponto outras situações que eu talvez me quisesse envolver, por algumas das quais que senti a necessidade de tirar a cidadania americana mas isso não quer dizer que eu me esqueça do que é Portugal e isso não quer dizer que o meu filho mais

velho, ele está na tropa, tem a dupla nacionalidade e ele é americano porque nasceu cá e nacionalidade portuguesa porque achei por bem dar-lhe. O mais novo que está na tropa não o pode fazer.

Interviewer: E acha que esse *label* de ser Portuguese-American muda quando se está em Portugal, ou quando se está nos Estados Unidos, ou quando se está com pessoas mais americanas ou mais portuguesas? Acha que isso muda?

Interviewee: Não.

Interviewer: Não?

Interviewee: Aqui não há diferenças. A diferença que existe em Portugal e a respeito de quê? Nós muitas vezes e eu continuo a dizer que eu fui a Portugal, sempre fui a Portugal, não são passear mas fui a Portugal em trabalho também porque eu trazia mobílias portuguesas de cá para lá. Eu tenho continuado com a afinidade a Portugal, não só no aspeto dos laços familiares que lá mantenho mas todas as outras viagens que eu fiz por outras razões. O que é que acontece? Acontece que nós portugueses e eu refiro-me aos americanos porque é aqueles que eu tenho a experiência, embora que eu note que isto não acontece só com os americanos. Mas nós portugueses emigrantes aqui, nós quando chegámos a Portugal somos portugueses de segunda. E porque é que eu digo que somos portugueses de segunda? Somos portugueses de segunda porque especialmente (?), eu diria que saímos daqui mas esse nem é o caso. Muitas vezes as pessoas nem sequer sabem de onde é que nós vimos. Mas somos portugueses de segunda porquê? Somos portugueses de segunda porque somos vistos como pessoas que vivem noutro país e que muitas vezes nos apresentamos, nós próprios nos apresentamos de uma maneira diferente que até certo ponto que até posso dizer que talvez não seja a maneira mais indicada. Eu passo a explicar. Normalmente, e aí é que se nota mais essa história do (?). Normalmente nós vamos daqui para aí e temos que tomar em atenção que nós temos ou vivemos num outro país não interessa qual é o país, temos um outro sistema, temos algo mais para comparar com aquilo em Portugal de bom e de mal. Não é tudo o que existe fora é bom e em Portugal é mau, não. Longe disso. Mas temos algo para comparar. E então o que é que acontece? Enquanto nós portugueses estamos em Portugal estamos habituados às coisas passarem-se de determinada maneira, nos países em que nós vivemos essas mesmas coisas, passam-se de maneiras diferentes. O ponto que eu quero chegar e eu vou dar o exemplo desta maneira. As pessoas vão daqui para aí e querem resolver o problema qualquer e

relacionado com propriedades ou relacionado com isto ou relacionado com aquilo aí. Esse problema aqui nós resolvemos possivelmente no prazo de uma semana.

Interviewer: Sim.

Interviewee: As pessoas vão do país onde eles estão chegam a Portugal e esse mesmo problema demora três ou quatro semanas a ser resolvido. Tempo, tempo que essas pessoa não têm.

Interview #11

File name:	Liz S., New York
Length of interview:	44:55

Interviewer: Good afternoon! My name is Neuza Costa and I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering for participating in the interview phase of the study. Today, with your permission, I would like to ask you to record our conversation so that later on I could listening to it and make sure that I'm not missing any important information. Is this okay?

Interviewee: Yes it is!

Interviewer: Thank you. If you would like, I can change your name if I use in anything that you say in the write up of the dissertation, I can change your name.

Interviewee: Oh, no.

Interviewer: So maybe we can start just by you just introducing yourself, tell me, just give me your name, place of birth, age if you don't mind, where you're currently living and what you do, if you don't mind.

Interviewee: Sure. My name is Elizabeth Sousa. We say Sousa.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: I was born in Germany actually.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: My parents are from the *Algarve*, they actually live there.

Interviewer: Okay, that's where I am.

Interviewee: Oh! Where?

Interviewer: In Faro.

Interviewee: Oh! My parents are in *Machados*, north of *Faro*.

Interviewer: I don't know...

Interviewee: Right near *São Brás de Alportel*.

Interviewer: OK, so I'm not, they're not too far then because from here to *São Brás* is pretty close. That's great.

Interviewee: And I'm a teacher and I live in New York.

Interviewer: What do you teach?

Interviewee: I teach English as a second language.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: To kindergarten through grade two.

Interviewer: Okay and you said you lived in New York State.

Interviewee: In New York State. I live on Long Island.

Interviewer: Okay, well, who in your family was the first to immigrate to the U.S., do you know?

Interviewee: It was my aunt, my mom's sister and then we moved here because she sent for us.

Interviewer: Do you know more or less when that was?

Interviewee: It was in 1981.

Interviewer: And you moved as a family then? You all went together?

Interviewee: We moved as a family, my parents, both my parents and my brother.

Interviewer: Do you remember what it was like? What it was like for you at the time?

Interviewee: I hated it.

Interviewer: Why?

Interviewee: Because I left all my friends behind, I was eleven years old. I'm 46 now. I left all my friends behind over there. I didn't speak English. I didn't want to come, it wasn't a choice and you know, as a kid, you know, you don't want to leave and start new and you don't know anybody, so ...

Interviewer: Sure. And did you know, do you remember what it was like for your parents?

Interviewee: It was hard for them because they were in their 40s already and for them to start new and they didn't speak English at all, to find jobs. They worked in factories all the time and they had to work a lot. A lot more than they did in Germany, so my dad didn't like it either because he was used to a different life.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: He was used to, you know, life over there in Europe. It's a different life than the United States.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: Everybody thinks that you're coming to America, money grows on trees and you know, and it's not like that. You have to work very hard and you work a lot and, so, it was a hard adjustment for them.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So as soon as they retired, they moved back to Portugal.

Interviewer: Did they ever learn English?

Interviewee: Very, very little.

Interviewer: Very little.

Interviewee: I mean, they could never go, like to the doctor by themselves or to any kind of appointment by themselves. They always had to go either with me or with my brother.

Interviewer: Do you remember any particular stories of them, that they, that they like to sort of revisit once in a while about moving there?

Interviewee: Just, you know, it was a hard thing to do, to leave everything behind and move your whole family with two suitcases each and that's your whole life that you're allowed to bring over, you know, unless you're paying extra to bring extra luggage, which they didn't.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: So it's tough to adjust to that kind of thing.

Interviewer: And did they move from Portugal or from Germany?

Interviewee: From Germany.

Interviewer: So they had already...

Interviewee: Right, my dad had moved to Germany in the 60s, because of the dictatorship. So, since they had job opportunities over there, he had moved there before he got married and then, and he went back to Portugal, he married my mom and then they moved together to Germany and that's when I was born, my brother was born and then they lived there, I guess my dad was there for maybe sixteen years. And then they moved here and they were here for almost, for like almost thirty, twenty something years and then they moved back.

Interviewer: Do you speak German?

Interviewee: I do. I've forgotten a lot just because I don't speak to anybody in German here. I try to keep up and read and things like that but you know, it's hard to keep up with it.

Interviewer: Yeah, right, sure. If you don't use it you lose it.

Interviewee: Right!

Interviewer: So, did you maintain your Portuguese? Do you speak Portuguese?

Interviewee: I do speak Portuguese.

Interviewer: It was something that you spoke at home or how did you maintain it?

Interviewee: Yes, that was my first language so at home my parents always spoke Portuguese in Germany because they never really learned German. My dad learned German but my mom didn't.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So we only spoke Portuguese at home and then when we moved here, and I went to Portuguese school in Germany. When I moved here I continued going to Portuguese school here and Portuguese was always spoken at home too.

Interviewer: Did you go to the Portuguese Mineola, the Mineola school?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: We actually moved to Mineola when we first moved here.

Interviewer: There are a lot of similarities between us. I just got lost there for a second. Do you remember learning English? What was it like for you? I'm assuming you went through ESL.

Interviewee: Yes, I did.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: And that's actually why I became an ESL teacher because I could relate to the kids. It was hard but it wasn't that hard. Just because I feel like I had a strong foundation in Portuguese and German. So I was literate and it was easier for me to move here and start learning a new language. Sorry, my little guy is peeking in.

Interviewer: That's okay.

Interviewee: So, I think it was easier just because I was literate, because I see the difference between the students I teach if they move here from like, El Salvador, most of my students are from like Central America and they're not literate or they come with very little schooling and it's very hard for them to catch up and be like on a grade level at school, whereas with me by the end of the year, the same year, I was already doing grade level work, like I was able to communicate and I feel like I learned it faster than I see my own students now but I think it has to do with literacy.

Interviewer: Okay, and at home did you ever use English?

Interviewee: I spoke to my brother.

Interviewer: With your brother?

Interviewee: We used to speak German together when we first moved here and then little by little we started, you know, switching over to English and my world became English.

Interviewer: So, why do you, do you remember why your parents enrolled you in Portuguese school?

Interviewee: They always thought it was very important for me to speak Portuguese because they're very traditional and they're very, you know, they, they put very strong, I guess importance on speaking Portuguese and they always criticize people that, 'I can't believe that they're Portuguese and they come to Portugal and now they can't speak to their family.' So, they thought it was important that we should keep in touch with Portuguese and you know, know what's going, be able to communicate with our family.

Interviewer: Sure. Now, you mentioned this before, you know, you, you went with them to the doctors, like the whole acting as a liaison between the English speaking community and the Portuguese speaking community. Did you do a lot of that?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Just with your parents or with others?

Interviewee: Just mostly with my parents. I mean, sometimes with maybe my aunt but she spoke more English, we moved in with them we first came but mostly for them.

Interviewer: Do you remember what that was like, as a, the whole experience of acting as the liaison between the two worlds.

Interviewee: It was uncomfortable sometimes because you know, you don't want to be a kid and translating for doctor's appointments and having to ask questions where you're not really sure even what the word is, because you know, it's technical language that you don't learn unless you're like the doctor or you know, you grew up speaking, you know, specific organs and, you know, things like that.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: So sometimes it would get technical like that but it was, it was uncomfortable to do that. Even now I still do it when they come here, we go to doctors here. I'm still translating. So, it keeps on going but...

Interviewer: But you're still doing it.

Interviewee: I'm still doing it. Yes.

Interviewer: Did your brother ever do it?

Interviewee: Very little. Just because I was the oldest and I'm the girl, so, you know...

Interviewer: It falls on you, I know. And now, in what context would you say you use English versus Portuguese?

Interviewee: I use English, basically my world is mostly English now, here. I try to speak Portuguese at home with my little guy because I want him to learn Portuguese too. I feel like it's an important thing and I, since my parents put such emphasis on that, I feel that I want to do the same thing and my parents, since they don't speak English, I want them to be able to speak to him at some point, whenever he starts speaking.

Interviewer: Right. How many months is he?

Interviewee: He's going to be eight next week.

Interviewer: So you do speak with him in Portuguese?

Interviewee: I do speak to him in Portuguese.

Interviewer: But outside of that, do you get to use much, the Portuguese much these days?

Interviewee: Not that much, I mean, my parents call me almost every day, so I speak to them, we do our Facetime too, so they can see him. And my husband is Portuguese too, so...

Interviewer: But you speak English with him?

Interviewee: But he grew up here. We speak English mostly just because he came when he was like three, so for him English is his stronger language.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: But he does speak it and he does realize that I put importance on it, especially with trying to raise our little boy, speaking the language.

Interviewer: Right, sure. And in your opinion do you think there's a specific value to each one of these languages? Like one has a more economic value versus, over the other, or personal?

Interviewee: As far as economics, definitely I think English is the economic language because you know, here, if you don't speak English, obviously, you're not going to get the right job and you're not going to be making as much money.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: Even in Portugal, if you don't speak English, I feel like you're behind the times.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: The new generation, everybody really speaks it. Wherever I went, last time I was there, two years ago, you know, the younger generation, everybody speaks English. My cousins speak English.

Interviewer: Right. Yeah I think these days, you know, it's even more of a demand within not just Portugal but within the EU, you just, everything needs to be in English, more and more, so we'll see where that goes. And would you, what kind of value would you place on Portuguese?

Interviewee: On Portuguese, I value it because it's my heritage and I don't know. I feel like it's such a small, little country that I feel like I need to represent it more. I guess, you know, keep it going, I understand, you know, other countries speak Portuguese too and granted, it's not the big countries or the most important countries necessarily in the world powers but I consider it important in my life.

Interviewer: Sure. You never get to use it at work?

Interviewee: At work I only speak Spanish.

Interviewer: Spanish.

Interviewee: If I use a foreign language, it's Spanish.

Interviewer: Are you fluent in Spanish?

Interviewee: I am, I actually studied it too in school.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: And most of the jobs I've had, have been because I either speak Portuguese or German or Spanish.

Interviewer: Okay..

Interviewee: So I used to work for airlines for a long time, I worked for Iberia, Iberia.

Interviewer: Okay, yeah.

Interviewee: The airline of Spain so, I had to speak Spanish there because I looked Spanish to them. So if I didn't they were like, well, you do it on purpose not to speak Spanish because you are, you know.

Interviewer: Right, sure.

Interviewee: And then I also worked for Swiss International Airlines and with them I got to use my German and I was in charge of Brazil and Argentina, so then I got to speak Portuguese and Spanish there too. And then when I became a teacher...

Interviewer: You've covered.

Interviewee: It covered everything.

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: So, and when I became a teacher around here, most of the ESL population is, they're all Spanish speakers.

Interviewer: Spanish speakers.

Interviewee: For the most part.

Interviewer: OK. Now, when it comes to education, would you say that the value that you place on education has changed between that which, if you compare it to the value that your parents placed on education or even your grandparents, would you say that it has changed?

Interviewee: I think definitely it has changed. My parents they had, my father had a fourth grade education, my mother had a third grade education. For them it was important that we graduated high school but beyond that, you know, that was grade twelve, beyond that, if we went to work, they were totally fine with that, both my brother and I decided to go on and we went to college so I got my Bachelor's degree, then I went back and I did my Master's degree. So I think internally I put more emphasis on schooling and, you know, I see that I could go further in life, having more education.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is? Why do you think that the, that there's a generational gap? You know, why do you think that you and your brother placed more of a value on it?

Interviewee: Because we saw how much my parents struggled and you know, the types of jobs that they were able to hold, you know, how much they were able to earn and I mean, they did a lot with what they earned. I mean they were pretty good with that but I can see that my life is much easier because I did go to school. And I don't have to work, you know, in a job where it's labor intensive or where I have, you know, where I make very little money and have to live in a place that's not as desirable necessarily.

Interviewer: Thank you.

Interviewee: No problem.

Interviewer: In my survey, one of the questions I asked about was about culture and as I reviewed the answers I decided that I might as well ask about it again. I wanted to ask, first of all, in your opinion, how do you define or to you what does culture mean?

Interviewee: Culture to me, is like, it's where you come from. It's where your family is coming from. It's your traditions. It's things that define your family, you know, like, some people have traditions that hold them together more. You know, like you

celebrate certain things more. I think it's about, you know, realizing where you come from and holding on to those kinds of things.

Interviewer: So can you give some, can you give me some specific examples of Portuguese culture?

Interviewee: First like, Easter time for example, you know, the *folares*.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I had a friend of mine come over and she's from Mexico, she works with me and she came for Easter and she had never seen that and she had never seen the eggs in those cakes and she was like, 'Wow!' To me, you know I grew up with that. I had always seen that so, you know, it's like, 'Oh, we're making those things again.' You know?

Interviewer: Exactly.

Interviewee: But for her, it was like, she took pictures of it and everything. You know? And then you realize, those are your traditions. This is your culture. It's your heritage. It's things that people have done for generations and you take it for granted because you don't realize what you do.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewee: And Christmas time, the same thing. You know, the way we used to celebrate it is we used to put a tree up and put all our shoes underneath and then you know, baby Jesus was coming and putting all the presents on top of the shoes. And over here, that's not how you do it, you know, so that's like, that was our tradition.

Interviewer: That's a bit different.

Interviewee: I realized when I grew up. Over here, it's Santa Claus coming down the chimney and you know, they fill your stockings and you know, it's something completely different.

Interviewer: Sure. What about American culture, can you give me some examples?

Interviewee: See I feel like, even though I've been here a long time, I'm not. Yeah and I am an American citizen and a Portuguese citizen.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: And I've held on to my Portuguese citizenship because you know, I can't let go. But I feel like I'm not an American. You know, like, I don't. Yes, I do things that we do here but I try to hold on to the traditions that my parents always had. So that, I don't know, it makes me feel like, that's who I am.

Interviewer: OK. So you can't? So how would you then define American culture

Interview 12

File name::	Jenn R., New Jersey
Length of interview:	00:56:51

Interviewer: Good afternoon! My name is Neuza Costa. I'm doing a study about Portuguese-Americans. First of all, thank you for volunteering for participating in the interview phase of the study. Is it OK if I record our conversation?

Interviewee: Absolutely yeah, that's perfectly fine.

Interviewer: Yes? Okay, thank you. It's just basically so that I can go back to my notes and when I'm writing this up I can make sure that I have the correct information, okay?

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely, that's Okay.

Interviewer: And another point I wanted to ask you before we start is, if I do use any quotes from this interview, would you want me to use your real name or would you like to me use an alias?

Interviewee: No, that's fine, my name is okay.

Interviewer: Okay, thank you Jen. Jennifer or Jen?

Interviewee: You can call me Jen.

Interviewer: Thanks.

Interviewee: You're welcome.

Interviewer: So, to start off I would like to ask you if you could just please introduce yourself, things like, obviously your name, your age if you don't mind, place of birth, where you currently live, what you do, just a little bit about yourself.

Interviewee: Yeah absolutely. Okay, so, my name is Jennifer Ramalho. I am 23 years old. I was born in Newark, New Jersey. I now live in Edison, New Jersey. I work for ADP, it's a huge payroll company and human resources. It's a company that's based all over the world actually and yeah, I'm actually a Portuguese-American citizen so...

Interviewer: Do you have dual citizenship?

Interviewee: I do.

Interviewer: And how do you spell your last name?

Interviewee: R-A-M-A-L-H-O.

Interviewer: Sorry I asked because when you said your name, I understood Jennifer ‘Mallow’, and I didn’t get the first two letters. Sorry about that. So Jen, who in your family was the first to emigrate to the US? Do you know?

Interviewee: I’m sorry, hold on. Hello? Okay perfect.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: OK. So I was asking...

Interviewee: OK, can you repeat that question for me one more time?

Interviewer: Sure. Who in your family was the first to emigrate to the US, do you know?

Interviewee: The first people to come to the US were both my parents, my mom and my dad.

Interviewer: Do you know when they went?

Interviewee: They came here, my dad was seventeen and my mom came here two years later, I think she was nineteen. So let me do that math for you, give me one moment.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: Okay, so, 1966, so my dad came here I think it was 1983. Actually no, that’s not even true because my mom had my brother first. It must have been okay, 1966 plus, I think my dad, no, my dad was nineteen. I think my brother wasn’t even a year old so it was 1985. And my mom came two years later, so it was 1987 when she came here and she was nineteen.

Interviewer: And do you know, where they came from? From mainland Portugal or the islands?

Interviewee: Yeah, both, both my parents are from *Leiria*.

Interviewer: *Leiria*, okay. And do you know why they went?

Interviewee: For a better life.

Interviewer: And do you know what it was like for them when...

Interviewee: They wanted a better life for me.

Interviewer: They wanted a better, they wanted a better life for, I’m sorry?

Interviewee: They wanted a better life for themselves, for my brother, because my brother was obviously like one year old and I wasn’t even in the picture yet, before they decided anything. They had me here but yeah, that’s pretty much what it was,

times were hard over there and you know, at the time everyone was migrating to different countries and my parents decided to come to the US.

Interviewer: Did they have family already there?

Interviewee: My family, my parents have everyone over there from my grandparents to uncles, cousins, everyone. We barely have any relatives here, we have like some cousins but that's pretty much it.

Interviewer: Most of the family is still back in Portugal?

Interviewee: Yeah. Like everyone possible, we try to go at least once a year.

Interviewer: Do you know what it was like for them when they first got there? Did they ever tell you stories?

Interviewee: When they got here?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Yeah they told me stories how this family you know, brought them in and let them live in their house in the attic, during the times that my parents were trying to get everything situated and make a life out for themselves. I think they lived with them, this family for like two years or more. My dad, you know, automatically came here working in construction and within the time that my mom was here she started cleaning houses, the most typical Portuguese-American household.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So yeah, you know, they struggled but I mean, they made it to where they are now and sometimes it takes a little bit of struggle and you know, sacrifice to get the life that you want.

Interviewer: Did they ever tell you what was hardest for them?

Interviewee: Leaving the family behind. You know, they were so young, you know, at that age, like who wants to leave their parents? And my grandmother helped my mom raise my brother. So it was very difficult, you know.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: And my dad had left like two years earlier and he was basically by himself with a couple of friends so, yeah, I think to them that was the hardest, leaving everyone behind.

Interviewer: Sure, I can imagine.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Now, as far as, do you know if they spoke English when they arrived?

Interviewee: No, they didn't you know, they both spoke Portuguese, you know, they barely knew anything of English and overtime like my dad has like the most broken English still and he's been here for, going on both my parents almost 30 years and you know, my mom speaks very well English, she worked for various Jewish families, cleaning up houses.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: So over the time, like my mom's English, her English is great, while my dad's still very broken because I don't even think he, you know, cared enough to learn it.

Interviewer: Sure. And was he also working with mostly Portuguese?

Interviewee: My dad yeah, he was working with a lot of Portuguese and he now owns his own construction company and all of his workers are Spanish.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: So he'll have like the mixture of like the Portuguese and the Spanish.

Interviewer: Sure

Interviewee: So it's, you know, to him, he doesn't even bother to learn it.

Interviewer: Of course, he probably doesn't need to.

Interviewee: Exactly so that's where he stands with that.

Interviewer: So do you speak both Portuguese and English? Well obviously English...

Interviewee: I'm sorry, can you repeat that for me one more time?

Interviewer: Do you also speak Portuguese?

Interviewee: Do I speak Portuguese?

Interviewer: Yes.

Interviewee: Yes I do, pretty well actually.

Interviewer: Okay good. When did you learn? Was it something that you learned, which languages did you learn first? Let's put it that way.

Interviewee: I learned Portuguese first. I learned English when my parents put me in school.

Interviewer: Do you remember what that process was like for you, the picking up of the English language?

Interviewee: Not really. I think like as a child you pick up everything so quickly, so, when I started hearing these people talk I just grasped it too and learned along the

way. I was, I was young. I mean, I think I started preschool or kindergarten in like, I was four, five years old.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So, I mean, obviously nobody was speaking Portuguese so I had to learn the language and I think that from what my mom tells me, she said I grasped it pretty quickly and you know, learned it on my own if, you know, if I'm learning the alphabet then, the numbers in English and this and that, I mean, I was, along the way I was going to pick up the language and I did. Shockingly.

Interviewer: Well, did you, later on then, did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I'm sorry, go ahead.

Interviewer: Did you attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I did, I attended Portuguese school for five years.

Interviewer: Do you remember or do you know why your parents made the decision to enroll you in Portuguese school?

Interviewee: I think a lot, at that time, a lot of families put their kids in Portuguese school but I know it was something that I really wanted to do.

Interviewer: That's interesting.

Interviewee: You know, just to, yeah, I always wanted to learn more about my Portuguese culture.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: So I, you know, I enrolled, I told my parents like I really wanted to go. And everyone was going, all my friends wanted to go, were going. So, you know, it was a great opportunity. I mean, I learned a lot and I bettered myself in Portuguese, mind you.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: My brother was born in Portugal and I speak better Portuguese than he does.

Interviewer: Did he also attend Portuguese school?

Interviewee: Yeah he did for a while and I think he, because our Portuguese school was up to six years and I think he completed that. I only went up to five because I moved and I moved farther than my school so my mom didn't want to constantly drive me and, so I just stopped going.

Interviewer: Sure. Now, do you have children? Jen?

Interviewee: Oh no. I'm 23 but I'm actually married.

Interviewer: But you have no children yet.

Interviewee: Nope, no kids, just married.

Interviewer: Okay, I was going to ask, you know, if you did have kids, whether you would consider putting them in Portuguese school.

Interviewee: Yeah, no, nothing. I'm sorry you keep breaking up a little bit.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Do you mind just repeating one more time?

Interviewer: No, I was just, I don't mind at all. I was just asking if you did have the children would you consider putting them in Portuguese school?

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely, I would definitely send them to Portuguese school, I mean, you know my husband is Portuguese, like straight Portuguese and so and I have a double citizenship but I do care about my culture and I know he does too. So, you know, I, we would definitely like our kids in there. I do want them to learn and to write and to read in Portuguese, just the way that I did, so I definitely would enroll them in Portuguese school.

Interviewer: And do you recall as a child and maybe even later on, as you got older acting as a liaison between the non-English speaking community and the American community or the American culture?

Interviewee: What exactly do you mean?

Interviewer: You know, like, taking somebody to the doctor and translating or at schools...

Interviewee: OK. Yeah, I never necessarily had to, you know, take someone somewhere but I did work at a doctor's office for five years and I always came across, you know, many Portuguese patients and whenever there was a chance that I needed to translate, I always translated for them, especially because our doctor was American, so I would always assist him with that. You know, whenever there's a person that needs a translation, I'm always there since I know the language and I understand it well. I would definitely always assist anyone that needed that help.

Interviewer: In your opinion is that assistance, most of the times linguistic related? Is it a language barrier that you encounter most of the times or is it also a cultural barrier?

Interviewee: Well, a lot of the time it's because a lot of them don't understand what we're saying and then, it's kind of difficult. I mean, what I understand, what I think of

it is, if you are living in a country where the majority of people speak English, you should at least try to learn the language, you know.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: So, it's definitely something I take to the heart. I mean it's great to translate and to assist someone but the truth of the matter is that you're not always going to encounter someone and other generations grow, you know. Not all Portuguese are going, you know, to date someone or marry someone who's Portuguese, especially being in a diverse, like, country that's not going to happen. So, I think it's just something that, you know, everyone needs to learn English. Like, you know, you go to Germany, you're going to learn German. There's no way you're going to live over there, without understanding their language. So, I think when it does come to speaking to someone, it's definitely the language barrier that's always the problem.

Interviewer: Thank you. Now...

Interviewee: Yeah, you're welcome.

Interviewer: Today, in what contexts do you use English?

Interviewee: What do you mean?

Interviewer: Where do you, where do you find yourself using English the most? In what realms of your day-to-day life?

Interviewee: Oh, at my job.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: All the time. Yeah, you know, I encounter like, I don't really encounter any Portuguese speaking people you know, I'm like a, I'm a client service rep so I deal with clients, with like small businesses. So like, there's from time to time I know when that client is Portuguese but half of the time, like, they don't need assistance with a translation so, but yeah, if there's a place that I use more English it's at my job. And can you believe it, I even speak Portuguese to my friends sometimes whenever we're like all together? It's interesting.

Interviewer: Yeah, I do. I was going to ask you, so when do you use Portuguese?

Interviewee: To my dad, my, I don't really speak English to my dad, I do sometimes. My mom, here and there. Whenever I speak to my relatives over the phone or you know, online I speak to them in Portuguese. And sometimes, my friends it's like we're so Portuguese that we just talk to each other in Portuguese, whatever the conversation may be.

Interviewer: And when you said "we're so Portuguese", what do you mean by that? Can you tell me?

Interviewee: Like, we were obsessed by our Portuguese culture. You have no idea, like we would rather go to a Portuguese restaurant and eat *camarão*, *bacalhau*, all of that good stuff and you know, *castanhas*. Just bring our Portuguese culture, than you know, go to a place that's American. We, you know, it's something that we treasure and we are so proud of, that we, you know, we always associate it in our lives. It's not something that can disappear from us, ever.

Interviewer: Why do you think that is? Why do you think that Portuguese is, culture or language even is so present in your lives?

Interviewee: I think it's because we grew up that way and being so far away from our family, we have to treasure where we come from. And you know, my parents left Portugal at such a young age and they obviously taught us about our, you know, our culture and it's not, it's not something that you can just throw away and act like that's not part of your life because that is my life, you know. I am a Portuguese citizen and I will always be and I hope that my kids will be the same way in the future.

Interviewer: Sure, thank you. And in your opinion is there a value that you can place on Portuguese and on English? For example, cultural, economic or, well, the way you just described it sounds like Portuguese, there's a lot of personal value to it. Is there any other value that you would place on other than what kind of value do you place on the English language?

Interviewee: Are you asking for like a similarity or a difference?

Interviewer: No, it could be different, it doesn't have to be a similar label or value that you would put on it.

Interviewee: I think if I'm being honest...

Interviewer: Yeah, please.

Interviewee: I think that when it comes to being Portuguese, we give a hand to anyone in need, you know, like we could do so much for our friends and I think that I do encounter a lot of Portuguese, like, I'm surrounded by a Portuguese community and then I know what.... but my, you know, and then I'm surrounded by Americans at my job.

Interviewer: Right.

Interviewer: And it's just like, the Portuguese are always willing to give a hand, no matter who you are, you know, no matter what you, who you are to, who they are to

us or what the case may be, we are there and I'm not saying that Americans aren't that way either but you know, *acho que a gente temos um coração mais grande*. It's really what it is.

Interviewer: Okay.

Interviewee: And, so, you know, I'm sure that there are Americans that are definitely willing to give a helping hand but you come across meaner ones too.

Interviewer: Sure.

Interviewee: So, and no matter what kind of person, what kind of Portuguese person you are, like, you'll do anything for a person. No matter who you are.

Interviewer: Thank you. Now, as far as education, was there, what kind of importance was it given in your family when you were growing up?

Interviewee: I was always taught that (?)

Interviewer: I'm sorry?

Interviewee: I was always told that if you want to go far in life, go to college.

Interviewer: You had to go to college?

Interviewee: Yes, pretty much. My family, my parents, my brother never went to college or got a college degree, but my, all my entire, in my entire family I think I was the second one. My dad's niece was the first one but I was the second one to get a college degree which not, you know, it's something rare over there. A lot of kids don't get that opportunity to go to college and if they do, they end up leaving to work somewhere else, not go to school, so I think that college, you know, school is very, very important.

Interviewer: Do you think that that attitude towards school and education in general has changed throughout the generations, for example if you...

Interviewee: I'm sorry, I apologize, my mom's calling me.

Interviewer: It's okay, sure. If you looked back at the, through the generations, if you looked back at the importance that has been placed on education, do you think it has changed? For example if you think back to how your grandparents thought about it or think about it to now, even from your grandparents' time to your parents', has that importance changed?

Interviewee: I think it's changed but I do think like back then, you know, it was always like forced to like, go to school but a lot of the times, people weren't able to afford it, right?

Interviewer: Right.

APPENDIX D - NVIVO INTERVIEW WORD FREQUENCY QUERY TREATMENT

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
knows	2148	3,01%	know, knowing, knows
portugueses	1818	2,55%	portuguese, portugueses, portuguese'
like	1362	1,91%	like, liked, likely, likes
interviewee	1315	1,85%	interviewee
think	940	1,32%	think, thinking, thinks
americans	734	1,03%	american, americanize, americanized, americans, american'
que	674	0,95%	que
people	662	0,93%	people
just	640	0,90%	just
things	628	0,88%	thing, things
yeah	576	0,81%	yeah
cultures	550	0,77%	cultural, culturality, culturally, culture, cultures, culture'
portugal	488	0,68%	portugal, portugal'
speaks	480	0,67%	speak, speaking, speaks
parents	454	0,64%	parent, parents, parents', parents'
one	448	0,63%	one, ones
lot	434	0,61%	lot, lots
really	392	0,55%	really
schools	390	0,55%	school, schooling, schools
time	384	0,54%	time, times
english	384	0,54%	english
always	364	0,51%	always
family	364	0,51%	families, family
going	354	0,50%	going
now	342	0,48%	now

works	336	0,47%	work, worked, working, works
get	332	0,47%	get, gets, getting
want	312	0,44%	want, wanted, wanting, wants
live	306	0,43%	live, lived, lively, lives, living
much	302	0,42%	much
years	302	0,42%	year, yearly, years
little	286	0,40%	little
kids	284	0,40%	kid, kids, kids'
coming	280	0,39%	come, comes, coming
different	278	0,39%	difference, differences, different, differently
came	276	0,39%	came
não	272	0,38%	não
means	272	0,38%	mean, meaning, means
even	260	0,36%	even, evening
parts	260	0,36%	part, parte, partes, parts
moms	250	0,35%	mom, moms
feel	250	0,35%	feel, feeling, feelings, feels
community	246	0,35%	communities, community
definitely	236	0,33%	definitely
make	224	0,31%	make, makes, making
friends	222	0,31%	friend, friendly, friends, friends'
language	222	0,31%	language, languages
went	220	0,31%	went
yes	220	0,31%	yes
way	220	0,31%	way, ways
never	212	0,30%	never
back	210	0,29%	back
got	200	0,28%	got
see	200	0,28%	see, seeing, sees
well	198	0,28%	well
dad	196	0,28%	dad
new	194	0,27%	new
learning	194	0,27%	learn, learned,

			learning
para	190	0,27%	para
born	180	0,25%	born
kinds	178	0,25%	kind, kinds
good	176	0,25%	good, goodness, goods
used	174	0,24%	use, used, useful, using
still	172	0,24%	still, stills
sure	172	0,24%	sure
first	170	0,24%	first
something	168	0,24%	something
right	164	0,23%	right
two	162	0,23%	two
talk	156	0,22%	talk, talked, talking, talks
life	156	0,22%	life
felt	154	0,22%	felt
uma	148	0,21%	uma, umas
homes	146	0,20%	home, homes
every	142	0,20%	every
hard	142	0,20%	hard
also	140	0,20%	also
houses	138	0,19%	house, houses
trying	138	0,19%	tried, tries, try, trying
maybe	136	0,19%	maybe
growing	136	0,19%	grow, growing, grows
nós	134	0,19%	nós
days	134	0,19%	day, days
taking	134	0,19%	take, takes, taking
especially	132	0,19%	especially
help	132	0,19%	help, helped, helpful, helping, helps
com	130	0,18%	com
remember	130	0,18%	remember, remembered, remembers
started	128	0,18%	start, started, starting, starts
understand	126	0,18%	understand, understandable, understanding, understands
america	122	0,17%	america

around	122	0,17%	around
porque	122	0,17%	porque
immigrants	122	0,17%	immigrant, immigrants, immigrate, immigrated, immigration
pretty	120	0,17%	pretty
country	120	0,17%	countries, country
name	120	0,17%	name, named, names, naming
needs	120	0,17%	need, needed, needing, needs
music	118	0,17%	music, musical
festas	118	0,17%	festa, festas
value	114	0,16%	value, valued, values, valuing
everything	114	0,16%	everything
many	114	0,16%	many
guess	112	0,16%	guess, guessing
moved	110	0,15%	move, moved, moving
eles	108	0,15%	ele, eles
person	108	0,15%	person, personal, personality, personally
able	106	0,15%	able
big	106	0,15%	big
made	106	0,15%	made
brother	106	0,15%	brother, brothers
important	106	0,15%	importance, important, imported, imports
probably	104	0,15%	probably
changes	104	0,15%	change, changed, changes, changing
aqui	102	0,14%	aqui
love	102	0,14%	love, loved, loves
mais	100	0,14%	mais
father	100	0,14%	father, fathers
food	100	0,14%	food, foods
look	98	0,14%	look, looked, looking, looks
cousins	98	0,14%	cousin, cousins
plays	94	0,13%	play, played, playing, plays
grew	94	0,13%	grew

job	94	0,13%	job, jobs
por	94	0,13%	por
long	94	0,13%	long, longe
call	94	0,13%	call, called, calling, calls
generation	94	0,13%	generation, generations
connection	92	0,13%	connect, connected, connection, connections, connects
mas	92	0,13%	mas
whatever	92	0,13%	whatever
anything	90	0,13%	anything
great	90	0,13%	great, greatly
tell	88	0,12%	tell, telling, tells
ask	88	0,12%	ask, asked, asking, asks
bit	88	0,12%	bit
together	88	0,12%	together, togetherness, togethers
college	86	0,12%	college, colleges
isso	84	0,12%	isso
outside	84	0,12%	outside, outsider
let	84	0,12%	let, lets, letting
foi	82	0,12%	foi
money	82	0,12%	money
better	80	0,11%	better, bettered
married	78	0,11%	married, marry, marrying
though	78	0,11%	though
three	78	0,11%	three
side	78	0,11%	side, sides
happen	76	0,11%	happen, happened, happening, happens
less	76	0,11%	less
put	74	0,10%	put, putting
old	74	0,10%	old
older	74	0,10%	older
world	72	0,10%	world, worlds
giving	72	0,10%	give, gives, giving
absolutely	72	0,10%	absolutely
huge	72	0,10%	huge

question	70	0,10%	question, questions
como	70	0,10%	como
stuff	70	0,10%	stuff
age	68	0,10%	age
knew	68	0,10%	knew
newark	68	0,10%	newark
spoke	68	0,10%	spoke
word	68	0,10%	word, words
mothers	68	0,10%	mother, mothers
everyone	66	0,09%	everyone
spanish	66	0,09%	spanish
younger	66	0,09%	younger
believe	66	0,09%	believe, believer, believes
away	64	0,09%	away
california	64	0,09%	california
pessoas	64	0,09%	pessoa, pessoas
children	62	0,09%	children
thought	62	0,09%	thought, thoughts
daughter	62	0,09%	daughter, daughters, daughters'
nos	60	0,08%	nos
stories	60	0,08%	stories, story
uncle	60	0,08%	uncle, uncles
example	58	0,08%	example, examples
eat	58	0,08%	eat, eating
depois	56	0,08%	depois
either	56	0,08%	either
ever	56	0,08%	ever
high	56	0,08%	high, highly
jersey	56	0,08%	jersey, jerseys
saying	56	0,08%	saying, sayings
considered	56	0,08%	consider, considered, considering, considers
week	56	0,08%	week, weeks
group	54	0,08%	group, groups
okay	54	0,08%	okay
também	54	0,08%	também
whole	54	0,08%	whole
aunts	54	0,08%	aunt, aunts, aunts'
anos	54	0,08%	ano, anos
end	54	0,08%	end, ended, ends

até	52	0,07%	até
left	52	0,07%	left
proud	52	0,07%	proud
quando	52	0,07%	quando
tinha	52	0,07%	tinha
sort	52	0,07%	sort, sorts
place	52	0,07%	place, placed, places, placing
care	52	0,07%	care, cared, careful, cares
opportunity	52	0,07%	opportunities, opportunity
sister	52	0,07%	sister, sisters
husband	51	0,07%	husband, husbands
stayed	50	0,07%	stay, stayed, staying
already	50	0,07%	already
another	50	0,07%	another
difficult	50	0,07%	difficult
dizer	50	0,07%	dizer
else	50	0,07%	else
nossa	50	0,07%	nossa, nossas
português	50	0,07%	português
vamos	50	0,07%	vamos
area	50	0,07%	area, areas
bring	50	0,07%	bring, bringing, brings
communicate	50	0,07%	communicate, communicating, communication, communications
certain	50	0,07%	certain, certainly
club	50	0,07%	club, clubs
grade	50	0,07%	grade, grades
filhos	48	0,07%	filho, filhos
close	48	0,07%	close, closed, closely, closeness
doctor	48	0,07%	doctor, doctorate, doctors, doctors'
easier	48	0,07%	easier
era	48	0,07%	era
four	48	0,07%	four
grandmother	48	0,07%	grandmother
isto	48	0,07%	isto
meu	48	0,07%	meu
mineola	48	0,07%	mineola

someone	48	0,07%	someone
taught	48	0,07%	taught
temos	48	0,07%	temos
told	48	0,07%	told
experiences	48	0,07%	experience, experiences, experiment
island	48	0,07%	island, islands
seems	48	0,07%	seem, seemed, seems
teacher	48	0,07%	teacher, teachers, teachers'
coisas	46	0,06%	coisa, coisas
class	46	0,06%	class, classe, classes
leave	46	0,06%	leave, leaves, leaving
appreciate	46	0,06%	appreciate, appreciated, appreciating, appreciation, appreciative
church	46	0,06%	church
dos	46	0,06%	dos
young	46	0,06%	young
night	46	0,06%	night, nights
dias	46	0,06%	dia, dias
teach	46	0,06%	teach, teaching
clubes	44	0,06%	clube, clubes
struggles	44	0,06%	struggle, struggled, struggles, struggles', struggling
everybody	44	0,06%	everybody
fine	44	0,06%	fine
town	44	0,06%	town, towns
essa	42	0,06%	essa, essas
answer	42	0,06%	answer, answered, answering, answers
keep	42	0,06%	keep, keeping, keeps
emigrantes	42	0,06%	emigrante, emigrantes
muito	42	0,06%	muito, muitos
dances	42	0,06%	dance, danced,

			dances, dancing
azores	42	0,06%	azores
cleaning	42	0,06%	clean, cleaning
matter	42	0,06%	matter
país	42	0,06%	país
today	42	0,06%	today
took	42	0,06%	took
york	42	0,06%	york
share	42	0,06%	share, shared, sharing
find	42	0,06%	find, finding
grandfather	42	0,06%	grandfather, grandfathers
point	42	0,06%	point, pointed, pointing
relatives	42	0,06%	relate, related, relates, relation, relatives
problem	42	0,06%	problem, problems
minha	40	0,06%	minha, minhas
watching	40	0,06%	watch, watched, watching
cook	40	0,06%	cook, cooked, cooking
ago	40	0,06%	ago
became	40	0,06%	became
best	40	0,06%	best
couple	40	0,06%	couple
cultura	40	0,06%	cultura
enough	40	0,06%	enough
everywhere	40	0,06%	everywhere
massachusetts	40	0,06%	massachusetts
seen	40	0,06%	seen
sempre	40	0,06%	sempre
last	40	0,06%	last, lasted
normal	38	0,05%	normal, normally
rancho	38	0,05%	rancho, ranchos
escola	38	0,05%	escola, escolas
outra	38	0,05%	outra, outras
girls	38	0,05%	girl, girls, girls'
pick	38	0,05%	pick, picked, picking
behind	38	0,05%	behind
das	38	0,05%	das
done	38	0,05%	done
five	38	0,05%	five

funny	38	0,05%	funny
least	38	0,05%	least
middle	38	0,05%	middle
ser	38	0,05%	ser
since	38	0,05%	since
vida	38	0,05%	vida
hear	36	0,05%	hear, hearing
exactly	36	0,05%	exact, exactly
queen	36	0,05%	queen, queens
summer	36	0,05%	summer, summers
months	36	0,05%	month, monthly, months
become	36	0,05%	become, becomes, becoming
challenges	36	0,05%	challenge, challenged, challenges, challenging
aquilo	36	0,05%	aquilo
bad	36	0,05%	bad
far	36	0,05%	far
fazer	36	0,05%	fazer
history	36	0,05%	history
mainly	36	0,05%	main, mainly
onde	36	0,05%	onde
second	36	0,05%	second
brought	34	0,05%	brought
mostly	34	0,05%	mostly
next	34	0,05%	next
san	34	0,05%	san
small	34	0,05%	small
tem	34	0,05%	tem
heritage	34	0,05%	heritage, heritages
hundred	34	0,05%	hundred, hundreds
reason	34	0,05%	reason, reasons
choice	34	0,05%	choice, choices
conversation	34	0,05%	conversation, conversations
deal	34	0,05%	deal, dealing
general	34	0,05%	general, generally
household	34	0,05%	household, households
acontece	34	0,05%	acontece,

			acontecer
americanos	34	0,05%	americano, americanos
hated	34	0,05%	hate, hated
000	32	0,04%	000
almost	32	0,04%	almost
brazilian	32	0,04%	brazilian, brazilians
course	32	0,04%	course
entretanto	32	0,04%	entretanto
fábrica	32	0,04%	fábrica
fui	32	0,04%	fui
luso	32	0,04%	luso
meus	32	0,04%	meus
nothing	32	0,04%	nothing
percent	32	0,04%	percent
são	32	0,04%	são
heart	32	0,04%	heart, hearts
idea	32	0,04%	idea, ideas
mind	32	0,04%	mind, minded
explain	32	0,04%	explain, explained
weekend	32	0,04%	weekend, weekends
feast	32	0,04%	feast, feasting, feasts
walk	32	0,04%	walk, walked, walking, walks
welcome	32	0,04%	welcome, welcomed, welcoming
mixed	32	0,04%	mix, mixed, mixes, mixing
outro	32	0,04%	outro, outros
bedford	30	0,04%	bedford
cause	30	0,04%	cause
então	30	0,04%	então
half	30	0,04%	half
may	30	0,04%	may
north	30	0,04%	north
oldest	30	0,04%	oldest
pais	30	0,04%	pai, pais
perfectly	30	0,04%	perfect, perfectly
shows	30	0,04%	show, showed, showing, shows
whereas	30	0,04%	whereas
whether	30	0,04%	whether

white	30	0,04%	white
specific	30	0,04%	specific, specifically, specifics
street	30	0,04%	street, streets
celebrate	30	0,04%	celebrate, celebrated, celebrating, celebration
interview	30	0,04%	interview, interviewing
reading	30	0,04%	read, reading
muitas	30	0,04%	muita, muitas
organize	30	0,04%	organization, organizations, organize, organized, organs
sei	30	0,04%	sei, seis
thank	30	0,04%	thank, thanks
open	28	0,04%	open, opened, opening, opens
está	28	0,04%	está
gone	28	0,04%	gone
guy	28	0,04%	guy, guys
nada	28	0,04%	nada
sorry	28	0,04%	sorry
ponto	28	0,04%	ponto, pontos
restaurant	28	0,04%	restaurant, restaurants
write	28	0,04%	write, writings
bands	28	0,04%	band, bands
hand	28	0,04%	hand, handful, hands
hold	28	0,04%	hold, holding
land	28	0,04%	land, landed, landing
maneira	28	0,04%	maneira, maneiras
patients	28	0,04%	patient, patients
graduate	28	0,04%	graduate, graduated, graduation
listen	28	0,04%	listen, listened, listening
game	28	0,04%	game, games
driving	26	0,04%	drive, drives, driving
view	26	0,04%	view, viewed,

			views
agora	26	0,04%	agora
cool	26	0,04%	cool
define	26	0,04%	define, defined, defines
easy	26	0,04%	easy
faz	26	0,04%	faz
german	26	0,04%	german
germany	26	0,04%	germany
member	26	0,04%	member, members
neighborhood	26	0,04%	neighborhood
nine	26	0,04%	nine
nunca	26	0,04%	nunca
portuguesa	26	0,04%	portuguesa, portuguesas
quer	26	0,04%	quer
somos	26	0,04%	somos
sunday	26	0,04%	sunday, sundays
supportive	26	0,04%	support, supportive
têm	26	0,04%	têm
true	26	0,04%	true
tudo	26	0,04%	tudo
vezes	26	0,04%	vezes
allowed	26	0,04%	allowed, allows
exemplo	26	0,04%	exemplo, exemplos
você	26	0,04%	você, vocês
casas	26	0,04%	casa, casas
enjoy	26	0,04%	enjoy, enjoyed, enjoying
hang	26	0,04%	hang, hanging
italians	26	0,04%	italian, italians
wish	26	0,04%	wish, wished
busy	26	0,04%	business, businesses, busy
madeiran	26	0,04%	madeiran, madeirans
strongly	26	0,04%	strong, strongly
typical	26	0,04%	typical, typically
realize	24	0,03%	realize, realized, realizes, realizing
santo	24	0,03%	santo, santos
participate	24	0,03%	participate, participated, participating

influence	24	0,03%	influence, influenced, influences, influencing
80s	24	0,03%	80s
across	24	0,03%	across
bye	24	0,03%	bye
factories	24	0,03%	factories, factory
file	24	0,03%	file
foreign	24	0,03%	foreign, foreigner, foreigners
heard	24	0,03%	heard
indian	24	0,03%	indian
local	24	0,03%	local
madeira	24	0,03%	madeira
negócio	24	0,03%	negócio
number	24	0,03%	number, numbers
rather	24	0,03%	rather
stop	24	0,03%	stop, stopped
ten	24	0,03%	ten
major	24	0,03%	major, majority, majors
citizen	24	0,03%	citizen, citizens
meet	24	0,03%	meet, meeting, meetings
piece	24	0,03%	piece, pieces
esse	24	0,03%	esse, esses
hope	22	0,03%	hope, hopefully, hoping
movies	22	0,03%	movie, movies
embrace	22	0,03%	embrace, embraced, embracing
pushed	22	0,03%	push, pushed, pushing
turn	22	0,03%	turn, turned, turns
although	22	0,03%	although
bom	22	0,03%	bom
child	22	0,03%	child
common	22	0,03%	common
eight	22	0,03%	eight
emphasis	22	0,03%	emphasis
fish	22	0,03%	fish, fishing
free	22	0,03%	free
future	22	0,03%	future
harder	22	0,03%	harder

inglês	22	0,03%	inglês
late	22	0,03%	late
lhe	22	0,03%	lhe
man	22	0,03%	man
nem	22	0,03%	nem
nobody	22	0,03%	nobody
ocasião	22	0,03%	ocasião
soccer	22	0,03%	soccer
somebody	22	0,03%	somebody
ter	22	0,03%	ter
tinham	22	0,03%	tinham
trabalho	22	0,03%	trabalho
whenever	22	0,03%	whenever
certo	22	0,03%	certo, certos
compare	22	0,03%	compare, compared, comparing
issue	22	0,03%	issue, issued, issues
melhor	22	0,03%	melhor, melhores
buy	22	0,03%	buy, buying
maintain	22	0,03%	maintain, maintaining
similar	22	0,03%	similar, similarities, similarity
spend	22	0,03%	spend, spending
background	20	0,03%	background, backgrounds
família	20	0,03%	família, famílias
chance	20	0,03%	chance, chances
literally	20	0,03%	literally, literate
party	20	0,03%	parties, party
sound	20	0,03%	sound, sounds
choosing	20	0,03%	choose, chooses, choosing
afraid	20	0,03%	afraid
anybody	20	0,03%	anybody
beyond	20	0,03%	beyond
bocadinho	20	0,03%	bocadinho
boston	20	0,03%	boston
dólares	20	0,03%	dólares
este	20	0,03%	este
estou	20	0,03%	estou
god	20	0,03%	god
kindergarten	20	0,03%	kindergarten
knick	20	0,03%	knick

later	20	0,03%	later
men	20	0,03%	men
met	20	0,03%	met
mine	20	0,03%	mine
necessarily	20	0,03%	necessarily
passport	20	0,03%	passport
qualquer	20	0,03%	qualquer
sense	20	0,03%	sense
somewhere	20	0,03%	somewhere
table	20	0,03%	table
tenho	20	0,03%	tenho
tough	20	0,03%	tough
truly	20	0,03%	truly
type	20	0,03%	type, types
vai	20	0,03%	vai
vão	20	0,03%	vão
wow	20	0,03%	wow
accent	20	0,03%	accent, accents
americana	20	0,03%	americana, americanas
azorean	20	0,03%	azorean, azoreans
found	20	0,03%	found, founding
mass	20	0,03%	mass, masses
text	20	0,03%	text, texted
wear	20	0,03%	wear, wearing
assim	18	0,03%	assim, assim'
flag	18	0,03%	flag, flags
near	18	0,03%	near, nearly
paper	18	0,03%	paper, papers
poor	18	0,03%	poor, poorly
room	18	0,03%	room, rooms
single	18	0,03%	single, singling
visit	18	0,03%	visit, visits
área	18	0,03%	área, áreas
caso	18	0,03%	caso, casos
multicultural	18	0,03%	multicultural, multiculturalism
build	18	0,03%	build, building
diverse	18	0,03%	diverse, diversity
embarrassing	18	0,03%	embarrassed, embarrassing
immediate	18	0,03%	immediate, immediately
nosso	18	0,03%	nosso, nossos
passed	18	0,03%	pass, passed
social	18	0,03%	social, socialize, socialized,

			socially
forms	18	0,03%	form, formed, forms
anyone	18	0,03%	anyone
atualmente	18	0,03%	atualmente
catholic	18	0,03%	catholic
continuo	18	0,03%	continuo
easily	18	0,03%	easily
embora	18	0,03%	embora
esl	18	0,03%	esl
estamos	18	0,03%	estamos
europe	18	0,03%	europe
eventually	18	0,03%	eventually
folks	18	0,03%	folks
grown	18	0,03%	grown
hmm	18	0,03%	hmm
identity	18	0,03%	identity
large	18	0,03%	large
level	18	0,03%	level
mim	18	0,03%	mim
order	18	0,03%	order
peabody	18	0,03%	peabody
porquê	18	0,03%	porquê
segunda	18	0,03%	segunda
sou	18	0,03%	sou
tempo	18	0,03%	tempo
vacation	18	0,03%	vacation
ver	18	0,03%	ver
wife	18	0,03%	wife
within	18	0,03%	within
without	18	0,03%	without
aliás	16	0,02%	aliás
anymore	16	0,02%	anymore
ate	16	0,02%	ate
august	16	0,02%	august
bem	16	0,02%	bem
bread	16	0,02%	bread
broken	16	0,02%	broken
durante	16	0,02%	durante
earlier	16	0,02%	earlier
estar	16	0,02%	estar
esteve	16	0,02%	esteve
fact	16	0,02%	fact
football	16	0,02%	football
havia	16	0,02%	havia
larger	16	0,02%	larger
often	16	0,02%	often

others	16	0,02%	others
penso	16	0,02%	penso
pico	16	0,02%	pico
recently	16	0,02%	recently
respond	16	0,02%	respond, responder
sopas	16	0,02%	sopas
três	16	0,02%	três
unidos	16	0,02%	unidos
unless	16	0,02%	unless
anyway	16	0,02%	anyway, anyways
bilingual	16	0,02%	bilingual, bilingualism
fall	16	0,02%	fall, falls
instance	16	0,02%	instance, instances
luck	16	0,02%	luck, lucked
presidente	16	0,02%	presidente, presidentes
strict	16	0,02%	strict, strictly
tuna	16	0,02%	tuna, tunas
associate	16	0,02%	associate, associated, association
door	16	0,02%	door, doors
follow	16	0,02%	follow, followed, following
hispanic	16	0,02%	hispanic, hispanics
respect	16	0,02%	respect, respectable, respectful
step	16	0,02%	step, steps
block	16	0,02%	block, blocked, blocks
save	16	0,02%	save, saved, saving
suppose	16	0,02%	suppose, supposed, supposedly
pig	16	0,02%	pig, pigs
100	14	0,02%	100
20s	14	0,02%	20s, 20th
anywhere	14	0,02%	anywhere
aspeto	14	0,02%	aspeto
baseball	14	0,02%	baseball
bill	14	0,02%	bill
car	14	0,02%	car

case	14	0,02%	case
concept	14	0,02%	concept
consequinte	14	0,02%	consequinte
construction	14	0,02%	construction
daqui	14	0,02%	daqui
dar	14	0,02%	dar
dois	14	0,02%	dois
duas	14	0,02%	duas
encounter	14	0,02%	encounter
eram	14	0,02%	eram
espírito	14	0,02%	espírito
everyday	14	0,02%	everyday
extent	14	0,02%	extent
fear	14	0,02%	fear
fluent	14	0,02%	fluent
foram	14	0,02%	foram
french	14	0,02%	french
fun	14	0,02%	fun
goes	14	0,02%	goes
instead	14	0,02%	instead
internet	14	0,02%	internet
irish	14	0,02%	irish
lado	14	0,02%	lado
lisbon	14	0,02%	lisbon
língua	14	0,02%	língua
lose	14	0,02%	lose
lucky	14	0,02%	lucky
medical	14	0,02%	medical
military	14	0,02%	military
native	14	0,02%	native
partir	14	0,02%	partir
passionate	14	0,02%	passionate
past	14	0,02%	past
phone	14	0,02%	phone
provide	14	0,02%	provide, providence
public	14	0,02%	public
religious	14	0,02%	religious
saw	14	0,02%	saw
sentimos	14	0,02%	sentimos
shit	14	0,02%	shit
spent	14	0,02%	spent
surprised	14	0,02%	surprised
vieram	14	0,02%	vieram
women	14	0,02%	women
combination	14	0,02%	combination, combining

concertina	14	0,02%	concertina, concertinas
fair	14	0,02%	fair, fairly
musician	14	0,02%	musician, musicians
pay	14	0,02%	pay, paying
store	14	0,02%	store, stores
teenager	14	0,02%	teenager, teenagers
beautiful	14	0,02%	beautiful, beauty
cidade	14	0,02%	cidade, cidades
dream	14	0,02%	dream, dreams
prefer	14	0,02%	prefer, preferences, prefers
saturday	14	0,02%	saturday, saturdays
service	14	0,02%	service, services
add	12	0,02%	add, adds
folklore	12	0,02%	folklore, folkloric
grounded	12	0,02%	grounded, grounds
head	12	0,02%	head, headed, heads
60s	12	0,02%	60s
ability	12	0,02%	ability
accordion	12	0,02%	accordion
ainda	12	0,02%	ainda
ali	12	0,02%	ali
atrás	12	0,02%	atrás
bigger	12	0,02%	bigger
blood	12	0,02%	blood
cabo	12	0,02%	cabo
cabrilo	12	0,02%	cabrilo
comecei	12	0,02%	comecei
daí	12	0,02%	daí
degree	12	0,02%	degree
diria	12	0,02%	diria
early	12	0,02%	early
effort	12	0,02%	effort
environment	12	0,02%	environment
envolvido	12	0,02%	envolvido
estava	12	0,02%	estava
estive	12	0,02%	estive
except	12	0,02%	except
extra	12	0,02%	extra
fátima	12	0,02%	fátima

fiz	12	0,02%	fiz
forth	12	0,02%	forth
hey	12	0,02%	hey
holy	12	0,02%	holy
idade	12	0,02%	idade
íamos	12	0,02%	íamos
lhes	12	0,02%	lhes
lost	12	0,02%	lost
madalena	12	0,02%	madalena
mainland	12	0,02%	mainland
melting	12	0,02%	melting
mês	12	0,02%	mês
nice	12	0,02%	nice
numa	12	0,02%	numa
ouvir	12	0,02%	ouvir
pergunta	12	0,02%	pergunta
phd	12	0,02%	phd
pot	12	0,02%	pot
pride	12	0,02%	pride
quite	12	0,02%	quite
razão	12	0,02%	razão
sardinhas	12	0,02%	sardinhas
seja	12	0,02%	seja
six	12	0,02%	six
stupid	12	0,02%	stupid
taken	12	0,02%	taken
tive	12	0,02%	tive
trabalhar	12	0,02%	trabalhar
trust	12	0,02%	trust
truth	12	0,02%	truth
tulare	12	0,02%	tulare
upbringing	12	0,02%	upbringing
valuable	12	0,02%	valuable
vejo	12	0,02%	vejo
west	12	0,02%	west
afternoon	12	0,02%	afternoon, afternoons
applied	12	0,02%	applied, applying
bother	12	0,02%	bother, bothered
career	12	0,02%	career, careers
check	12	0,02%	check, checks
embedded	12	0,02%	embedded, embedding
fit	12	0,02%	fit, fitting
goal	12	0,02%	goal, goals
hall	12	0,02%	hall, halls
necessidade	12	0,02%	necessidade,

			necessidades
perception	12	0,02%	perception, perceptions
pressure	12	0,02%	pressure, pressured
repeat	12	0,02%	repeat, repeating
sua	12	0,02%	sua, suas
tia	12	0,02%	tia, tias
top	12	0,02%	top, tops
wave	12	0,02%	wave, waves
assist	10	0,01%	assist, assistance
café	10	0,01%	café, cafés
hit	10	0,01%	hit, hits
honor	10	0,01%	honor, honored
independent	10	0,01%	independent, independently
label	10	0,01%	label, labeled
option	10	0,01%	option, options
rest	10	0,01%	rest, resting
sensitive	10	0,01%	sensitive, sensitivity
set	10	0,01%	set, setting
seventies	10	0,01%	seventies, seventy
achei	10	0,01%	achei
acho	10	0,01%	acho
algo	10	0,01%	algo
along	10	0,01%	along
angola	10	0,01%	angola
aware	10	0,01%	aware
bacalhau	10	0,01%	bacalhau
bachelor	10	0,01%	bachelor
ball	10	0,01%	ball
boat	10	0,01%	boat
brazil	10	0,01%	brazil
canada	10	0,01%	canada
carnaval	10	0,01%	carnaval
central	10	0,01%	central
chinese	10	0,01%	chinese
clock	10	0,01%	clock
currently	10	0,01%	currently
daquilo	10	0,01%	daquilo
descent	10	0,01%	descent
describe	10	0,01%	describe
diego	10	0,01%	diego
dinner	10	0,01%	dinner
east	10	0,01%	east
ela	10	0,01%	ela

elementary	10	0,01%	elementary
elizabeth	10	0,01%	elizabeth
entire	10	0,01%	entire
entre	10	0,01%	entre
falar	10	0,01%	falar
fácil	10	0,01%	fácil
fez	10	0,01%	fez
fomos	10	0,01%	fomos
forget	10	0,01%	forget
forward	10	0,01%	forward
fourth	10	0,01%	fourth
freitas	10	0,01%	freitas
gave	10	0,01%	gave
gazul	10	0,01%	gazul
grandkids	10	0,01%	grandkids
green	10	0,01%	green
hell	10	0,01%	hell
homework	10	0,01%	homework
huh	10	0,01%	huh
ideia	10	0,01%	ideia
information	10	0,01%	information
irá	10	0,01%	irá
isabel	10	0,01%	isabel
isabela	10	0,01%	isabela
june	10	0,01%	june
kept	10	0,01%	kept
laughter	10	0,01%	laughter
loud	10	0,01%	loud
mail	10	0,01%	mail
manter	10	0,01%	manter
maternal	10	0,01%	maternal
memories	10	0,01%	memories
menos	10	0,01%	menos
mesmo	10	0,01%	mesmo
might	10	0,01%	might
molly	10	0,01%	molly
nessa	10	0,01%	nessa
overtime	10	0,01%	overtime
page	10	0,01%	page
parada	10	0,01%	parada
pie	10	0,01%	pie
pode	10	0,01%	pode
primeiro	10	0,01%	primeiro
program	10	0,01%	program
quero	10	0,01%	quero
radio	10	0,01%	radio
razões	10	0,01%	razões

real	10	0,01%	real
reality	10	0,01%	reality
regret	10	0,01%	regret
relationship	10	0,01%	relationship
rosemary	10	0,01%	rosemary
sacramento	10	0,01%	sacramento
salad	10	0,01%	salad
santíssimo	10	0,01%	santíssimo
seguir	10	0,01%	seguir
senhora	10	0,01%	senhora
sit	10	0,01%	sit
situações	10	0,01%	situações
society	10	0,01%	society
somehow	10	0,01%	somehow
soon	10	0,01%	soon
soul	10	0,01%	soul
spectrum	10	0,01%	spectrum
spirit	10	0,01%	spirit
spoken	10	0,01%	spoken
sudden	10	0,01%	sudden
thanksgiving	10	0,01%	thanksgiving
throughout	10	0,01%	throughout
todas	10	0,01%	todas
trinta	10	0,01%	trinta
twelve	10	0,01%	twelve
uns	10	0,01%	uns
venezuela	10	0,01%	venezuela
vez	10	0,01%	vez
woman	10	0,01%	woman
wrong	10	0,01%	wrong
yet	10	0,01%	yet
youngest	10	0,01%	youngest
1960s	8	0,01%	1960s
1967	8	0,01%	1967
70s	8	0,01%	70s
acolhimento	8	0,01%	acolhimento
aconteceu	8	0,01%	aconteceu
african	8	0,01%	african
andaram	8	0,01%	andaram
apple	8	0,01%	apple
associação	8	0,01%	associação
available	8	0,01%	available
baby	8	0,01%	baby
barely	8	0,01%	barely
beer	8	0,01%	beer
biggest	8	0,01%	biggest
birth	8	0,01%	birth

blind	8	0,01%	blind
boyfriend	8	0,01%	boyfriend
brooklyn	8	0,01%	brooklyn
butler	8	0,01%	butler
cada	8	0,01%	cada
cheguei	8	0,01%	cheguei
choque	8	0,01%	choque
chose	8	0,01%	chose
christmas	8	0,01%	christmas
circle	8	0,01%	circle
coast	8	0,01%	coast
committee	8	0,01%	committee
crazy	8	0,01%	crazy
cut	8	0,01%	cut
dentro	8	0,01%	dentro
difícil	8	0,01%	difícil
digo	8	0,01%	digo
director	8	0,01%	director
dissertation	8	0,01%	dissertation
disso	8	0,01%	disso
drinking	8	0,01%	drinking
drunk	8	0,01%	drunk
earth	8	0,01%	earth
eleven	8	0,01%	eleven
emigração	8	0,01%	emigração
emigrar	8	0,01%	emigrar
emigrated	8	0,01%	emigrated
ensinar	8	0,01%	ensinar
envolvi	8	0,01%	envolvi
espaço	8	0,01%	espaço
eventualmente	8	0,01%	eventualmente
farm	8	0,01%	farm
faro	8	0,01%	faro
feed	8	0,01%	feed
female	8	0,01%	female
fifteen	8	0,01%	fifteen
foot	8	0,01%	foot
fora	8	0,01%	fora
forever	8	0,01%	forever
frequência	8	0,01%	frequência
full	8	0,01%	full
gosh	8	0,01%	gosh
grandma	8	0,01%	grandma
granted	8	0,01%	granted
hair	8	0,01%	hair
hide	8	0,01%	hide
hoje	8	0,01%	hoje

hot	8	0,01%	hot
however	8	0,01%	however
humble	8	0,01%	humble
ignorant	8	0,01%	ignorant
industry	8	0,01%	industry
jesus	8	0,01%	jesus
jewish	8	0,01%	jewish
jorge	8	0,01%	jorge
jose	8	0,01%	jose
kennedy	8	0,01%	kennedy
leather	8	0,01%	leather
letters	8	0,01%	letters
maid	8	0,01%	maid
maior	8	0,01%	maior
material	8	0,01%	material
med	8	0,01%	med
meio	8	0,01%	meio
membership	8	0,01%	membership
mexican	8	0,01%	mexican
mistakes	8	0,01%	mistakes
montreal	8	0,01%	montreal
moss	8	0,01%	moss
móveis	8	0,01%	móveis
must	8	0,01%	must
neste	8	0,01%	neste
nineteen	8	0,01%	nineteen
ninguém	8	0,01%	ninguém
normalmente	8	0,01%	normalmente
novo	8	0,01%	novo
nowadays	8	0,01%	nowadays
num	8	0,01%	num
online	8	0,01%	online
opinion	8	0,01%	opinion
pau	8	0,01%	pau
philharmonic	8	0,01%	philharmonic
planet	8	0,01%	planet
porto	8	0,01%	porto
portugee	8	0,01%	portugee
posso	8	0,01%	posso
problema	8	0,01%	problema
quê	8	0,01%	quê
ran	8	0,01%	ran
reação	8	0,01%	reação
red	8	0,01%	red
rhode	8	0,01%	rhode
rosary	8	0,01%	rosary
rutgers	8	0,01%	rutgers

saber	8	0,01%	saber
security	8	0,01%	security
senhor	8	0,01%	senhor
serpa	8	0,01%	serpa
seven	8	0,01%	seven
seventeen	8	0,01%	seventeen
several	8	0,01%	several
sick	8	0,01%	sick
sido	8	0,01%	sido
sing	8	0,01%	sing

