MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN CANADA AND THE CASE OF THE PORTUGUESE AND BRAZILIAN COMMUNITIES

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Abstract: This article has been produced on the results of an academic research developed from December 2013 to December 2014 among the Portuguese and the Brazilian communities living in Calgary, Canada. As Associate Professor (visiting scholar, as well as post-doc fellow) in the Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, under a scholarship received from the Government of Brazil, Ministry of Education – CAPES, it has been possible to develop a theoretical study on culture, multiculturalism and diversity so to discuss the importance of a Portuguese school striving to resist a full assimilation by the Anglophonic world around it. The empirical investigation has been made by an ethnological approach, through a participant observational research and the application of written questionnaires distributed to randomly assorted members of the Portuguese and the Brazilian communities living in Calgary, in a total of 64 interviews conducted (20 Brazilian and 44 Portuguese). This study has been approved by the University of Calgary’s Conjoint Faculties Research Ethics Board in August 20, 2014. Ethics ID: REB14-1237.

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Perhaps it is too glib to suggest that human beings have much more in common than in differences. Nevertheless, the differences – subtle or not – have been reinforced along human history so to set forth the

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identification of a group, a clan, or a nation as a whole. Apart from the rivalries and warfare issues - most linked to human difficulty of dealing with diversity, the ethnic identification in its most range of plurality may be considered the richest inheritance of humankind. Even though ethnic multiplicity dates back ancient times, yet human beings have not learned to explore what they have in common, preferring sometimes to highlight the differences in a hierarchical order, and imposing the dominant culture over minorities. This situation has brought Alain Touraine, the French sociologist, to pose the question entitling a book: *Pourrons-nous vivre ensemble?* (Can we live together?). More recently, tough, Jeremy Rifkin, the American author of the book *The empathic civilization*, defended that after a long paradoxical relation between empathy and entropy humankind can now grow empathic awareness so we can finally live and flourish in a new multicultural society. Nevertheless, empathic feeling itself cannot help us unless accompanied by strong policies that guarantee tolerance, understanding, and equality of opportunity. To be real empathetic, no society can neglect the importance of social actions to promote conditions as to everyone combine their cultural identity with a broad participation in what Rifkin calls a ‘global society’ and Touraine denominates *l’univers technique* (technical universe). To agree with the French sociologist, ‘ainsi seulement pourrons-nous vivre ensemble, égaux et différents’ (Only thus we can live together, equal and different).

Although in different perspectives, both authors are talking about the same process, i.e. the multiculturalism applied to a global environment in which individuals and different groups may dwell in peace, regardless their differences, advancing economically and intellectually in the same level. The terms ‘global society’ and ‘technical universe’ comprise a new understanding of identity and citizenship. Completely different from the times when cultures were strictly territorialized and were produced by an essentialist view, the scenario now in a post-colonialist era tends to be more pluralist and historical: ‘different groups, communities, and people are increasingly bound to each other in a myriad of complex relationships’ (Giroux, 1994, p. 40). As society is never, according to Benedict (2005, p. 253) ‘an entity separable from the individuals who compose it’, to understand this new meaning we have to focus on the individuals whose membership is not linked to a fictional and territorial production of culture but to a lively scenario of diversity and complexity.
The word ‘identity’ is not taken as an ontological conception, but as a contextually epistemological value to be constructed in articulation between the discourse and the social conditions (Hall, 1998), as well as in a dialectic articulation between the discourse and the social relation of production (McLaren, 1997, p. 8). Although there is always a mythic discourse or a mystified projection backing the enunciation of most ethnic identities, the individuals are immersed in real and concrete situations happening inside unfixed cultural spaces, as well as inside a complex relation of power and domination. An emancipatory and transformative meaning of citizenship can be reached only if those individuals fell free, secure and comfortable in a mosaic of multiple identities, different cultures and diverse ‘others’.

Even though identities are constructed through difference (Hall & Du Gay, 1996, p. 4), the interrelations do not always happen in opposition, but sometimes in negotiation onto a new habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) embodying new cultural perspectives and new ethnicities. A habitus strong enough to avoid fragmentation, disjunction and segregation, and to avoid fixation, keeping the options open. As a process, always contextualized, this kind of behavior must be always negotiating considering ethnicity as the ‘sense of special ancestral identification with a portion of mankind’ (Gordon, 1964, p. 24), as well as a significant way of resistance against the process of homogenization. By the other side, this habitus must be ‘in-between’ (Bhabha, 1998, p. 3): ‘There is an interstitial space between the representation of a community and the presence of the community itself”. Which means that, in multicultural societies with strong migration history like Canada, the habitus will always be in negotiation between the original traditions of the back country and the host culture. Says Bhabha in his introduction to The Location of Culture that ‘these “in-between” spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself’ (p. 1-2).

In the same sense, ‘culture’ is not taken as a fixed essence, a pre-given and mystified notion, but as an enunciation, an act of utterance and a positioning. It is, according to Geertz (1973), a web of symbolic actions tied up by the significance they have for the group, as they try to explain it, to enunciate it. Always in construction, in progress, this kind of enunciation represents a group in their own perspective – which is
formulated historically as a result of the intercourses the group has had with surrounding ‘others’ and with multiple interference inside its own *habitus*. As Bhabha (1998, p. 36) points out, ‘cultures are never unitary in themselves, nor simply dualistic in the relation of Self to Other’.

Historically, whenever large numbers of immigrants from different cultural backgrounds migrate to a new country the mere reality of their arrival reduces any dreams of building a distinct homogenized society. Internationally speaking, as history has shown, succeeding social interactions between members of immigrant communities and members of the host society delineate new cultural configurations of humankind, which makeups vary, depending on the extent and degree of mingling. This relationship opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity (Bhabha, 1998) to defy certain political expectations, homogeneity efforts and imposed hierarchies – making any kind of cross-cultural encounter possible.

Turning the attention to the Western world, it becomes evident that even though built through cross-cultural encounters, its affiliated countries have not developed a pluralistic perspective of tolerance and respect for others. Instead, its various countries have often been torn apart by setting up artificial boundaries, cleansing wars, tribal rivalries, and religious clashes representative of a hobbesian condition of “all against all.” The resultant chaos incorporates a rage of societies from imperialist ideologies to local diffusionist movements with the same end—to impose the *self*, seek to subvert, and replace the logic of otherness.

Well discussed by Stuart Hall, in his text *Old and new identities, old and new ethnicities*, the very root of this problem is related to the Cartesian subject in search of origin of being itself (In: King, 1998, p. 42). As a ground of action, the Cartesian *cogito* is evident in the very outbreak of the Modern Age—the imposing *self* is manifested theoretically through the famous phrase, *Cogito ergo sum (I think, therefore, I am)* and means what Hegel (1977) calls “the spirit of the time”, which can be taken as the humanist turn to a centralization of the self as well as the instrumentation of nature. The outside world, including the reality of the other, is therefore solely conditioned by myself in accordance with my perception, my understanding, and my reasoning, and in my power.

The Western world has been built on the principle of the *self*—not on the *other*. This kind of thinking leads logically to an ethnocentric perspective that has guided human relations throughout history. It has never been an easy task to establish an *empathicus* relationship with
the different, with the ones who dress up in ‘exotic’ costumes, speak in weird tongues or accents, organize themselves in awkward or isolated groups, or perhaps behave in unusual ways. When perceived as oddly different, the habits of the other raise suspicion and are assumed to prefer to behave unpredictably. Consequently, the unflinchingly different other must be avoided, isolated, thrown away, locked up to be analyzed and dominated when not made into ashes. In the past, even within the same society, individuals who were labeled as “monsters”, biological freaks, or deformed by illness (so-called abnormals), were ostracized by the “normal” ones. Foucault, in his *History of madness*, demonstrated that every individual, even though only slightly different—including the mentally ill, handicapped or the none body deformity related ones —such as demonized, sodomites, witches, wrathful, subversive, or manifesting any kind of maligning element, would need to be dispensed with.

The discovery of the New World has perhaps been the most important event to fuel a reinterpretation of the Old World’s perception of the other. Once discovered, far away, and beyond the ocean, a wide range of views of newly discovered species affected human diversity. Despite Spanish, Portuguese, French and English explorations of North America, and the vast exploitation of the land and the peoples – including the Black element brought from Africa, many interchanges occurred as a result of those encounters. There is evidence of this in relation to clothing, food, and all kind of habits developed in a hybrid way, not forgetting to mention interethnic crossings, like the *Métis* in Canada, the *Cholos* of Spanish America, and also the case of the Brazilian melting pot with its fusion of the Portuguese and other cultures into a new and unique form of civilization.

**PORTUGAL: THE DIASPORIC MOVE OF A SLY CIVILIZATION**

It is commonly said that ‘God created blacks and whites. The Portuguese created the mulatto’.

This saying summarizes a civilization that along its history refused segregation or eugenic feelings. From an already mixed origin – the Celts –, the Portuguese tough refused to assimilate the prevailing Spanish culture for centuries, which helped them to develop a sense of nationality. Nevertheless, as a porous civil-
ity as it flourished, they could not avoid surrendering to the charm of exotic cultures, like the Jewish, the Moor, the Sub-Saharan African and the Amerindian. Reaching distant lands in Asia, Africa and the Americas, this overseas expansion created a huge and rich empire, and also a network of mobilization that were able to establish links between the Christian, Jewish and Islamic civilizations, purveying commodities and syncretizing religions and customs (Barreto, 1989, p. 7). Along the process of colonization Portugal boasted a policy of racial intermingling as a civilizing mission. In the early 16th and 17th centuries the settlers tried to respond to this policy by marring the locals (most of the settlers were single or migrated without their wives), learning their languages and daily practices, and also producing a large offspring out of their slaves - although keeping a strong tie to the original culture.

Considering the fact that a large number of people departed from Portugal to the new found lands in the two first centuries of colonization, and a massive emigration took place along the 18th and 19th centuries, with no halt on the 20th, the historian Magalhães-Godinho (apud Rocha-Trindade, 2009, p. 35) considered emigration as a ‘structural phenomenon of Portuguese society’. The motivation though moved from the missionary aspect, during the flourishing colonial times, to the surviving struggle that took place along the following centuries. The richest nation in the world during the 16th, came to be the poorest country of the European Union at present times, and for decades endured a long dictatorship and a harsh decline of its economic power. About 4 million people left Portugal in the last hundred years (Teixeira & Da Rosa, 2009, p. 4) and about 5 million live abroad nowadays. According to Solsten (1993), there are in the world now more than one hundred million people with recognizable Portuguese background, spread to diverse places as Macaw, Angola, Brazil or the United States.

To Barbosa (2009, p. 1), it is hard to define the number of Portuguese settlers who migrated to Brazil during the colonial era, mostly because they were regarded as colonizers, rather than immigrants. But the estimative from 1855 to 1922 has the figure of almost 1 million immigrants. Although Brazil remained their main destination, even after its independence in 1822, and until the beginning of 20th century, a considered number of Portuguese emigrants started heading to the North, moving to the United States and Canada mostly during the 1950s, motivated by the decline of Portugal resources, the Salazar’s dictatorial...
regime, and the consequent underdevelopment. Teixeira and Lavigne (1992) estimated that from 1964 to 1974 about 100,000 people left Portugal every year.

Yet, Portuguese migration to the United States started in the 19th century - mainly from the Azores and Madeira islands -, establishing communities in California, New Jersey, and Massachusetts. But the most intense move has been after 1950s to Northeast places, as Rhode Island, Connecticut, and surroundings. By the late 1980s, it was estimated that the number of Portuguese and people of Portuguese descent living in this continent amounted around 40 million in Brazil, spread all over the vast territory, more than 1 million in the United States and almost 400,000 in Canada.

Before dealing with more numbers and the figures on immigration in Canada, updating the statistics information, I would like to make some comments on the Portuguese culture traces.

How can the Portuguese identity be defined? It is not certainly by the physical characteristics, since their complexion varies from the average white to the mulatto’s olive skin spectrum, sharing common traits with other Europeans. But many specific cultural traces make them a unique people on earth. Avoiding to discuss internal differences, in general they present the Celtic heritage of sensitiveness, affection and imagination (Anderson & Higgs, 1976), but something very typical is their deep melancholy – a mournful sentiment that unfolded a lot of cultural manifestations. As their identity is easily related to language, literature, music and history, the famous Fado (‘fate’, ‘destiny’) is a pertinent example. It is a gloomy music genre characterized by lugubrious tunes and lyrics, often about the sea or the life of the poor and praising a sentiment of resignation, fatefulness and misplacement.

Regarding the behavior aspects, according to Hatton (2011), they live with a feeling that the odds are stacked against them and every action is accompanied by a residual sense of loss. From that comes the word saudade as a melancholic yearning and personal nostalgia. In every place they are, they feel saudade of their ancestors, their villages and their past glory. Even outside Portugal Portuguese people generally share those basic values and a generic characterization (Almeida, 2009) as following: a practical religious zealotry with no intension to a deep mysticism, a sensitive generosity without being weak, a non-conflictive relationship since not hurting the pride, a proud relation to
their cultural tokens, an emotional sense of association that can easily be broken or split apart in smaller groups, a sarcastic and sometimes destructive sense of humor and discretion, bearing a passive behavior – even though they “like to show off before their friends” (Idem, p. 258).

Despite a strong Moorish legacy, as for example the patriarchal focus at home life and the domestic seclusion of women (Page, 1995, p. 42), the Portuguese were usually more liberal than other colonialist people, as the English, the Dutch, or the French, regarding color-based relations. Yet, it is naïve to think that there has not been discrimination in the Portuguese colonies, since they were the first to engage in the slave trade. But that happened rather in response to economic needs and religious zealotry, than to racial maneuver. From the beginning they tried to integrate into the new cultures – by teaching and been taught, miscegenation and cordial relationship. For this reason, we take Bhabha’s concept of “sly civility” to suit the Portuguese case. Beyond the colonizer’s narrative – brought forth by the Crown and the Catholic Church – of ‘civilizing the savage’, in practice they provided an affective reconstruction of the social order, with less frontiers, moral regulations and defined identities. This deregulatory reaction generated a counter-hegemonic response in form of a new civilization, i.e. a hybrid one, less formal and more plastic in its constitution. A real sly way of dealing with old and new values, old and new people, old and new situations, that helps us to understand the Brazilian people and also the Portuguese living outside their native country.

**BRAZIL: THE FATE OF HYBRIDISM**

“Brazil is not for beginners”. The phrase, repeated worldwide, is a sarcastic but keen creation of the famous Brazilian composer Tom Jobim. Member of a movement initiated in 1922 to modernize and nationalize artistic production, the worldwide known musician helped to improve the Modernists’ main objective, i.e. to ‘eat’ foreign contributions and ‘digest’ them in a new element with tropical characteristics. This anthropophagic metaphor – related to ancient cannibals who used to eat the enemies in order to absorb their energy – may be applied not only to the artistic Tropicalism movement (*Tropicália*), but also to the historical institution and cultural formation of Brazil as a hybrid country, or as what Freyre (1964) calls it the ‘Luso-Tropical civilization’.
This kind of hybridism has had different versions along the centuries, and it has influenced many aspects of daily life stretching from culture to education and to politics. The phenomenon may help us to understand Brazilian idiosyncrasies, although only superficially - confirming Jobim’s prognosis.

Brazilian society should probably be not described as diverse or multicultural, classically speaking – as Canada has been tagged. A more accurate term would be to think of the country as a hybrid nation - since it is the most appropriate word by which to describe the dynamic interchanges that have historically occurred in the country. The word hybrid comes from the Latin term *hibridae*, meaning a union of two or more different entities. In applying the term to Brazilian culture, it does not mean however a junction of only two or three elements (The Portuguese, the African and the Natives), but a series of different matrices made into a new element, a tropical one. In the beginning of colonization, the Portuguese single males started ‘eating’ the native and the black women to satisfy their sexual lust. The intercourse has brought forth not only a mulatto offspring but a tropical and a mulatto culture to be ‘tasted’ by future immigrants coming from many parts of the world, including Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Russia, Middle East, China, Japan and even from the United States3. The great mixture of Western and non-Western, as well as modern and traditional cultures is called by DaMatta & Hess (1995) as the ‘Brazilian dilemma’ or the ‘Brazilian puzzle’ – something not really easy to understand.

The ‘digestion’ process gave birth to a mulatto way of social relations that seems to be now a standard of interaction followed by every ethnic groups — the way to greet one another, how to maintain a relationship, how to negotiate a compromise, and how to navigate socially avoiding polarization: this or that. There is a tendency to move toward a middle ground of mediation and ambiguity. For that, we can understand why Brazil is not really divided in social classes, groups or sectors to be labeled modern or traditional, Western or non-Western, egalitarian or hierarchical, individualistic or holistic. Actually, both tendencies are present in every group, every relation and along the path of social navigation, operating simultaneously (DaMatta & Hess, 1995). This ‘tropical’ ethos is a sly way to subvert the order – many times seen as unjust or authoritarian, due to the autocratic formation of the country. Instead of a traditional or a modern society, as Dumont (1980) categorizes it,
the Brazilian society is more an in-between society (Bhabha, 1996) in which the two elements are interconnected and mutual dependency.

This reality primarily applies to informal, face-to-face contacts from which the famous jeitinho (jay-tchee’-nyoo) derives; it is manifested in a “personalist” way, a resource by which it is possible to make the laws softer, to by-pass hard rules, or to facilitate personal achievement in a privileged way. A collection of sayings known to most Brazilians, quoted by DaMattia & Hess (1995) gives an idea of this personalism: ‘I am capable of any sort of courageous act except saying no to my friends!’, ‘everything for my friends; for my enemies, the law!’, and last, but not least, the most popular phrase spoken when someone feels this privilege threatened: ‘Do you who you’re talking to?’ – meaning that if you are important, very rich, have influential friends, etc. there will be always a jeitinho for you to get rid of the universal and egalitarian rules. There is no English translation for this method of social navigation, and it is employed more than ‘to pull a string’, ‘to cut through red tape’, ‘to work someone’s magic’, ‘do me a solid’, or other similar expressions. The English sayings do not imply breaking rules or reinterpreting laws pragmatically into an easier mechanism to favor someone as the jeitinho brasileiro does.

Anyways, as Page (1995, p. 9) points out, the Brazilians have the cordiality as the main characteristic behavior, along with a penchant for joyfulness, an irresistible pleasantness, abundant hospitality, and unfailing politeness, especially to foreigners – characteristics developed from the Portuguese roots and enriched by the African brightness and the Indian tranquility. Many scientific and literary constructions have tried to typify the national character, ranging from realistic descriptions to mythic approaches. The cordial man and the racial democracy are among them. Developed by Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1995), the word cordial [from Latin, cordis] reminds a hospitable man, strongly determined by subjectivity, emotions and the heart. Attributed to Gilberto Freyre (1964), although the expression is never mentioned in his books, the idea of an ethic democracy – the real mentioned one (Freyre, 1947, p. 78) - expresses harmonious race relations that in reality are not so close to an idyllic ideology of the three races dwelling in harmony and mixing, with no problems at all.

Therefore, racial classification in Brazil is determined by skin color, by appearance and not by ancestry, as it is generally in the United
States. Then, as DaMatta (1995, p. 274) explains, ‘in the American case, mediations are obviously impossible: one is black or white or Indian. In the Brazilian case, mediations are not only possible but fundamental’. Due to miscegenation Brazilian complexion is of every conceivable color: from the blondest Caucasian type to the darkest negroid there are infinite hues, not to mention that blond and blue-eyed Chinese-like or dark skinned and curly haired Japanese-like people are not hard to be found. Then, the classification may be ‘cordially’ or hierarchically guided: a mulatto can be reduced to black or white depending on the situation.

Notwithstanding, black people have always been in disadvantage. Not to mention slavery, after the abolition, no economic compensation policy or affirmative action was provided, forcing a mass of individuals into poverty, nomadism, beggary and criminality—which has made inevitable the crystallization of a dissimulated prejudice in the social relations. As Page (1995, p. 72) highlights it, ‘for years classified advertisements in newspapers included the descriptive ‘good appearance’ to convey the message that only persons with light skin need apply’. Even though, after the 1960s black movement and the all sort of black consciousness, there are still many loopholes not only related to racial problems, but to many other cracks in the social and cultural texture. As to mention, the regional differences among Brazilians; the economic disparities between classes; the endemic corruption, mainly on governmental levels; the flexibility of the rules; the jeitinho; and, finally, the problem of self-definition.

THE PORTUGUESE AND THE BRAZILIAN IN CANADA

Government economic disastrous measures, underdevelopment, scarcity of jobs and social tensions are among the common reasons for Portuguese and Brazilian peoples to emigrate and seek for social security, higher standards of living and better opportunities abroad. Canada has been one of their main destinations, although they comprise an insignificant number in Canada’s immigration scenario. (see Table 1.1 and Table 1.2).
Table 1.1: Permanent Residents Admitted in 2012, by Top 10 Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>33,018</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>32,747</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>28,943</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>9,931</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td>9,414</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>8,138</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>6,463</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>6,365</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>5,599</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>5,308</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total Top 10</strong></td>
<td><strong>145,926</strong></td>
<td><strong>56.6</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All other source of countries</td>
<td>111,962</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>257,887</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2: Permanent Residents Admitted in 2012, from Brazil and Portugal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1,615</td>
<td>0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Most Portuguese arrived from 1950s to 1990s. (See Table 2.1), decreasing in number in the following decades. Teixeira & Da Rosa (2009) affirm that some ‘key’ community leaders such as consular authorities and journalists point to between 500,000 and 600,000 first-, second, and third-generation Portuguese in Canada. But according to Statistics Canada (Census 2011), there are 429,850 people of Portuguese origin living in Canada, from which 192,860 belong to the first generation. Most of them live in Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba (Teixeira & Da Rosa, 2009). Out of 18,770 living in Alberta 6,900 are first generation. In Calgary the official number is 6,750 of which 2,755 are first generation.
After receiving significant amount of newcomers until the half of 20\textsuperscript{th} century Brazil started sending out immigrants in large numbers, mostly to USA (799,203), Paraguay (454,501), Japan (224,970), Germany (60,403) and Portugal (51,590). From the 1980s some Brazilians started to immigrate to Canada, making residency mostly in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver (Barbosa, 2009). According to Statistics Canada (Census 2011) there are 25,395 people of Brazilian background living in the country out of which 22,920 are Brazilian born. In Alberta the relation is 1,740 / 1,090; and in Calgary 845 / 640.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Arrivals</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-9</td>
<td>17,114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-9</td>
<td>59,677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-9</td>
<td>79,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-9</td>
<td>38,187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-9</td>
<td>19,894</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Arrivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1,365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>4,264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>3,190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>5,410</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Statistic Canada; Barbosa (2003).

In the following graphics it is possible to see how first generation is almost the total of Brazilian, while the Portuguese first generation is now in less number than the second and third generations together:
Another difference is regarding single or multiple ethnicities. Brazil is certainly the one to present a higher level of a multiethnic background. 17,675 (69%) have multiple ethnic origins, while the Portuguese only 179,530 (41%) are multi-ethnic.

Between August and October 2014 a questionnaire was distributed among 64 Brazilian and Portuguese people living more than 6 months as permanent resident or citizen in Calgary, AB. The purpose of the questionnaire was to analyze age, formal studies, level of languages, their national identification and their opinion about the cultural, religious and social activities organized by their associations, as well as their opinion about the Portuguese school. Here are some information collected:

**SOCIAL-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA**

– **Age** – While most of Brazilian respondents are between 30 and 50 years of age (85%), the Portuguese community is half (50%) the same age and a considerable number of 23% between 50 and 70 years old.
- **Marital status** – ‘Married’ are the ones living with a partner (official or not) while ‘single’ the ones never married, widow or divorced. 5 of 33 married Portuguese and 2 of 17 Brazilian espoused an Anglo-Saxon Canadian.
- **Race** – 75% of Brazilian respondents identified themselves as white. The other identified themselves as brown (15%) and black (10%). 89% of Portuguese respondents considered themselves as white, 7.8% percent brown, 1.5% black and 1.5% yellow. For the term ‘brown’ many hues were accepted: light brown, olive, mulatto and mestizo. Both in Brazil and Portugal only the dark-skinned with negroid traces generally consider themselves as black. The category ‘yellow’ is related to Asian origin, as Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.
- **Educational level** – 95% of Brazilian respondents achieved a completion of the university studies, while only 43% of Portuguese presented the same level. It reflects the low education level in Portugal as well. In 2008 around 27% only (aged between 25-64) had completed secondary school (Hatton, 2011, p. 237), and many Portuguese immigrated to Canada in order to work in the fishing industry, to which no formal studies were necessary, than fishing skills. Statistics from the 1991 census also give some indication that, as a group, Luso-Canadians display significantly lower levels of formal education than either the general population or other minorities and that they have significantly fewer individuals with post-secondary studies.

- **Visa status** – With a longer history of immigration, most of Portuguese have achieved the citizenship (89%), with just a few percentage (11%) of newcomers waiting for the same privilege – they do not consider returning to Portugal. 50% of Brazilian immigrants are still residents because many of them (60%) consider returning to Brazil one day. The 10% with ‘worker’ status awaits the residency.
ADAPTATION ASPECTS

- Knowledge of English – Most of Brazilian immigrants arrive with a basic level of English and soon achieve the fluency. 65% of respondents indicated having proficiency, while 30% are still in the basic level. Among the Portuguese people, most of them also indicated having fluency (72%). The problem is that while the Brazilian immigrants are completely fluent in Portuguese language, among the Portuguese community many members of the second and third generations cannot converse in their parents’ and grandparents’ tongue. 3 of them indicated the ‘beginning’ level, 9 admitted having only ‘basic’ knowledge and 4 responded having ‘advanced’ understanding.
- **Languages spoken at home and at work** – The tendency of the Portuguese community is to speak only English at home, or both English and Portuguese, while the Brazilian community members insist in speaking only in Portuguese at home to teach their children.
- **Time in Canada** – 75% of Brazilian people are here no more than 10 years. Only 4 (20%) of the respondents indicated being here between 10 and twenty years, but none more than that. Among the Portuguese, 34% are here for more than 30 years, 25% more than 20, and 40% more than 10. Only a tiny portion less than 10 years, since 1 respondent informed being here between 6-9 years and one indicated residency between 2-5 years.
– Discrimination - Only one Brazilian answered having been discriminated by color or background, while eleven Portuguese indicated discrimination by color (2), by nationality (5) and by background (4).

CULTURAL IDENTITY AND EDUCATION

Talking about the Portuguese in Canada, Almeida (2009, p. 257) highlights that “the Portuguese are discreet, not given to delinquent habits or to xenophobia, and seem absent from all the national debates on immigration. Lately the Portuguese have joined forces to defend their language and culture, but their leaders have no visible profile outside the community”. Despite the old contact between Portugal and Canada, the Portuguese immigration flux never created a large and strong community. The same thing may be said of the Brazilian counterparts. Both communities remain an ‘invisible minority’, sometimes blaming each other and avoiding to play as a team. That seems to be a common characteristic of both communities to be ‘always waiting for someone else to do everything’, as the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935) once said (apud Hatton, 2011, p. 229).

As a consequence of that, they have developed not much sense of deep communitarian bonds, but their social solidarity is linked more to the clan, to the family or to patronage ties than to communities and ethnic gatherings. According to Anderson and Higgs (1976), the Portuguese lack of unity is manifested in conflicts and disagreements over local and personal issues. Mainlanders oppose and critic those from the islands; the highly educated attempt to exert their superiority over the less well-educated. Between Portugal and Brazil, likewise, there is a kind of historic animosity due to the anti-Portuguese feeling developed during colonial times. This ‘cordial’ animosity (quite a paradox) is perceived when talking to one about the other.

It is not easy to reconcile southern European/Iberian, Catholic values and Anglo-American world. It is likewise hard to adapt Brazilian values, such as the jeitinho to the Canadian universalistic perspective. This problem would comprise a specific research, but at least some virtues be discussed highlighted.

In terms of pride, to the question ‘Are you proud of your ethnic background?’ every Portuguese (100%) answered positively, and some Brazilian respondents (10%) said ‘no’. Nevertheless, the Brazil-
ian study respondents take part in events organized by their community, answering that those events are important to maintaining and fostering the cultural identity, as well as to establish family connections. By the contrary, some Portuguese respondents (7%) do not take part in the festivities and other cultural events, and only two (out of 44) said ‘no’ to question if they are important to keep the cultural background. It is a consensus among the respondents that in multicultural country the best is assimilating the dominant culture and trying to keep the original background by community activities and schooling. What kind of education would be suitable to promoting the language and other cultural aspects? The answers vary among establishing a Portuguese school (17%), a bi-lingual school in which both languages and both cultures would be taught in the same level (43%), and the ones (40%) who indicated preference for a Portuguese language program offered as an elective subject in public schools.

At a first glance, it is admirable the Portuguese and Brazilian effort to maintain close links with the original culture. Especially the Portuguese have established dozens of organizations, clubs, newspapers and associations of all sorts, not failing to mention the Portuguese schools. The first one was established in Montreal in 1958 and achieved a number of 150 pupils in 1974 (Anderson & Higgs, 1976, p. 138). Other attempts followed, like the units in Toronto (1964), Vancouver (1968) and other ones in London, Ottawa, Hamilton, and Winnipeg. The first club was established in 1956 in Toronto and the first association created in 1970 in Montreal. No other community has produced so many institutions like them, as clubs, churches, soccer teams and newspapers. Among the journals, the Voice (http://www.voicenews.ca/), ABC (http://www.pcnewsnetwork.com/), A Voz de Portugal (http://www.avozdeportugal.com/) in Quebec, and other ones.

In Calgary, there is a philharmonic orchestra and a Scout Group. The latter was originally formed in 1986 by 5 members of the community who as youth in the Azores were part of Scouts and believed the youth could benefit from Scouting moral values and educational activities in camping, hiking, fishing, etc. Unfortunately the group only lasted 3 years due to leaders having to move and relocate out of Calgary. 5 Years ago it was re-instated and ‘has been successful since then’, according to Nelson Carneiro, commissioner of the 219 Portuguese Scout Group of Calgary.
Although it is not an official institution that follows a government curriculum, and having received small public resources, the Portuguese school was created in 1981 by the local Portuguese Association, with the help of the church, in attempt to fill this gap. Since then (except for a few alternate years with no activities), the school has been gathering a few children and trying to teach basic things such as the Portuguese language (how to speak, read and write), but also general aspects of the Lusitanian culture and out of this, trying to develop a certain pride in the cultural affiliation of their parents’ and grandparents’ world. With classes only on Saturdays, a regular group of 12 (up to 20 in good days) children between 6-13 years old attend reading, singing, writing, speaking, and art activities. The teachers are not pedagogically prepared or oriented, since there is no ‘pedagogic coordinator’ or someone holding a BEd (Bachelor of Education) degree. As they have no agreement with any Faculty of Education, the teachers follow regular schooling books used in Portugal. In order to integrate the children with the Portuguese symbols, the school is always the source for arrangements in every festivity – like flags and other patriotic materials.

To Orlando Calvinho, the now president of the school:

*The school is important for the children of the second generation immigrants because English has become the primary language and Portuguese is no longer spoken in the household. The other very important aspect of the school is socialization and association with the Portuguese community.*

Despite the progress and influence of cultural, recreational, and social organizations directed to promote cultural tokens in the Portuguese community, the Canadian public schools’ agenda may influence youngsters in a different direction, since they are involved with it most of their time and all their colleagues generally take the same path: the Anglo-conformity (Gordon, 1964, p. 85). Instead of fully participating in provided Portuguese institutions’ activities, younger people prefer to go to the movies, or go shopping and sightseeing with their schoolmates. Of course many of them are forced by their parents to attend Portuguese courses and cultural events within the community (Oliveira, 2009), but the attempted bi-cultural formation is compromised by the lack of pleasure and significance. Oliveira (2009) also points out that these youngsters might learn and retain their parents’ home culture if
they could feel some benefit from that knowledge, and if it did not constitute a source of embarrassment to them. Then, impatient with traditional events and institutions, the younger members become less immune to assimilation (Friesen, 1985, p. 30) thereby accelerating the process called by Gordon (1964, p. 66) of “structural assimilation”, instead of a partial or “attitude/behavioral assimilation” which normally happens to their parents or grandparents. Gordon is the well-known American sociologist, who developed the Seven Stages of Assimilation (1964), as follow: 1. Acculturation – conformation or adaption to language, values and social norms of the host people; 2. Structural assimilation – large scale access to host institutions; 3. Marital assimilation – high number of intermarriages, as happened in Brazil and, in a much shorter extent, in Canada with the French colonizers and certain Native people, bearing the Métis; 4. Identification assimilation – minorities feel deeply related to the dominant culture; 5. Attitude reception assimilation – acceptance of the newcomers with no prejudice; 6. Behavior receptional assimilation - acceptance of the newcomers with no discrimination but demanding some changes in their behavior; and 7. Civic assimilation – when there is no value or power conflict, but civic attainment.

As Anderson & Higgins (1976, p. 160) affirm, ‘many of the Portuguese boys consider themselves more Canadian than Portuguese if they have received most of their schooling in Canada”. Yet, somewhat surprisingly, the “natural” integration process of Canadian-born Portuguese does not end up in an Anglo-conformity (Gordon, 1964, p. 85) or in an assimilation tout court. Portuguese children and young people, like it or not, retain hints of their parents’ or grandparents’ culture and still turn to be different from their Anglo-saxon mates – mostly in religion, behavior, and certainly in physical appearance.

It is not an easy task to identify the youngsters’ personal link to their parents’ cultural background and evaluate how and to what extent this school can help them in improving identity. With an average of seventeen students in attendance, classes are held once a week on Saturday mornings. The students sing folk songs, read, write, draw, paint, glue, and receive lessons in the Portuguese language. Despite teachers’ strong efforts to converse in Portuguese with the students, their efforts appear minimally effective. Perhaps this is because most of the classes are held in English since this is the youth’s preferred everyday language for normal communication. According to the Statistics Canada, there
are 7,380 people in Alberta whose mother tongue is Portuguese. But when we compare to the category “Portuguese spoken at home”, the figure drops to 2,915.6

Many Canadian-born Portuguese individuals make sincere efforts towards self-integration, sometimes trying to avoid their Portuguese legacy altogether. An illustration of this challenge may be found in Coelho’s book, Small stories, great people: Portuguese pioneers in Canada (Coelho, 2004). An examination of family photographs featuring Portuguese pioneers, shows them engaged in festivities, clubs, and cultural events with their families, but only adults appear in the photographs. Children and teenagers are rarely seen not only in those pictures, but also at church or the community school.

By observing school ongoings, attending various community festivities, and participating in informal conversations and conducting interviews with school administrators and teachers as well as other individuals, I have confirmed two hypotheses primarily raised in the research project: first, we conjectured that older people of immigrant background are always in a struggle for adjustment and reconciliation between Iberian-Catholic values and the Anglo-Canadian world, while young people find their new surroundings much more comfortable, meaningful, and easier to cope with than their parents and grandparents backgrounds. My second hypothesis was that the school is a very important source for understanding this phenomenon, as well as an appropriate place for traditional cultural promotion, despite all the odds against it. Sadly enough, the number of students involved is very small, partly because culturally-related classes are held only on weekends, most teachers are not professionally trained in education, and they do not follow an official curriculum. The school does not have courses specifically on Portuguese language and cultures; indeed they do not even have a curriculum plan in place. (see Photos 1.1). However, such an abiding effort must stands as a form of resistance, interchange and cultural promotion.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Canada’s cultural mosaic is perhaps the best source of trying to understand the dynamics of multiculturalism applied to the social spectrum – mostly because the country has a long history of receiving and
accommodating minorities and diverse peoples. In 2011, Canada had a foreign-born population of about 6,775,800 people. They represented 20.6% of the total. Officially adopted only during the 1970s, the Canadian multiculturalism though was already a reality in the beginning of the twentieth century, when the society three founding peoples - Aboriginal, English, and French – started sharing the vast territory with other diverse ethnic groups fleeing from economic and warfare crisis in the Old World. The first groups arriving, dating back to the nineteenth century like the Chinese (1858), the Mennonites (1874), and the Doukhobors (1899), were soon followed by other religious groups and nationalities, like the Jews (1900), the Sikhs (1903), the Hutterites (1918), along with all types of Asians, Africans, Europeans and Latin Americans along the twentieth century and to the present times, reaching the total of 264 origins nowadays. Such figure cannot be taken for granted by anyone or ignored by the Government. More than ever Trudeau’s words make sense and contains a powerful meaning: ‘A policy of multiculturalism must be a policy of all Canadians’ (Apud Friesen, 1985, p. 1).

Despite the discriminatory aspect of the first Immigration Acts, ranking the ‘deserved’ and ‘undeserved’ ones, the most recent Acts have punctuated that the multiculturalism is the best way to strengthen and enrich the social fabric of Canadian society, regardless the cultural background of the newcomers. The official recognition was firstly issued in 1971 by the Multicultural Act, which recognized the cultural and racial diversity and acknowledged the freedom of the communities to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage. The Act approved in 1988 brought a clearer sense of purpose and defined multiculturalism as the fundamental characteristic of Canadian society. For its part, the province of Alberta primarily had the Alberta Cultural Heritage Act approved in 1984, and improved in 1990 through the Alberta Multiculturalism Act. Today, the ruling document concerning multiculturalism is The Human Rights, Citizenship and Multiculturalism Act, passed in 1996 (Dewing, 2013, p. 10) that recognizes the multiculturalism as a fundamental principle and a matter of public policy - not much different from the other provinces and territories in their human rights legislation, as well as from the Constitution in which the term ‘multicultural country’ is a superlative affirmation.

In Canada the recognition of the importance of multicultural education dates back to the 1960s (Friesen, 1985, p. 1), thus coincid-
ing with massive Portuguese immigration. Government policies and cultural school efforts have been to accommodate cultural differences and provide them with space to develop. As has been argued, “Ethnic groups who have not been assimilated via the British model, have been disadvantaged in some way” (Friesen, 1985, p. 23). Canadian society may claim to constitute a “salad bowl” society featuring a pluralistic identity, but underneath it all, the truth is that adherence to the notion of Anglo-Saxon pattern is clearly the way of life to be followed. Citizenship education has historically been reinforced via dominant-group hegemony, and has failed to empower students from diverse groups. Teachers, in their eagerness to teach scientific logical views do not always perceive all voices as equal, and sometimes influence students to be ashamed of their sacred beliefs (Banks, 1997).

It may be an unfair criticism, but it seems though that Canadian immigration policies (or lack of them) have taken a subtle assimilative route. Instead of engaging in promoting a valid multicultural policy that encourages understanding and sensitivity towards differing cultural groups from a perspective of social justice (Banks, 2004), instruction about cultural differences has centered on “food, fun, festivals and finery” (Friesen and Lyons Friesen, 2001, p. 148). Beyond that, the push towards “Anglo-conformity” (Gordon, 1964, p. 85) seems to be the preferred way to fully integrate new arrivals. This approach happens because immigrant communities, despite their significant presence, of 33% in Alberta (Friesen and Lyons Friesen, p. 146), tend to remain a little bit invisible in political terms.

Friesen (1985, p. 56) argues that language is the most important vehicle for retaining cultural identity. Courses of Portuguese language should be offered at the Portuguese school, and the cultural association should improve a broaden kind of education youngsters and adults. In addition, the community should approach the provincial government to offer optional high school courses for credit in Alberta schools. Several other cultural groups have been successful in this regard. As Burke (2009, p. 109) states; “Education can be and indeed is used to support cultural resistance.”

Portuguese immigrants in Toronto, for example, have achieved significant visibility, via a number of successful political, cultural, and social actions. Perhaps the community in Calgary could do the same, because they do appear to have important tools to meet the challenge—
a viable association, a talented orchestra, a scout club, and the Portuguese church and school.

Today’s challenge is that the polyphony of voices (teachers, children, parents and members of the community in general) continues to express divergent interests, as well as the non-integration relationship between the Portuguese and Brazilian communities. There is no consensus among these interest groups, accompanied by a well-defined policy or a firm hand to guide the process inside the community. I certainly do not blame the Portuguese or Brazilian young people for their lack of interest, since they have only a vague conceptualization of the importance of learning cultural things or how to function as an effective multicultural citizen. Sadly, the importance of this dimension of multiculturalism has not been well elaborated or directed.

Despite the foregoing, it does seem possible that a dual form of cultural identity seems plausible in Canada, often manifested when Portuguese youth are encouraged to sing Portuguese songs, visit local relatives, travel to Portugal, and try to reinforce a feeling of identification with their Portuguese roots. Portuguese youth Facebook pages sometimes feature cultural images, information, and links related to both Canada and their land of origin. Perhaps some of them may eventually achieve the same commitment that a young University student revealed when he stated (published in a Toronto newspaper, in 1973): “I gave up the pretense of being integrated. Instead, I want to select the best from both systems [that is, Portuguese and Canadian] and make as much use of each as possible”. (Apud Anderson & Higgs (1976, p. 177).

Inevitably the challenge of fostering a workable form of cultural practice and commitment will fall to the school and, as it generally does, spill over to the teachers’ pedagogical practices. It needs to be emphasized that educators are not the only ones responsible to carry on such a complex challenge. Saving cultural heritage is not a task limited to the classroom, nor is eradicating stereotypes that are false or even harmful (Friesen, 1985, p. 5). It is a task of all community institutions; it is a task for all Canadians. More than that, it is a task of the government, since multiculturalism is one the most important slogans of the country. Until it becomes more than a slogan however, our hope rests in the simple and tiny attempts of preserving cultural identity like that manifested by the Portuguese School of Calgary.
Resumo: Este artigo foi produzido com base nos resultados de uma pesquisa acadêmica desenvolvida entre dezembro de 2013 e dezembro de 2014 com as comunidades brasileiras e portuguesas que vivem em Calgary, Canadá. Como Professor visitante e bolsista (CAPES) de pós-doutoramento na Werklund School of Education da Universidade de Calgary, foi possível desenvolver um estudo teórico sobre a cultura, multiculturalismo e diversidade, bem como desenvolver uma pesquisa empírica no sentido de entender o papel que a escola da comunidade portuguesa desempenha na manutenção da identidade lusofônica, contra a influência do mundo anglofônico ao seu redor. A investigação empírica foi feita por uma abordagem etnológica, através de uma pesquisa observacional participante, com aplicação de questionários escritos distribuídos aos membros das duas comunidades, de forma aleatória. O total foi de 64 entrevistas realizadas (20 do Brasil e 44 Português). Este estudo foi aprovado pelo Comitê de Ética da Universidade de Calgary, em 20 de agosto de 2014. Ética ID: REB14-1237.

Palavras-chave: multiculturalismo, educação e diversidade, estudos portugueses e brasileiros.

NOTES

1 Cited by Hatton, 2011, p. 50.

2 Used in the book The location of culture, the term is borrowed from a 1818 sermon by Archdeacon Potts: “If you urge them with their gross and unworthy misconceptions of the nature and the will of God, or the monstrous follies of their fabulous theology, they will turn it off with a sly civility perhaps, or with a popular and careless proverb” (quoted in Bhabha, 1998, p. 99).

3 According to Lesser (2013, p. 45), about twenty thousand Americans (Southener Confederates), having an Alabama senator among them, immigrated to Brazil from 1865-1885 and founded a colony. Today many descendants live in the city of Americana, in the state of São Paulo.

4 As Barbosa (1995, p. 38) points out, ‘it is important to recognize that the jeitinho and jeitinho brasileiro, although intimately lined, are not the same. When the terms are used they refer to different values and aspects of Brazilian social life. As a social drama, the jeitinho is a privileged moment of our social reality in which we express our most fundamental values. On the other hand, the jeitinho brasileiro is an element that is considered to be paradigmatic in certain definitions of national identity; it is specific way of speaking about our country and our national identity”.

5 The expression has primarily been used by the anthropologist Ellie M. Smith (Apud Almeida, 2009), referring to the Portuguese communities in America.


REFERENCES


